The Role of Architecture in the physical and cultural segregation of Riga in second half of 19th century

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Abstract

This article offers a critical reflection on the impact of the urban development on the social lives of Riga's population throughout the second half of 19th century by exploring the role of architecture in the social and physical segregation of the city. Like many typical East-Central European cities in this period, Riga was ruled by the Baltic German elite who had a complete control over the government and all mayor industries that shaped the cities daily life. At the same time the native Latvian population belong to rural peasantry who had almost no rights. However, as result of serfdom emancipation and the rapid industrialization of the 19th century, Riga's population experienced massive growth as many rural peasants came to city in hope for better lives. With it the population growth came the urban developments that would shape the urban fabric of the city for ages to come. The cultural notions and physical struggles manifested themselves into the urban texture that can be observe even today.

Through investigating the social and political landscapes and their relationships with the physical development of the city, complex relationships can be presented that shape our daily lives. Through the ideas of space and power by Paul-Michel Foucault and the embedded relationships between physical space and urban inequality we can investigate how the city was shaped according to the ruling class. In addition, like Newton's third law each action is met with equal counter action, the proletariat responded with increase in socialistic revolutionary ideas and a nationalistic awakening that would slowly find itself in the urban fabric of Riga.

Key-Words:

Cultural hegemony, Urban segregation, 19th century Riga, Industrialization, Radical movements, Urbanization

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Introduction

The second half of the 19th century in Riga's history can be described as a time of "new doubts and hopes". These words were used to describe the time by Felikss Cielēns (1961) in his autobiography, where he explores the urban and social developments of the second half of the 19th century(Cielēns, 1961). At that time Riga was experiencing rapid economic and demographic growth that shaped the city's urban fabric from a feudalistic commerce city into one of the leading industrial cities of the Russian Empire. However, changes in the urban fabric also reflected a cultural division between new class systems and the worsening exploitation of a capitalist society. In effect, this would shape the socio-political sphere and give rise to radical movements that would shape the mindset of the Latvian working class.

"Space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power."
(Foucault, 1984)

The famous quote by Paul-Michel Foucault illustrates the integral relationship between physical space and social structures of our daily lives. Architecture and other urban elements symbolize the leading socio-economic group and can be used to exert power and shape the city based on the ruling groups' ideals and values. This effectively creates a condition of physical and cultural segregation in a city, dividing groups and effectively worsening conditions for the marginalized communities. However, the relationship between people and the urban fabric is interlinked with living conditions, social movements and symbolisms that enculture the ever-changing mentality of the society.

The city development of Riga has been documented by Latvian architecture historian Jānis Krastiņš in many book series focusing on the development of urban planning and architectural style throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Jānis Bērziņš also deeply analysed the political conditions of the workers and radical revolutionary ideas of the time in his book" Life Level of Latvian Industrial Workers 1900 - 1914". Unfortunately, the complex relationship that urbanization and housing has with working-class life is often ignored by scholars. By proposing research focusing on urban development and its impacts on the working class, a better understanding of the interconnections between the architecture and the social lives of its people may be presented. Thus, the role of architecture as a tool for segregation, expression of power or reflection of social changes are all topics worth investigating further.

One may thus ask, what role architecture and the urban development has on the social and political development of Riga in the second half of the 19th century? This will be investigated by analysing the political and economic context of Riga and the developments in its built environment. Different sources of archival photos and documents, historical retellings, folklore, and statistical data will be used to gain a better insight into the daily lives of Riga's inhabitants and the multiplicities it has with the urban space.

The research is divided into three chapters. Each deal with a different topic of urban development. The first chapter dives into the socio-economic and political developments of the time by looking at the industrial revolution and the effects it had on the city's physical and cultural landscape. In addition, the chapter investigates demographic changes and the radical political movements of the time. The second chapter investigates developments in the built environment by analysing development plans and building regulations. The typical residential typologies of the city are discussed to gain insight into the living conditions of its residents. The last chapter is formulated as a discussion, diving into topics of cultural hegemony, cultural and physical segregation, and its effects on the working class, and finally, the relationship between the changing mentality of the proletariat and architecture.

Chapter 1: Historical context

Political & Economical context of Riga from 1860 to 1915

Industrial growth

V.I. Lenin described the end of 19th-century imperial Russian proletariat class almost a century later since its formation as "*... a special class of the population, which is completely foreign to the old way of farming, which differs from it by a different way of life, a different structure of family relations, and a higher level of both material and spiritual requirements."*(Lenin, 1951). However, how did the Latvian proletariat reach this point and what was the evolution of Riga's proletariat throughout this period?

The 19th century was associated with many different changes both in social and economic developments throughout Latvia. One of the biggest developments was the shift from feudalism to capitalism as a ruling socioeconomic system. The transition was due to the abolishment of "kholop" ("холоп") in 1861 in Imperial Russia. "Kholop" refers to the type of feudal serfdom in Russia between the 10th and early 19th centuries, where Latvian, Estonian and other peasantries had their legal status close to that of a slave and was bound to a hereditary plot of land and the will of their landlord (Maureen, 2006). After its abolishment, they sought to escape their old lifestyles and seek better living conditions in the cities. As a result, the end of serfdom led to a rise in capitalism, and new social groups formed in cities, namely proletariats and bourgeoisie.

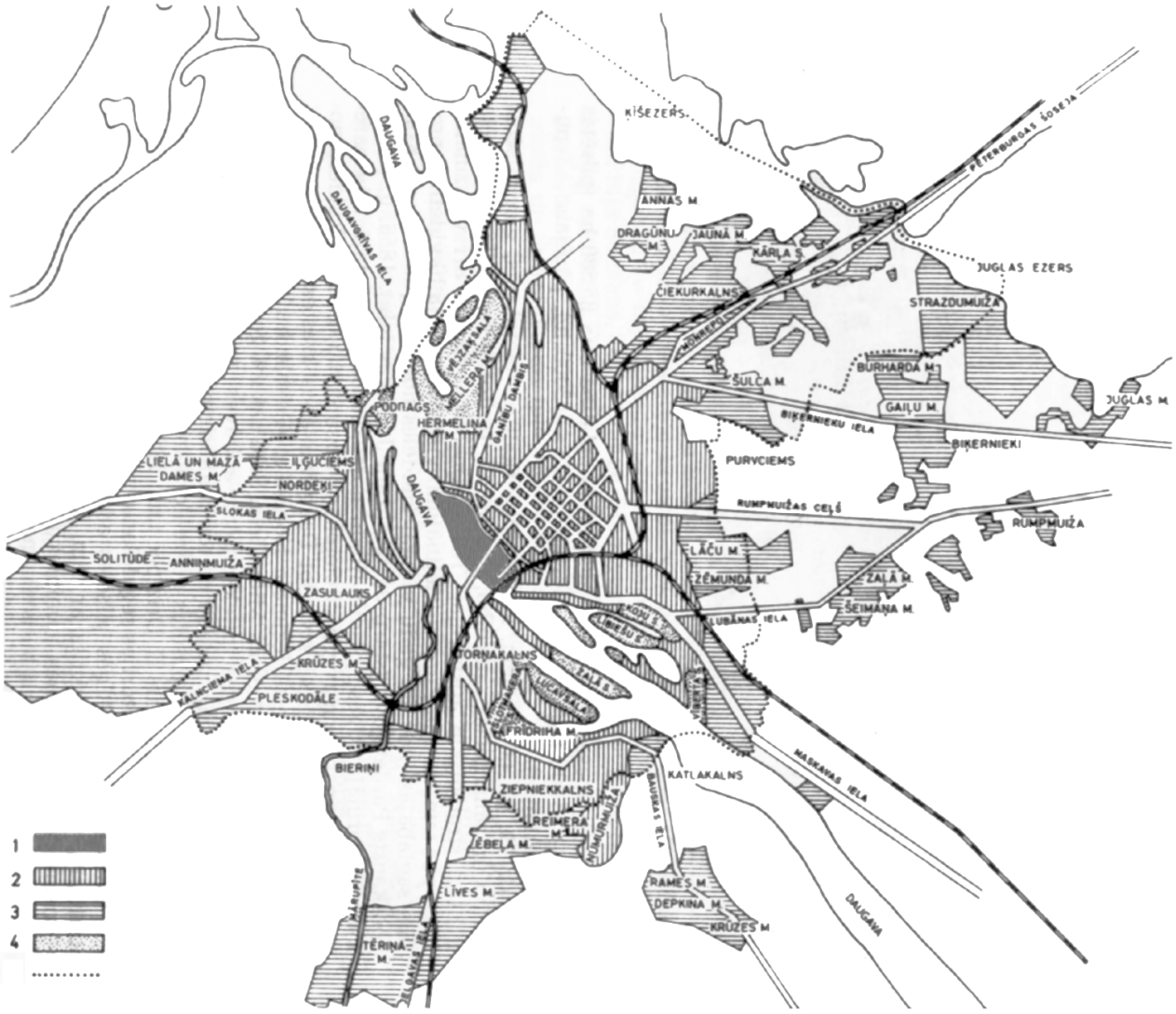
Besides political and social changes, a critical point in the development of industrial growth was the construction of the railway network in Latvia, which connected the inner Russian provinces to Riga. This led to Latvian territories slowly transitioning from an agriculture-based economy to a manufacture-based system. However, this transition came with different challenges, such as a shortage of skilled workers. As urban life shifted together with modern machinery and manufacture, the lack of a workforce could not be filled by the people who had been working on the fields for centuries (Maureen, 2006). Over the span of 10 years, the workforce adapted to the new lifestyle and its requirements, by learning from the skilled workforce brought in from other Russian provinces. However, the skill and education differences between the separate groups created additional class divisions, as Latvians were often seen as even worse than other lower-class groups.

After the construction of the railway, Latvia's industrial development strengthened its ties to the rest of imperial Russia's manufacturing, as Riga processed primarily components and

other raw materials needed for manufacturing elsewhere. However, Riga's capitalistic manufacturing slowly started to gain independence around the end of the 19th century, as it became one of the largest manufacturing and trading centres in the whole empire. During this time, the industries improved, as well as foreign capital flow increased into the city. This all lead to the first syndicates forming and consolidating the manufacturing power over shared interests. As a result of the Tsarist government's protectionist policy, foreign capital flocked inwards and various foreign companies set up branches to process raw materials and semi-finished products in Riga (Birons et al., 1969). The city transitioned from a trading city to a manufacturing one. Consequently, Riga saw rapid growth, technological development, and changes in its demographic and social composition.

Fig. 1 Rigs territory in the second half of 19th century and 20th century

1 - Riga city territory before the 1860s, 2 - The territory of Riga in the 1960s, 3 - Part of the patrimonial area which since 1877 was a part of city municipality. 4. City territory belonging to the German nobleman gentry 5 - The territory of Riga after 1905



Demographic overview of Riga

From 1860 up until WWI, Riga's population had increased by 470% (Corrsin, 1982). At the same time, the ethnic composition of the city was changing quite drastically, as the Latvian and Russian populations saw an increase, and the German population was experiencing a decline. Like many typical East-Central European cities at the end of the 19th century, Riga was dominated by the Baltic German elite, however, by the beginning of WWI, the Latvian population had gained plurality and the German population was pushed down to the third largest group following Russians. Noteworthy growth was also in the Lithuanian, Polish and Jewish communities in the city. As Stephen D. Corrsin (1982), a historian of Latvia, points out "Riga becaome in these decades one of the most ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse of the major cities of Europe."(Corrsin, 1982)

The social status of these ethnic groups had also shifted throughout this period, but not as much as their proportion in the city's population composition. In the 19th century, the German population was considered the dominant force in all spheres of the city; economic, political, and cultural. In comparison, the Latvian population was seen as the city's lowest class, whilst Russians consisted of wealthy merchants, artisans, and soldiers (Birons et al., 1969). The only way a Latvian could get out of the lowest class was through Germanification, with help of a Baltic-German patron. However, by the end of the century, German dominance was challenged by the increasing Latvian population and their rise on the social ladder, which entails the increased engagement with cultural development and political assertiveness in the city. A huge blow to the ruling authority over the city were Imperial Russia's attempts at Russification and drive for administrative centralization. This meant that for the first time Baltic-German's control over the city was limited, as the Tsar government enforced Russian language requirements in all administrative functions in the empire as part of their Russification policies (Bērziņš, 2006).

With the emancipation of the serfs, peasants could now officially own their land and be free to choose their way of life. A noteworthy minority of Baltic peasants acquired their land; however, the majority were landless. Peasants in the Baltic region could, with relative ease, acquire documentation to leave their hometowns. Many of the landless peasants and their families in this period struggled financially and sought hope for a better life in the cities, which provided new work opportunities that were not associated with the mistreatments they endured in serfdom. In addition, the cities often promised independence

and freedom, as Riga was historically seen as a free city. This historical precedent of the large-scale immigration has even been reflected in Latvian folklore:

Iesīm brāļi mēs uz Rīgu,
Rīgā laba dzīvošana;
Rīgā rej zelta suņi,
Sudraboti Gaiļi dzied.

Brothers, let us go to Riga,
In Riga life is good,
In Riga golden dogs bark,
And silver roosters crow.
(Ģērmanis, 1959)

Despite the growing population and desire to be part of Riga's urban fabric, Latvians never gained strong political control over the city in the 19th century. Nevertheless, Latvians still managed to climb the social ladder and integrate with the higher society. In the process, a Latvian intelligentsia was formed that tried to use their knowledge to educate the working class, and often push radical ideas about socialist ways of living. The Imperial government, no matter what, saw German political leadership as a strong conservative collective that had positive economic values that were aligned with the state. This led the state to perceive them as not a threat but as an ally. Not surprisingly, Germans exploited this support by using their extreme wealth and power over industries to influence elections, to preserve their influence, often by committing fraud or coercion (Corrsin, 1982). Accordingly, Latvians were seen as the dangerous, radical opposition that is threatening the status quo of the city. This fear also aligns with the rise of different radical movements in Riga, as workers' rights and Latvian national identity were on the rise, culminating in the failed revolution of 1905.

Fig. 2 Riga , Daugava's riverside market

Radical movements of the time "New Current"

By the end of the 19th century, new revolutionary traditions had infiltrated the daily lives of many workers. This was a result of the government's neglect of the working-class' living conditions, education, and labour rights. As a response to the bad conditions, workers' communities turned to radical movements, as their popularity throughout Europe was increasing. Workers began organizing different gatherings where they collectively educated themselves on political matters and organized a collective library for everyone. One of the first such gatherings of this kind was in Riga's wagon factory "Fēnikss" in 1895 (Birons et al., 1969). This was the beginning of a much larger movement that would fight for democratic governance and better living quality for the working class.

Fig. 3 Riga , Workers of the "Fēnikss" factory

The rise of the unorganized workers' gatherings caught the attention of the pro-democratic Latvian intellectuals, who had self-indulged in Marxist theoriesetics and wanted to propagate its ideas amongst the workers. By the 1890s the movement in Latvia gained the name "New current" (In Latvian "Jaunā strāva"). The Latvians involved in this movement were educated writers and editors for the newspaper "The Day's Page" (In Latvian "Dienas Lapa") and often voiced their socialist and nationalistic opinions in the editorials. The group formed ties with many different workers collectives by hosting debate evenings where new developments in natural sciences, education, literature, and politics were discussed. The movement developed worker's culture even further as new self-empowerment or support group organizations were formed with the main aim of educating the workers (Cielēns, 1961). One of these organisations, "Jonatāna" (fig. 4), organized evening schools which were often attended by up to 112 workers. These events and gatherings allowed for solidarity to form amongst the workers. As a result of the push for radical ideas and socialist propaganda, many workers joined the Latvian socio-democratic workers' party. All this culminated in the 1905 revolution, which showcased the changes in the workers' social lives. The revolution of 1905 for Latvia was a clear expression not only of the opposition to the state government and the bad living conditions, but also the expression of the Latvian national struggle for liberation from Russian tsarism and the oppression of German nobles (fig. 5) (Bērziņš, 2006).

Fig. 4 "Jonatāna "Mutual Assistance Society House in Slokas Street

After the failed revolution, where thousands of workers were killed by the imperial army in attempts to suppress the revolution, the expression of radical ideas among workers become difficult. However, at the beginning of the 20th-century, workers' unions assumed the mantle of organizing social events to improve

workers' lives. The unions helped form the first opportunities for technical and general education courses for workers. Different evening discussions, lectures, and excursions were organized to help educate the workers. Also, access to a diverse selection of books, newspapers, and magazines was provided through the union libraries. Despite all the changes and commotion in the Latvian workers' social lives at the beginning of the 20th century, the majority of workers chose to not get involved in the movements due to previous failures or fears of punishment from the government (Cielēns, 1961).

Fig. 5 A revolutionary slogan in the "Fēnikss" factory Translated from Russian "Down with autocracy"

Conclusion

The period saw major economic and demographic growth as a small commerce city formed into one of the biggest industrialised cities in imperial Russia. With the industrialization also the social structure of the city changed to fit the new capitalistic way of life and the formation of the industrial proletariat shaped the working force of the time. This new workforce was more organized to fight against the capitalistic exploitation and the Tsarist government's goals of russification, as the living conditions worsened. The new radical movement, such as the "New current", shaped by the workers and the liberal intelligentsia, were eager to fight against the dominant oppressive structures in favour of a more democratic-socialist way of life. The major event in the city reflected the new industrial way of life. During the period the city grew 4-fold, incorporating new urban plans, building restrictions and housing typologies that reflected the viewpoints of the dominant socio-economic group and capitalistic mindset of the time.

Chapter 2: Analysis of the Urban planning and the Residential developments

Introduction

The large surge of manufacturing industries and economic growth at the end of the 19th century was accompanied by accelerated population growth, unchecked corporate power, and countless attempts on organizing the rapidly growing cities. Riga's expansion was seen as an exceptional transformation, Jānis Krastiņš mentioning its urban transformation as a complex framework of progressive ideas and a rather accurate execution of it . In this short period, it Riga had transformed from a medieval walled city into a capitalist superpower, with flourishing fields of economy, culture, science, and education (Krastiņš et al., 1998). At the time, the city exhibited not only bourgeoise consumption habits and lifestyle, but also the harsh reality of social inequality that juxtaposed and segregated the urban fabric.

The following chapter, will focus on the analytic description of urban planning and the residential development in Riga's area. The abolishment of serfdom and the large influx of rural workers in the city meant that it was expanding rapidly and was in dire need of structured planning and improvement in housing. However, this influx of workers was accompanied by an increase in wealth, so the housing needs of the upper class were often prioritized. The chapter is split into two parts creating a separation between reflecting the different scales of transformation and the ways it perpetuated social inequality. The first part will focus on the urban planning, building regulations and the transportation infrastructure that shaped the urban texture. The second part focuses will focus on the architectural scale of the period, looking into the designs and living conditions of housing typologies.

Fig. 6 Riga, Marijas street (now Barona street) 1910

Urban planning of Riga:

The start of industrialization marks a critical point in the Riga's development, as it got rid of its medieval characteristics, in favour of modernization and the development of manufacturing. New typologies of factory complexes, train stations, industrialized harbours, stock exchanges, banks and many new administrative buildings (Krastiņš, 1988) were introduced into the urban fabric. New architectural styles and residential developments, reflective of the dominant power, were presented as the city's population kept growing. The changes in built environment had various effects on the new society that had formed in the industrialized city.

The city plans for the rapid population growth

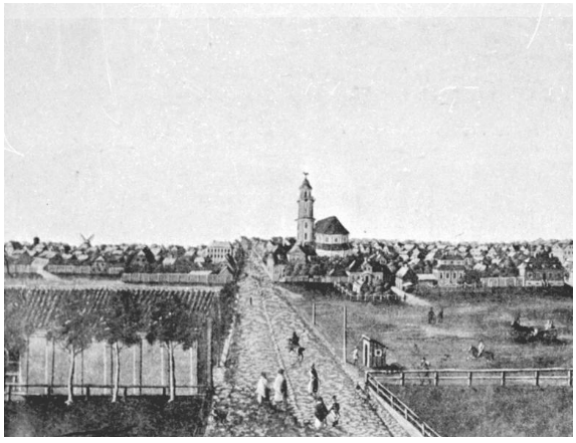


Fig. 7 Riga suburb of St. Petersburg (suburb) before the fire of 1812

In the mid-19th century, Riga's territory and its surroundings outskirts were inhabited by 70 000 people, however, only 1/5th of it lived inside the official city borders (Krastiņš, 1988). The old defensive bastions worked as a clear border between the city and its suburbs. The two parts had two completely different characteristics. Due to military defensive measures, it was forbidden to construct stone buildings outside the city limits, instead wooden housing was made mandatory. Additionally, the wooden housing could not exceed one story in height. This was to ensure that the suburbs could be easily burned, so that the enemy could not hide in the buildings, and the artillery of the Riga fortress could easily bombard the invaders in case of an attack (Ozoliņa et al., 1978). Even with this regulation, the city density was similar between the city and its suburban territories, as the people outside of the city borders lived in very cramped conditions. The undermining of the suburban territory and its inhabitants highlights the ruling class's disregard for the peasant population of Riga, favouring their safety and comfort.

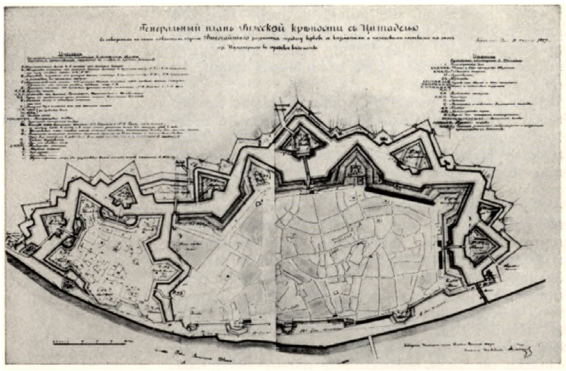


Fig. 8 Plans of Riga fortress and citadel in 1857

The rapid increase in population showed the urgent need for new public buildings and the restructuring of the urban fabric in Riga. The demolition of the old defences and the extension of the city parameters was proposed in 1853 by Riga's governor Aleksandr Suvorov, and the request was approved by the Russian Tsar Aleksandr II the same year. This request only concerned the possibility of removal and did not propose any development plans. However, the first real proposal for the redevelopment of the area was put forward by the city architect Johan Daniel Felsko and Oto Dīcis. The whole plan was based on two main ideas - allowing for the expansion of the city centre to incorporate new residential building development and commerce amenities (Krastiņš, 1988). The plan proposed new functional zoning in the place of the old city defences. The old fortification ditches were used as a base for a new park and

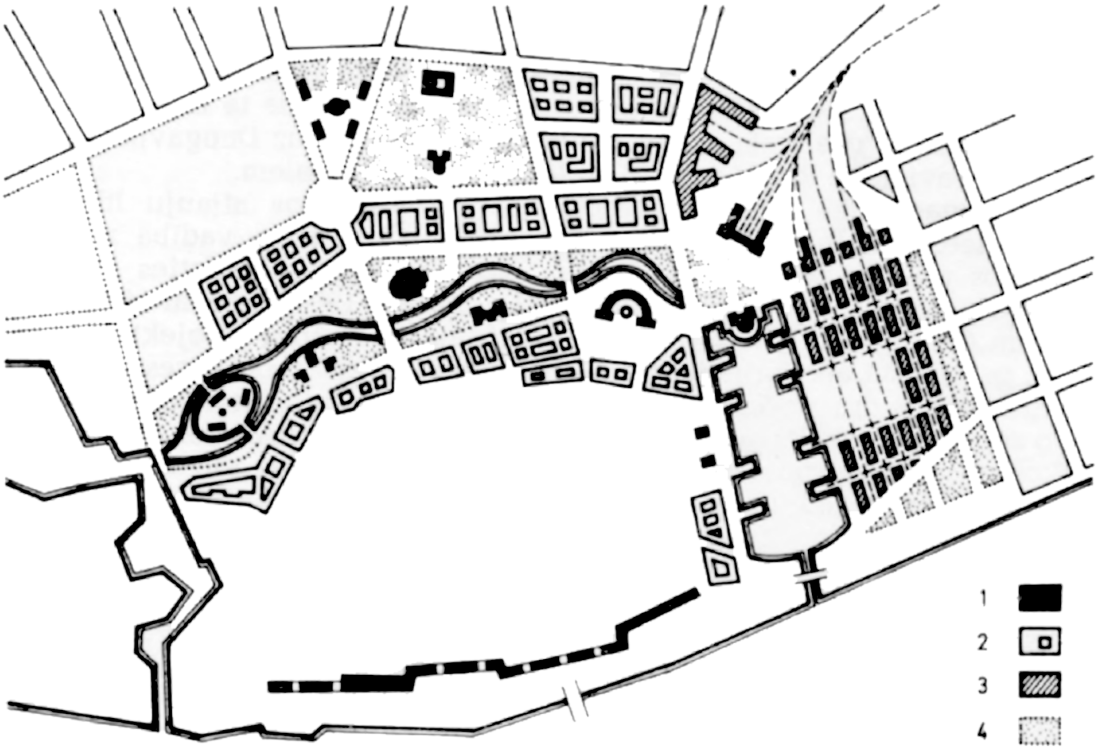
canal system that separated the old city centre from the new one. The new park area would house a multitude of different civic buildings such as educational institutes, theaters, and opera houses. The park would be surrounded by new, at the time modern, residential blocks, that would shape the new city centre (fig. 10).

The main road networks were connected between the old and new parts of the city centre, creating a continuous network, yet still providing alternative routes around the old city centre. The northern part of the new centre was zoned for administrative and residential functions and the south-eastern part was zoned for transportation and commerce functions. The development plan proposed a new train station and commercial harbour that would be surrounded by markets, warehouses, and other industrial buildings (Birzniece, 2007; Krastiņš, 1988) indicating the improvement of amenities for the larger population. The development plan illustrated the changing identity of the city into the metropole it will be known for by the end of the 19th century, covering the new administrative and social needs of the bourgeoisie.

Fig. 9 Reconstruction project of the center of Riga 1856 J. D. Felsko, O. Dīce.

Fig. 10 Reconstruction project scheme of the center of Riga 1856, J. D. Felsko, O. Dīce.

1 - Public buildings, 2 - Residential buildings, 3 - Warehouses and workshops, 4 - Greenery.



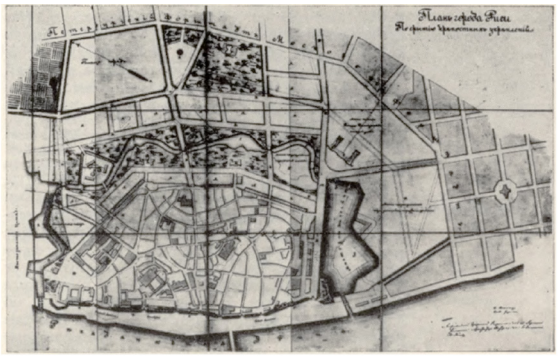


Fig. 11 Reconstruction project of the center of Riga. 1958. J. Hagen.

However, the plan was quickly redone by Julius Hagen in 1958 at the request of Riga's city council, who saw issue with the legitimacy of the plans' approval, as people speculated that only the demolition of old defences and not the rest of the proposed development plan were approved. Hagen's plan preserved all the initial ideas of Flesko, mainly functional zoning and the architectural spatial organization (fig. 11). However, due to the reduced budget for the development, the originally planned large construction works and the details of the project were significantly reduced. The architectural layout of the residential blocks was simplified, and the warehouse district was left only as a zoning plan without any real architectonical ideas. The plan saw a few more alterations before it was implemented, by military engineer Eduard Totleben to ensure it was up with the military standards (Krastiņš, 1988).

Opening Riga's centre from the choke-hold of the old city defences resulted in a very rapid expansion of the city's central area. The lower-class citizens were pushed even further outwards, alienating them from the city centre. It has long been established that the relationship between inequalities and social networks in cities is mediated by physical space (Tóth et al., 2021. The distance between different functions and residential areas of the city deepens the social inequality and limits the opportunities of the residents in less developed areas . In Riga's case, the urban expansion put the most stress on the working class, as they had to relocate further from the city centre, where most of the jobs were still located. The extra distance increased commuting times and limited accessibility to the amenities located in the old city centre. In addition, as the city expanded, the more affordable wooden houses were demolished, and new, larger, and more expensive stone multi-storey buildings were constructed, actively lowering the affordable housing stock.

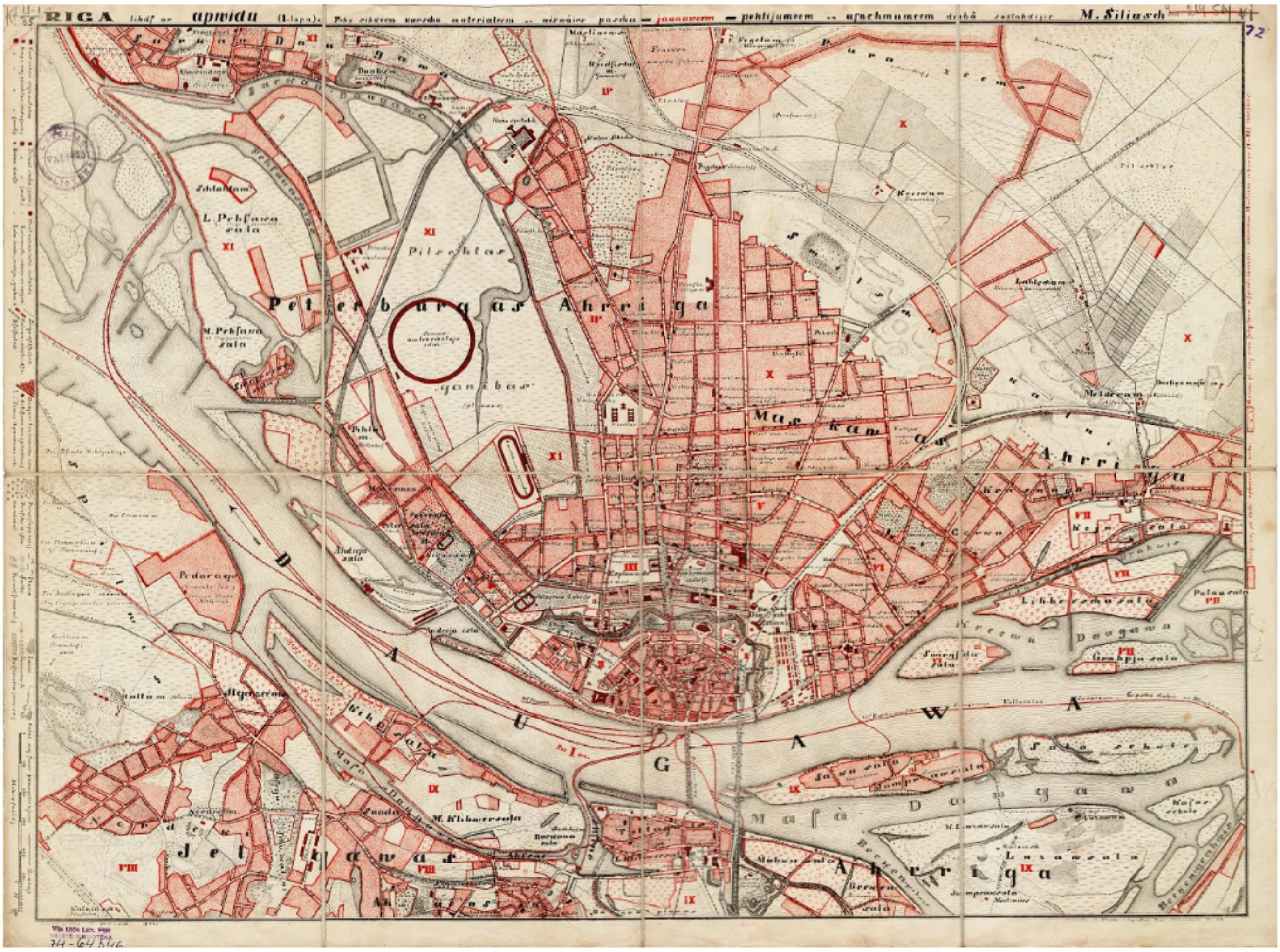


Fig. 12 Riga's plan after the demolition of the medieval fortifications and city walls, M. Siliņš (1896)

Functional zoning and pro-factory policies of the second half of the 19th century

As the development of the city centre moved further away from the historical nucleus, it raised concerns for the future coherence of the architectural expression and the overall well-being of the city. In 1879 Vidzeme's governor, Aleksandr Ikskil-Gildenbant, ordered the city council to produce a master plan for the growing city. As a response to this demand, a new building and construction commission was formed, consisting of city surveyor Rihards Štegmanis, city engineer Ādolfs Agte, city architect Reinholds Šmēlings and construction inspector Oskars Bārs (Krastiņš, 1988).

The council determined that the most optimal approach would be to create a detailed functional zoning plan that showcases the necessary new public buildings, such as schools, hospitals, railway stations, and warehouses for the growing population. In addition, the new plan would propose solutions for future spatial development of the city, by imposing new building restrictions, concerning the architectural coherence and spatial organisation of buildings (Ozoliņa et al., 1978).

The base of the project was the development of an artery road network that would connect the city centre to the important industrial points in the suburbs of the city. The confluence point for the artery roads was the Castle square, which was surrounded by many important administrative institutions – two large churches, the castle, which housed the administrative councils, and a customs house(Krastiņš et al., 1998). By leading all the roads to the castle square, the space and the functions around gained a lot of symbolic power, as it positioned itself as a central figure. The plan proposed to categorize all the roads into three groups: Transit network (10-12m wide), city network (8m wide), and district network (5m wide) (Krastiņš, 1988). Mobility planning was very characteristic of that time, not only considering the economic and social demands, but also considering the level of transport development of the era.

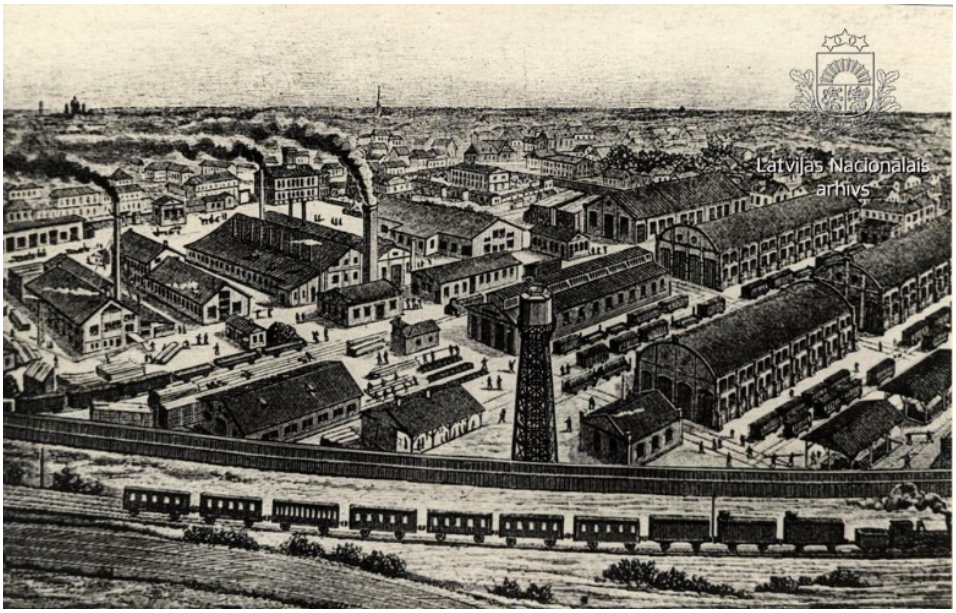
The master plan incorporated many basic tasks of city development still recognised today: housing, work, leisure, and mobility. The plan proposed new zoning of the different industrial zones throughout the city to improve sanitary and hygienic conditions. The proposition would consider the polluting nature of the industries within each area to establish the necessary distance between the factories and residential developments. However, the city council disregarded the industrial zoning proposition, as they saw it unnecessary. The actions of the council can best be understood, by explaining the politics of the time. The only people with voting power or the possibility

to get elected were the ones who had property rights in the city (Ozoliņa et al., 1978). Therefore, the interests of the city council often did not reflect the needs and concerns of the population. In fact, at the time, the main indicator of cities' growth was their manufacturing production and the overall economic growth.

The idea of a functional zoning plan was reintroduced in 1892 when the building and construction council introduced the plan "The Factory and Manufacture industries layout project" (In Latvian "Fabriku un rūpnīcu izvietojuma projekts"). The project proposed that all manufacturing industries should be categorised into four groups based on noise pollution, fire safety and the level of pollution created. The first group could be located anywhere in the city, the second outside the centre, the third in low-density areas and the last one only outside the city. The city was divided into three zones based on the categories. This time the city council formed a new board to overlook the planning that consisted of city council members and the factory owners (Krastiņš, 1988). Not surprisingly, the plan was rejected once again, reasoning that it would stagnate the industrial development in the city. However, it just exposed the cruel disregard for the workers and lower-class citizens by the upper layer of the society, as they rejected any attempts on improving the living conditions through progressive zoning laws.

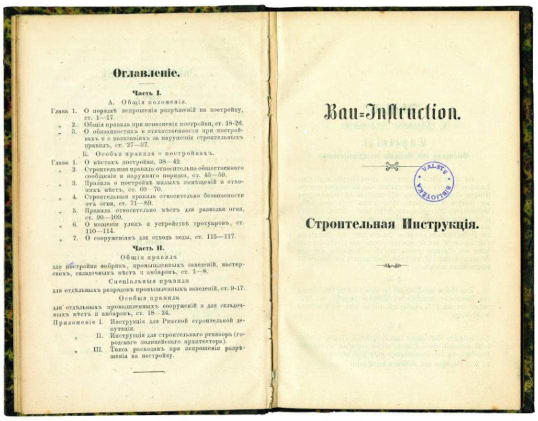
The constant resistance of the ruling class to improve the lives of the inhabitants in favour of monitory gains illustrate very well the ruling class's perception of the less privileged ones as expendable and negligible to the city structure. In addition, because the assessment committees consisted of a handful of powerful businessmen, Riga was shaped according to their interests first, and its policies reflected their will.

Fig. 13 View of the production buildings of the Russian-Baltic wagon factory (Russo-Balt). (1909)
The composition of railway wagons came to the fore, as the main factory was located near the Riga-Orla railway.



The building codes and urban planning restrictions

With the demolition of the old defence walls around the old Riga, the traditional old wooden houses were replaced with more modern stone and masonry constructions. This led to a need for unified building codes to tackle the issues of functional zoning, spatial layout, and architectural harmony. The new building codes for Riga were issued in 1867, 1881, and 1904, usually a few years after any larger urban development plans mentioned before. Each time moved the discussion on the ways of improving the city's development and hygienic conditions.


Оглавленіе.

Bau-Instruction.

Строительная Инструкція.

Fig. 14 Building Regulations in Riga (1867)

Up until the deconstruction of the old fortification zoning rules from 1819 were used to guide the urban development in the city and its surroundings . The old rules were long overdue and obsolete as the technological developments and the need of people had evolved past them. It restricted the construction of any stone buildings outside the lines of fortification and the timber housing could only be one story high. This drastically limited the quality of the building construction in the city's suburbs. With the destruction of the wall and the new development plans being introduced, in 1867 the construction restrictions were changed to facilitate new developments (fig. 14). The newly zoned area of 420 ha of the city was situated between the river Daugava and perpendicular to the newly planned railway that connected back to the old citadel. Additional 220 ha of the area were added to the zone of the historical city centre (fig. 15). This meant that, in this newly zoned area, new stone and timber constructions were allowed. Both construction methods were allowed in response to individuals' property rights in the area and not to limit further expansion. The rest of the area was zoned for only timber construction. This decision was argued by the council as *"in future […] all the residents (of the suburbs) will not have the necessary funds to build only using stone constructions […] the outer rime […] forever will be planned as timber construction with or without solid foundations."* (Krastiņš, 1988). By the

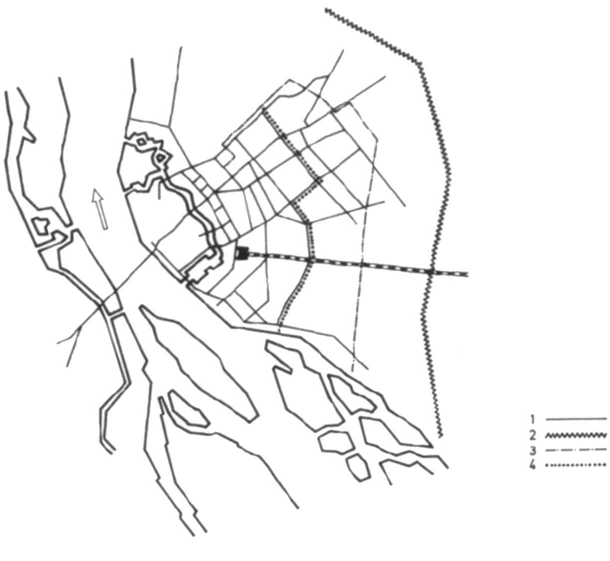


Fig. 15 Schematic of the F. Totleben Plan (1860)
1 - main streets, 2 - newly built fortification line, 3 - building boundaries, 4 - masonry building boundaries.

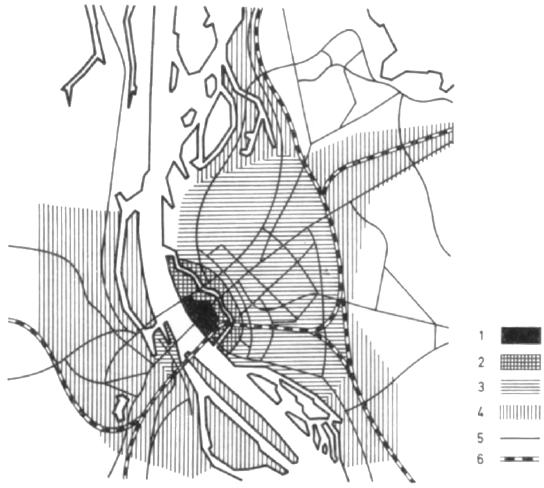


Fig. 16 Zoning of the territory of the city of Riga after 1904 building regulations.
1— the first masonry district (Old Riga), 2 - the second masonry district, 3 - the third masonry district, 4 - the wooden district, 5 - the main streets, 6 - the railway.

beginning of the 20th century, the old rules were already not up to the standards of the technical requirements and the social needs of the time.

In 1904 new building codes were issued by the municipality to tackle the rising concerns of hygiene and fire safety. The whole city was zoned into three regions based on previously mentioned requirements. The first zone restricted all constructions to be made using masonry or other fireproof construction. This area spanned from the historical city centre to the railway network, creating a clear distinction between the inner and outer city. The second area was only timber constructions that surrounded the industrial areas of Riga and the left side of the riverbank. The rest of the territories were considered suburbs that did not exhibit any city characteristics (fig. 16). In addition, inside the first zone, it was prohibited to construct or retrofit any new warehouses or livestock barns (Krastiņš, 1988). These zoning plans show many characteristics of limiting the accessibility of certain amenities the further you go from the centre. This in effect segregated different communities and created soft boundaries between the different socioeconomic groups. The policies might have only aimed at improving fire safety; however, they ended up separating different communities and pushing less affluent people away from the inner city.

Another important aspect of the building codes introduced was the concerns about the architectonic composition of the buildings. As mentioned before, the city's concerns were not only about the sanitary and hygienic quality of the building but also about the coherent aesthetic composition of neighbourhoods. Before the demolition of the old fortification, the building restrictions were mostly limiting the height of buildings and construction methods due to fire safety concerns. With the introduction of the city expansion plan in 1860, the building codes become more elaborate. Important aspects become the length of the building block along the street (approximately 15m) and alignment with the other facades (Krastiņš, 1988). To improve sanitary conditions, the building code required that details for heated lavatories and ventilation solutions should always be added to the plans. In addition, the new regulations dictated the building density by limiting the minimal size of gardens and courtyards (approximately 8.5m x10,5m), to allow for enough daylight to enter the apartments. However, some of these regulations concerning the garden sizes were reduced in favour of building owners' monetary interests.

By the end of the 1880s, the building codes were further elaborated to ensure architectural cohesion in building blocks and the spatial quality of the streets. The building height restrictions were based on the street width. To build three or more -story tall buildings, the adjacent streets needed to be wider than 7.5m. In addition, the depth of residential housing was limited to 12.2m to ensure proper hygienic conditions in each apartment (Krastiņš, 1980). To ensure good lighting conditions and ventilation, all public building needed to be freestanding and surrounded by greenery. The building code emphasized the importance of greenery not only for aesthetic reasons but also for the well-being of citizens of the city. It suggested that all new neighbourhoods allocate space for new parks and potential future public buildings (Krastiņš, 1988).

Almost all the building codes concerning hygiene were only worked out and enforced for the large apartment buildings meant for the upper classes of the society. Even in the large buildings, the servant rooms' daylight and hygiene were neglected. However, the wooden houses outside the city borders had almost no regulation regarding the improvement of the living conditions of its residents. The level of amenities in the suburban worker areas was very low, as the majority of regulations concerning timber construction were only to limit the size and locations of its construction. These areas often showcased the negative side of capitalistic growth as they were unregulated and neglected.

Railroad development

One, important urban development was the construction of the first railway connection between Riga and Dinaburga (now Daugavpils) in 1861. This project can be considered the beginning of the railway network in the Latvian territory and one of the main forces in the rapid urban growth (Dzelzceļi kā cariskās Krievijas maģistrāļu noslēdzošie posmi pie Baltijas jūras 1860. – 1919., 2014). Over the next 40 years, the new transportation network rapidly expanded across the Baltic region, connecting major ports and industrial sites to the rest of the railway network in Imperial Russia. The newly opened railway lines acted as a catalyst for the rapid expansion and development of many industrial areas and ports. New industries were built along the train tracks (fig. 13), as the main aim of the transportation network was to connect the flow of goods between mainland Russia to the Baltic Sea ports.

In Riga, the train lines saw large development around the 1870s, when connections were established between ports, industrial sites, and warehouse areas to the main network. The new branches created a loop around the city centre, connecting northeast suburban industrial areas and wrapping back to the port located next to the northern part of the city. This meant that the railway network enclosed a part of the city and recreated the strong separation of the city like the old military defences. The tracks worked as a “gate” that divides the city into two parts: inner and outer city, actively separating the people who were living inside from outside. The “gate” refers to the concept coined by Susan Bickford (2000), meaning a physical object or social policy that manifests in social relations to actively construct relations of separation. The gate thus effectively segregating the city into different areas for the lower-class workers and the middle to upper-class residents.

Fig. 17 Station Rīga II and the railway embankment. (1910)
(Rīga - Tukums railway station) was built in 1872 and was located on Kāļa Street (now 13. Janvāra Street)

Building scale

Many residential buildings in the city can be put under one of the three categories: large scale rental apartment blocks made using stone construction, small rental apartments or workers' houses using timber construction, or private urban villas. Each of the categories is often associated with a specific socioeconomic group and is designed for their needs. However, these typologies also show the drastic difference in living standards between the socioeconomic groups. This part of the chapter aims to analyse the development of housing typology, the resident's living quality and the symbolism of the architecture.

Rent apartment block (Stone construction)

19th-century architecture in Riga is often described as rental, multi-storey apartment architecture, as the new typology was more favourable in the new urban setting. The rental apartment buildings can be seen as early as the end of the 18th century and were inhabited not only by the owner and the support staff, but also by other residents, who were willing to pay the rent. The renting of additional living spaces become a very profitable alternative source of income for many wealthy homeowners (Parns, 1927). Therefore, the new housing typology can be seen as the product of the rising capitalistic ways of life that shaped the space from a social point, as well as architectural. Most of the new apartment buildings were constructed by wealthy merchants, construction company owners, aristocrats, and many different noblemen. This led the new buildings to work as a mirror that reflects the bourgeoisie's ideals, as architectural designs of the buildings were European, as German architects imported different eclecticism styles from Austria and Germany. The buildings expressed outwardly luxury and the power of the German upper-class culture. The phenomena described by Bernard Tschumi (1996):

"Architecture is then nothing but the space of representation. As soon as it is distinguished from the simple building, it represents something other than itself: the social structure, the power of the King, the idea of God, and so on."

Fig. 18 Town Hall square, Old Riga (1900)

A majority of the buildings built at the time were constructed under one of the many typologies categorized using letters that resemble the layout of the floorplan. A good example of typology “T” (fig. 20) is rent apartments on Raiņa Boulevard (Krastiņš, 1988). The building has two large, almost symmetrical apartments. The living rooms were located on the street side, the living rooms were located and, in the back more utility rooms and kitchens were located. The two sides were connected by a long, narrow, and dark, and long corridor, with the only light source being a small lightwell. The lightwell also provided ventilation to the lavatories and stairwell located next to it. The bedrooms were located along the hallway, the bedrooms were located with small windows positioned towards the garden/ courtyard.

In addition, 6% of all apartments were in the basement of the large multi-story buildings. The conditions in these apartments were subhuman, as small windows provided little to no daylight and the spaces were often very humid (Ozoliņa et al., 1978). These places often had no ventilation and, together with wooden stoves, created very unhealthy living conditions. In addition, a small part of these apartments was possibly constructed illegally, without following any of the building codes. These small apartments were rented out to the poorest workers, who could not afford any other accommodation. However, to make matters worse, living in these conditions meant that their life expectancy shrunk drastically, as people living in these conditions were likely to fall ill.

Fig. 19 Systematic sewerage in Riga in 1911
The dashd line - sewer boundary, Dots - buildings with water collars

In Riga’s outer parts of the central districts, residential buildings were mostly occupied by the city’s middle classes: different officials and intellectuals. Often, they rented the three-room apartments in the very outer parts of the centre, where rent was cheaper. In the larger, 5 or more -room apartments, the aristocrats and wealthiest residents lived. On average, the apartments were very spacious, as there were more rooms than residents living in them, compared to smaller 3 and 4 -room apartments, where, on average, 1,5 people lived per room (Krastiņš, 1980). With the beginning of the 20th century and the importance of hygiene, the apartments become more comfortable. In 1913, 40% of all new constructions were connected to central heating and 60% were connected to sewage. However, an important remark to point out is that Important to note, though, is that the possibility to connect to sewage and water supply was only possible in the centre region multi-room apartments (fig 19.). This made the sanitation infrastructure an amenity only for the wealthiest residents.

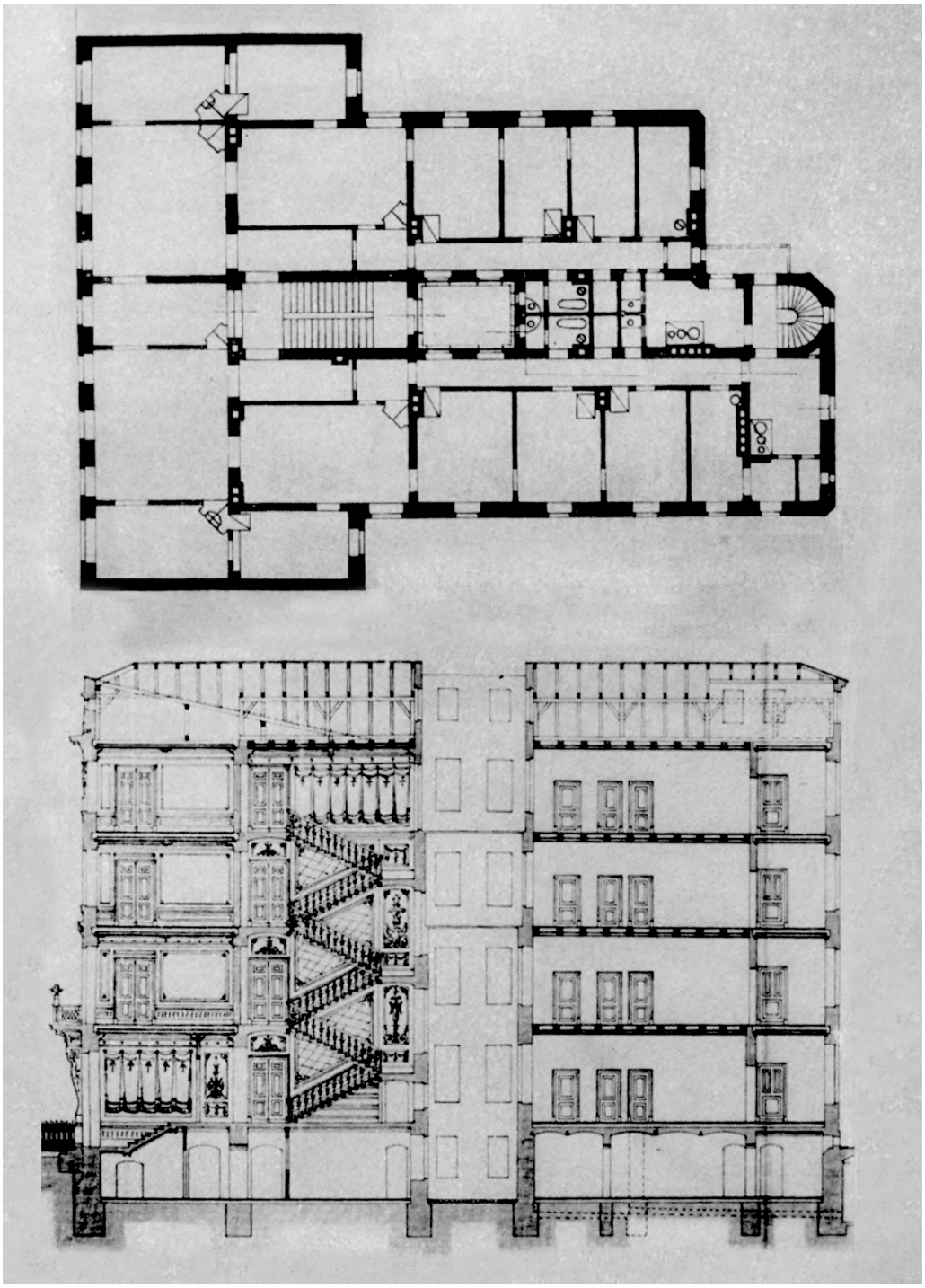


Fig. 20 Plan and section of the rental house at Raina Boulevard 4 by J. F. Blaumanis (1880)

Art Nouveau's influence on multi-storey apartments

By the second half of the 19th century, Art Nouveau buildings had gained quite some traction around Europe. The new movement formed as a protest against retrospective styles of the 19th century, favouring ornamental detailing that had a formal meaning and theme. In addition, alongside the artistic expression of the style, the movement brought along the improvement of hygiene and living quality by redefining the planning of living spaces (Grosa, 2012). One of the first buildings to use the modernized structure in Riga was K. Barona Street 25 by K. Felsko. The new building is sectioned into 3 parts, each having its stairwell that is surrounded by two apartments with a kitchen and private lavatory (Krastiņš, 1980).

In Riga the Art Nuovo movement gained a lot of traction at the end of the 19th century and became the defining style of Riga's centre, or, as J. Krastiņš puts it *"Riga is real Art Nuovo metropole (…) further explaining the development of the style concerning the Latvian national identity "awakening";"* The well-known E. Laube's article "On the Style of Construction"(…) "Purposeful, practical use of various natural building materials, avoiding any imitation in the façade decoration, and the conscious idea to create an overall image of the building corresponding to the Latvian feeling and spirit - these are the two basic principles that highlight this direction among other Art Nouveau current - National Romanticism." The new (sub)style was shaped by a few young Latvian architects (E. Laube, A. Vanags, A. Malvess), who integrated ethnic ornaments and symbols from Latvian folklore (Krastiņš, 1999). However, the very intriguing style served only an ornamental purpose, which often was contradicted by the monetary functionality and the targeted demographics. Consequently, Art Nouveau can be considered a style for the few, yet it provided an important contribution to the Latvian cultural and architectural development in Riga.

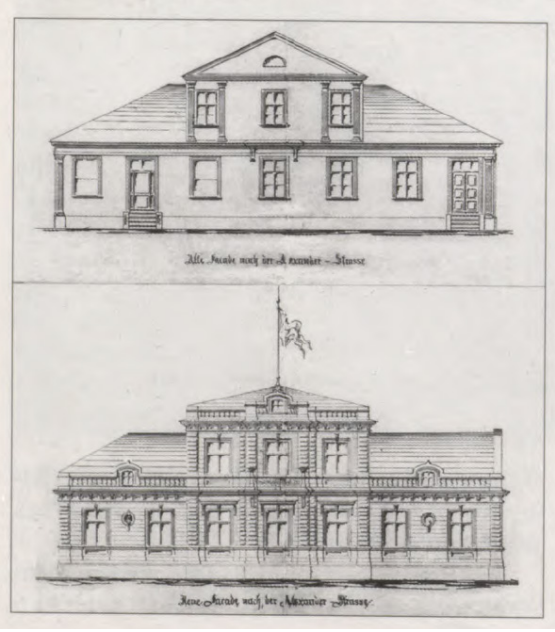
Fig. 21 Riga. Marijas Street and Hotel "Bellevue" (1910)

Rent apartment and workers barracks (Timber construction)

With the rapid expansion of the city, a lot of new housing was constructed, however, the large apartments mentioned before only consisted of a small proportion of the total housing stock, and most of the residences in the city were small, single-room apartments. The housing stock composition in 1882 consisted of approximately 6% of five or more -room apartments, and around 80% were single or double -room flats. The single-room apartments were a common housing typology for the working class, as most of the small flats were situated in industrial suburban areas (Čiekurkalns, Ezera and Lēdurgas street neighbourhoods, Pārdaugava and Moscow district) (Krastiņš et al., 1998). Due to the zoning restriction mentioned in the urban planning chapter, the buildings could only be 2 stories high and use timber construction. This limited the living quality in the buildings, as the costs of construction were often made as small as possible, and apartments sizes were reduced in order to squeeze the maximum quantity of apartments in one building. This all was done to ensure maximum profitability.

The most popular working-class accommodations in the 1880s were one-room apartments with open kitchens. A small, one-story building often consisted of two apartments. However, in later years, when bigger buildings were allowed to be built using a similar layout, 6-8 apartment buildings were developed. This ensured higher profitability for the homeowner, as they could rent out more apartments in a similar-sized plot. The apartments were often connected by an exterior hallway – a gallery with only one stairwell (fig 24.). In addition, next to the hallway there usually was an unheated collective dry toilet, as a connection to sewer or water systems was impossible in the outskirts and industrial areas of the city (Ozoliņa et al., 1978). Similar typology was often used in stone construction on the edges of the city, however, in these apartments a private bathroom was added.

Fig. 22 Dwelling house on Alexander and Romanov street corner, Old facade and remodeled facades elevations. K. Felsko (1889)



The changes in architecture movements in Riga did not affect timber architecture as much as the architectural eclecticism movement up until 1910. An interesting example of the style expression is a timber buildings on can be seen in figure 22, where the style resembles the large stone construction in the city center is used for the renovation of an timber building in the city. Even architect H. Mēlbarts expressed opinions on the development of timber architecture as “It is to be regretted that almost no real style of wooden buildings appears anywhere” and even the best wooden buildings, which give a sufficiently representative impression, *“but, unfortunately, only more or less successful imitation of masonry buildings has taken place.”*

(Krastiņš, 1988). Despite the attempts of integrating new architectural expression into the wooden architecture, a large majority of private suburban worker houses still mimicked the vernacular Latvian architecture (fig. 23). The houses reflected the identity and needs of Latvian workers, as they were often built by the owners themselves, with limited resources and knowledge in architecture.

Fig. 23 Riga. An old residential building at 237 Maskavas Street (1900)

As mentioned before, the small one-room apartments were mostly inhabited by the proletariat and other less-affluent people. The living conditions were often very poor, due to lack of sanitation and overcrowding. On average, in small, single-room apartments, 3.63 people resided (Krastiņš, 1980), which created rather dense living conditions that increased the probability to spread different contagious diseases. As these apartments often were owned by local factory owners, the buildings often resembled barracks, as a majority of facilities were shared. This created these residential/industrial areas that feel like a large industrial complex, where people's needs were dictated and provided by one person: the factory owners.

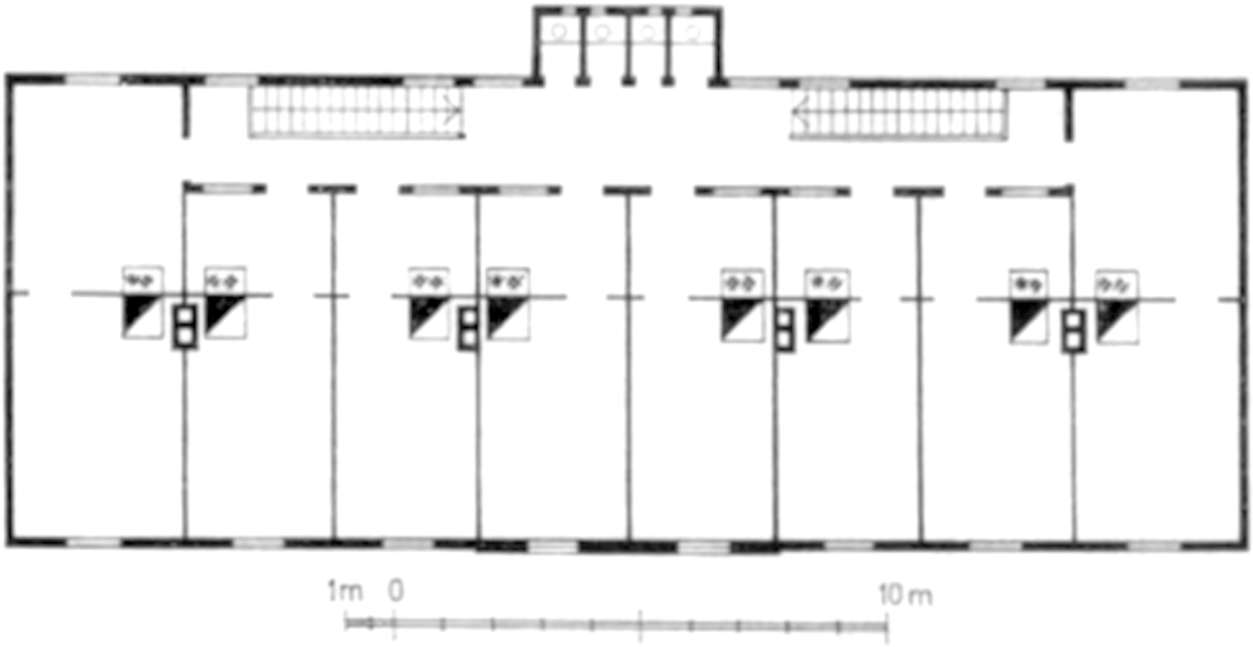


Fig. 24 Gallery type "workers' apartments" rental house layout.

The worker housing problem

The living conditions in the worker's houses were an outcome of the housing shortage in Riga. From 1881 till 1897 the housing stock increased by 21%, however the population had increased by 43% and the worker's population had doubled (Bērziņš, 2006). The construction tendencies of the time are described in the press as "The large number of houses that are now being built in Riga and will be built in the future, are and will be luxurious multi-storey buildings with a beautifully decorated facade, proud stairs and, of course, apartments inaccessible to the working community."(Ozoliņa et al., 1978). This notion of constructing luxury apartments instead of highly necessary worker's apartments illustrated the mentality of landowners perfectly, as they want to be associated with the bourgeoisie and not the workers. As a result, many working families would sub rent their apartments to save on rent. In other cases, multiple individuals would share single-room apartments, creating these inhospitable conditions, where a 9 m2 apartment would be shared by 4 people. The attitude changed after 1905 revolution as people saw the need to tackle the poor living conditions of workers. in 1907 a exhibition of workers' apartments and people lifestyle was formed (fig. 25). In order to bring awareness on the housing problems of the workers.

Conclusion

The demolition of the old medieval defences allowed the city to develop into the metropolitan area it would be known for by the start of the 20th century. However, the large redevelopment plans worked in favour of the ruling Baltic German population, as they could further reshape the city based on their cultural ideals and introduce new amenities that would be accessible almost exclusively to them. In addition, the new industrial developments and building regulations targeted the poorer communities, as they were pushed outside the city borders and closer to industrial complexes, where access to sanitary infrastructure was limited. The restrictions on building constructions also harmed the lower-income communities, however, this topic is discussed in the next chapter in more detail.

The living quality throughout the city drastically differed and the conditions people lived in were heavily dependent on the size of an apartment they could afford to rent. For workers, this was more limited, as they often wanted to live close to the manufacturing areas, to limit the commuting and other expenses. In addition, the cramped living conditions, where up to 4 people shared one-room apartments, and the poor hygiene created inhumane living conditions that spread many deadly diseases. Furthermore, the social inequality was further deepened by the fact that lower-class citizens proportionally paid more in rent than the higher-class citizens. On average, workers spent around 30 % of their salary on rent, while the capitalists and the bourgeoisie spent only 1% (Ozoliņa et al., 1978).

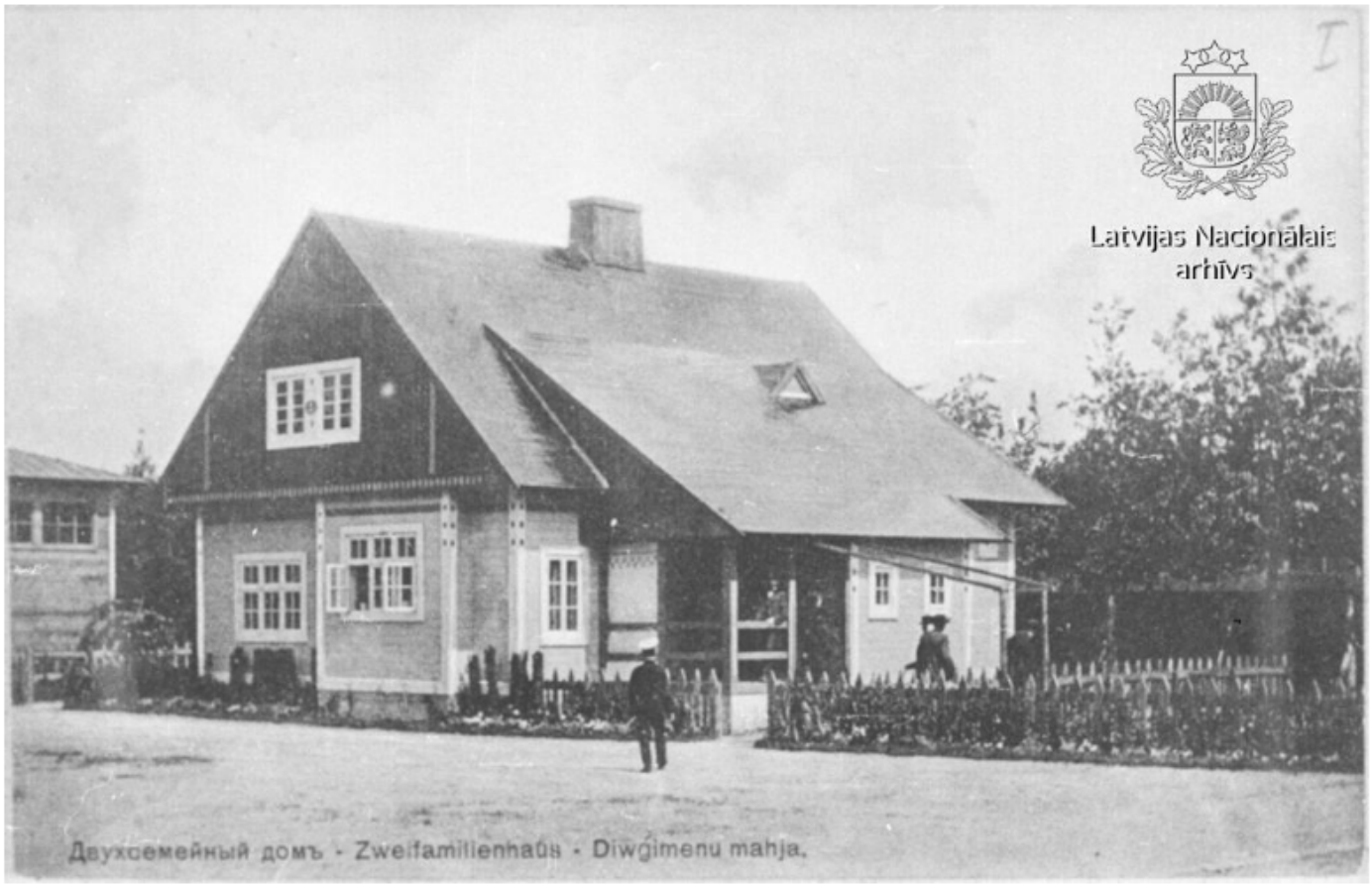


Fig. 25 Riga. exhibition of workers' apartments and people lifestyle (1907)

Chapter 3: Discussion

Introduction

From the previous chapter, it is easy to understand that the lives in Riga between the bourgeoisie and the proletarian classes were drastically different. Divided both physically and culturally. The ruling Baltic German society had almost a full monopoly over the city, as they controlled the city council and the majority of all local industries. As a result a dominant culture favouring their norms, values, ideas and expectations was created (Plakans, 1974). The dominant culture manifested itself in dividing architecture styles and the urban fabric that was shaped by urban planning policies and living conditions that actively segregated the communities. Or as Tschumi (1996) puts it "*… architecture was (…) the adaptation of space to the existing socio-economic structure. It would serve the powers in place, and (…) its programs would reflect the prevalent views of the existing political framework."*

The following chapter will investigate Riga's cultural hegemony and the different tools that were used to keep the city divided. The first part of the chapter will investigate the theory of cultural hegemony in the context of Riga and how it was shaped by the actions of dominant groups in 19th century Riga. The second part of the chapter will analyse the physical boundaries that shaped the urban texture of the city, by segregating and perpetrating urban inequalities between different social groups. The chapter ends by looking into the factors that disrupted the urban heterogamy in the city and allowed for the Latvian working class to gain social and political advances. The additional, topic of the physical and cultural connection to modern-day Riga is added at the end investigating the long term effects of these policies.

Fig. 26 Riga, Dinaburg station square (1910)

The cultural hegemony and the symbolism of the ruling force

Cultural hegemony is a concept that was developed by the Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci. The notion refers to the domination or rule maintained through ideological or cultural means (Bullock et al., 1999). It is usually achieved through social institutions, which allow those in power to strongly influence the values, norms, ideas, expectations, worldview, and behaviour of the rest of society. In the case of Riga, Latvians were positioned between two dominant structures: the tsarist Russian imperial government and the bourgeoisie class of Germans. Both groups, as mentioned, had control over the city's administrative and industrial functions, however, the majority of the power was held by the Baltic-German elites. The dominant class used different cultural and physical methods to create a divide between the socio-ethnic classes and to preserve their dominant role in economic and political structure.

Similar tactics of Germanification and Russification were used on the minority populations to assimilate them into the dominant cultural system. However, in Riga, russification only manifested itself almost only in the government and education, as the Russian language became the official administrative language (Haltzel et al., 1981). This put more of a strain on Latvians, as now they had to accept integration into Russian culture and at the same time obey the chauvinism of Baltic Germans. Total administrative centralisation was avoided, due to the large influence Baltic Germans had over the Saint Petersburg court. This allowed the Germans to keep the power up until the brink of WWI, when a large population of Germans fled back to their homeland.

Up until the mid-19th century, Latvians had no recognized citizenship, no intellectuals in cities. The only way to gain better social status and living conditions was to befriend a German patron to support your transition to a German social life. This meant turning your back on your ethnic heritage and often abandoning your past life for the opportunity to climb the social ladder. The Baltic Germans saw themselves as the high culture of the society and often this cultural sense of superiority could be seen even among the germanised Latvians (Birons et al., 1969). The Germans weaved their ethnocentrism into the fabric of Riga's streets, through architectural and city planning designs. The designs of urban villas and the large, multi-storey apartment blocks expressed very eccentric, central European designs of Historicism and Art Nuovo, and Neo-gothic, which were the associated styles of Baltic German nobleman and the catholic church. The architecture represented the power of the Baltic German society. While the early worker houses in the

suburbs often resemble the modest vernacular architecture of Latvian peasants(Bērziņš, 1997). This juxtaposition of lifestyles created two completely different cultures, which segregated the residents of Riga. This was even furthered by the protective, closed-off nature of German high society.

The two different lifestyles and mentalities of people shaped the respective neighbourhoods fundamentally. If the central region was expressive of wealth and luxury, the worker neighbourhoods often were a cluster of residential buildings next to large industrial sites with limited access to amenities. In worker's neighbourhoods, besides residential buildings, often only churches and bars could be found. The church presented itself as an important aspect of proletariat social life, but once again, this institute was used as a tool to influence and shape the worker's ideologies in favour of the ruling groups. Often the clergyman would preach respect towards the social hierarchy, as "the master should care for his slaves as a father, but the slaves are obliged to obey their masters and to be hardworking, true and respectful."(Freeze, 1989). Limited options for amenities led people to the one place to escape their daily troubles, a bar, into the only leisure activity - drinking. High accessibility of bars in the worker's neighbourhood, in combination with few education options, resulted in workers experiencing high levels of alcoholism (fig. 27). These conditions are illustrated by the peasant mentality of the late mid-19th century, where the individual believed in "its inherent conservatism and apathy towards change"(Plakans, 1974).

Fig. 27 Brochure "Alcoholism & workers" (1916)

Fig. 28 Theater boulevard overlooking the telegraph building and Riga City German Theater

The physical separation as a (un)planned tool for segregation

The concept of “Gates” already mentioned before can take a variety of forms, from an impenetrable wall to a division, from fences surrounding a neighbourhood to policy lines on a city map. Different communities see these divisions differently. A gate that indicates safety and security to a resident of a middle-class development can communicate “danger, keep out” to residents of the poor neighbourhood it borders. Or, in the case of city government, it can mean the fragmentation of space for functional zoning or developmental building policies purposes. In the case of Riga, different types of gates developed as a product of industrial growth and the city council’s attempts on organizing the expansion of the city. However, these gates often worked as a tool for segregating different communities. This resulted in fragmentation of the urban space by socioeconomic groups and the neglect of poorer communities.

The most noticeable one is the railway that encircles the city centre, creating a physical boundary between the inner and outer city. This separation allowed the municipality to use this urban fabric defining element as a reference point for many different zoning policies. The railway tracks marked the end of the better-developed urban fabric, with much more amenities for the people, such as better public transport infrastructure, sanitary building regulations, and access to central sewage and heating. All these amenities were concentrated in the inner parts of the city, leaving the worker’s suburbs that were outside the railway circle (Čiekurkalns, Mīlgrāvis, Zasulauks, Purvciems, Dreiliņi) underdeveloped. As these parts of the city were often located next to large industries, the development and upkeep of the area fell on the progressive, wealthy individual, who wanted to improve the living conditions of the proletariat.

Another boundary that created a separation was the urban zoning policies mentioned before, that restricted the use of certain building materials. Limiting the development of different types of housing from different materials, created a strong price division between the different areas of the city, when the cheaper construction options were eliminated, it mostly affected lower-income communities and pushed them further away from the city centre, where many jobs and amenities were located. In addition, limiting the stone construction on the outer parts of the city failed to benefit from the large development and improvement of living conditions seen in the city centre. The costs of construction in the suburbs fell to the individuals who had to save large amounts of money for the land acquisition and construction costs. For most workers, this was an almost impossible task. Alternately, factory owners financed the

construction of housing next to the factories. This resulted in corporation- owned living, resembling barracks, where the rights of tenant were limited, as they had to abide the will of the factory owners even after the work.

The restrictions also affected the housing shortage, as larger, multi-story apartments were prohibited to be built outside the city centre. Workers had to shear share the limited stock of affordable housing amongst each other, many families often shared the rent for the small apartments. The high demand effectively increased the housing rent and put a large financial burden on the workers. Despite, the rent increasing by around 30% every 10 years (Parns, 1927) ,the salaries were stagnating, pushing the unfortunate ones out of houses, creating a huge homeless problem in the city.

Fig. 29 View of Aleksandra Street (now Brīvības Street). (1907)

The built environment and change in mentality

During the time the workers were subjugated to poor living conditions as the consequence of capitalist urbanization, workers' exploitation, and lack of political rights . The increasing costs of living and the proletariat showing increased dissatisfaction with its conditions, culminated in the first, large labour strike in 1870. Hundred lumbermill workers stopped all processing in demand of higher salaries. Although, these labour strikes were still unorganized and spontaneous, these events mark the shift in the mentality of the working class. The rejection of the traditional acceptance of subordination by expunging the spirit of slavery from their attitude. However, these unrests together with the expansion of the industrial sector intensified the workers' movement as it gained popularity amongst workers.

The activities of worker's movements, introduced in chapter one, and the discussion evenings worked as a legal way for these communities to raise questions about workers living conditions, education, and labour rights amongst factory communities, but these events were never overly popular. Most importantly, these legal events brought together like-minded people and allowed them to form larger communities that were introduced to the more radical parts of the movement. Actions of spreading illegal propaganda started within these communities. But only due to the collective and dense living conditions of the proletariat, the messages could be spread amongst the masses in secrete. Illegal poetry messaging revolutionary ideals by Eduards Veidenbaums was handed down from house to house in secret (Cielēns, 1961). The collective nature, brought by the same struggles, bred trust among the workers, so the secretive actions were possible.

The collective culture of workers and the organization of socialist meetings grew out of the structure of everyday life under capitalism and expressed a reflective rejection of bourgeois-dominated cultural groups. The collective living formed many small groups that would form underground gatherings, where revolutionary and Marxist ideas would be discussed. The meetings were described in Felikss Cielēns' autobiography as an informal gathering where many topics around national identity and workers' conditions were discussed (Cielēns, 1961). In addition, these meetings introduced illegal Marxist literature to the workers, further popularizing labour rights. Some of these meetings lead to the organization of larger, illegal radical groups that would be crucial in the development of the worker's revolution in 1905, and the gradual improvement of worker living conditions afterwards.

Even among the Latvian bourgeoisie, the changing mentality was expressed in the urban fabric. Although it did not share the same socialist ideals, it followed the nationalistic mentality of the Latvian cultural awakening. As mentioned before, the National romantic architecture was the physical manifestation of the spiritual changes in Latvian society, bringing attention to the folklore and the ideas of Latvian identity as an independent and strong ethnic group. Even though at the time the ornamental architecture was mostly designed for the ruling socio-economic class, it represented the nationalistic viewpoints that were popular amongst Latvians, no matter their social status. The embankment of the symbols into the urban fabric shows the close link that architecture has with social development in the city.

Fig. 30 Green school or "factory school", "preschool" in Vecmīlgrāvis (1900)

The connection to Modern day Riga

The culture and physical landscape of modern-day society has changed with the increased accessibility to amenities, and the overall increase in living quality but most and foremost the changes in the political ideologies and governance structures. So, to say the cities have experienced a drastic change in their physical and social landscapes since the end of the 19th century. Riga experienced all these as during the interwar period for the first time Latvians gained the short-lived political power, followed by the rule of the socialist government of the Soviet Union and only regaining its independence in 1991. Each time new policies and developments were made reflecting the socio-political landscape of the time.

However, throughout this whole time, the past ghosts of the second half of the 19th-century segregation still haunt the social structures of our cities, hindering the development of certain areas and furthering the urban inequalities of the city. In Riga, a debated topic still is the organization of railway tracks around the city centre and the effects have on the neighbouring areas. To this day a large part of these areas next to railway tracks is considered less affluent and often experience neglect from the government as few attempts at revitalising have been done. This comes with the power the railway infrastructure still has on the urban fabric of the city, creating strong separations between neighbourhoods and limiting the accessibility of its residents still to this day. In combination with the failing bridge infrastructure (LETA, 2018), the division between the inner and outer parts of the city has again become a present-day issue.

Furthermore, the mentality of poor working-class neighbourhoods has been preserved towards certain areas in Riga often separated from the rest of the city by physical “gates” of railway tracks mentioned before or almost died out industrial sites in desperate need of redevelopment. Areas like Mīlgrāvis, Sarkandaugava, Čiekurkalns, Maskavas Forštate (in English Moscow Suburb) are only some of the areas that are separated from the rest of the urban fabric of the city and historically associated with the working-class people. If once the cultural segregation was more ethnically based nowadays it has transitioned into more the class division, however, it still works in similar ways. This mentality between the rich and poor neighbourhoods is something that is dragging the process of improvement and still affects the development process of the city.

The times have changed with it the social and political contexts have adapted to the modern world, but the same problems can be found in Riga’s urban textures similar to the 19th century. This led to questioning the urban planning of the city and the intricate effects it may have many years later of its development.

Conclusion

Through the process of urbanization, Riga's ruling class of Baltic Germans saw opportunities to expand the city to fit the new model of capitalistic living, by shifting the city's focus from commerce to manufacturing. The large change in the urban fabric not only reflects the ideas and thoughts of its population, but the struggles and challenges people had to face. By combining both the physical and cultural spheres of the city life, the complex relationship can be observed between the urban elements, living conditions and the collective psyche of different communities.

The history of the urban development plans and the building regulations can tell a lot about the goals of the city and the means of achieving them. In the case of Riga, the urban development reflected the disconnection between the suburban territories and the inner-city development. The high societies of the inner city strived for improvement of sanitation and hygiene, while expressing modern spatial organization. This notion in combination with the cultural sense of superiority of the German population shaped the urban texture, expressing their powers and culture. The outskirt of the city tells a different story of neglect and the capitalistic exploration of the workers. In combination with the poor living conditions of their homes, the proletariat experienced collective struggles that would manifest themselves in the revolutionary worker's movements. The collective nature, brought by poor living conditions, shaped the minds of the proletariat from the previous century's notions of slave mentality into views of democratic socialist views of national awakening amongst Latvians.

From the analysis of the built environment and its relationship with the social systems of Riga through the second half of the 19th century, it showed the way urban fabric worked in favour of the ruling class through visual expression of power and physical segregation through the zoning policies and industrial infrastructures. The research illustrated the interrelated and complex nature of the city's physical and social landscapes, as both work to reflect the changes and notions of the other. In case of the 19th century Riga, the city centre works as a manifestation of the eccentric ruling power of the time, expressing luxury, wealth and comfort. Whilest the miserable life of the suburban workers was a direct result of their urban environment, which was shaped by the exploitive nature of capitalistic society. However, through their shared discrimination and struggles, working-class solidarity was formed, and revolutionary ideas were cultivated.

Cities are rapidly evolving ecosystems, where new multiplicities are formed through changes in micro and macro scales. By investigating past relationships and the effects of physical and social changes, the intricate relationships can be made illustrating the positive and negative effects certain policies or physical developments may have on its inhabitants. Often, the past elements of physical segregation are not fully acknowledged, leading to further segregation and social problems nowadays. By bringing awareness to the intricate relationships of the city, past problematic design approaches can be brought to attention to be addressed.

About author

The author of this paper Janis Reinis Kivlinieks born in Riga, Latvia, he grew up in the multifaceted urban textures of it and found its historical development fascinating. At the moment, he is finishing his education in Delft University of Technology Faculty of Architecture & the Built Environment as a master student. Her previous research projects focus on architectural ethnographic approach on investigating social developments and perceptions of urban fabrics and the investigation of public square as a commodified space.

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Fig. 1 Rigs territory in the second half of 19th century and 20th century
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Fig. 2 Riga , Daugava's riverside market
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Fig. 3 Riga , Workers of the "Fēnikss" factory
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Fig. 5 A revolutionary slogan in the "Fēnikss" factory
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Fig. 6 Riga, Marijas street (now Barona street) (1910)
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Fig. 7 Riga suburb of St. Petersburg (suburb) before the fire of 1812
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Fig. 8 Plans of Riga fortress and citadel (1857)
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Fig. 10 Reconstruction project scheme of the center of Riga 1856, J. D. Felsko, O. Dīce.
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