An aerial, high-angle photograph of a dense urban grid, likely a residential neighborhood. The buildings are arranged in a regular pattern of blocks and streets. The image has a halftone or dithered texture. A semi-transparent rectangular box is overlaid on the lower half of the image, containing the title and subtitle in white text.

An Archaeology of the Ordinary

Rethinking
the Architecture of Dwelling
from CIAM to Siza

NELSON MOTA

An Archaeology of the Ordinary

© Nelson Mota
2014 Delft University of Technology

ISBN 9789461863485

cover photo: © Jean-Paul Rayon

An Archaeology of the Ordinary

Rethinking
the Architecture of Dwelling
from CIAM to Siza

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Technische Universiteit Delft
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
Prof. Ir. K.C.A.M. Luyben,
voorzitter van het College voor Promoties,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
op 19 september 2014 om 12.30 uur

door Nelson MOTA
Mestre em Arquitectura, Território e Memória
(University of Coimbra)
geboren te Mesão-Frio (Portugal)

Dit Proefschrift is goedgekeurd door de promotoren:

Prof. Ir. D.E. van Gameren

Assoc. Prof. Dr. J.A. Bandeirinha

Copromotor: Dr. Ir. D. van den Heuvel

Samenstelling promotiecommissie:

Rector Magnificus,

Prof. Ir. D.E. van Gameren

Assoc. Prof. Dr. J.A. Bandeirinha

Dr. Ir. D. van den Heuvel

Prof. K. Frampton

Prof. Dr. Ir. H.M.C. Heynen

Prof. Sergio Fernandez

Prof. Dr. Ir. T.P.L. Avermaete

voorzitter

Technische Universiteit Delft, promotor

University of Coimbra, promotor

Technische Universiteit Delft, copromotor

Columbia University, USA

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, België

University of Porto

Technische Universiteit Delft

Prof. Ir. M. Riedijk

Technische Universiteit Delft, reservelid

The research for this dissertation benefited from the financial support of a Doctoral Grant given by FCT-Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia under the program QREN - POPH - Tipologia 4.1 - Formação Avançada, co-financed by the European Social Fund and by the national funds of the Portuguese Ministry of Education and Science.

FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia

MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO E CIÊNCIA



To the memory of my father,
Luis Freitas Mota (1946-2011),
a man who lived most of his life
on the third bank of the river

Propositions

of the dissertation by Nelson Mota “An Archaeology of the Ordinary. Rethinking the Architecture of Dwelling from CIAM to Siza”

01. Archaeological techniques should be included in the curriculum of architectural schools to develop architects’ expertise in activating collective memory.
02. Coping with temporality remains an underexplored aspect in the architecture of dwelling. Architects, urban designers and policy makers should improve their skills in developing strategies to accommodate growth and change over time.
03. As opposed to the native and the local’s inescapable partisanship, “the stranger” (as conceptualized by Georg Simmel) is typically more independent, freer and more objective in understanding the problems and potentials of a foreign locale.
04. Instead of seeing ambiguity as the other of order (as Zygmunt Bauman had it), ambivalent and normative drives should be relentlessly entangled to foster the flourishing of an open and inclusive society.
05. Occupying a semiperipheral position (i.e. between the core of the world system and the subjugated periphery, according to Immanuel Wallerstein) contributes deeply for the development of an intellectual framework able to circumvent binary polarities.
06. The image of the third bank of the river (portrayed by the Brazilian poet João Guimarães Rosa) conveys a poetical illustration of the experience of modernity: an individual caught in the void between familiarity and homelessness.

07. One of the most remarkable aspects in Álvaro Siza's relation with other stakeholders in the design decision-making process is his ability to bridge the gap between art and life moving relentlessly from moments of engagement to moments of estrangement.

08. Expressing dissent and exploring the creative potential of conflicts stimulate civic engagement and contribute emancipatory alternatives to the pessimism of negative thought, the hyperrelativism of the "anything goes" philosophy, and the conciliatory approach of consensus driven populism.

09. Tackling the contingencies brought about by a confrontation with the situation "as found," is a vital component for architectural operations engaged in challenging dogmatic disciplinary approaches and overcoming the anxiety of contamination (as Andreas Huyssen put it).

10. In participatory processes driven by an agonistic approach (Chantal Mouffe, *Agonism*), architectural expertise supports the empowerment of grassroots movements by actually exerting its disciplinary power rather than shunning from doing it.

These propositions are regarded as opposable and defensible, and have been approved as such by the supervisors:

Prof. Ir. D.E. van Gameren
Assoc. Prof. Dr. J.A. Bandeirinha

Stellingen

horende bij het proefschrift van Nelson Mota “An Archaeology of the Ordinary. Rethinking the Architecture of Dwelling from CIAM to Siza”

01. Architectuuropleidingen zouden archeologische technieken moeten opnemen in het curriculum om de expertise van architecten bij het activeren van het collectief geheugen te vergroten.

02. Omgaan met tijdelijkheid blijft een onderbelicht aspect van de woningarchitectuur. Architecten, stedenbouwkundigen en beleidsmakers dienen beter te worden in het ontwikkelen van strategieën om te kunnen omgaan met groei en verandering door de tijd heen.

03. In tegenstelling tot de onvermijdelijk partijdige inheemse en lokale stemmen is “de vreemdeling” (zoals voorgesteld door Georg Simmel) gewoonlijk onafhankelijker, vrijer en onpartijdiger in zijn begrip van de problemen en mogelijkheden van een onbekende locatie.

04. Ambigüiteit moet niet gezien worden als “the other of order” (zoals Zygmunt Bauman stelde). In plaats daarvan moeten ambivalente en normatieve drijfveren onophoudelijk met elkaar verweven zijn om het opbloeien van een open en inclusieve maatschappij te stimuleren.

05. Een semiperifere positie (tussen de kern van het geopolitieke systeem en de onderdrukte periferie, volgens Immanuel Wallerstein) draagt bij aan de ontwikkeling van een intellectueel kader dat binaire polariteiten kan omzeilen.

06. Het beeld van een derde rivieroever (zoals geschetst door de Braziliaanse dichter João Guimarães Rosa) illustreert op poëtische wijze de ervaring van moderniteit: een individu gevangen in de leegte tussen bekendheid en thuisloosheid.

07. Een van de meest opvallende aspecten in de omgang van Álvaro Siza met andere stakeholders in het beslissingsproces van het ontwerpen is zijn vaardigheid om de kloof te overbruggen tussen kunst en leven, een continue afwisseling tussen momenten van betrokkenheid en momenten van vervreemding.

08. Het uiten van afwijkende meningen en het verkennen van het creatief potentieel van conflicten stimuleert maatschappelijke betrokkenheid. Ook draagt het bij aan emancipatoire alternatieven voor pessimisme, voor hyperrelativering volgens de “anything goes”-opvatting, en voor de verzoenende benadering van consensusgedreven populisme.

09. Architectuur die de dogmatische benaderingen van het werkveld wil uitdagen en de besmettingsangst (zoals Andreas Huyssen het noemt) te boven wil komen, moet raad weten met de onzekerheden die een confrontatie met de situatie, zoals die wordt aangetroffen, met zich meebrengt.

10. In participatieve processen die worden gedreven door een agonistische benadering (Chantal Mouffe, *Agonism*), ondersteunt architectonische expertise de ontwikkeling van grassroots-bewegingen, niet door terug te deinzen voor de eigen macht maar juist door deze uit te oefenen.

Deze stellingen worden opponeerbaar en verdedigbaar geacht en zijn als zodanig goedgekeurd door de promotoren:

Prof. Ir. D.E. van Gameren
Assoc. Prof. Dr. J.A. Bandeirinha

Table of Contents

Foreword.....	xv
Summary.....	xxi
Introduction.....	1
1• After the Great Divide	
Dwelling Beyond Binary Polarities.....	13
1.1• The Architecture of Dwelling.....	14
1.2• The Vernacular as Lingua Franca.....	21
1.3• Engagement and Estrangement.....	35
1.4• Polarity and Hegemony.....	47
2• The Machine in the Garden	
The Presence of the Vernacular in the last CIAMs.....	51
2.1• Pastoral and Counter-Pastoral.....	53
2.2• The Habitat for a Human Humanism.....	61
2.3• CIAM 10: Modernity and the Rural World.....	86
2.4• The Garden in the Machine.....	111
3• The Native Genius of Architecture	
Universal and Local in Portuguese Postwar Modernism.....	115
3.1• Searching for an Ideal Standard.....	117
3.2• From Otterlo to Royaumont.....	139
3.3• (Re)Searching the Modernity of the Vernacular.....	157
3.4• The Housing Problem in Portugal.....	163
3.5• Housing for the Great Number.....	179
4• Architecture's Public	
Negotiating Expertise and Participation in the SAAL Process.....	191
4.1• Dissent and Conflictive Consensus in the SAAL Process.....	196
4.2• A Confrontation with the Real.....	214
4.3• Exhibiting Painfully Beautiful Fragments.....	235
4.4• The Technician as Technician.....	252

5• The Necessity for Ruins	
Activating Collective Memory in IBA-Berlin's Altbau Section	261
5.1• Siza and the Architecture of the City	266
5.2• Urban Renewal in the Shadow of the Wall	285
5.3• Voids Bridging Gaps	298
5.4• Building a Paroxysm of Reality	310
5.5• Slipping Memory Through Fragments	332
5.6• The Pleasure of Ruins	342
6• Modernity and Ambivalence	
Crossbreeding Identities in The Hague's Urban Renewal	347
6.1• Architecture and Reception Aesthetics	351
6.2• Memory and Invention	356
6.3• Participation and Collectivity	374
6.4• Design and Meaningful Communication	382
6.5• Crossbreeding Difference and Identity	393
6.6• Negotiating Expertise	407
7• Lived-in Architecture	
Accommodating Contingency in the Malagueira Neighbourhood	413
7.1• Living and Leaving Traces	415
7.2• Assimilating the Vernacular	440
7.3• The "As Found" as Generator	447
7.4• The Grid and the Pathway	461
7.5• Designing with the People	481
7.6• The Poetics of the Open Work	494
Conclusion	505
List of Abbreviations	511
Sources and References	513
Biographical Note	541

Foreword

I'm crawling, I don't know where to or from
The center of things from where everything stems, is not
where I belong
I have the city sickness growing inside me
So this is where I ran for freedom where I may not be free

Tindersticks*

Some people say writing a doctoral dissertation is a solitary undertaking. That was not my experience, though. On the contrary; since I began my research, back in the fall of 2009, up until the final layout of the text, in the spring of 2014, there were very many people which I was lucky enough to have met along the way and which contributed enormously to make this experience one of the most exciting periods of my life. Through this period, as in the song by the Tindersticks, the city sickness grew inside me, not as an ailment but as a sort of dizziness caused by overstimulation. I take it as a good thing. In the following lines I will pay my wholehearted tribute to those who were kind enough as to share with me, in different capacities and to different extents, their knowledge, wisdom, time, patience, friendship, and affection.

Acknowledgements

There are some people to whom I am thankful for many reasons. In these cases, however, for the sake of brevity I decided to credit their contributions that I regarded the most valuable. To begin with, I have to thank my supervisors Dick van Gameren, José António Bandeirinha, and Dirk van den Heuvel, for they have been an ever-present source of knowledge, encouragement, and support. I understand thanking the supervisors is a sort of

* Tindersticks, "City Sickness" (Rough Trade Publishing, 1993).

protocol at the start of every dissertation's acknowledgements section. In my case I have to stress, nevertheless, that their friendship and complicity contributed much more than supervision; it generated and nurtured a fertile ground for our mutual interests and fascinations. Next to Dick, Bandeirinha and Dirk, I have to pay an heartfelt tribute to my non-official supervisor, Max Risselada, for in the very many encounters we had through these years he gave me the opportunity to discover new things, meet new people, and to learn from him the most incredible stories.

Doing research is indeed a great alibi to meet remarkable persons. My interviews to Álvaro Siza testify to this privilege. I would dare say the opportunity to spend some hours talking to and with him were already a great accomplishment, one that made this endeavor worth taking. I thank Siza for that. Alexandre Alves Costa introduced me to Siza; this alone was already a good argument to thank Alexandre, but I am mostly indebted to him for passionately sharing with me his knowledge on Portuguese architecture, especially that of the period I researched on. Sergio Fernandez was yet another case of a fortunate combination of friendliness with knowledge. I thank him for unveiling to me some of the "secrets" of the period stretching from CIAM, through SAAL, to Siza. I am also grateful to Carlos Carvalho Dias, Manuel Mendes, and Carlos Castanheira for their insightful revelations on the "backstage" of the group CIAM Portugal, Fernando Távora and Álvaro Siza, respectively.

From the outset of the research for this dissertation, I kept a stubborn mission of submitting regularly my preliminary findings to conferences and academic publications. From the vantage point of my current situation I am glad I did so, as I benefited from the help of very many people who made comments on my papers, articles and essays, and thus contributed to increase my critical account on the goals, methods, and results of the on-going research. In this group, I want to thank the organizers and/or the chairs of the conferences in which I participated: Guillermo Garma Montiel (ADGD Conference in Nottingham, 2009), Carlos Eduardo Comas (International Docomomo Conference in Mexico City, 2010), Gaspar Martins Pereira (Meeting CITCEM in Guimarães, 2010), Daniel Maudlin and Robert Brown (Fixed? Conference in Plymouth, 2011), Edite Rosa (Colloquium ODAM in Porto, 2011), Patricia Silva McNeill and Katia Pizzi (Peripheral Modernisms Conference in London, 2012), Alexandra Cardoso, Joana Cunha Leal and Maria Helena Maia (Surveys on Vernacular Architecture Conference in Porto, 2012), Kathrin Golda-Pongratz, and Murray Fraser (ACSA International conference in Barcelona, 2012), Nancy Duxbury and José António Bandeirinha (Conference Rethinking Urban Inclusion in Coimbra, 2012), Inez Weizmann (Bauhaus Colloquium in Weimar, 2013), André Loeckx and Hilde Heynen

(Seminar “Design With/By/For People” in Leuven, 2013), David Littlefield and Louis Rice (AHRA conference in Bristol, 2013), and Ákos Moravánszky and Judith Hopfengärtner (Conference East West Central - Re-humanizing Architecture, in Zurich, 2014).

While travelling to the conferences, meetings and seminars mentioned above was a great experience on its own, one of the privileges of doing a PhD at TU Delft’s Faculty of Architecture is the opportunity to meet inspirational people even without leaving BK City, as the Faculty’s building is informally known. The Faculty’s research meetings and peer-review colloquia were a great vehicle to make sense of the direction in which the research was heading and to include valuable remarks and sensible advice in crucial moments of the process. I am thus thankful to Tom Avermaete, Lara Schrijver, and Nienke Blaauw for putting together those events in which I could submit my work to the critical account of distinguished peers. I am especially indebted to Tom for his shrewd comments on parts of my on-going research, both at these paramount events, as well as in many other meetings we had along the way. In the Faculty’s peer-review colloquia, I was privileged to have had feedback and invaluable critical input from Georges Teyssot, Caroline van Eck, Hilde Heynen, and Josep Maria Montaner. I thank them all for helping me in steering the research in the right direction.

The intellectual exchange with editors of academic journals is yet another great opportunity to benefit from the knowledge of others. That is why I would like to thank Tahl Kaminer and Dirk van den Heuvel (editors of *Footprint* 8), Abílio Guerra (editor of *Arquitextos*), Daniel Maudlin and Marcel Vellinga (editors of Routledge’s book *Consuming Architecture*), Tom Avermaete, David de Bruijn and Job Floris (editors of *OASE* #92), and Christoph Grafe (editor of the *Journal of Architecture*) for their patient and insightful comments and sound advice. Along my doctoral research process, I experienced moments that triggered surprising discoveries, illuminating encounters, and benefited from helpful hints. For having provided some or all of the above, I would like to thank Michelangelo Sabatino, David Leatherborrow, Ana Tostões, Wilfried Wang, Adrian Forty, and Esra Akçan.

Gathering material to support the research is one of the most demanding tasks a PhD candidate has to experience. There are many persons that I would like to acknowledge for their contribution to make that task a rewarding endeavor. I shall thus thank Daniel Weiss (CIAM archive, gta Institute, Zurich), Chiara Porcu (Siza Archive, Porto), Graça Simões (Librarian of the Department of Architecture at the University of Coimbra), Isabel Loureiro (IGFSS Archive), Teresa Godinho (CEAU, Faculty of Architecture at University of Porto), Susana Cunha (Municipal

Photographic Archive, Évora), Cristina Meneses (Portuguese Order of Architects, Lisbon), and Paula Abrunhosa (Marques da Silva Foundation, Porto). For helping me in finding my way in big institutions and unfamiliar territories I shall thank Lurdes Figueiredo and Silvia Damas (Department of Architecture at the University of Coimbra), Anabela Monteiro (Álvaro Siza office), Judith Blommaart-Tigchelaar, Jeanne Seelt-de Vogel, and Susan Ng-A-Tham (Department of Architecture at the TU Delft).

While the material collected in libraries and archives constitutes the majority of the sources used in writing this dissertation, some material was offered by artists, colleagues and students that gently shared with me their work. Hence, I shall thank José Manuel Rodrigues for his stunning photos of Malagueira, and my colleagues João Nasi Pereira, José Pinto Duarte and Rita Fonseca Martins for sharing with me important material and information on the Malagueira neighbourhood. I also wish to thank my former students Bart van der Zalm, Wing Yung, Matteo Meschiari, and Johan Rustad Torklep for their analytical drawings on the “Punt en Komma” (Bart and Wing) and on the “Bonjour Tristesse” (Matteo and Johan).

In many occasions, while researching for the doctoral dissertation, I had the privilege of co-authoring texts with other persons, making it a better experience altogether. This was the case with Alexandre Alves Costa, Gonçalo Canto Moniz, Mário Krüger, and Ricardo Agarez. I thank them all for the privilege of allowing me to be in such good company. In my capacity as a designer I am also privileged for sharing an architecture office with such talented people as Luís Miguel Correia and Susana Constantino. Next to this privilege, which is continuous, I owe them my gratitude for the extra effort in keeping the office running in those periods when my attention was focused elsewhere and my involvement with the office’s everyday affairs was diverted.

Through the period in which I was involved in the research for this dissertation, some old and some new friends helped me in overcoming the challenges of leaving a familiar situation, and arriving to a new place. I would thus like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my dear friends João Gomes, Rita Gonçalves, Armando Rabaça, Luís Miguel Correia, Nuno Morais, and Rui Lobo, for sharing with me both the good life and other more ordinary events. In Delft, my arrival to a new place was made easier by the warm reception that a group of Portuguese (and a Brazilian) expats gave to me. Among many others, I would like to thank Samur Araújo, João Encarnação, Rodrigo Ferreira, Cristina Duque, José Nuno Beirão, Marisa de Brito, Leila Dias, and Horácio Ramos for sharing with me their food, laughs, drinks, problems with speaking Dutch, and most of all, their friendship. Along the way, my friend Jorge Mejía Hernandez

became a companion to the pleasures and hardships of researching, writing, and teaching in Delft. The many hours we spent talking about all sorts of things, in restaurants and bars in Delft, were immensely stimulating for me, a continuous source of inspiration, information, and entertainment.

I believe the environment in which we dwell in our everyday life chiefly determines the development of one's critical skills. This being said, I owe Alexandre Alves Costa, Adelino Gonçalves, Nuno Correia, Jorge Figueira, José António Bandeirinha, Luís Miguel Correia, Walter Rossa, and Carlos Antunes, a special thanks for sharing the classroom with me in those wonderful years I spent teaching at the Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra. This acknowledgement should be extended further to all the other colleagues in Coimbra that were part of that enriching experience: Mário Krüger, Paulo Varela Gomes, Gonçalo Byrne, Vitor Murtinho, António Olaio, José Gigante, José Fernando Gonçalves, Paulo Providência, Nuno Grande, António Lousa, Joaquim Almeida, João Mendes Ribeiro, Pedro Maurício Borges, João Paulo Cardielos, Armando Rabaça, Gonçalo Canto Moniz, Rui Lobo, João Gomes, Susana Lobo, João Fôja, Carlos Martins, António Bettencourt, Teresa Pais (at the University of Coimbra), and João Nasi Pereira, Rui Seco Costa, Hugo Tocha de Carvalho, and the late João Paulo Conceição (at ARCA-EUAC).

I shall also acknowledge all my colleagues from the chair Architecture and Dwelling at the TU Delft, Dick van Gameren, Dirk van den Heuvel, Pierijn van der Putt, Birgit Jurgenhake, Cecile Calis, Frederique van Andel, Harald Mooij, Olv Klijn, Paul Kuitenbrouwer, and Robert Nottrot for their warm welcome and for making my research and teaching experience in Delft so worthwhile. At the Faculty of Architecture in Delft, I also owe an acknowledgement to my colleagues Klaske Havik, Hans Teerds, Leonardo Zuccaro Marchi, Silvio Carta, Andrej Radman, Bas Vahl, Marcus Kempers, and Salomon Frausto, for sharing with me their valuable time and experience. Teaching and sharing experiences with such gifted peers is one of the things I appreciate the most in the academic milieu. At any rate, it can be compared with the privilege of interacting with the vivid and inquisitive mind of students. To be sure, I am greatly thankful to my students in the course of *Projecto* in Coimbra, in the seminars Architectural Studies and Architectural Reflections, in the Dwellings graduation studio, and in the MSc1/2 design studios in Delft, for contributing with their limitless curiosity, energy and creativity to my development as an educator, but also as a designer and a researcher.

Without institutional and financial support this dissertation would not have been produced. I benefitted from a teaching leave from the University of Coimbra, which gave me the opportunity

to explore new worlds. I owe to José Fernando Gonçalves and Jorge Figueira, the two directors of the Department of Architecture at the University of Coimbra over the last five years, my gratitude for giving me the institutional support to further pursue my goals. The financial support to develop my research was given by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT-Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia) through the doctoral grant ref^a SFRH/BD/60298/2009 (2009-2013).

Through the period I developed my doctoral research, my beloved father passed away. Some of the people mentioned above gave me a great help in overcoming that sad period in my life. I have to single out, however, the contribution of my family, who were exceedingly supportive in taking care of me and my mother and making our life as smooth as possible under those circumstances. I owe a special and heartfelt appreciation to my grandmother, Olívia de Freitas, to my uncles and aunts David Mota, Domitília Amorim, Manuela Amorim, and Isaías Amorim, to my in-laws, Raul Peixoto, and Teresa Constantino, and to the brothers and sisters I never had, Sónia, Luísa, Cláudio, and Ana Rita in Brunhais, and Sónia Peixoto and Vasco Araújo, in Braga.

I owe an immense gratitude to my late father, Luis de Freitas Mota, and to my mother, Maria Isabel Freitas Amorim, for their unconditional support in every period of my life, always backing up my dreams, even when that meant great personal and material sacrifices and challenges. I see each and every one of my modest accomplishments as a tribute to them.

My final acknowledgement goes to Susana Constantino. I have to thank her for performing as the first critic and reviewer of each academic writing I produced over the last decade. Furthermore, I have to express my gratitude for the patient and rigorous work she did in producing all the original drawings that illustrate this dissertation. However, though these contributions were extremely important for me, they fall short when compared with the privilege and pleasure of having Susana as a wife, a supportive companion, a loving confidant, in short, a safe haven in which I can always find solace from the city sickness.

Summary

This dissertation examines architectural operations developed from the 1950s through the 1980s that challenged modernity's "anxiety of contamination" and that have negotiated the boundaries between the realm of the individual and the social, the expert and the mass men, the local and the universal, modernity and the vernacular. The central project of the dissertation is to present ambivalence, "thirdness", and "strangeness" as conditions that activate the creative power of conflicts in negotiating binary polarities.

The research is supported by a special focus on the Portuguese architectural design and theory and its relation with the societal transformations that ensued from the late 1940s until the early 1990s. Throughout this period, the world in general and Western Europe in particular lived under the all-encompassing polarity triggered by the postcolonial geopolitics and the Cold War. In this context, Portugal's position at the semiperiphery of the world system, i.e. simultaneously located at the periphery of the core and being the core for the periphery, generated a productive outcome from the entwined relation between modernity and the vernacular that pervaded the disciplinary debate in general and the architecture of dwelling in particular.

Firstly, the dissertation analyses in detail the work of the Portuguese CIAM group and its most prominent members and followers, underlining their negotiation of the universal tenets of modernity with the ethos of local culture. From the aftermath of WWII until the emergence of the protest movements in the late 1960s, their work went beyond a pastoral vision of the vernacular

tradition, contributing to negotiate the mechanist tropes of architectural modernism with the development of a humanistic approach to the habitat for the masses. Then, the purview of the research moves to the work of a single architect, Álvaro Siza, examining how his housing projects designed and developed from the 1970s through the 1980s, in Porto, Évora, Berlin and The Hague, tackled the disciplinary challenges brought about by a pervasive contestation on hegemonic powers. In this period, Siza's work asserts the vital role of the architectural project to activate collective memory and to confront a counter-pastoral view of modernity.

The research suggests that a critical articulation between architecture's disciplinary codes and conventions and the specific aspects of the situation contributed to create a contaminated landscape, bypassing the shortcomings of social, political, and disciplinary constructs based on polar oppositions. The conclusions of the dissertation assert the importance of activating collective memory, coping with contingency, and the creative potential of ambivalence and conflicts, as vital contributions to frame disciplinary approaches prone to yield a negotiated outcome in contexts dominated by hegemonic relations and the rhetoric of binary polarities.

Samenvatting

Deze dissertatie onderzoekt de ontwikkelingen in de bouwkunde tussen 1950 en 1980 die de “besmettingsangst” van de moderniteit uitdaagden, en die de grenzen verkenden tussen het individuele en het sociale, tussen experts en de massa, het lokale en het universele en tussen moderniteit en folklore. Het hoofddoel van deze dissertatie is om tweeslachtigheid, “derde opties” en “vreemdheid” te presenteren als voorwaarden voor het activeren van de creatieve krachten van conflict in de omgang met binaire polariteiten.

Het onderzoek richt zich in het bijzonder op architectuur en architectuurtheorie in Portugal en hoe deze zich verhouden tot de maatschappelijke transformaties die zich voltrokken tussen de late jaren veertig en de vroege jaren negentig van de twintigste eeuw. Deze periode werd wereldwijd, en in West-Europa in het bijzonder, gekenmerkt door een alomvattende polariteit, die werd veroorzaakt door de postkoloniale geopolitiek en de Koude Oorlog. Hierin nam Portugal een plaats in in de semiperiferie: aan de periferie van de kern, maar tegelijkertijd met een kernpositie voor de verdere periferie. Dit genereerde een productief resultaat vanuit de vervlochten relatie tussen moderniteit en folklore die het debat binnen het vakgebied, en in het bijzonder binnen het gebied van woningarchitectuur, bepaalde.

In deze dissertatie wordt allereerst het werk van de Portugese CIAM-groep en de meest prominente leden en navolgers daarvan geanalyseerd. Hierbij wordt de nadruk gelegd op de manier waarop zij omgingen met de universele beginselen van de moderniteit en de ethos van lokale cultuur. Van de

nasleep van de Tweede Wereldoorlog tot de opkomst van de protestbewegingen in de late jaren zestig liet het werk van de groep het pastorale beeld van de lokale traditie achter zich. De groep wist de mechanische gemeenplaatsen van architectonisch modernisme te verzoenen met een humanistische benadering van volkshuisvesting. Hierna richt het onderzoek zich op het werk van één architect: Álvaro Siza. Het brengt in kaart hoe zijn huisvestingsprojecten de disciplinaire uitdagingen aangingen die gesteld werden door het alomtegenwoordige verzet tegen de heersende macht. Het gaat hierbij om projecten die in de jaren zeventig en tachtig zijn ontworpen en ontwikkeld in Porto, Évora, Berlijn en Den Haag. In deze periode bevestigt Siza's werk de belangrijke rol van de architectuur om het collectief geheugen te activeren en om de confrontatie aan te gaan met een contrapastoraal beeld van de moderniteit.

Het onderzoek laat zien dat een kritische combinatie van de codes en conventies van het architecturale werkveld en de specifieke aspecten van de situatie meer hebben bijgedragen aan een vervuild landschap dan de tekortkomingen van sociale, politieke en disciplinaire constructen op basis van polaire tegenstellingen. De conclusies van deze dissertatie benadrukken het belang van het activeren van het collectief geheugen, van omgaan met tegenslag en van het creatieve potentieel van ambivalentie en tegenstellingen. Dit is essentieel om een kader te vinden voor benaderingen in het werkveld die de waarschijnlijkheid van een weloverwogen uitkomst vergroten, in contexten die worden gedomineerd door scherpe machtsverhoudingen en een discours van binaire polariteiten.

Introduction

The modernity of an event can be measured from the relation that it establishes with the conditions where it happens.

Fernando Távora*

In 1952, Fernando Távora (1923-2005) wrote an article in the journal *Lusíada* where he asserted that “the great works of Architecture and Urbanism were always modern because they expressed exactly, in a perfect relation, their surrounding environment.”¹ This statement testifies to his keen commitment in asserting the phenomenon of Architecture and Urbanism as something simultaneously universal and rooted in its circumstance. As he pointed out,

Concerning Architecture and Urbanism, modernity means the perfect integration of all elements influential to the development of any work, using all the appropriate resources to accomplish a certain goal. Modernity is expressed in the quality, in the exactitude of the relations between the work and life. While conditions differ, so the solutions will change.²

For Távora, Stonehenge, the Giza Pyramids, the Acropolis in Athens, and a troglodyte settlement were good examples to show the persistence of the architectural phenomenon as something situated but also inherent to the human condition, an essential extension of men’s life and a manifestation of its existence. Architecture and Urbanism were thus universal phenomena fashioned by various, infinite aspects, and multiple realizations. Hence, following Távora, as long as a *perfect relation* between art and life is preserved, Architecture and Urbanism are always

* Fernando Távora, “Arquitectura e Urbanismo: A Lição das Constantes,” *Lusíada* 1, no. 2 (November 1952). Translation from Portuguese by the author.

1. Fernando Távora, “Arquitectura e Urbanismo: A Lição das Constantes,” *Lusíada* 1, no. 2 (November 1952): 153.

2. *Ibid.*

modern!

This relation was always contentious, though. It became particularly tense with the advent of modernity and all its ambiguities, paradoxes, contradictions. A thorough transformation of the relation between people and their ancestral habitats contributed to generate the maelstrom of modern life, as Marshall Berman put it.³ The impact of the social processes triggered by the experience of modernity, with all its possibilities and perils, would eventually challenge the perfect relation invoked by Távora. This dissertation will examine the influence of those social processes in the development of a disciplinary approach driven to rearticulate the relations between architecture and the everyday, and between modernity and the vernacular.

Research Outline and Thesis

Ever since the bourgeois revolutions, the phenomena of Architecture and Urbanism have been inextricably linked with the confrontation between the individual and the masses, and the polarity between the local and the universal. These binary relations strongly determined the framework in which design decisions were produced and, ultimately, generated diverse possibilities to negotiate difference with identity politics. In a previous research, I was engaged in examining the boundaries between the domestic space and the public realm in bourgeois housing. This study revealed how collective memory mixed with the ambiguities of the social structure of the late nineteenth century shaped domesticity, first and foremost, introducing filters to the participation of the individual in the public sphere.⁴ This research was instrumental for me in revealing the vital role of ordinary buildings in bridging the gap between the *domus* and the polis. At any rate, studying the codified reproduction and transformation of the bourgeois house showed the extraordinary importance of ordinary buildings in shaping everyday life in the city. Further, it revealed the importance of design decisions at the scale of the domestic space in negotiating difference with identity.

After this study I became increasingly interested in performing a similar examination to another pervasive presence in the European built environment: the so-called housing for the great number or, in short, mass housing. This time, however, the role performed by the architecture discipline became more prominent. Architecture's rising societal prominence, I would argue, resonated with an increasing relevance, in the first half of the twentieth century, of housing policies as part and parcel of political ideologies as diverse as fascism, communism and social democracy. It suffices to say that for each and every one of these ideologies the negotiation of difference with identity was a vital aspect of their program, many times with tragic outcomes.

3. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York and London: Verso Books, 2010), 16.

4. Nelson Mota, *A Arquitetura do Quotidiano* (Coimbra: edarq, 2010).

The historiography of architecture has already produced enough knowledge to reveal that the design of mass housing in the twentieth century cannot be assessed as a monolithic phenomenon.⁵ Rather, it is a transient process that is greatly influenced by space and time, or using a preferred post-WWII formulation, by the contingent factors of place and occasion. In effect, the geopolitics that resulted from the redesign of power relations in the twentieth century produced a pervasive polarity or an *Age of Extremes*, as Eric Hobsbawm called it.⁶

Further, this polarity contributed to accentuate the core-periphery distinction. On the one hand there were the core countries in which technology, profit, production, and wages were highly developed and the peripheral countries in which all the above were underdeveloped. However, as the economist Immanuel Wallerstein famously noted, in this polarized context there was room for a zone (a series of countries) that he has identified as the semi-periphery.⁷ Countries such as Portugal, Brazil, Finland, India or South Africa epitomized this condition, acting in part as the peripheral zone for the core countries, and the core country for some peripheral areas, with distinctive internal politics and social structure, though. Hence, following Wallerstein, occupying the semi-periphery created possibilities to take advantage of this ambiguous condition and develop characteristics that are nevertheless more resilient and flexible than those in either side of the spectrum of the world system.⁸ This liminal position thus bypasses the shortcomings of the inescapable polarity that characterized the Age of Extremes.

Drawing on Wallerstein's theory of the semi-periphery, the Portuguese sociologist Boaventura Sousa Santos argued that since the advent of the second Western Modernity (the so-called Modern age) Portugal (and also Spain) inhabited an area peripheral to both the European and the colonial zone. Consequently, Santos argues, "Portugal could never assume the monoculture of linear time typical of the European zone."⁹ At some key moments, however, Portugal's semiperipheral condition was contested. Santos calls them "moments of rejection" or "the European colonial moment" and "moments of acceptance" or "the European neocolonial moment." These moments resonate with periods in which Portugal was either apparently demoted in the world-system (e.g. the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, and the 1890 British *ultimatum*) or promoted by the core-countries (e.g. the 25 April 1974 democratic revolution, and in 1986 with the country's integration in the then European Economic Community (EEC), now renamed European Union (EU)).¹⁰

According to Hobsbawm, the period he defined as the short twentieth century (1914-1991), has been marked in terms of binary opposites, such as capitalism vs. socialism, which were presented as alternatives mutually excluding one another.¹¹

5. See, for example, Martin Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*. (New York: Praeger, 1971); Peter G. Rowe, *Modernity and Housing* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1993).

6. Eric J Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1995).

7. Immanuel Wallerstein, "Semi-Peripheral Countries and the Contemporary World Crisis," *Theory and Society* 3, no. 4 (December 1, 1976): 461-83.

8. Wallerstein's theory of the semi-periphery was further examined and articulated with the Portuguese case by the sociologist Boaventura Sousa Santos. See, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-Identity," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 39, no. 2 (December 1, 2002): 9-43.

9. Boaventura Sousa Santos, "Portugal: Tales of Being and Not Being," *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, no. 20 (2009): 6.

10. *Ibid.*, 11.

11. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, 4.

Though these polarities can be seen as a pervasive token of the twentieth century, through this period revolutions, wars, and economic crisis contributed to invest political regimes with different accounts on the politics of difference and identity. In Portugal, for example, after switching from a constitutional monarchy to a republic (1910), the country was successively ruled by republicans (1910-1926), a fascist dictatorship (1926-1974), and a liberal democracy (from 1974 on). However, as Boaventura Sousa Santos asserted, through this period Portugal occupied a semiperipheral zone, a liminal zone between the core and the periphery of the world system.

Hence, using Portugal's situation in the Age of Extremes as the backdrop for the research, I will examine the influence in the architectural discipline of the Portuguese detachment from Europe's "monoculture of linear time."¹² The hidden narrative of my argument is that Portugal's semiperipheral condition created the circumstances to circumvent binary polarities, and to nurture a disciplinary approach that accommodated ambiguity and ambivalence as part and parcel of its architectural discourse and practice. The central project of this dissertation is thus to explore the possibility of an architecture of dwelling triggered by a disciplinary approach equipped with instruments to negotiate modernity with the vernacular, difference with identity, or in other words, to articulate the tenets of universal civilization with the collective memory embedded in local cultures.

12. For a thorough account on how Portuguese architecture became increasingly "emancipated from the core" in the period stretching from the 1950s until the 1980s, see Jorge Figueira, "A Periferia Perfeita. Pós-Modernidade na Arquitectura Portuguesa, Anos 60-Anos 80" (PhD Dissertation, University of Coimbra, 2009).

13. The fall of the colonial empires defined the essential tenets of this polarity. See Paul Ricoeur, "Universal Civilization and National Cultures," in *History and Truth*, trans. Charles A. Kelbley (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 271–84.

14. Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* (Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1999), 14–18.

15. The architects engaged with the group Situationist International brought about some of the most outstanding examples of the earlier position. See Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1998). Arguably the most influential supporter of the latter position was Christopher Norberg-Schulz (1926-2000), who championed Heidegger's phenomenological approach. Among his most influential works see Christian Norberg-Schulz, "Genius Loci," *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 57–67; Christian Norberg-Schulz, *The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture* ([Milan]; New York: Electa; Rizzoli, 1985).

Problem Statement and Research Questions

One of the most pervasive binary polarities through the twentieth century was the dyad universal civilization and local cultures. Eventually, this dichotomy became instrumental to redefine the politics of architectural design and theory operating under the phenomenon of global modernization.¹³ The architecture of dwelling, using this notion as Heidegger famously asserted it in the early 1950s, was arguably one of the central topics in this debate. In effect, as Hilde Heynen put it, different points of view, the existential with Heidegger, the ethical with Adorno, and the sociological with Berger, Berger, and Kellner, declared life in the metropolis was condemned to a form of homelessness.¹⁴ In other words, dwelling under the conditions brought forth by modernity was deemed impossible. In this circumstance, then, while some authors and practitioners asserted the impossibility to give shape to a utopia where men could be reconciled with nature, others considered the possibility of authentic dwelling was to be found in returning to the vernacular and classical traditions.¹⁵

In architecture's disciplinary debate of the 1950s and 1960s, this discussion stressed further a binary polarity between the alienating character of modernization and the authentic

character of the vernacular tradition. This dichotomy triggered several oppositions that contributed to dug out a gap between the negative thought associated with the alienation caused by life in the metropolis and the populist drive to explore the emancipatory character of the vernacular tradition. In 1974, Kenneth Frampton described this state of affairs asserting: “as the utopian hallucinations of the Enlightenment fade, [Western society was caught] between the Charybdis of elitism and the Scylla of populism”.¹⁶

These polar oppositions distressed the politics of architectural design and theory and fostered a debate on the social role of the architect. This debate gained momentum after the protest movements of the late 1960s, and eventually became noticeable with the widespread involvement of the architecture discipline in design decision-making processes with citizens’ participation. The idea of disciplinary autonomy was thus challenged, and the discipline’s engagement with social change was brought forth.¹⁷ Next to this, a parallel movement towards “figurative architecture” ensued, as opposed to functionalism’s “abstract space,” as Christian Norberg-Schulz put it.¹⁸ Thus, in the context of this concatenation of events, one of the goals of this dissertation is to examine the extent to which the emphasis on binary polarities contributed to foster a methodological change of paradigm in the post-war debate on the architecture of dwelling. This study will thus investigate whether this emphasis on polarity was driven by an attempt to create a consensus-based approach or to raise consciousness on the conflictive nature of the problems faced by the discipline.

These questions have already been addressed, examined and even answered in architectural handbooks of history and theory, though.¹⁹ However, one of the motivations for this research is to bring about an alternative perspective to that portrayed in current scholarship, whose account of the events is chiefly underpinned by a cultural and geographical position situated at the core of the world system. In any event, though discussing global phenomena, the overwhelmingly predominance of French, German and, particularly, the Anglo-Saxon culture in these works, testifies to the shortcomings of contemporary scholarship in making sense of the post-war politics of architectural design and theory as seen and experienced from the *peripheries* of the world system.

The geographical scope of this dissertation was thus defined to explore liminal positions between the hegemonic centre and the subjugated periphery. From this point of view, one of the goals of this study is to re-address the debate on the architecture of dwelling, and explore it from a different perspective, one situated at the semiperiphery of the world system. A central ambition of this research is thus to contribute to expand the

16. Kenneth Frampton, “On Reading Heidegger,” in *Oppositions Reader*, ed. K. Michael Hays (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 3–6. This article was originally published in *Oppositions* 4 (October 1974). To be “between Scylla and Charybdis” means to be caught between two equally unpleasant alternatives. See “Scylla and Charybdis,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed March 1, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/530331/Scylla-and-Charybdis>.

17. The debate on the topic of disciplinary autonomy as part and parcel of the politics of architectural design and theory was particularly intense in the period stretching from the 1970s through the 1990s. Important accounts on this debate can be seen in Robert E. Somol, ed., *Autonomy and Ideology: Positioning an Avant-Garde in America* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1997); Tahl Kaminer, *Architecture, Crisis and Resuscitation: The Reproduction of Post-Fordism in Late-Twentieth-Century Architecture*, 1st ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).

18. Norberg-Schulz, *The Concept of Dwelling*.

19. An exhaustive list of the scholarship that contributed to establish a historiographical and theoretical account of the post war politics of architectural design and theory does not fit the space of this introduction. However, it is worth mentioning some of the works that influenced the last three decades of the disciplinary debate. Among the most influential historical accounts of this period, are Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 2nd ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985); William J. R Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982); Alan Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Jean-Louis Cohen, *The Future of Architecture, since 1889* (London; New York: Phaidon, 2012). The theorization of the period discussed is strongly indebted to the following works: Joan Ockman, *Architecture Culture: 1943-1968*, Reprint (New York: Rizzoli, 1993); Neil Leach, ed., *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1996); K. Michael Hays, ed., *Architecture Theory Since 1968* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 2000); C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Cairns, and Hilde Heynen, eds., *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*. (London: SAGE Publications, 2012).

critical apparatus to discuss which tools and instruments did the designers operating in, and from the, semiperiphery developed to cope with the dichotomy universal civilization / local cultures. To what extent the contingencies of the semiperiphery contributed to approach the dyad modernity and the vernacular in such a way as to bring forth a reconceptualization of the architecture of dwelling? In the specific case of Portugal, what was the influence of the country's geopolitical position in the emergence, from the mid-1950s on, of a particular architectural approach to the articulation of the tenets of modernity with the vernacular tradition? How does this particular approach compare with other attempts to articulate these two aspects, developed in different social, political, cultural, and economical contexts?

The comparative examination suggested by the latter question urged an investigation on Portuguese architects and groups of architects that transposed the country's political and cultural boundaries in the period stretching from the post-WWII until the end of the 1980s. In the 1950s and 1960s, with their participation in international events, first and foremost the CIAM congresses and Team 10 meetings, a group of Portuguese architects with Fernando Távora standing out among them, personify this attempt to bridge the gap between local cultures and universal civilization. In this transit between a country at the periphery of the European zone living under the rule of a dictatorship, and the core of the world system (i.e. the locus of the hegemonic power), which were the mutual influences and contributions to cope with the pervasive rhetoric based on binary polarities?

With the fall of the dictatorial regime, on 25 April 1974, Portugal ensued a progressive reconciliation with the European zone, which led to its acceptance in 1986 as a member of the EEC. This period coincides with the outset of the international appraisal on Portuguese architecture, first and foremost on Álvaro Siza's work. It also concurs with the new disciplinary challenges brought about by an engagement of architects and urban designers in design processes influenced by the 1970s and 1980s movements for grassroots empowerment. In effect, the programme known by the acronym SAAL (*Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local*, Mobile Service for Local Support), developed in the aftermath of the Portuguese revolution of 1974, became internationally acknowledged as a reference for processes of mass housing design with citizens' participation. The SAAL process contributed to develop a new perspective on the architecture of dwelling, negotiating the tenets of modernity with the vernacular tradition, articulating the expert with the grassroots. After his experience with the SAAL process, in his projects for housing complexes in Berlin and The Hague designed and built through the 1980s, Siza would eventually challenge the usual direction in the cultural and economic flux. Then, in this context, another question arises: Travelling back

and forth from the semiperiphery to the core of the world system, to what extent this transit influenced Siza's disciplinary toolbox?

Objectives

Against the background defined by the pervasive presence of polarity in post-war architectural discourse and practice, this dissertation aims at answering the questions formulated above examining alternative positions driven by an attempt to bridge the gap between those poles. The research's goal is to study what Michel Foucault called "the interstices of the great discursive monuments," acknowledging architecture as a discipline of interferences with a discursive practice that has to deal with contradictions and conflicts. This study thus aims at outlining a disciplinary approach compelled by an archaeology of the ordinary, which explores the gaps between binary polarities, examining, as suggested by Foucault, the different *spaces of dissension*.²⁰ It attempts to displace artificial dualities championing what Félix Guattari called *machinic assemblages*, also defined as an *ensemble of interrelations*.²¹

Acknowledging the importance of the debate on the architecture of dwelling, one of the motivations of the dissertation is to shed some light on the disciplinary instruments used by alternative approaches engaged in catering for an architecture of dwelling that negotiates modernity with the vernacular. Hence, focusing on this *third way*, this study aims to explore the resonances of notions such as otherness, ambivalence, hybridity, ambiguity, and contingency with architectural approaches that go beyond binary polarities.

This dissertation aims at contributing to ascertain the notion of thirdness as a condition that goes beyond the conciliatory drive of third-way politics as theorized by Anthony Giddens, circumventing a simple consideration of an in-between position or a dialectical synthesis.²² It thus aims at challenging approaches that account thirdness as a mere conflation of antagonistic positions of a political, social, spatial or temporal continuum. Instead, its goal is to contribute for a reconceptualization of a disciplinary approach that avoids the predicaments of negative thought, the hyperrelativism of the "anything goes" philosophy, or the conciliatory approach of consensus driven populism. Hence, as suggested by Foucault, it envisages bringing about open alternatives to binary polarities, surfacing from the creative potential of conflicts and dissent.

Methods

To rethink the architecture of dwelling in the post-war period, the dissertation focuses on architectural approaches to mass housing design developed in Western Europe in the period stretching from the aftermath of WWII until the 1980s. The

20. The notion of archaeological description was examined by Michel Foucault in his 1969 book *L'Archéologie du Savoir*: For the English translation of this work, see Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. Alan Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

21. Félix Guattari, "On Machines," *Journal of Philosophy and the Visual Arts*, no. 6 (1995): 8–12.

22. For the idea of third-way politics see Anthony Giddens, *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*, Reprint (Polity Press, 1998). An account of the idea of "Thirthing-as-Othering" can be found in Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, 1st ed. (Wiley-Blackwell, 1996), 60–70.

choice of this disciplinary, chronological, and geographical scope was grounded on three methodological points. The first one considers mass housing as the process that arguably generates a more intense flux between the designer, the user, and the politics of the built environment. Both in terms of scale and in terms of social impact, housing design calls for an intense interaction between an extended group of participants in developing design strategies that greatly influence the everyday life of ordinary people. This then confers to housing design a privileged position among the topics relevant for an investigation on the architecture of dwelling.

A second methodological point is related with the chronological framework. The period stretching from the fall of the colonial empires until the end of the Cold War comprises two moments (“The Golden Age” (1945-1973), and “The Landslide” (1973-1989), as Eric Hobsbawm called them), which roughly resonate with important paradigm shifts in the politics of architectural design and theory. Against the social, economic and political background defined by an initial moment of euphoria followed by a moment of depression, the architecture discipline had to cope with the pervasiveness of binary polarities. Through those two moments, the politics of architectural design and theory were influenced by rapid societal and technological shifts that moved interchangeably from local to universal realms, from capitalism to socialism, from economic growth to depression, from craftsmanship to mass production. Further, this period is also vital to emphasize Portugal’s semiperipheral condition. At all events, as Hobsbawm asserted, “by the late 1950s it had become clear to the surviving old empires that formal colonialism had to be liquidated. Only Portugal continued to resist its dissolution since its backward, politically isolated and marginalized metropolitan economy could not afford neo-colonialism.”²³ When the Portuguese colonial empire finally ended, in the aftermath of the 1974 revolution, the country then turned into Europe and started a process to become a member of the “European family”, i.e. the EEC, which eventually happened in 1986. Portugal’s liminal geopolitical position through this period is thus instrumental to examine the emergence in the country of a keen commitment with a negotiated approach to binary polarities.

The third methodological point is related with the choice of Western Europe as the geographical background for the research. To put it bluntly, this option is justified by its relevance as Portugal’s region of historical affinity. Even as an empire with colonies in America, Africa and Asia, the mythical image of Europe as the cradle of universal civilization has always been present in the mindset of the Portuguese. Since the end of the nineteenth century the relation with Europe was problematic, with “moments of rejection,” and non-participation. Eventually,

23. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, 221.

the “moment of acceptance” symbolized by Portugal’s integration in the EEC in 1986 testified to the country’s reconciliation with Europe. These problematic shifts from rejection to acceptance thus contribute to stress Portugal’s semiperipheral condition and its consequences to activate processes of negotiation with “the other.”

Hence, working against a background defined by these disciplinary, chronological, and geographical frameworks, this dissertation aims to explore their inherent conflictive nature as a vital condition to rethink the architecture of dwelling from the postwar CIAM congresses until Siza’s experiences in mass housing design in Central Europe.

The case studies chosen to support the development of this dissertation reflect a deliberate intention to offer a novel account of the disciplinary debate on the entwined relation between modernity and the vernacular. The main objects of inquiry are initiatives, projects and buildings implemented, experienced, and designed by Portuguese architects contemporary with the generation that performed a reconceptualization of the tenets of architectural modernism through the period stretching from the end of WWII until the fall of the soviet block. The mass housing projects designed by Álvaro Siza in the 1970s and 1980s are singled out and comprehensively examined and discussed for they illustrate seminal cases of an architect’s engagement with a negotiation of the disciplinary field with a situated circumstance, namely through design decision-making process with citizens’ participation. Time wise, the case studies considered in the dissertation illustrate operations that follow the nexus from the periods named by Hobsbawm as the “Golden Age” and “The Landslide.” Regarding their geographical and geopolitical situation, the case studies represent diverse regions both in Portugal and in Europe thus allowing a comparative approach between distinct operations, working either in the core or at the semiperiphery of the world system.

The documentation on the case studies was collected from primary and secondary sources. The main primary sources were interviews with some of the protagonists in the events examined in the research, and institutional and personal archives. Among the latter, the most important were the CIAM archive held by the gta institute at the ETH Zurich, the Bakema and Team 10 archives held by the *The New Institute* – Rotterdam, and Álvaro Siza’s archive held at his office in Porto. The secondary sources were provided by a literature survey on monographic studies and architecture journals related with the research’s purview. Though this information contributed the most for the contents of the dissertation, the importance of other types of literature, including novels, and the influence of additional disciplinary points of view, such as philosophy, social sciences or cultural

studies, cannot be neglected. Next to this, original graphic documentation was produced, based on primary sources, to help examining the case studies and provide ancillary analytical material. The concatenation of all the above was edited with the purpose of producing a meaningful nexus between empirical examinations, theoretical explorations, and critical considerations.

Concerning the structure of the dissertation, one of the goals of this study is to make each chapter an autonomous piece that can also be read as part of a larger narrative. To accomplish this goal, each chapter is dedicated to a specific topic or case study. The chapter is introduced by some considerations aimed at problematizing the research subject and framing its disciplinary relevance. An interwoven relation between description, discussion and reflection, articulated in interchangeable sequences, follows this introductory digression, and addresses the dissertation's thesis from a different yet complementary perspective. The arrangement of chapters is chiefly defined by a negotiation of chronological sequence and thematic articulation. Hence, in the sequence of chapters there are deliberate chronological overlaps that were deemed important to articulate the main aspects of each topic and case study.

From a disciplinary perspective, the focus of the research is first and foremost defined within the framework of the discipline of architecture, albeit the introduction of ancillary disciplines works as a meaningful contribution to help formulating the dissertation's arguments and conclusions.

Summary of Contents

The first chapter of the dissertation, "After the Great Divide: Dwelling Beyond Binary Polarities", critically explores the binary polarity between modernity and the vernacular. This polarity is discussed as a key cultural and theoretical construct that stressed, in the twentieth century, the divide between high art and mass culture in the architecture discipline. This chapter further examines contributions to bridge the gap between this polar opposition, activating a condition of thirdness.

In the second chapter, "The Machine in the Garden: The Presence of the Vernacular in the Last CIAMs", pastoral and counter-pastoral views of modernity and the vernacular are examined and discussed as part and parcel of the post war engagement with a more humanist approach to the habitat for the great number. In this chapter, the notion of contaminated landscape is used to frame modernity's intercourse with the rural world, as pursued in the projects presented at the 10th CIAM congress, specially the agricultural community developed by the Portuguese CIAM group.

The third chapter, “The Native Genius of Architecture: Universal and Local in Portuguese Post-war Modernism”, reviews several events that brought about a confrontation between aspects of the vernacular tradition and the tenets of architectural modernism. The influential Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture (1955-1961) is thoroughly discussed in this chapter, as well as the shockwaves it produced in Portugal in the discipline as a whole, and especially in mass housing design.

In the fourth chapter, “Architecture’s Public: Negotiating Expertise and Participation in the SAAL Process”, the attention is focused on the disciplinary challenges and opportunities brought about by grassroots empowerment, particularly citizens’ participation in design decision-making processes. Álvaro Siza’s work developed in Portugal in the last half of the 1970s for the SAAL process is examined in further detail to illustrate his singular approach regarding architecture’s confrontation with the contingent nature of the real.

The fifth chapter follows Siza in his excursion to Berlin in the late 1970s. The title of the chapter, “The Necessity for Ruins: Activating Collective Memory in IBA-Berlin’s *Altbau* Section”, echoes the vital importance given to collective memory in Siza’s architectural operations. The main topics that pervaded the debate on urban renewal at that time are addressed and discussed against the background defined by the geopolitics of the Cold War in which Berlin played a paramount role.

In the sixth chapter, “Modernity and Ambivalence: Crossbreeding Identities in The Hague’s Urban Renewal”, the subject of the inquiry moves to The Netherlands. The design decision-making process in Siza’s projects for the urban renewal of a district in The Hague are examined in detail, with a special focus on processes of communication between architectural production and reception. The multiple strains of ambivalence in Siza’s design process are emphasized as a creative tool to enhance social inclusion.

Finally, in the seventh chapter, “Lived-In Architecture: Accommodating Contingency in the Malagueira Neighbourhood,” the focus comes back to Portugal and to the late 1970s to discuss Siza’s project for the Malagueira neighbourhood, in the city of Évora. This chapter is chiefly concerned with an elaboration on design strategies to accommodate growth and change over time. The case of the project and post-occupancy transformation of the Malagueira neighbourhood illustrates the potential of using the “as found” as support for a negotiation between formal structure and individual expression.

In the conclusions of the dissertation, the liminal position of the semiperiphery is emphasized as a condition to explore

ambivalence and ambiguity as part and parcel of a disciplinary approach that bridges the gap between binary polarities. This phenomenon is illustrated by the Portuguese post-war politics of architectural design and theory, first and foremost the work of Álvaro Siza in the 1970s and 1980s. The case studies examined suggest a possibility to develop an architecture of dwelling that rearticulates the megalopolis with the *domus* through a negotiation of modernity with the vernacular.

The central project of this book is to emphasize the creative potential of conflicts in the design decision-making process. The results of the study thus assert that fostering critical consciousness in mass housing design through the Brechtian method of detachment is not enough. Rather, to cater for an architecture of dwelling, architecture's disciplinary toolbox should be nurtured by an agonistic approach that is relentlessly engaged in searching for a negotiated outcome.

1 • After the Great Divide

Dwelling Beyond Binary Polarities

From the late nineteenth century on, binary polarities became part and parcel of the politics of architectural design and theory. The categorical distinction between high art and mass culture, including its aesthetic, moral and political implications, was arguably the most important of these polar oppositions. Andreas Huyssen called this phenomenon *The Great Divide*, and he argued it was most noticeable in two moments: first in the transition between the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, and then in the two decades following World War II.¹ According to Huyssen, the Great Divide was essentially defined by a confrontation between two cultural phenomena: traditional bourgeois high culture, and vernacular and popular culture transformed into modern commercial mass culture.² Huyssen points out, however, that until WWII the latter was usually assessed as negative and deleterious for the spiritual progress of mankind. In that period, he argues, this approach was epitomized by Theodor Adorno's theorization of the Great Divide as a "presumably necessary and insurmountable barrier separating high art from popular culture in modern capitalist societies," and by Clement Greenberg's, famous division between avant-garde and kitsch.³ The position of these two authors has to be contextualized, though. In effect, in the 1930s and early 1940s their writings testify to the political impulse "to save the dignity and autonomy of the art work from the totalitarian pressures of fascist mass spectacles, socialist realism, and an ever more degraded commercial mass culture in the West."⁴ This was thus a symptom of the anxiety of contamination, as Huyssen puts it.

1. Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

2. *Ibid.*, xiii–ix.

3. Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review* 6, no. 5 (1939): 34–49.

4. Huyssen, *After the Great Divide*, ix.

Nonetheless, over the 1940s, this anxiety of contamination pervaded the architectural debate. In 1943 Nikolaus Pevsner divided buildings into two categories; cathedrals and bicycle sheds. Only the former was the true manifestation of architecture; the latter was seen as a mere expression of the vernacular. “The term architecture,” Pevsner argued in the introduction of his *An Outline of European Architecture*, “applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic appeal.”⁵ In 1947, Henry Russell Hitchcock enlarged Pevsner’s scope for the category architecture, discriminating the architecture of genius and the architecture of bureaucracy.⁶ In this case, banal building practices (such as Pevsner’s bicycle sheds) were included in the broad group of what can be considered architecture, albeit preserving the polar opposition between high-art and mass culture.

This opposition was, nevertheless, challenged at some points. In effect, both the historical avant-garde of the interwar period and postmodernism confronted the theories and practices of the Great Divide. According to Huyssen, both movements challenged the canonization of the high/low dichotomy, though in different ways. I would thus argue, following Huyssen, the anxiety of contamination was always part and parcel of the Great Divide. However, the boundaries dividing both sides of the binary opposition were often blurred, especially in what regards the perception of the vernacular as part of mass culture. To be sure, for the politics of architectural design and theory, the vernacular occupied an ambiguous position. While during WWII Pevsner saw it as belonging to the category of building, *not* architecture, one decade after WWII Giedion expressed a more pastoral vision of the vernacular. “The attitude of contemporary architecture toward other civilizations is a humble one,” Giedion stated. And he went further contending, “we do not regard primitive civilizations from the point of view of an advanced technology. We realize that often shantytowns contain within themselves vestiges of the last balanced civilization – the last civilization in which man was in equipoise.”⁷ Using the architect’s social imagination, Giedion asserted, the vernacular could thus become instrumental to “express specific social, territorial, and spiritual conditions.” Hence, he concluded, “a low standard of life or a primitive standard of life is not necessarily linked to a low aesthetic standard. A primitive Cameron hut has more aesthetic dignity than most prefabricated houses.”⁸ With this statement Giedion thus emphasizes the blurred lines dividing modernity (mass production) and the vernacular (the primitive hut), a distinction that would be vital to discuss the architecture of dwelling.

5. Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, 7th ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), 7. This book was originally published in 1943.

6. Henry Russell Hitchcock, “The Architecture of Bureaucracy and the Architecture of Genius,” *Architectural Review*, January 1947, 3–6.

7. Sigfried Giedion, *Architecture, You and Me: The Diary of a Development*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 96.

8. Ibid.

1.1•The Architecture of Dwelling

In the interwar period, the transformations brought about by

modernity contributed to raise questions on one's situatedness in the world. José Ortega y Gasset's *Revolt of the Masses*, originally published in 1930, epitomizes this struggle to make sense of the role of the individual in a society caught by the relentless development of mass culture.⁹ In the aftermath of the Second World War, this discussion developed further and eventually contaminated the design disciplines, especially the debate on the architecture of dwelling. Heidegger's famous essay "Building Dwelling Thinking" illustrates this phenomenon and defines a key moment in the discussion of the notion of architecture of dwelling.¹⁰

Heimat, the Native and the Wanderer

The architecture of dwelling suggested by Heidegger was seen as a possibility to struggle against, and eventually escape the, alienation caused by the mechanist tropes of modernity. Buildings should thus be rooted in a specific circumstance and situated on a particular location to enable the possibility of dwelling. According to Neil Leach, Heidegger's recall of a situated architecture resonated with an evocation for the *heimat*, for the *homeland*, where men could be reconciled with nature and tradition.¹¹ Leach further argues that Heidegger's philosophy of the *heimat* eliminates the possibility of dwelling in the metropolis and suggests a pastoral vision of the countryside as the place where the sense of homeland may flourish.¹²

Christian Norberg-Schulz followed Heidegger's phenomenological approach when in 1985 he defined the concept of dwelling as a "means to become friends with a natural place." He went further acknowledging the interdependence between dwelling and the formation of individual identity. "We may also say that dwelling consists in orientation and identification," Norberg-Schulz asserted. And went on claiming, "we have to know where we are and how we are, to experience existence as meaningful."¹³ Rejecting the modernist idea of abstract space and its "non-figurative" approach to functionalism, he was keen in finding a way to figurative architecture in which the need for dwelling could be satisfied, and thus the wish for belonging and participation fulfilled. To be sure, in Norberg-Schulz's work, the relation between the ideas of community, identity of the individual, and place is strongly interconnected. "The place," he asserts, "unites a group of human beings, it is something which gives them a common identity and hence a basis for a fellowship or society. The permanence of the place is what enables it to play this role."¹⁴

Both Heidegger's and Norberg-Schulz's positions resonate with a drive to escape anonymity, "otherness", and the transient character of the life in the city fueled by the pervasive influence of modern technology and "non-figurate" architecture in the

9. José Ortega Y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1964). The original version, in Spanish was published in 1930. Almost one decade after Ortega y Gasset's book, the challenges brought about by the development of mass culture were also addressed in Greenberg's essay mentioned above.

10. Heidegger's lecture was given on 5 August 1951 as part of the "Darmstädter Gespräch II" (Darmstadt Symposium) on the topic "Mensch und Raum" (Man and Space); the essay was first published in the proceedings of the symposium (Darmstadt: Neue Darmstädter Verlagsanstalt, 1952); An English translation appeared later. See Martin Heidegger, "Building Dwelling Thinking," in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 145–61. Further references to this essay were taken from the English translation. For a summary account on Heidegger's influence to the post-war architectural debate, see Adam Sharr, *Heidegger for Architects* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007).

11. Neil Leach, "The Dark Side of the Domus," *The Journal of Architecture* 3, no. 1 (1998): 31.

12. Neil Leach's critical account on the potential violence that underwrites the domesticated household in Heidegger's idea of dwelling is chiefly inspired by Lyotard's essay "Domus and the Megalopolis". See Jean-François Lyotard, *The Inhuman: Reflections on Time* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 191–204. The essay was republished in 1996 in Leach's *Rethinking Architecture*.

13. Christian Norberg-Schulz, *The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture* ([Milan]; New York: Electa ; Rizzoli, 1985), 7.

14. *Ibid.*, 9.

everyday of the ordinary man. For Norberg-Schulz, life becomes “right and true” when a relationship between the individual and his locality becomes meaningful.¹⁵ Similarly, for Heidegger, the rural world was the locus where an *authentic* human existence could hold sway, conciliated with the powers of nature and the remnants of historical tradition.

In the 1970s, Theodor Adorno challenged this pastoral vision. He argued Heidegger’s “jargon of authenticity” created a refuge where “a smoldering evil expresses itself as though it were salvation.”¹⁶ Instead, Adorno’s own conception of modernity acknowledged its emancipatory character, but also its distorting logic and its totalitarian and monolithic character, indebted from enlightened thought. As Hilde Heynen highlighted, Adorno’s ambivalent attitude towards modernity is epitomized by his reflections on the cult of the new as a token of modernity. In effect, as Heynen puts it, “Adorno recognizes the new, the fleeting, and the constantly changing as a false semblance behind which the old and the eternally returning are concealed, but in which the figure of rebellion and hope is also inscribed.”¹⁷

The contrasting visions of modernity championed by Heidegger and Adorno convey, nevertheless, a common account of the relation between modernity and dwelling. In effect, according to Heynen, both positions contend “modernity and dwelling are diametrically opposed to each other. Under modern conditions the world has become impossible to live in; modern consciousness is that of ‘the homeless mind’”.¹⁸ There is thus a shared belief in the impossibility to conciliate dwelling with modernity, which ultimately resonates with a binary polarity between the vernacular tradition and the cult of the new. This opposition, however, is contested by Bernd Hüppauf, who claims critical theory has demonstrated a lack of sensitivity to the local and regional and to spaces of the vernacular. “The small and local,” he contends, “although hopelessly overshadowed by the gigantic creations of modernity, has been a potent concealed counterforce in the construction of the modern world.”¹⁹

Hüppauf then suggests Ernst Bloch’s philosophy of the vernacular as the possibility to reconcile the new and the old world. This is utterly expressed by Bloch’s notion of *Heimat* as “a topos of the individual’s right to a self as soon as it can be rehabilitated against the domination of the temporalized and homogenized space of modernization without falling prey to an ideology of stable identity.”²⁰ Hence, for Bloch, *Heimat* goes beyond a place for stable identity, and a symbolic construction based in the pure and sacred character of the unspoiled soil of the pre-modern world. Rather, it is a state of mind that accepts the contingencies of modernity and it is both associated with a sense of belonging and a sense of the freedom to leave. As Hüppauf puts it, Bloch’s notion of *Heimat* is both *Heimweh* (homesickness) and *Fernweh*

15. Ibid.

16. Theodor W. Adorno, *The Jargon of Authenticity*, trans. Knut Tarnowski and Frederic Will (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 5.

17. Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity. A Critique* (Mass.: MIT Press, 1999), 183.

18. Ibid., 17.

19. Bernd Hüppauf, “Spaces of the Vernacular: Ernst Bloch’s Philosophy of Hope and the German Hometown,” in *Vernacular Modernism : Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*, ed. Bernd Hüppauf and Maiken Umbach (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005), 86.

20. Ibid., 91. Hüppauf makes a clear distinction between Bloch’s notion of *Heimat* and the nationalist use of that term, which was identified with rural spaces and rootedness. For an account on the relation between the notion of *Heimat* and modernity, see Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

(a longing for the unknown).²¹ It accommodates the native and the wanderer, and it thus contributes to reconceptualize the role of the vernacular in situating modernity.

Situating Modernity

Through the Age of Extremes, as Eric Hobsbawm called the short twentieth century (1914-1991), an understanding of modernity as a break with the past fuelled a type of argumentation based on polar opposites. In effect, according to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), modernity is “the quality or state of being modern.”²² The definition of “modern” reads as “relating to the present or recent times as opposed to the remote past.”²³ Hence, the very idea of modernity contributes to a rhetorical approach based on opposites. The etymology of the “modern” stems from the Latin word *modernus* and derives from *modo*, which expresses the idea of just now. Therefore, an attributive of modern, according to the OED, is “denoting a current or recent style or trend in art, architecture, or other cultural activity marked by a significant departure from traditional styles and values.” An earlier definition, in Webster’s Third New International Dictionary of 1971, defines modern as an adjective to qualify something “having the characteristics of a movement or style in the arts marked by a break with tradition esp. academic forms and techniques of expression, an emphasis upon experimentation, boldness, and creative originality, and an attempt to deal with modern themes.”²⁴

Following these definitions, modernity thus resonates with the idea of a “break with tradition” and with “creative originality”. However, there is a great deal of subjectivity in this definition, as tradition and originality can hardly be defined as objective concepts. In effect, in the Webster dictionary the entry “modern” is also a synonym of “common place, ordinary, trite as used, for example, in Shakespeare’s sentence ‘full of wise saws and modern instances’.” Therefore, according to these definitions, originality and common or ordinary can also resonate with the notion of modernity, as the condition of being modern.

In her *Architecture and Modernity*, Hilde Heynen defines modernity as an “element that mediates between a process of socioeconomic development known as modernization and subjective responses to it in the form of modernist discourses and movements.”²⁵ In 2001, Sarah Williams Goldhagen brought about a novel theoretical framework to discuss architectural modernism as one of these discourses, one that represents an important token to make sense of modernity either as a programmatic outlook, a *project* of progress and emancipation, or a transitory condition that stresses the transience of modern phenomena. Following Hilde Heynen’s distinction, Goldhagen examines architectural modernism as a subjective response

21. Hüppauf, “Spaces of the Vernacular,” 92.

22. “Modernity,” *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed February 8, 2014, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/modernity?q=modernity>.

23. “Modern,” *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed February 8, 2014, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/modern?q=modern>.

24. “Modern,” *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged*. (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1971).

25. For an insightful approach to the discussion of modernity see Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity. A Critique*, 8–14.

to modernization as the objective social given of modernity.²⁶ Against this backdrop, she thus brings about a new framework to understand the different scopes of architectural modernism, defining two dimensions, the political and the social.²⁷ On the one hand, modernism's political dimension was divided in three strains: the consensual, the negative-critical and the reformist. On the other hand, the social dimension of architectural modernism was divided in two strains: machine modernism and situated modernism.

The consensual strain grouped design approaches and historiographical views that supported democracy and capitalism as the kernel of modernity. The negative-critical strain challenged the extant political and economic institutions and aimed at creating a more equitable system. Finally, the reformist strain operated within the current status quo, though struggling to foster progress, reduce social inequality, and mitigate the *malaises* of capitalism.²⁸ Goldhagen keenly emphasizes the aftermath of the Second World War as a turning point where a concern with class conflict was superseded by a focus on political liberty. "When Cold War followed world war, and the growing welfare state and an economic boom sparked an explosion in mass consumerism," Goldhagen asserts, "reformers and negative critics came to fear that both communism and capitalism-driven mass consumption threatened to curtail individual freedom and stunt the individual's capacity to meaningfully identify with a community."²⁹ As opposed to the hegemony of a machine modernism in the interwar period, she contends the post-war paradigm shift would thus encourage the primacy of a situated modernism "by heightening users' self-awareness and by connecting them psychologically to a place or to one or several social groups."³⁰ In this process of situating modernity, as it were, there was a reassessment of the vernacular tradition as part and parcel of the tenets of architectural modernism.

Place and Placelessness

One of the supports for the construction of a situated modernity was thus a reconceptualization of the interwoven relation between architectural modernism and the vernacular tradition. At any rate, in the politics of architectural design and theory the relation between these two notions is ambivalent. They can be seen both as a pair of opposite attitudes towards societal change (social betterment versus stasis) or complementary cultural processes (invention driven by tradition).

In effect, this ambivalence is manifest in the entry "vernacular" in dictionaries of English. The etymology of the term originates from the Latin word *verna*, which refers to the "homeborn slave, native". For example, in the OED, vernacular is "the language or dialect spoken by the ordinary people of a country or region."³¹

26. For an elaboration on modernity's duality between a programmatic outlook and transitoriness, see Hilde Heynen, "Engaging Modernism," ed. Dirk Van den Heuvel and Piet Vollaard (presented at the Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday, Delft: Faculty of Architecture at Delft University of Technology, 2003), 21–32, <http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft2/heynen.pdf>.

27. Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Coda: Reconceptualizing the Modern," in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (The MIT Press, 2001), 301–23.

28. For a broader definition of the political dimensions of architectural modernism, see *Ibid.*, 304–305.

29. *Ibid.*, 311.

30. *Ibid.*, 312.

31. "Vernacular," *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed February 8, 2014, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/vernacular?q=vernacular>.

In Webster's Third New International Dictionary of 1971 it is defined as "a language or dialect native to a region or country rather than a literary, cultured, or foreign language."³² In these definitions the idea of native appears in opposition to foreign as "cultured", which implicitly assumes the latter as the most desirable condition. Concerning the spatial implications of the word, another instance of the definition in the Webster dictionary confirms vernacular as "belonging to or being a language or dialect developed in and spoken and used by the people of a particular place, region, or country in a form [...] considered nonstandard or substandard usu. as contrasted with literacy or cultured form." Furthermore, vernacular can even be directly related with the architectural discourse, by defining something "of, relating to, characteristic of, or expressed in the style of a place, period or group [...]; of, relating to, or being the common building style of a period or place: employing the commonest or most typical architectural forms and decoration." In the OED, its application to architecture indicates something "concerned with domestic and functional rather than public buildings."

Therefore, according to these dictionary definitions, the notion of vernacular is related with concepts such as particular or nonstandard but it can be also related with concepts resonating with common, typical, and even functional. These concepts could have direct associations with such notions as typification, universalization, and functionalism often associated with modernity as a project oriented towards the future, and architectural modernism as one of its subjective responses. This blurred limit is thus an important research field that has received growing attention, and its acknowledgement has contributed to overcome the Great Divide, as Andreas Huyssen put it.

Bernd Huppauf and Maiken Umbach, for example, contest the narratives that supported established theories of modernity, namely the "teleological story in which time replaced space, and universalization eliminated place and the local particularism characteristic of the premodern condition".³³ Therefore, they argue the domination of time over space in the modernization process must be challenged. In this context, they claim for a "rediscovery of the concrete experience", arguing that "the vernacular lived on as a strong subcurrent of modern praxis."

They use the notion of vernacular in a very precise fashion, though. They are keen in framing the concept as a "sense of place", a situated phenomenon. They thus reject accounts of the vernacular as a "universal idiom of popular (versus high) culture, with no, or at least no necessary, pattern of local, individual or other variation." In this fashion, they sought an alternative to narratives of the vernacular as those explored by scholars such as the American geographer John Brinckerhoff Jackson.³⁴

32. "Vernacular," *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged*. (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1971).

33. Bernd Huppauf and Maiken Umbach, "Introduction: Vernacular Modernism," in *Vernacular Modernism*, ed. M. Umbach and B. Huppauf (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005), I.

34. See note 2 of the introduction to Bernd Huppauf and Maiken Umbach, eds., *Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005), 199–200.

In effect, in his *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, published in 1984, J.B. Jackson was keen in challenging definitions of vernacular as conveyed by architects. Jackson argued that architects and architectural historians influenced the resonance between vernacular, timelessness, and lack of stylistic sophistication. Considering dwellings, for example, Jackson asserted,

Current definitions of the word usually suggest that the vernacular dwelling is designed by a craftsman, not an architect, that it is built with local techniques, local materials, and with the local environment in mind: its climate, its traditions, its economy – predominantly agricultural.³⁵

He challenged this view, and brought forth the importance of looking at the vernacular from an economic and political perspective. He thus asserted that the vernacular “has had a history of its own, distinct from that of formal architecture, and that far from being ‘timeless’ and determined by ancient archetypes, it has undergone a long and complicated evolution.” In effect, one of Jackson’s favourite topics of inquiry was the movable dwelling and its central role in shaping the American landscape.³⁶

This testifies to his keen commitment in undermining the conventional polarity between the pairs vernacular/tradition and modernity/innovation. Gwendolyn Wright goes further and asserts that Jackson’s idea of the vernacular contributed to challenge the alleged opposition between modern and vernacular, championed by the modernists. “As long as the vernacular remains distant in time and place, it actually serves modernists as a justification for their own visions,” she argues. And she goes further contending “respect for an ‘authentic vernacular’ purifies the modernist, inwardly and outwardly demonstrating at once a benevolent tolerance of difference and an ambitious desire for improvement.”³⁷ She nevertheless recognises the emergence, in the post-war period, of an intellectual change of paradigm in the architecture discipline, concerned with signalling a new aesthetics of cultural plurality. Using the Smithsons and Venturi & Scott Brown as examples, Wright contends “they discovered compelling qualities in vernacular languages: a vigorous, earthy physicality; a tolerant acceptance of difference and contingency; and a wry ingenuity, a continuous process of tinkering with, improving, or playfully personalizing something produced within a system.”³⁸

Hence, though the two positions examined above agree on dismantling the binary polarity between modernity and the vernacular, they also show a diverse conceptualization of the vernacular. On the one hand Huppauf and Umbach stress the centrality of place and the individual as the kernel of the notion of vernacular. On the other hand, Gwendolyn Wright, following

35. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 85.

36. See, for example, John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “The Movable Dwelling and How It Came to America,” in *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 88–101; John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “The Mobile Home on the Range,” in *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 50–67.

37. Gwendolyn Wright, “On Modern Vernaculars and J. B. Jackson,” *Geographical Review* 88, no. 4 (October 1, 1998): 476.

38. *Ibid.*, 478.

J.B. Jackson, emphasizes the importance of understanding vernacular languages as tokens of social, economic, and political phenomena. Both nevertheless contribute, I would suggest, to widen the notion of the vernacular. More than a mere dialect, static, geographically and historically bounded, the vernacular is now conceptualized as a lingua franca, that evolves dynamically and that is historically responsive.

1.2•The Vernacular as Lingua Franca

The idea of the vernacular as lingua franca resonates, I would argue, with what Stanford Anderson calls the cohesion of social and disciplinary memory in vernacular architecture, which, he contends, can be illustrated with innumerable instances around the world. An analysis to “the widely admired vernacular architecture of many parts of the world,” he asserts, would “show a close relation of social and building programs.”³⁹ The influence of vernacular architecture to architectural modernism went, Anderson highlights, beyond a mere appraisal of its formal qualities. Rather, he contends, “Muthesius and others, Le Corbusier and Aalto saw the vernacular as a conceptual model for a natural relationship between society and its artifacts.”⁴⁰ To be sure, from the 1930s through the 1960s, this natural relation, as it were, became the background against which the architectural debate would unfold, striving to make sense of the concatenations between the project of modernity and the preservation of situated identities.

Modernity, the Vernacular and the Mediterranean

In 1935, Josep Lluís Sert published in the journal *AC – Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea* an article with the title “Mediterranean Roots of Modern Architecture.”⁴¹ In this article Sert presents arguments where he shows that Mediterranean vernacular architecture has the same constants as Modern Architecture. This article was published only two years after the celebrated 4th CIAM congress, where, according to Josep Rovira “the *Mediterranean sector* became fortified (...). It could aspire to constituting the origin of all modern forms, a common home from which to broaden horizons.”⁴² In fact, Sert’s article can be used to illustrate what Barry Bergdoll considers the “Modern Movement’s instrumental engagement with the Mediterranean.”⁴³

Through several articles published in *AC*, Sert and his colleagues showed analogies between Mediterranean material culture and modern discourse and aesthetics. For example, the first issue of *AC*, published in March 1931, showed pictures of fisherman’s houses on the seaside town of Sant Pol de Mar and compared them with J.J.P. Oud’s housing project for the 1927 Weisenhof

39. Stanford Anderson, “The Vernacular, Memory, and Architecture,” in *Vernacular Modernism*, ed. M. Umbach and B. Huppau (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005), 162.

40. *Ibid.*, 171.

41. José Luis Sert, “Raíces Mediterráneas de la Arquitectura Moderna,” *AC – Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, no. 18 (1935): 31–36. This article was republished in Antonio Piza, ed., *J. LL. Sert and Mediterranean Culture* (Barcelona: Actar, 1998), 217–218. The journal *AC* was published by GATEPAC (Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles Para la Arquitectura Contemporánea), which was a group of architects created in 1930, strongly affiliated with the principles of the Modern Movement.

42. Josep M. Rovira, “The Mediterranean Is His Cradle,” in J. LL. Sert and Mediterranean Culture, ed. Antonio Piza (Ministerio de Fomento Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña Barcelona: Actar, 1998), 68. For more information on Sert see Josep M. Rovira, *José Luis Sert: 1901-1983* (Milano: Electa Architecture, 2003).

43. Barry Bergdoll, “Foreword,” in *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), xv.

Siedlung in Stuttgart. [Figure 1.01] For some authors, however, the outset of an engagement of modernity with the vernacular has to be traced back to the nineteenth century. For example, according to Barry Bergdoll,

By the end of the nineteenth century the idea of the vernacular as a more authentic expression of locality, weather tied to nationalistic or regionalistic arguments, had fully emerged, reinforced by the theories of the relationship of architectural expression to lifestyle, to climate, and to local custom, even geology.⁴⁴

With the emergence of criticism on the *beaux-arts* tradition, vernacular references became a useful support to contest academicism. The Arts and Crafts movement and the Viennese Secession can be offered as good examples for this approach. In the beginning of the twentieth century, this movement would have an influential role in the education of many architects, such as Adolf Loos and Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, who would eventually have leading roles in establishing the tenets of different strains of architectural modernism.⁴⁵ According to Francesco Passanti, Muthesius, an influential architect at that time, “dreamt of a modern vernacular – accelerated by intentional *Typisierung*, but vernacular nevertheless, ‘found’ in the anonymous developments of modern industrial society.”⁴⁶ Hence, Passanti further contends, when in the 1920’s Le Corbusier publishes in the magazine *L’Esprit Nouveau* his famous comparison between cars and Greek temples, he is doing nothing else than following Muthesius’ approach.⁴⁷

The entwined relation between the tenets of architectural modernism and the vernacular tradition pervaded ideological boundaries. In 1936, Giuseppe Pagano, by then director of the influential Italian architecture journal *Casabella*, and still engaged with the ideological principles of fascism, curated an exhibition at the Triennale de Milano.⁴⁸ The title of the exhibition was “Architettura rurale italiana: Funzionalità della casa rurale” (Rural Italian Architecture: Functionality of the Rural House).⁴⁹ [Figure 1.02] Though affiliated with the principles of Italian fascism, Pagano was nevertheless critical on the rhetorical monumentality of the architecture championed by the regime and used vernacular references to support the tenets of architectural functionalism. In effect, according to Michelangelo Sabatino, the 1936 exhibition, “convincingly demonstrated the extent to which vernacular buildings and urban forms suggested vital, ‘functionalist’ design solutions in contrast with the stale, historicizing tendency of official Fascist architecture.”⁵⁰ Pagano was at the same time interested in affirming the functionalist character of architectural modernism as well as its resonance with Italian national identity.⁵¹

Both Le Corbusier’s approach to the vernacular until the end

44. *Ibid.*, xvii.

45. For more information about the relation of Adolf Loos and the Secession group with the Mediterranean vernacular architecture, see Benedetto Gravagnuolo, “From Schinkel to Le Corbusier. The Myth of the Mediterranean in Modern Architecture,” in *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 15–39.

46. Francesco Passanti, “The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 4 (1997): 443.

47. According to Passanti, it is also very important to consider the influence of William Ritter on the young Charles-Edouard Jeanneret. For further development on this issue, see Passanti, “The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier”; Francesco Passanti, “The Modern, the Vernacular and Le Corbusier,” in *Vernacular Modernism*, ed. M. Umbach and B. Huppauf (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005), 141–56.

48. Giuseppe Pagano was an Italian jew, born in 1896. He was a member of the Fascist Party until 1942, when he became member of Italian anti-fascist movements. He was arrested in 1943 and died in the concentration camp of Mauthausen in April, 22nd 1945. For a comprehensive biographical account of Pagano, see Cesare Seta, ed., “Introduzione,” in *Giuseppe Pagano. Architettura e città durante il fascismo*, 3rd ed. (Milano: Editoriale Jaca Book, 2008), xix–lxxxiv.

49. The other curator of this exhibition was Guarniero Daniel.

50. Michelangelo Sabatino, “Space of Criticism: Exhibitions and the Vernacular in Italian Modernism,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 62, no. 3 (2009): 36.

51. For more information about the influential role of the 1936 exhibition, see Sabatino, “Space of Criticism.”

SAN POL DE MAR



.....Aparece el Standard. Ausencia de toda agrupación estética: fealdad, originalidad, estilos históricos, cultura escabrosa, individualismo...

Las mismas necesidades, los mismos caracteres, aprovechando las ventajas de la moderna técnica constructiva.

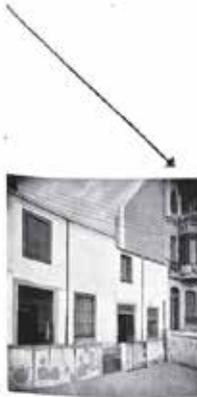


Figure 1.01. "Aparece el Standard" (The outset of the standard). Group of Fisherman's houses in the village of Sant Pol de Mar and J.J.P. Oud houses in the Weissenhoff Stuttgart, 1928, as published in *AC Documentos de Actividad Contemporanea 1* (1931).



110 XXXII - CASA A TERRAZZO NELLA CAMPAGNA DI NAPOLI



XXXIII - ARCHITETTURA RURALE DI BOSCOTRECASE (ZONA VESUVIANA) 111

Figure 1.02. Spread from the catalogue of the exhibition "Architettura Rurale Italiana" curated by G. Pagano and G. Daniel at the 1936 Triennale di Milano.

of the 1920's and Sert and Pagano's 1930s campaign to assert Mediterranean vernacular architecture as the roots of Modern Architecture can be seen as an instrumental use of the vernacular to establish the rupture with the *beaux arts* tradition. This phenomenon has to be placed against a background chiefly characterized by crisis and instability. In effect, according to William J. R. Curtis, in the 1930s after the shock waves generated by the economic depression, the optimism of the 1920s and its related confidence in the emergence of a new man and a new mechanized society, seemed to fall down. At any rate, Curtis argues, the house designed for Madame de Mandrot at La Pradet in 1929-1932 can be considered as the turning point in this process.⁵²

Architecture Without Architects

In parallel to this drive to re-frame the principles of architectural modernism, the influential MoMA in New York held in 1932 an exhibition dedicated to the architecture of the 1920s avant-garde. The name of the famous exhibition curated by Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "The International Style" would become both a mantra and a stigma.

From 1942 until 1946, with Elizabeth Mock replacing Johnson as the acting curator of MoMA's Department of Architecture and Design, new approaches would nevertheless surface. Mock commissioned several exhibitions whose concern shifted from the search for a universal language towards more regionalist approaches.⁵³ Mock believed in "regionalism as a necessary facet rather the antithesis of modernism."⁵⁴

In November 1944, during Mock's tenure, opened at the MoMA an exhibition curated by Bernard Rudofsky with the title "Are Clothes Modern?" [Figure 1.03] According to Felicity Scott, the aim of this exhibition was "to illustrate the resemblance between presentations of the human body in 'primitive' and 'modern' cultures. [...] The uncanny similarities were to call into question modern culture's 'myth' of rational utility and its concomitant design ethic: functionalism."⁵⁵ Rudofsky's agenda was thus to add his voice to critics of the "International Style" such as Lewis Mumford. Further, to enhance the irony of such an approach, it was done at the *alma mater* of the 1932 exhibition.⁵⁶

In fact, from the 1930s through the 1940s MoMA was the centre of some of the most polemical debates on modernity and architecture. Furthermore, a great deal of those debates were concerned with the relation of the so-called *International Style* with *other* modern approaches. For example, Mumford presented the architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region as a good example of architecture developed *from the ground up* instead of a *top down* elitist and artificially imposed operation.⁵⁷

52. Quoted in Passanti, "The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier," 438.

53. For more information about Mock's period as Director of MoMA's Department of Architecture, see Liane Lefaivre and Alexander Tzonis, *Critical Regionalism. Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World* (Munich: Prestel, 2003), 24–25.

54. Quoted in *ibid.*, 24.

55. Felicity Scott, "Underneath Aesthetics and Utility: The Untransposable Fetish of Bernard Rudofsky," *Assemblage*, no. 38 (1999): 61.

56. For more information about the 1944 exhibition, see Scott, "Underneath Aesthetics and Utility." For a comprehensive view on Rudofsky's work both as an architecture practitioner and a theorist, see Architektur Zentrum Wien, *Lessons from Bernard Rudofsky: Life as a Voyage* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2007). For an insightful view on the relation of Rudofsky with vernacular architecture, see Andrea Bocco Guarneri, "Bernard Rudofsky and the Sublimation of the Vernacular," in *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 231–49.

57. For the debate between Mumford and the supporters of the "International Style", see Lefaivre and Tzonis, *Critical Regionalism*, 25–31. See also The Museum of Modern Art, "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?," in *Architectural Regionalism. Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 293–309. This text resulted from a Symposium organized by the MoMA on 11 February 1948.



CONGO GARMENT, providing modern, actually deconstructive sensuality.

FAN BUSTLE, a revival of the Congo style, but similar design and same touch.

HOTTENTOT WOMEN made a virtue of abnormality, hyperplasty of buttocks.

VICTORIAN WOMEN wore big bustles which made them look like the Hottentots.

EVERY MODERN STYLE HAS A JUNGLE COUNTERPART

The most up-to-date of fashion designers, according to Ruschfeldt's theory, are slaves not only to the human inferiority complex but to the jungle. Thus the modern bustle fashion, shown from left, is only a modern counterpart of a very famous costume in the Belgian Congo. Indeed the very idea of a bustle, so popular in the Victorian age (below, right), is

simply a distortion of the female form into the elegance produced by a primitive abnormality. The buttocks of Hottentot women in South Africa grow to monstrous size thus deformity, thanks to mankind's preference for the inhuman rather than the natural, was greatly prized. Victorian designers, following my lead toward the grotesque, unconsciously devel-

oped a dress which simulated the Hottentot figure. Some primitives deliberately fattened their women to make them desirable (below, right). Mod-erns sometimes do the same thing in reverse (below, right). In general, as can be seen from the sketched figures at the top of the opposite page, all styles tend to deny the basic form of the human physique.



BEFORE RETROTHAL this Nigerian girl had shape which nature intended.

AFTER RETROTHAL same girl, making her face fattened by face-binding.

BEFORE GLAMORIZING as of 1920, girl is much too stout for current style.

AFTER GLAMORIZING the same girl is slim, thanks to John Powell Costello.

Figure 1.03. Review in the magazine *Life* (sep. 23, 1946) of the exhibition "Are Clothes Modern?" (1944) curated by Bernard Rudofsky, at the MoMA.

Movable architecture

Many so-called primitive peoples deplore our habit of moving (with all our belongings) from one house, or apartment, to another. Moreover, the thought of having to live in rooms that have been inhabited by strangers seems to them as humiliating as buying second hand old clothes for one's wardrobe. When they move, they prefer to build new houses or to take their old ones along.



158



159

Moving day in Guinea (above), and in Vietnam (opposite below). At left, two donkeys carrying structural elements, to be assembled into huts. Rendille nomads, Kenya.

Sometimes the borderline between clothes and habitation becomes blurred, as between a raincoat and a pup tent. Empty baskets (opposite top) may double as cover against the elements, portable roofs become umbrellas, and vice versa. Cherrapunji, India.

Figure 1.04. Page from Bernard Rudofsky's book *Architecture Without Architects*, featuring some of the cases showed at MoMA's exhibition "Architecture Without Architects" (1964).

Rudofsky's approach, however, kept this issue as a sub-text in his exhibition. According to Felicity Scott he "hoped to demonstrate that in failing to address the psychological, erotic, and 'primitive' dimensions present in the discourse of European modernism [...] the International Style has effected a powerful suppression."⁵⁸

The 1944 exhibition failed to attract the interest of people and fell short in fuelling the disciplinary debate. Inversely, two decades after, in 1964, Rudofsky curated another exhibition at the MoMA with the title "Architecture without Architects" which became an enormous success.⁵⁹ [Figure 1.04] With this exhibition and catalogue and, later on, with his 1977 book *The Prodigious Builders*, Rudofsky emphasizes his criticism on the rootless architecture of the *International Style* and the Bauhaus school. In a lecture delivered in 1981 he has clearly defined his position as follows:

Modern architecture's prophets and pioneers, whose doctrines went unchallenged for years, were almost invariably men of parochial mind, untraveled, and loath to venture beyond their drawing board. Their foremost aim was to homogenize the world of architecture by impressing upon it a vapid "International Style". Enamored of mechanization, addicted to waste, they considered nations that depended mainly on the utilization of sun, wind and water-power hopelessly primitive.

[...]

By sheer contrast, Le Corbusier's early writings and early buildings were a revelation to me. His Latin elegance of reasoning, his native sophistication, made the ponderous pronouncement of his Teutonic colleagues seem boring. Besides, painter and sculptor that he was, he greatly admired the freely modeled houses of the Greek islands and North African towns.⁶⁰

Although very clear in his positioning against the "International Style," Rudofsky's approach received criticism because he failed to build up a clear counter proposal. He was accused of lack of methodological efficiency, remaining, as pointed by Andrea Guarneri "almost always formal and estheticizing."⁶¹ In her reconceptualization of architectural modernism, Sarah Williams Goldhagen classifies Rudofsky in the category of negative-criticism. Rudofsky's praise on the architecture without architects, she argues, shows a withdrawal from the capitalist-controlled hegemony, "in search of genuine experiences in 'organic' societies that had remained untouched by capitalist development."⁶² His interest in primitivism clashed, nevertheless, with those who were outspokenly anti-moderns. In effect, as Goldhagen asserts, "Rudofsky's acid rejection of postwar modern cultures, his embrace of a nomadism familiar to undeveloped societies, smacked of the interwar years' anti-modernist regionalism relaminated with an ethnographic

58. Scott, "Underneath Aesthetics and Utility," 65.

59. According to Andrea Guarneri, the exhibition "circulated among eighty-four different venues for twelve consecutive years, thus making it in all probability the longest-running project in the history of MoMA's Department of Architecture and Design. The catalogue was translated in seven languages and sold, in the United States alone, more than one hundred thousand copies in the first twenty years". See Guarneri, "Bernard Rudofsky and the Sublimation of the Vernacular," 246.

60. Bernard Rudofsky, quoted in *ibid.*, 247.

61. *Ibid.*, 248. Among some of the critics of Rudofsky's approach is Paul Olivier, founder of the International Vernacular Architecture Unit. See, among others, Paul Oliver, *Dwellings. The Vernacular House Worldwide* (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2003).

62. Goldhagen, "Coda: Reconceptualizing the Modern," 317.

venerer.”⁶³

Rudofsky’s primitivism brings forth an emphasis on the formal aspects of what Stanford Anderson called the natural relationship between society and its artifacts. On the shifting terrain of post-war economic growth and Cold-War, as Goldhagen puts it, “reformers and negative critics held fast to the modern movement’s bedrock position in the cultural dimension, that tradition could not be the architect’s guiding authority in a world dominated by innovation and change.” And she thus concludes, “this conviction invited, or even demanded, fresh ideas and new forms.”⁶⁴ The emergence of these novel ideas and forms was supported by a paradigm shift in the disciplinary discourse and production.

A methodological shift of paradigm

In 1951, 15 years after Pagano’s exhibition, the Triennale de Milano organized another exhibition with vernacular architecture as the main focus. The “Mostra dell’Architettura Spontanea” (Spontaneous Architecture Exhibition) was brought together by a team of architects including Enzo Cerutti, Giancarlo de Carlo and Giuseppe Samoná.⁶⁵ According to Michelangelo Sabatino, with this exhibition, the curators argued, “the high density and heterogeneity of Italian villages, towns and cities could be seen as a corrective to the functional but socially insensitive tactics promoted in the Athens Charter.”⁶⁶ When this exhibition opened, Italy was under a thorough process of post war reconstruction with the help of the Marshall Plan. However, Sabatino contends, instead of taking advantage of industrialized techniques to promote cheaper and faster housing construction for the “newly urbanized working class”, the post-war republican Italian government promoted “artisanal and vernacular building approaches over modern, [...] [and] encouraged the development of small-scale, autonomous communities as ‘villages’.”⁶⁷ This exhibition can thus be presented as a new approach to the *use* of vernacular architecture, not only committed to aesthetics, rather focused on a cultural and technological approach.

This debate would travel further to the western part of the Mediterranean. In 1949 it was held in Madrid the 5th National Assembly of Spanish Architects, where Gio Ponti and Alberto Sartoris were special invitees. The two Italian architects delivered lectures where Mediterranean vernacular architecture was used as a reference for a new methodological approach. In effect, in an article published in the journal *Domus*, some weeks after the Assembly, Ponti stated that “how difficult is for us architects [...] to achieve a result as natural as that ‘architecture without architects’ that farmers and men of sea have always built with content unawareness.”⁶⁸ Ponti would be eventually responsible for the internationalization of the work

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., 311.

65. According to Michelangelo Sabatino the term “Spontaneous Architecture” was created by Franco Albini to avoid the connotation with the Fascist regime’s use of the term “Rural Architecture”. Moreover, this exhibition’s main concern was the urban vernacular, which “was thought to pose a viable model for contemporary urbanism”. See Sabatino, “Space of Criticism,” 44–45.

66. Ibid., 36.

67. Ibid., 44.

68. Gio Ponti, quoted in Jean-François Lejeune, “The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain. Sert, Coderch, Bohigas, de La Sota, Del Amo,” in *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 85.

of J.M. Coderch, whom he met in the 1949 Assembly. In effect, resonating with Sert's texts in *AC*, Coderch also championed the Mediterranean vernacular tradition as a vital reference for his architectural approach. However, instead of using it to *legitimize* the avant-garde, he was otherwise interested on a change of paradigm where architecture should develop the qualities of the spontaneous settlements.

Coderch eventually achieved international notoriety, in part because of his affiliation with Team 10. However, in Spain other experiences not so well known were being developed with the same goals as Coderch's and his colleagues of the Catalan Group R. The most important case was arguably the projects designed by a group of architects working for the INC (Instituto Nacional de Colonización), whose goal was to build new villages in the Spanish rural hinterland.⁶⁹ Among the most notable cases are the *Pueblos* designed by Alejandro de la Sota and José Luis Fernandez del Amo. [Figure 1.05] In effect, the project for Vegaviana, designed by Del Amo between 1956 and 1958, would receive international praise.⁷⁰ On the occasion of its presentation in the 1961 Bienal de São Paulo, where del Amo received the Gold Medal, Oscar Niemeyer praised Vegaviana as a work of "human, plastic, and social quality (...) whose architecture derives from man and serves his vital fulfilment."⁷¹ Niemeyer thus stressed the human and social qualities of del Amo's project, confirming the relevance of an account of vernacular references to support a more humanistic approach to the design of human settlements and buildings. Hence, rather than the result of an avant-garde aesthetic project, Vegaviana was thus prised as a new methodological approach for the design of communities supported by a sensible account of the vernacular tradition.

69. This Institute was created in 1939, in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War. This program aimed to "implement the proactive policy of land reclamation and rural foundation," and it created houses for half a million residents, approximately. For more information see Lejeune, "The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain."

70. For a thorough account of the work of Fernandez del Amo for the INC, see Miguel Centellas Soler, *Los Pueblos de Colonización de Fernandez Del Amo. Arte, Arquitectura Y Urbanismo* (Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2010).

71. Oscar Niemeyer, quoted in Lejeune, "The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain," 83–84.

72. Ortega Y Gasset, quoted in *ibid.*, 71.

This approach resonates with what the Spanish philosopher Jose Ortega y Gasset claimed in his short essay "Nuevas casas antiguas." According to Lejeune he was a supporter of the construction of new stylized houses (*casa in estilo*), arguing, however, they shouldn't be copied from a *catalogue*, but invented. Ortega y Gasset further contended, "those who claim tradition are the ones who do not follow it, for who talks about tradition means change."⁷² It is thus in this negotiation between tradition and change that sets the most challenging aspects of the work of Coderch and del Amo. They recognize the influence of vernacular references as a whole physical and cultural background to launch a renovated approach to the tenets of the Modern Movement in the interwar period. However, the vernacular tradition praised by Coderch and Del Amo was deeply associated with the ancestral building practices of the Mediterranean. At the turn of the 1950s, however, an *other* vernacular was gaining momentum.



Figure 1.05. Aerial view of Villalba de Calatrava (Ciudad Real), 1960. *Pueblo de Colonización* designed by J.L. Fernández del Amo in 1955. Source: Miguel Centellas Soler, *Los Pueblos de Colonización de Fernández del Amo* (Barcelona: FCA, 2010), 68.

From Grand to Ordinary Vernacular

In the main forum of debate on the principles of modern architecture, the CIAM Congresses, a paradigm shift was gaining currency in the aftermath of the Second World War.⁷³ A key moment in this process was the 9th CIAM congress held at Aix-en-Provence in 1953, and most notably the *grids* presented by the Algerian and Moroccan groups.⁷⁴ [Figure 1.06] The CIAM-Algiers group presented the “Bidonville Mahieddine Grid” and the CIAM Morocco presented two grids: “Moroccan Housing” and “Habitat for the greatest number”. The earlier was designed by GAMMA (Group d’Architects Modernes Marocains) and the latter by the group ATBAT (Atelier des Bâtitseurs) - Afrique.⁷⁵

These grids addressed the challenge of building mass housing to accommodate the rapid growth of communities of new urbanites with the support of methodological tools borrowed from the social sciences, namely the field of Anthropology.⁷⁶ This new methodological approach created a great impact in the members of the congress.⁷⁷ In effect, according to Tom Avermaete, “in these grids there was no reference to pure forms, appealing aesthetics, and rich architectural traditions, but rather to the messy everyday urban development - the bidonville - that emerges from poverty and necessity.” Further, he contends, “some of the old guard CIAM architects perceived this representation as a negative deviation from CIAM’s original goal that encompassed the delineation of radically modern and universal design solutions.”⁷⁸

This new paradigm shows a shift in CIAM’s focus from a platform for the promotion of a universal approach to design into a forum for the debate on design strategies to accommodate the everyday and cater for a disciplinary approach more dedicated to the individual, and the community. At any rate, according to Tom Avermaete, the Moroccan and Algerian CIAM groups’ search for a *new way of living* was not made “within the rich and longstanding ‘grand vernacular tradition’, but rather in the transient and ordinary vernacular environment of the bidonville itself.”⁷⁹

It is therefore possible, following Avermaete, to ascertain different approaches to the vernacular tradition as part and parcel of the drive to pursue a more humane concept of the habitat for the great number. If the panels showed by the Moroccan and Algerian CIAM groups showed the *ordinary* vernacular, Aldo van Eyck’s attention was focused on the *grand* vernacular. Van Eyck searched for *archetypal forms*, through the study of non-western cultures, such as the Dogon in the Sahara desert or the *pueblos* in New Mexico.⁸⁰ [Figure 1.07] According to Georges Teyssot,

73. For an overview of the CIAM Congresses, see Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000); Vittorio Gregotti, ed., “The Last CIAMs,” *Rassegna*, no. 52 (December 1992).

74. For an in-depth collection of articles about the 9th CIAM congress, see Jean-Lucien Bonillo and Claude Massu, eds., *La Modernité Critique. Autour Du CIAM 9 d’Aix En Provence* (Marseille: Editions Imbernon, 2006).

75. For more information on the North African CIAM groups, see Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Post-War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005); Francesca Eleb, “An Alternative to Functional Universalism: Ecochard, Candilis and ATBAT-Afrique,” in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (The MIT Press, 2001), 55–73; Zeynep Çelik, “Learning from the Bidonville,” *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 18 (Spring/Summer 2003): 70–74.

76. For an account on the tradition of anthropological research in the North-African French protectorates see Avermaete, *Another Modern*, 58–107.

77. This impact was reported by Alison Smithson in Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Meetings 1953-1984* (Delft: Publikatiebureau Bouwkunde, 1991), 19–20.

78. Tom Avermaete, “CIAM, TEAM X, and the Rediscovery of African Settlements. Between Dogon and Bidonville,” in *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 253.

79. *Ibid.*, 257.

80. For a development of the influence of Carl Jung in van Eyck’s interest in the “theory of Archetypes”, see Georges Teyssot, “Aldo van Eyck’s Threshold: The Story of an Idea,” *Log Winter 2008*, no. 11 (2008): 41.

Vers une „casbah” organisée...



46

47



248

Figure 1.07. Aldo van Eyck - “Vers une ‘casbah’ organisée...” Page from the issue of the magazine *Forum 7* (1959), *The Story of Another Idea*, dedicated to the history of CIAM.

For architects like van Eyck, the Dogon's world image came as an amazing ratification of their own (Western) system of analogies, which, for instance, had been enunciated during the CIAM 1959 in Otterlo with the reiteration of the classical credo: "a house must be like a small city if it's to be a real house; a city like a large house if it's to be a real city."⁸¹

In effect, at the 1959 Otterlo CIAM congress, Aldo van Eyck presented a panel called "Otterlo Circles" where he showed (in the "by us" circle) the three architectural traditions: the temple of Nike in the Acropolis – Immutability and Rest; a construction by van Doesburg – Change and movement; and a Aoulef settlement in the Sahara desert - Vernacular of the heart".⁸² [Figure 1.08] According to Avermaete, with the interplay of these dimensions, Van Eyck "wanted to suggest and illustrate that if contemporary architecture attempted to respond to the complete human identity, then it had to engage with the basic values that the different architectural traditions had brought to the fore throughout the ages."⁸³

This suggests a keen commitment in challenging the prevalence of binary polarities as systems of argumentation, privileging, instead, spaces of mediation. To be sure, this approach contributed decisively for the formulation of the concept of *threshold* in Aldo van Eyck's discourse, somehow resonating with the notion of *doorstep* for the Smithsons.⁸⁴ As Teyssot asserts, the idea was to put "the emphasis on dialogue as opposed to monologue."⁸⁵

Van Eyck's methodological approach using what Teyssot called an "ethnologization of the discourse" would contribute for the change of paradigm that developed since the aftermath of WWII and would be influential for the "anthropolization" of architectural discourse in the 1960s.⁸⁶ In effect, as Tom Avermaete puts it, "if in the pre-war period the studio had been the point of departure for the master-architects", in the post-war period the everyday reality of the terrain was the field of initial action for the "architect-ethnologist."⁸⁷ Hence, instead of the *glamour* of the Mediterranean islands with their white villages and cubic constructions, the everyday became the kernel of the disciplinary debate and production. Rather than looking at the vernacular as a legitimization to avant-garde approaches, these architects developed a greater interest in redefining their methodological tools in order to engage with vernacular traditions and thus pursue a more humanistic approach to the design of the built environment.

1.3•Engagement and Estrangement

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the change of paradigm discussed in the previous section pervaded the architectural milieu both at the core of the disciplinary debate (e.g. the CIAM

81. Ibid., 47. The classical credo paraphrased by Van Eyck can be dated back to the 15th century. Leon Battista Alberti's used this comparison in his *Treaty of Architecture*. See Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1991), 23.

82. The concept of "vernacular of the heart" was further developed by Van Eyck in two articles published in the journals "Forum" and "Via".

83. Avermaete, "CIAM, TEAM X, and the Rediscovery of African Settlements," 259.

84. For more information on the Smithson's concept of "doorstep" see Dirk Van den Heuvel, "The Spaces Between\ Encounters. Historical and Theoretical Backgrounds of the Architectural Teachings of Max Risselada and Hans Tupker," in *Lessons: Tupker/Risselada. A Double Portrait of Dutch Architectural Education 1953/2003*, ed. Dirk Van den Heuvel, Madeleine Steigenga, and Jaap Van Trieste (Amsterdam: SUN, 2003), 96–153; Max Risselada, "The Space Between," *OASE*, no. 51 (1999): 46–53.

85. Teyssot, "Aldo van Eyck's Threshold: The Story of an Idea," 35.

86. Ibid., 33–34.

87. Avermaete, *Another Modern*, 75.

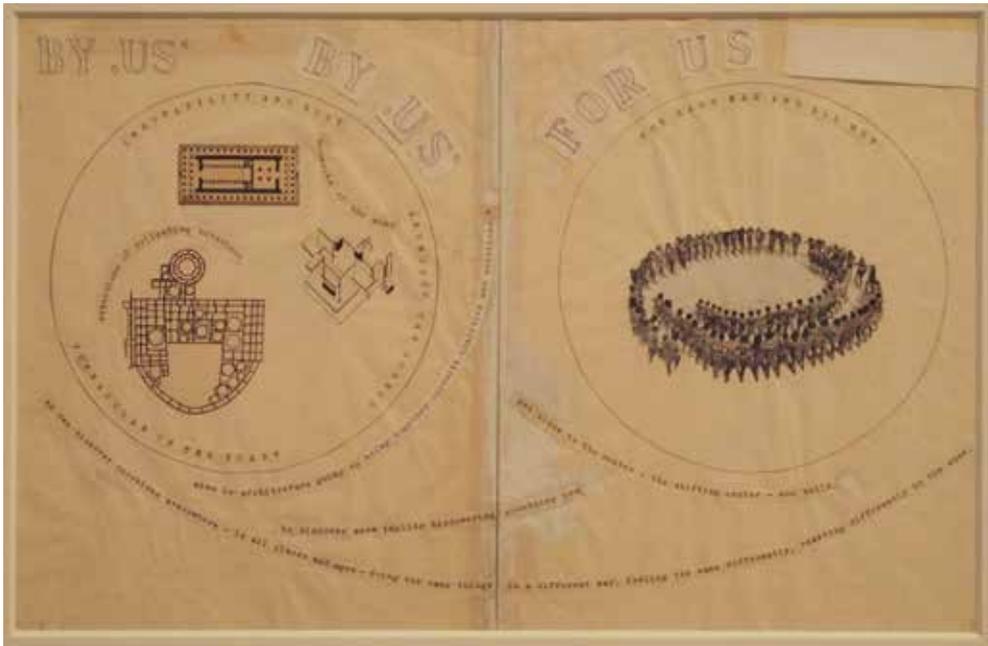


Figure 1.08. Aldo van Eyck - *Otterlo Circles*. Second version of the panel presented at the 1959 CIAM meeting in Otterlo, The Netherlands. Source: Aldo van Eyck archive. Photo: © Nelson Mota

congresses), and in its peripheries. To be sure, in Portugal, Távora and a generation of Portuguese architects born around the 1920s were taking advantage of, as Nuno Portas put it, “the first loose stitches in the anti-modern front which had always broken the continuity to all the precedent renovation attempts [...] to experiment a renewal in the vocabulary and ideas in the name of modernity.”⁸⁸ At that moment the discourse of some members of this generation was already tuned with the post-war debate on the revision of Modern Movement’s principles. However, only in the mid-1950s the discourse was materialized in actual projects and buildings.

The project presented by the Portuguese CIAM group at the 10th CIAM congress, held in Dubrovnik in 1956, is one of the first results of a major transformation in Portuguese architecture in general and housing design in particular. This project was one of the first products generated by an event that involved and influenced a whole generation of architects: the *Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa* (Survey to Portuguese Regional Architecture, hereafter, referred to as “the Survey”). The Survey, whose field work started in 1955, fuelled the emergence of an architectural approach responsive to the context, supported by humanist principles, which resonated with the avant-garde debate in the 1950s, discussed earlier. An approach that, according to Alexandre Alves Costa, was able to “conciliate erudite architecture with vernacular tradition.”⁸⁹

This was not an episodic event, though. In effect, the resilience of this design *ethos* can be attested by the consistency of the architecture produced by a generation of Portuguese designers, whose work eventually became known internationally. Arguably, in the period from the 1960s through the 1980s, the four most notable figures were Fernando Távora and Álvaro Siza from Porto, next to Nuno Teotónio Pereira and Nuno Portas from Lisbon. Among them, Siza would be singled out as an exceptional case in the international trade media and in the disciplinary debate. In fact, some decades after, in the 1980s, Kenneth Frampton would include Álvaro Siza as one of the references of “critical regionalism”, a notion that, according to Frampton, was meant to counter the “demagogic tendencies of Populism”, devoid of a “critical perception of reality”, and driven to develop “simple-minded attempts to revive the hypothetical forms of a lost vernacular.”⁹⁰

Therefore, as Frampton highlights, in this dialogue between modernity and vernacular, there is a delicate boundary dividing a critical from a populist approach. In this path from its instrumental use in the 1930s to its methodological appropriation in the 1950s, from the *ideal* man to the *real* man, vernacular references were used as support to cope with identity politics and to develop a more humanist approach for designing the

88. Nuno Portas, “Arquitecto Fernando Távora: 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional,” *Arquitectura* 1961, no. 71 (1961): 11.

89. Alexandre Alves Costa, *Introdução ao Estudo da História da Arquitectura Portuguesa. Outros Textos sobre Arquitectura Portuguesa* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1995), 62.

90. Kenneth Frampton, “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance,” in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend (WA): Bay Press, 1983), 21.

habitat for the great number. Then, from his peripheral position, from the *arrière-garde*, Távora, the generation of the Survey and their disciples progressively defined what Giovanni Leoni called the “*third way* approach between traditionalist formalism and architectural internationalism”, being contemporary at the same time as concerned with history, without falling prey to the demagogy of populism.⁹¹

At the same time that this generation of Portuguese architects explored this liminal position, the disciplinary debate was digging out a gap between reality and utopia, between populism and dogma. In the 1970s, Manfredo Tafuri and the members of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) became the main voices in a debate that questioned the extent to which the architectural discipline should remain an autonomous field of investigation or cater for social change. In this debate, the virtues and perils of an intercourse between modernity and the vernacular became once again a key aspect in reconceptualising disciplinary approaches that negotiated a position between the real and autonomy.

Between the Real and Autonomy

In 1974, Manfredo Tafuri published in *Oppositions* his influential article “L’Architecture dans le Boudoir”, where he has delivered a critique of the coeval use of “language” in architectural criticism.⁹² In this article, Tafuri denounces the tendency for a withdrawal from utopia, for a concern with escaping from all that can have a meaning, thus rejecting ideology and social function. Tafuri brings about the glimmering of an architectural approach that is perilously hovering between “commentary” and “criticism” attempting to resolve the problem of its own meaning. This approach, which Tafuri calls a “regressive utopia”, is paralleled in the article with James Stirling’s enigmatic and ironic use of “quotation” as a challenge to the tradition of Modern Movement. He claims “Stirling has rewritten the ‘words’ of modern architecture, constructing an authentic ‘archaeology of the present.’”⁹³

Tafuri recognizes in Stirling’s works a full-fledged poetics of the *objet trouvé*, which he uses to *distort* canonical signs and thus mediating “the hermetic metaphors, intrinsic to the finds uncovered by his archaeological excavations of the tradition, and their assemblage.”⁹⁴ According to Tafuri, Stirling performs astonishing juxtapositions through surreal encounters both with the landscape and pre-existing structures. These juxtapositions resonate, thus, with a deliberate withdrawal from the social towards the aesthetic. In fact, Tahl Kaminer argues that, for Tafuri, the work of the neo-avant-garde was just empty signs, forms empty of meaning, which would, eventually, foster a path towards architecture’s disciplinary autonomy. He contends

91. Giovanni Leoni, “Oltre Il ‘Moderno’: L’architettura Di Fernando Távora,” in *Fernando Távora. Opera Completa*, ed. Giovanni Leoni and Antonio Esposito (Milano: Electa, 2005), 42.

92. This article was first published in Manfredo Tafuri, “L’Architecture Dans Le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language,” trans. Victor Caliandro, *Oppositions*, no. 3 (April 1974). A revised and enlarged version was translated into English in 1998, in Manfredo Tafuri, “L’Architecture Dans Le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language,” in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, ed. K. Michael Hays (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1998), 148–73. In this dissertation, the references will report to the 1998 version.

93. Tafuri, “L’Architecture Dans Le Boudoir,” 1998, 149.

94. *Ibid.*, 152.

that “in this era of anti-modernist sentiment, the sole form of modernism that could be salvaged was the aesthetic rather than social modernism: the Villa Savoye but not the Unité d’Habitation, Villa Stein but not Plan Obus.”⁹⁵

Kaminer highlights, however, that the emergence of architectural autonomy as a form of critique would eventually led to the emergence of a critical architectural approach dwelling between “the Real” and “Autonomy”. K. Michael Hays’ essay “Critical Architecture”, published in 1984, would epitomize this in-between approach. “Following the failure of the modernist avant-garde”, Kaminer argues, “the two available architectural categories are architecture ‘bursting towards the real’ - Venturi - and silent, autonomous architecture - Rossi and Eisenman.” Thus, the real and autonomy would define K. Michael Hays’ opposite poles between which a critical architecture should be pursued. An architecture that, according to Hays, “claims for itself a place *between* the efficient representation of preexisting cultural values and the wholly detached autonomy of an abstract formal system.”⁹⁶ Highlighting the powerlessness of an autonomous architecture, Hays has championed instead an alternative position where a culturally informed product can be placed before the world, assuming, nevertheless, discontinuities and differences both from an authoritative culture and an authoritative formal system.⁹⁷

From the 1960s on, this debate unfolds against a background where the discipline is following ambiguous trends concerning the negotiation of its autonomy. On the one hand, paper architecture gained momentum and visibility with the works of, for example, Cedric Price, Archigram or Superstudio. Although rejecting the architectural object, paper architecture was a statement of architecture’s disciplinary autonomy for it hardly could be related with the ordinary, with the status quo. Paper architecture was, as Tahl Kaminer puts it, a way of solving the woes of modernism through a displacement of the discipline from a compromised society. On the other hand, however, another kind of autonomy was emerging: people’s autonomy to build their own homes. This approach challenged the idea of design, and praised, for example, forms of spontaneous construction and occupation of built spaces, such as the squatting movement. This trend would be epitomized by the work and writings of John F.C. Turner, specially his *Freedom to Build*, co-edited in 1972 with Robert Fichter, and his *Housing by People* published in 1976. In these books, citizens empowerment was paralleled with a disavowal of authorship in favor of network structures.⁹⁸ In this context, then, citizens’ participation in the design decision-making process became arguably the most conspicuous disciplinary challenge that came about over the 1970s.

95. Tahl Kaminer, *Architecture, Crisis and Resuscitation: The Reproduction of Post-Fordism in Late-Twentieth-Century Architecture*, 1st ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 95.

96. K. Michael Hays, “Critical Architecture: Between Culture and Form,” *Perspecta* 21 (January 1984): 15. For a thorough account of the American debate on disciplinary autonomy and its political overtones, see Robert E. Somol, ed., *Autonomy and Ideology: Positioning an Avant-Garde in America* (New York: Monaceli Press, 1997).

97. This tension between culture and form is, I would argue, yet another reverberation of the 19th century debate on the polarity between the German concepts of *Zivilization* and *Kultur*, which would be systematically reassessed throughout the 20th century. In fact, just one year before K. Michael Hays’ article, Kenneth Frampton had published his influential essays on critical regionalism. Frampton’s formulation of critical regionalism was supported, among others, by Paul Ricoeur’s 1961 essay where the latter discusses the conditions to accomplish the delicate balance between universal civilization and local culture. For an insightful account on the debate on the German concepts of *Zivilization* and *Kultur* see Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 2nd Edition (Wiley-Blackwell, 2000), 5–30.

98. John F. C. Turner and Robert Fichter, eds., *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process* (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1972); John F. C. Turner, *Housing by People. Towards Autonomy in Building Environments* (London: Marion Boyards, 1976).

The Timeless Way of Building

In the aftermath of the late 1960s protest movements, the politics of architectural design and theory revived this engagement with the vernacular. Christopher Alexander's book *The Timeless Way of Building*, published in 1979, brought together his interest in the so-called "quality without a name" embedded in the vernacular tradition.⁹⁹ While Rudofsky's account of the vernacular was strongly focused on highlighting its formal aspects, Alexander was chiefly interested in emancipating building practices from "systems" and "methods" generated by a disciplinary approach that produces dead, lifeless, and artificial places. "This seeming chaos which is in us is a rich, rolling, swelling, dying, lilting, singing, laughing, shouting, crying, sleeping *order*," Alexander argued.¹⁰⁰

Hence, artificial images of order were just an illusory refuge for a disciplinary approach hindered by a fear of chaos. To purge these illusions, Alexander thus contended, "we must first learn a discipline which teaches us the true relationship between ourselves and our surroundings." And he went further arguing, "once this discipline has done its work, and pricked the bubbles of illusion which we cling to now, we will be ready to give up the discipline, and act as nature does." Then, he concluded, "this is the timeless way of building: learning the discipline – and shedding it."¹⁰¹

Alexander's timeless way of building was imbued with the so-called quality without a name, which was "this subtle and complex freedom from inner contradictions [...] which makes things alive."¹⁰² His position was strongly determined by a pastoral vision of the events related with nature and the everyday. According to Alexander, we should be able to understand the patterns, dead or alive, of events experienced in each culture, space and age, recognizing their structure. Then, architects and other experts involved in building processes should work together to regulate the autonomous creation of the parts, thus guaranteeing "that the local process of adaptation will not only make the local part truly adapted to its own process, but that it will also be shaped to form a larger whole."¹⁰³

99. Christopher Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building* (New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 1979).

100. *Ibid.*, 15.

101. *Ibid.*, 16.

102. *Ibid.*, 28.

103. *Ibid.*, 165.

In Diane Ghirardo's "Architecture of Deceit", she designated Alexander's position "Architecture as feeling", as opposed to the formalist's approach to "architecture as art". In both cases, however, Ghirardo contends the politics of building was overlooked in favour of "the trivial issues of fashion and taste." In Alexander's case, she claims, "underlying this archaeology of primitive forms is a desperate search, shared with the formalists, for a universal architecture and a universal standard of value." Then, she goes on asserting, in the architecture as feeling "there is a concomitant aggressive hostility toward critical positions

that engage in dialogue with the unresolved, uncomfortable, politically explosive, and unharmonious.”¹⁰⁴ Instead of architecture of substance, Ghirardo concludes, Alexander’s architecture as feeling is architecture of deceit.

The discipline’s withdrawal from the political, highlighted by Diane Ghirardo in 1984, fails to address the full spectrum of the architectural debate in the early 1980s, though. To be sure, from the late 1960s on, the disciplinary impact of movements supporting grassroots empowerment concurred with the issues of fashion and taste in shaping the politics of building, developing a critique of the existing power structures, of the ways power is used, and of the identity of those whose interests power serves.

Architects, Power and Grassroots Empowerment

In her seminal essay published in 1969, Sherry Arnstein boldly contended “the idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you.”¹⁰⁵ Participation, in effect, resonates with a healthy democratic system where people should be mutually responsible for social inclusion. In the context of artistic production, Claire Bishop similarly reports that from the participatory impulse of the 1960s until today, “the gesture of ceding some of all authorial control is conventionally regarded as more egalitarian and democratic than the creation of a work by a single artist.”¹⁰⁶ Next to this concern with authorship, Bishop highlights two other vital aspects related with participation in art: activation and community. The earlier resonates with a drive to empower the subject by “the experience of physical or symbolic participation” and the latter aims at restoring the social bond through “a collective elaboration of meaning.”¹⁰⁷

For Bishop, activation, authorship, and community are thus aspects inherent to participatory art, which enhance critical consciousness and even physical involvement. However, the interwoven relation of these aspects agitates the existing system of power relations. In effect, reporting to her North-American context, Sherry Arnstein asserted “the applause is reduced to polite handclaps, [...] [when citizens participation] is advocated by the have-not blacks, Mexican/Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Eskimos, and whites.” And she goes even further contending, “when the have-nots define participation as redistribution of power, the American consensus on the fundamental principle explodes into many shades of outright racial, ethnic, ideological, and political opposition.”¹⁰⁸ Arnstein thus defines citizens’ participation as “the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future.”¹⁰⁹

104. Diane Ghirardo, “Architecture of Deceit,” *Perspecta*, no. 21 (1984): 113.

105. Sherry Arnstein, “A Ladder of Citizens Participation,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35, no. 4 (July 1969): 216.

106. Claire Bishop, “Introduction. Viewers as Producers,” in *Participation*, ed. Claire Bishop (London; Cambridge, Mass.: Whitechapel ; MIT Press, 2006), 12.

107. *Ibid.*

108. Arnstein, “A Ladder of Citizens Participation,” 216.

109. *Ibid.*

The American architect C. Richard Hatch also championed the enhancement of social inclusion through participation, as advocated by Arnstein. In his *The Scope of Social Architecture*, published in 1984, Hatch campaigned in favour of a theory of social architecture, bringing about many instances on “the power of architecture not merely to reflect reality, but also to change it.”¹¹⁰ Hatch was outspokenly critical on the so-called commercial architecture, academic architecture, i.e. postmodernism, and the autonomist drive of the likes of Aldo Rossi and Peter Eisenman. Instead, he praised disciplinary approaches that “propose solutions able to satisfy immediate needs and open up new visions of life and work.”¹¹¹ He defined social architecture as the convergence of three principles that would overcome the alienation of the society of that time.

Participation, rational transparency and the city as education were thus his instruments to create “an architecture ‘in-between’”, avoiding idealistic utopias yet still addressing the need to challenge received ideas and propose alternatives. As opposed to the withdrawal of the discipline as suggested by John Turner, Hatch brought architecture to the core of the process. However, he emphasized the role of the architect should change. “The power of architecture,” he argued, “can continue in the service of the *status quo*, or it can be harnessed to a program of social change.” And he went further contending, “as social architecture in its practice and theory not only proposes the world transformed, but also suggests the means of its transformation, stern choice is again put to us as architects.”¹¹²

As Arnstein and Hatch argued, citizens’ participation and social architecture, challenge the existing power relations, the *status quo*, thus inevitably affecting the design decision-making process. In effect, the interplay between urban planners, architects and grassroots movements brings about a delicate relation between the power of the first two groups and the empowerment of the latter. In this context, the negotiation of power relations becomes a central aspect to discuss how participatory processes influence the field of the design disciplines.

110. C. Richard Hatch, ed., *The Scope of Social Architecture* (Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984), 3.

111. *Ibid.*

112. *Ibid.*, 10.

113. Tim Richardson and Stephen Connely, “Reinventing Public Participation: Planning in the Age of Consensus,” in *Architecture and Participation*, ed. Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till (London and New York: Taylor and Francis, 2005), 81.

Tim Richardson and Stephen Connely, argue that “the development of theory in urban and regional planning, and in public policy more broadly, has been marked by a continuing debate over the relationship between rationality and power in policy-making.”¹¹³ They identify three competing theories: planning through instrumental rationality (value-less, scientific processes, technocratic); through communicative rationality (deliberative); and through real-life rationality (political struggle between competing interests). Participatory processes, they argue, resonate with planning and designing theories engaged with the idea of communicative rationality, chiefly inspired by a Habermasian ideal where processes of argumentation

foster consensus in conflictive processes.¹¹⁴ However, there is an ambivalent assessment of power in communicative theorists that aim at empowering disadvantaged interests: they acknowledge power relations and the potential productive use of power, but frame it as negative, coercive and oppressive.¹¹⁵ The communicative ideal thus aims at creating social order and empowering disadvantaged interests by shunning conflicts fostered by power relations.

This approach is, however, challenged by a belief that grassroots empowerment dwells in accepting conflicts as an emancipatory token. According to Bent Flyvberg “Habermas, among others, views conflict in society as dangerous, corrosive and potentially destructive of social order, and therefore in need of being contained and resolved.” And he goes further contending, “in a Foucauldian interpretation, conversely, suppressing conflict is suppressing freedom, because the privilege to engage in conflict is part of freedom.”¹¹⁶

In the context of this debate on power relations and its resonance with participatory processes in design decision-making processes, the role played by the “expert” becomes vital. Following Foucault’s notion of “specific intellectuals” engaged with social change, architectural expertise thus contributes to foster the empowerment of grassroots movements by actually exerting its power rather than shunning from doing it. Tim Richardson and Stephen Connely call this approach a pragmatic consensus, which accepts the presence of conflicts and exclusions in the process. “The design of a consensus-building process”, they argue, “is an expression of the power of the initiators and a select group of stakeholders able to exert influence over process design and management, and that exclusion is at the heart of these particular power relations.” They thus emphasize “that this is not inherently ‘bad’, but that it *is* inherent in consensus-building.”¹¹⁷

The role of the architect in participatory processes becomes thus vital to yield a creative output from these conflicts and exclusions. The contingent character of these processes, however, emphasizes the dependent nature of architecture, as Jeremy Till, put it. Architects, according to Till, should nevertheless take advantage of contingency to enhance their engagement in fostering social inclusion. As opposed to those who champion disciplinary autonomy, Till contends that “where order and certainty close things down into fixed ways of doing things, contingency and uncertainty open up liberating possibilities for action.” And he concludes asserting, “in this light contingency is more than just fate; it is truly an opportunity.”¹¹⁸

The creative potential of contingency, I would argue, goes further than just being the other of order. A confrontation with

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid., 85.

116. Quoted in *ibid.*, 86–87.

117. Ibid., 98.

118. Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009), 55.

the “as found” is also part and parcel of architectural operations that challenge dogmatic approaches and accept a condition of thirdness.

Thirdness, Architecture and Contingency

The “as found” approach is part of a wider methodological debate focused on the notion of “context”, which became central in the post-war architectural discourse. At the CIAM congresses and Team 10 meetings, for example, it was a key aspect of the critique to modern movement’s principles formulated in the interwar period. In the 1950s, according to Adrian Forty, Ernesto Rogers used the expression *preesistenza ambientale* to criticize the first generation of modern architects’ “tendency to treat every scheme as a unique abstract problem, their indifference to location, and their desire to make of every work a prodigy”. Forty further contends that Rogers argued in favour of “architecture as a dialogue with the surroundings, both in the immediate physical, but also as a historical continuum.”¹¹⁹ In the 1960s, the Italian word *ambiente* was translated into English as “context” despite having different meanings in the original Italian. Context and contextualism would eventually become key concepts in the works of authors such as Christopher Alexander, Colin Rowe, and Kenneth Frampton.

The idea of context, however, has had multiple interpretations. According to Dirk van den Heuvel, “in the 1950s, the idea of context was connected to the biological idea of ‘environment’, to an idea of ‘ecological urbanism’, and of course, to the concept of ‘habitat’, which scoured the CIAM debates and ultimately led to its demise.” “By the 1970s, however,” he goes on contending, “context had come to mean historical context in the first place, while being refashioned as typo-morphological orthodoxy.”¹²⁰ Nevertheless, Van den Heuvel argues, “in the case of the Smithsons, and Team 10 in general, the value attached to specificity-to-place and context-building leads to quite the opposite of a historically grounded, typo-morphological orthodoxy.”¹²¹ Since the beginning of the New Brutalism debate, “to the Smithsons, ‘context thinking’ was part and parcel of an architecture which was the ‘result of a way of life’, a ‘rough poetry’ dragged out of ‘the confused and powerful forces which are at work’”.¹²² Therefore, he points out, “the ‘newness’ of the ‘machine-served society’ – the technology and market-driven consumer society, the allegedly resulting loss of sense of place and community – was a central and constitutive part of the problem of a context-responsive architecture.”¹²³

In the 1980s, with his writings on the notion of “critical regionalism”, Kenneth Frampton delivered a major contribution to discuss the political overtones of the debate on architecture and context. Frampton conceptualized that notion as a resistant

119. Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 132.

120. Dirk van den Heuvel, “Another Sensibility – The Discovery of Context,” *OASE*, no. 76 (September 2008): 23.

121. *Ibid.*, 24.

122. *Ibid.*, 35.

123. *Ibid.*, 41.

attitude to both dogmatic and populist design approaches. The term “critical regionalism”, coined in 1981 by Tzonis and Lefaivre in their article “The Grid and the Pathway”, was used by Frampton to define an architectural approach that “distances itself equally from the Enlightenment myth of progress and from a reactionary, unrealistic impulse to return to the architectonic forms of the preindustrial past.”¹²⁴ What defined the resistant characteristic of this architecture was its strategy of mediating the world culture with the peculiarities of a particular place, taking into account such things as topography, context, climate, light, and tectonic form. Frampton argued that this approach stands in contradistinction to the populists’ demagogic use of communicative and instrumental signs as primary vehicles.

The idea of critical regionalism was nevertheless charged with a certain ethnographic approach used, for example, to describe the work of Álvaro Siza. The Portuguese architect was, in fact, a regular presence in, and sometimes even the flagship of, Frampton’s writings on critical regionalism. Critics such as Alan Colquhoun and Peter Testa challenged this ethnographic approach. The latter contends “for ‘Critical Regionalism’ to serve as a means of identifying an architectural position I interpret that it demands that the relations between architectural forms and elements be primarily rooted in local traditions, while the elements which make up the architecture may or may not be local.”¹²⁵ And he goes further questioning, Siza’s architecture is “derived from indigenous sources and ideas? Or conversely, is it derived from universal sources inflected by local conditions?”¹²⁶ The tension between universal civilization and rooted culture emerges as the framework for Testa’s criticism on Frampton’s position. He argues “Frampton’s Critical Regionalism, as currently formulated, contains basic methodological problems that neutralize it as a critical position and render it incapable of explicating Siza’s architecture. I contend that Siza is not a regionalist architect.”¹²⁷ Testa calls this architectural approach a “non-imitative contextualism.”¹²⁸ He claims that “for Siza the site is an artifact which lies beyond design, as a socio-physical and historical matrix made up of superimpositions, transformations, conflicting demands and interpretations.”¹²⁹

The creative potential of contingency in the work of Álvaro Siza is thus emphasized by Testa, who stresses the difficulties of using an umbrella definition, such as critical regionalism, to qualify such a hybrid approach where both the values of the universal civilization and rooted culture are present at the same time. “Siza’s contextualism,” he asserts, “involves the construction of relational structures, which include systematic transgressions, and his works do not simply develop by replication or analogy to the setting. [...] This architecture is both autonomous and involved with its surroundings.”¹³⁰

124. Frampton, “Towards a Critical Regionalism,” 20.

125. Peter Testa, *The Architecture of Álvaro Siza* (Porto: Edições FAUP, 1988), 11. This study was originally published in 1984 by the MIT, Department of Architecture, Program in History, Theory and Criticism; as ‘Thresholds working paper 4’.

126. *Ibid.*

127. *Ibid.*, 10.

128. *Ibid.*, 130.

129. *Ibid.*

130. *Ibid.*, 132.

Following Testa, in Álvaro Siza's architectural operations there is thus an ambivalent relation with the circumstance, where engagement and estrangement follow each other in consecutive turns. This ambivalence, I would argue, resonates with Homi Bhabha's idea of cultural hybridization. According to Bhabha, "produced through the strategy of disavowal, the *reference* of discrimination is always to a process of splitting as the condition of subjection." And he goes further asserting this strategy expresses "a discrimination between the mother culture and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something *different* – a mutation, a hybrid."¹³¹

However, from the perspective of the hegemonic power relations, hybridity challenges the classical roles that result from the exercise of authority; it creates a menace to the identification of clear forms of subjectivity. He argues that "the paranoid threat from the hybrid is finally uncontainable because it breaks down the symmetry and duality of self/other, inside/outside." He thus concludes, "in the productivity of power, the boundaries of authority – its reality effects – are always besieged by 'the other scene' of fixations and phantoms."¹³²

A condition of thirdness, thus, emerges from this challenge to previously accepted symmetries and dualities. Something that Bhabha describes as "an 'interstitial' agency that refuses the binary representation of social antagonism. Hybrid agencies find their voice in dialectic that does not seek cultural supremacy or sovereignty."¹³³ Hence, in this context, as Edward Soja puts it, Frampton's claim of critical regionalism as an architecture of resistance "introduces a critical 'other-than' choice that speaks and critiques through its otherness."¹³⁴ In effect, Frampton recuperates Abraham Moles' concept of interstices of freedom to declare that the flourishing of critical regionalism "within the cultural fissures that articulate in unexpected ways the continents of Europe and America [...] is proof that the model of the hegemonic center surrounded by dependent satellites is an inadequate and demagogic description of our cultural potential."¹³⁵ In any event, I would thus argue, the duality and dichotomy that pervades theoretical constructs such as social architecture or critical regionalism emphasizes a condition of thirdness, where the creative potential of contingency becomes instrumental to dwell beyond binary polarities.

Thirdness thus challenges the retreat into conformism stimulated by an instrumental use of a rhetoric of difference to encourage a liberal drive. As Cornelius Castoriadis puts it, this rhetoric is "complacently mixed up with loose but fashionable talk about 'pluralism' and 'respect for the difference of the other', it ends up glorifying eclecticism, covering up sterility, and providing a generalised version of the 'anything goes' principle."¹³⁶

131. Homi K. Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (October 1985): 153. Original emphasis.

132. *Ibid.*, 158.

133. Homi K. Bhabha, "Cultures in Between," *Artforum* 32, no. 1 (September 1993): 212.

134. Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, 1st ed. (Wiley-Blackwell, 1996), 61.

135. Kenneth Frampton, "Prospects for a Critical Regionalism," *Perspecta* 20 (1983): 149.

136. Cornelius Castoriadis, "The Retreat from Autonomy: Post-Modernism as Generalised Conformism," *Democracy & Nature* 7, no. 1 (2001): 25.

This thus creates a paradoxical instrumentalization of binary polarities. Choice and liberty are championed as the opposites of oppression and alienation. However, as Castoriadis argues, they eventually serve to perpetuate the hegemony of the status quo, dissolving resistance.¹³⁷

1.4•Polarity and Hegemony

In this chapter several instances of a rhetorical approach based on polar oppositions were examined. In the interwar period of the twentieth century, the mechanical tropes of architectural modernism were brought forward in opposition to traditional craftsmanship. In the aftermath of the Second World War, a focus on local cultures countered the alleged pervasiveness of universal civilization. The individual empowerment that unfolded after the protest movements of the late 1960s attempted to counter the hegemonic power shaped by the capitalist system and the welfare state. In the current historical moment, finally, the status quo stimulates a retreat into conformism with an instrumental use of a rhetoric of difference to encourage a liberal drive and thus perpetuate its hegemony. In all these moments, binary polarities were instrumental to cope with the challenging relation between modernity and the vernacular in the architecture of dwelling.

Negotiation and Confrontation

In his *Polarity and Analogy*, G.E.R. Lloyd highlighted the extensive use of polar opposites in early Greek thought. For example, in *On the Nature of Man*, one of the Hippocratic treatises, a cosmological theory based on the *hot*, the *cold*, the *wet*, and the *dry* is put forward. Lloyd nevertheless affirms that for the author of that treatise “generation can only take place when these opposites are correctly balanced.”¹³⁸ This illustrated a commonplace of Greek medical theory, which consisted in asserting that a healthy body was the result of a balance of opposed factors. Further, disease arises from the hegemony of one of them. To illustrate this, Lloyd refers to a passage in *On the Places in Man*, that proclaims “pain is caused both by the cold and by the hot, and both by what is in excess and by what is in default.”¹³⁹

Next to this philosophy, Lloyd brings about another widespread medical theory to cure diseases caused by the prevalence of one of a pair of opposites. He uses an extract from *On Ancient Medicine*, another treatise from the Hippocratic Corpus, to illustrate how opposites were seen as cure for opposites: “for if that which causes a man pain is something hot, or cold, or dry, or wet, then he who would carry out the cure correctly must counteract cold with hot, hot with cold, wet with dry and dry with wet.”¹⁴⁰ In this theory the cure is thus accomplished through

137. For recent accounts on the relation between architecture and politics in the context of Post-fordist Capitalism, see Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture within and against Capitalism* (New York: Buell Center / FORuM Project and Princeton Architectural Press, 2008); Kaminer, *Architecture, Crisis and Resuscitation*.

138. G. E. R Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy. Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1992), 19.

139. Quoted in *ibid.*, 20.

140. Quoted in *ibid.*, 21.

a confrontation of the opposites.

These two medical theories stress the detrimental character of relations based on the hegemony of one side, and they advocate two different approaches to cope with this challenge. The first theory recommends a negotiation between the two poles, bringing them together and balancing what is in excess on one side with what is in default on the other side. To solve the problems caused by either the hot or the cold, one should bring them together and create something lukewarm. The second theory suggests the problems with hegemonic relations can be tackled by an agonistic approach that counter-acts the prevalence of one element with its opposite. The problems caused by the hot can only be solved by the cold through a confrontational approach. Hence, in the Hippocratic medical theories, as well as in the positions examined through this chapter we can identify two strains: one focused on a strategy of negotiation and the other driven by a confrontational approach. At any rate, both negotiation and confrontation concur in challenging hegemony through a dialectical process.

Transcending the Great Divide

G.E.R. Lloyd's account of the influence to early Greek thought of the medical theories from the Hippocratic Corpus brings about an important framework to discuss the Great Divide and the binary polarities that became part and parcel of the politics of architectural design and theory in the Age of Extremes. Marshall McLuhan, in his *Understanding Media*, originally published in 1964, also used the hot and cold analogy to discuss our experience of media. He defined a hot medium as "one that extends one single sense in 'high definition,'" and a cold medium as one where "so little is given and so much has to be filled in."¹⁴¹ He contrasted the "high definition" of hot media such as cinema and photography with the "low definition" of cold media such as TV and cartoon in terms of the degree of openness and public participation in the communication process. "Hot media do not leave so much to be filled in or completed by the audience," McLuhan asserted. Rather, he concluded, "hot media are, therefore, low in participation, and cool media are high in participation or completion by the audience."¹⁴²

In 2002, Robert Somol and Sarah Whiting recovered McLuhan's dyad to discuss the disciplinary predominance of critical architecture. In their essay "Notes around the Doppler Effect and Other Moods of Modernism", Somol and Whiting aimed at developing an alternative to "the indexical, the dialectical and hot representation" of the critical project.¹⁴³ They thus suggested a projective approach "linked to the diagrammatic, the atmospheric and cool performance."¹⁴⁴ This approach was determined in shifting from an understanding of disciplinarity

141. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994), 22–23.

142. *Ibid.*, 23.

143. Robert Somol and Sarah Whiting, "Notes around the Doppler Effect and Other Moods of Modernism," *Perspecta* 33 (January 1, 2002): 72–77. This essay has been discussed as one of the most influential contributions to introduce a novel perspective on contemporary politics of architectural design and theory. See, for example, Lara Schrijver, "Architecture: Projective, Critical or Craft?," in *Architecture in the Age of Empire. 11th Bauhaus Colloquium 2009*, ed. Kristian Faschingeder et al. (presented at the Architecture in the Age of Empire, Weimar: Verlag der Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, 2011), 353–67; C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Cairns, and Hilde Heynen, "Introduction - 1: Architectural Theory in an Expanded Field," in *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, ed. C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Cairns, and Hilde Heynen (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), 5.

144. Somol and Whiting, "Notes around the Doppler Effect and Other Moods of Modernism," 74.

as autonomy to disciplinarity as performance or practice. They resonated this process with the Doppler effect, contending, “if critical dialectics established architecture’s autonomy as a means of defining architecture’s field or discipline, a Doppler architecture acknowledges the adaptive synthesis of architecture’s many contingencies.” And they went on asserting, “rather than isolating a singular autonomy, the Doppler focuses upon the effects and exchanges of architecture’s inherent multiplicities: material, program, writing, atmosphere, form, technologies, economics, etc.”¹⁴⁵

One of the most noticeable aspects in Somol and Whiting’s notion of projective architecture is the pro-active engagement of the expert in the development of alternative scenarios to the status quo. Hence, rather than a detached critical position, they suggest an interaction between subject and object, exchanging information and energy (hence the Doppler effect). As opposed to the *hot* critical architecture, they champion a *cold* projective architecture. This movement from hot to cold, as observed already in the Hippocratic Corpus, suggests a therapy based on counter-acting one condition with its polar opposite. This therapy thus suggests replacing the alleged alienation of critical architecture by the purported engagement of projective architecture, thus fostering the interaction subject/object.

There are some challenges, however, when this interaction is driven by a fetishist approach to the notion of home and identity. As Ernst Bloch asserted in 1970, with global capitalism the phenomenon of alienation changed. Bloch claimed the old sense of “alien country”, signifying misery and insanity was still present in those days. “Today we experience this sense anew,” he asserted, “although not as characteristic of a far-away, strange land, but at home in our own world, where our lives have been sold, turned into commodities, reified.”¹⁴⁶ And he went further contending “alienation is everywhere a sign of man’s loss of relationship to the creative forces - a relationship which has been cut off by the tyrannical and abstract mechanism of business-busyness.”¹⁴⁷

To resist and counter-act this *entfremdung* (alienation), Bloch borrowed from Brecht the notion of *verfremdung* (estrangement). According to Bloch, Brecht’s *verfremdung* “is directed against that very alienation which has doubled in strength as people have grown accustomed to it. Therefore, people must be startled awake, if they are not to lose their powers of sight and hearing.”¹⁴⁸ The distance between the actor and the audience becomes thus an instrument to resist alienation. In effect, Bloch goes on,

Brecht’s language is specifically directed toward awakening the hearer: it is highly polished and plain at the same time; it is often characterized by contrasts instead of a pleasant flow. The

145. Ibid., 75. The Doppler effect is a term borrowed from Physics whose definition, according to the OED, is: “An increase (or decrease) in the frequency of sound, light, or other waves as the source and observer move towards (or away from) each other. The effect causes the sudden change in pitch noticeable in a passing siren, as well as the red shift seen by astronomers.” Hence, the Doppler effect emphasizes the change of perspective that is contingent with the position of the subject in relation to the object.

146. Ernst Bloch, “‘Entfremdung, Verfremdung’: Alienation, Estrangement,” trans. Anne Halley and Darko Suvin, *The Drama Review: TDR* 15, no. 1 (October 1, 1970): 121.

147. Bloch, “Entfremdung, Verfremdung.”

148. Ibid., 124.

actor speaks this language as if he were reciting someone else's words: as if he stood beside the other, distancing himself, and never embodying the other.¹⁴⁹

This ability to speak at the same time a highly polished and plain language resonates strongly with many accounts on the dialectical relation between modernity and the vernacular, participation and alienation, actor and audience, the expert and the man in the street, discussed through this chapter. Bloch's notion of *Kleinstadt* epitomizes the tensions immanent in these relations.¹⁵⁰ As Bernd Hüppauf highlights, the cultural construction of the *Kleinstadt* was characterized by ambiguity and ambivalence. On the one hand, it was embedded in a pastoral vision that linked it to an idealized image of the Greek polis, close to the realization of the neoclassical ideal of humanity. The *Kleinstadt* "created a space that liberated itself from the pervasive pull of the center and the dominance of its geometry and ideological and political power." As compared with the metropolis, it "was less unifying and compelling than the big city and opened up opportunities for local democracy, for joining in or staying away, from circles of friendship, and for celebrating creativity."¹⁵¹ On the other hand there was a counter pastoral vision that highlighted its capacity to produce suffocation and terror, revolving "around its own center, which is unchanging and denies individuals the right to distance and a space of their own."¹⁵²

149. Ibid.

150. For a thorough account on Bloch's notion of *Kleinstadt*, see Hüppauf, "Spaces of the Vernacular," 95–110.

151. Ibid., 99.

152. Ibid., 110.

153. Ibid., 94.

Bloch's *Kleinstadt*, Bernd Hüppauf points out, "is not a space of nostalgic longing for the premodern. It is, rather, an architectural space where loss can be addressed and where modernity meets its own contradictions and offers compensation for its destructions."¹⁵³ The real and imagined architectural space associated with Bloch's cultural construction of the *Kleinstadt*, epitomizes, I would suggest, the locus where the Great Divide can be transcended, expanding the architecture of dwelling beyond binary polarities. It typifies the ambivalence and ambiguity that is part and parcel of those disciplinary approaches that pursued a negotiation of modernity with the vernacular.

2• The Machine in the Garden The Presence of the Vernacular in the last CIAMs

In December 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations published the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, promoting the rights of the individual and his responsibilities in contributing for the common welfare. In the preamble of the Declaration the drafters of the document wrote:

The peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.¹

In the field of architecture and urban design, the Declaration's focus on promoting the rights of the individual and his responsibilities in contributing for the common welfare, would eventually trigger a disciplinary debate where the relationship between each individual and his or her community surfaced as an essential issue. An outspoken drive towards a more humanistic approach to the habitat unfolded, with conspicuous manifestations in the politics of architectural design and theory. The post-war CIAM congresses were arguably the locus where a full-fledged debate on the habitat for the so-called great number developed more intensively.² From 1951 until 1956, this debate would become the background against which the CIAM members sought to produce a Charter of Habitat, a document envisioned as the embodiment in the disciplinary realm of the humanist values those times called for.

Through the first half of the 1950s the CIAM discourse on urbanism was lively and intense, and led to important developments in the reconceptualization of the principles of

1. General Assembly of the United Nations, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (United Nations, 1948), <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>.

2. Francis Strauven, "The Shaping of Number in Architecture and Town Planning," in *Team 10, 1953–1981. In Search of a Utopia of the Present*, ed. Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005), 295–99. See also Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000), 201–265.

architectural modernism, chiefly embodied by the emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM.³ A full-fledged disciplinary account of the challenges brought about by the interlocking relation between the habitat, the masses, and the individual would surface in the tenth CIAM congress, held in Dubrovnik, in 1956.

Underpinned by Team 10's guidelines for a new scale of associations, circumventing the dogmas of the functionalist city, several CIAM groups presented projects at the 1956 Dubrovnik congress dealing with the architecture of the rural habitat as an epitome of community forms that resonated with a re-humanization of the built environment. However, in shifting their focus from functions to relationships, these projects showed a conspicuous ambivalence between a pastoral vision of the vernacular and a counter-pastoral assessment of the hardships in rural communities.

In any event, the re-humanization of architecture in the aftermath of WWII has been chiefly addressed from the vantage point of the so-called inner-circle of CIAM and Team 10, whose disciplinary politics was chiefly influenced by the ideological apparatus of the Welfare State. The hegemony of CIAM's and Team 10's inner-circle overlooked, I would argue, the productive contribution brought about by members operating in semi-peripheral geopolitical contexts. In this chapter I will thus examine the pervasive tension between pastoral and counter-pastoral views of modernity and the vernacular and bring about their seminal importance for the emergence of a more humanistic approach to the habitat. I will discuss this topic through a different perspective on this debate, bringing about a peripheral contribution to it, the work of the group CIAM-Portugal. I will focus especially in the project for an agricultural community, designed by Viana de Lima (1913-1991), Fernando Távora (1923-2005), and Lixa Filgueiras (1922-1996), and presented at the 1956 CIAM congress held in Dubrovnik. I will contend this project utterly illustrates an ambivalent vision of the vernacular tradition, where pastoral and counter-pastoral accounts of the rural world surface as part and parcel of the disciplinary apparatus, aiming at reconciling modernity and dwelling, bridging the gap between art and life.

In the first part of the chapter I will bring forth an account of the dialectical relation between pastoral and counter-pastoral views on the interlocking relation between modernity, everyday life and architecture. This account will transgress the disciplinary boundaries of the design disciplines, to assess the extent to which the societal transformations that unfolded from the late nineteenth century on influenced the relation between humans and the built environment, and the negotiation between universal civilization and local cultures. In the second part of the chapter, the concatenation of events that led to the formation

3. Alison Smithson, *The Emergence of Team 10 Out of C.I.A.M.: Documents* (Architectural Association, 1982); Max Risselada and Dirk Van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10, 1953–1981. In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005).

of the Portuguese CIAM group will be examined and discussed. Further, the group's contribution to the many iterations of the debate on the definition of the Grid for the Charter of the Habitat will be presented. In the following part, I will move from CIAM's debates in the immediate post-war period to the 1956 congress held in Dubrovnik, to present and discuss projects delivered by some of the most influential national groups. A special attention will be given to the project designed by the Portuguese CIAM group for that congress. Finally I will discuss how these projects reveal the advent in the CIAM debate of a pastoral vision of the rural world, thus epitomizing the progressive blurring of the boundaries between typical binary polarities such as civilization and nature, universal and local, standardization and craftsmanship.

2.1•Pastoral and Counter-Pastoral

The duality between pastoral and the counter-pastoral visions of modernity surfaced in the nineteenth century as a token of the mercurial and paradoxical artistic sensibility that unfolded with the rapid technological and societal transformations. These, according to Marshall Berman (1940-2013), were magnificently rendered by Charles Baudelaire's writings of the 1850s. On the one hand, Baudelaire championed the beauty of the contingency of the whole spiritual adventure of modernity, like armies on parade, as he wrote in his 1859-60 essay "The Painter of Modern Life." Berman contended this was "a pastoral vision of modernity: glittering hardware, gaudy colors, flowing lines, fast and graceful movements, modernity without tears."⁴ On the other hand, counter-pastoral images of modernity were sparked by his scorn on the modern idea of progress, "this modern beacon, invention of present-day philosophizing, licensed without guarantee of Nature or God – this modern lantern throws a stream of chaos on all objects of knowledge; liberty melts away, punishment disappears."⁵ At that time, Berman contends, for Baudelaire there was an impossible conflation between the Real and the Beautiful, "modern reality is utterly loathsome, empty not only of beauty but of even the potential for beauty."⁶ To be sure, raising consciousness on the problematic dialogue between the Real and the Beautiful will be a pervasive token of the reconceptualization of the tenets of many artistic disciplines, chiefly epitomized by a pervasive duality between modernity and the vernacular, between the city and the countryside.

The City and the Countryside

One of the side-effects of the process of modernization fostered by industrial capitalism and rapid urban growth was the emergence of a mythology of the countryside as the locus of the pure, uncorrupted, virginal, Arcadian landscape, as opposed to

4. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York and London: Verso Books, 2010), 137.

5. This is a passage from Baudelaire's 1855 essay "On the Modern Idea of Progress as Applied to the Fine Arts", quoted in *ibid.*, 138.

6. *Ibid.*, 140.

the contaminated, perverse, pernicious landscape of the industrial city. Henry Adams (1838-1918) magnificently illustrates the opposition, in modern history, between these two worlds with the image of the Dynamo and the Virgin brought about in his *The Education of Henry Adams*. In this book, first published in 1908, Adams' opposition represents a Manichean account of the conflict between the city and the countryside. As Leo Marx (b. 1919) points out, it underlines "a clash between past and present, unity and diversity, love and power." With this binary opposition, Marx goes on, "he marshals all conceivable values. On one side he lines up heaven, beauty, religion, and reproduction; on the other: hell, utility, science, and production."⁷ The industrial society is represented by the symbol of the Dynamo that destroys the creative power of the rural world symbolized by the Virgin, which represents to Adams "the highest energy ever known to man, the creator of four-fifths of his noblest art, exercising vastly more attraction over the human mind than all the steam-engines and dynamos ever dreamed of."⁸

In 1973, Raymond Williams (1921-1988) challenged this idealist vision of the rural world in his *The Country and the City*.⁹ Williams criticizes romanticized pastoral cosmetics of the rural world produced by literary images, and highlights their obliteration of the counter-pastoral, i.e., the crude reality of rural labour and economics. Williams acknowledges, however, that these sentimental and intellectualised accounts of the rural virtues have to be put into historical perspective.¹⁰ He argues that "pastoral" visions, in strict sense, emerge as a literary form in the Hellenistic world of the third century BC, with the Greek bucolic poets, and then continues in the first century BC with Virgil and the pastoral poets. In the classical pastoral, Williams goes on, there is almost inevitably a tension between the ideal image and something that disturbs it. It is only with the Renaissance adaptation of the classical modes that "step by step, these living tensions are excised, until there is nothing countervailing, and selected images stand as themselves: not in a living but in an enamelled world."¹¹

At the turn of the twentieth century this tension surfaced again, and was admirably portrayed by one of most famous Portuguese novelists of all times, Eça de Queiroz (1845-1900), in his novel *The City and the Mountains*. This novel, posthumously published in 1901, illustrates the conflictive relation between a pastoral vision of modernity, where civilization is in harmony with nature, and a counter-pastoral account of the shortcomings of its consequences to the realities of human life, both in the city and in the rural world. The backdrop for the first part of the novel is Paris in the late nineteenth century, where Eça de Queiroz describes the bourgeois fascination with civilization, and delivers an extraordinary pastoral vision of the city, which deserves to be quoted at length:

7. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, 35th Anniversary (Oxford University Press, USA, 2000), 347.

8. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York: Cosimo, Inc., 2008), 349. Quoted in Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 349.

9. Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 2011).

10. *Ibid.*, 9–12.

11. *Ibid.*, 18.

Jacinto's idea of Civilization was inseparable from the image of the City, an enormous City with all its vast organs in powerful working order. My super-civilised friend could not even comprehend how nineteenth-century man could possibly savour the delight of living far from stores employing three thousand cashiers, the markets receiving the produce from the gardens and fields of thirty provinces, the banks clinking with universal gold, the factories frantically spewing out smoke and smart new inventions, the libraries bursting with the paperwork of the centuries, the long miles of streets crisscrossed in all directions by telegraph wires, by gas pipes and sewage pipes, the thunderous lines of buses, trams, carriages, velocipedes, rattletraps and de luxe coach-and-pairs, and the two million members of its seething wave of humanity, panting as they scabble to earn their daily bread or under the vain illusion of pleasure.¹²

This vision, produced within the comfort of a Parisian bourgeois apartment, suddenly changes when the city is seen from a different perspective, from the top of Montmartre, for example. The city then becomes a formless amalgam of rubble and roof tiles, "assimilated in Earth's grey crust," far from the sophisticated technological apparatus of the apartment. In this circumstance, one of the characters mutters: "Yes, perhaps it's all just an illusion, and the City the greatest of all illusions!" To which another character replies, "Yes, my prince, it *was* an illusion! And the most bitter of illusions, too, because Man believes the City to be the very basis of his greatness, when in fact it is the source of all his misery."¹³

This sudden consciousness of the perversity of illusions created by the flare of the metropolitan life persuades the main character to leave the city, returning to the house of his patriarchal ancestors in the Portuguese countryside. Once there, though the contrast with Paris is inevitable, it nevertheless produces a powerful impression:

We climbed the narrow street of a hamlet consisting of only ten or twelve cottages surrounded by fig trees and from which there rose, escaping the hearth through the thin-skinned roof, a white skein of smoke that smelled of pinewood. On the distant hills, in the midst of the pensive dark green of the pine forests, we could see the occasional small white chapel. The fine, pure air entered the soul and spread joy and strength. A faint tinkle of cowbells faded away on the hillsides.

Ahead of me on his mare, Jacinto was murmuring:

'How beautiful!'¹⁴

This illustrates, then, how Eça de Queiroz produces a countryside version of the pastoral vision of Paris as a token of civilization. In the countryside, cottages, pine forests, white chapels, pure air and cowbells replace stores, banks, factories, telegraph wires and trams. As time goes by, however, this scene also turns into an illusion, and the pastoral vision is superseded

12. Eça de Queiroz, *The City and the Mountains*, trans. Margaret Jull Costa (Sawtry: Dedalus, 2008), 20–21.

13. *Ibid.*, 86.

14. *Ibid.*, 134.

by a counter-pastoral account triggered by the main character's sudden acknowledgment of the living conditions of his tenants. "Of course there's hunger, Jacinto! Did you think Paradise still existed up here in the mountains, with no work and no poverty?" The picture becomes more eloquent when Jacinto pays a visit to one of his tenants:

Like all the houses in the mountains, Esgueira's was built of stone, with no mortar, a flimsy roof, its tiles all mossy and blackened, with one window up above and a rough-and-ready door that served for letting in air, light and people and for letting out the smoke. And all around Nature and Hard Work had, over the years, planted climbers and wild flowers, little bits of garden, flowering shrubs, added old moss-grown benches, and filled pots with earth in which parsley grew; there were shady nooks and ponds, all of which made that place of Hunger, Disease and Sorrow seemingly a dwelling more suited to an eclogue.¹⁵

With this counter-pastoral portrait of Hunger, Disease and Sorrow, Eça de Queiroz overtly illustrates the real conditions experienced by the working class and the inequalities in the rural world, and shuns away from images of the countryside as a Virgilian idyll. In *The City and the Mountains* we can thus recognize the growing tension between the simultaneous emancipatory and alienating potential of technical knowledge, science, and the vernacular tradition. This tension would eventually trigger the revolt of the masses, and contribute to a thorough reconceptualization of the politics of architectural design and theory.

The Revolt of the Masses

According to the Spanish philosopher José Ortega Y Gasset (1883-1955), in the last third of the nineteenth century – the time of Baudelaire, and Eça de Queiroz - the civilization generated by the bourgeois revolutions started a process of retrogression, as it began to lose "historic culture".¹⁶ In the context of a mass culture civilization, generated by the emergence of technical knowledge and science, a new wave of pastoralism unfolded. According to Ortega Y Gasset, this phenomenon was nevertheless characterized by an obliteration of history and a resolute confidence in technological and natural determinism. In his *The Revolt of the Masses*, published in 1930, he identifies the emergence of the mass-man, the average man, as the phenomenon responsible for a decline in western civilization. "The simple process of preserving our present civilization is supremely complex and demands incalculably subtle powers," he argues. And goes on claiming that "ill-fitted to direct it is this average man who has learned to use much of the machinery of civilization, but who is characterized by root-ignorance of the very principles of that civilization."¹⁷

15. Ibid., 185.

16. José Ortega Y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1964), 92.

17. Ibid., 67.

Ortega Y Gasset sees the world at that time facing a process of retrogression, despite the apparent progress. The reason for this, he contends, “is that the type of man dominant today is a primitive one, a *Naturmensch* rising up in the midst of a civilised world.” And he adds, “the world is a civilised one, its inhabitant is not: he does not see the civilisation of the world around him, but he uses it as if it were a natural force.”¹⁸ Ortega Y Gasset is thus unequivocally asserting that historical knowledge is a fundamental token of a thriving civilization. Without the sense of history, he argues, there is “a retrogression towards barbarism, that is, towards ingenuousness and primitivism of the man who has no past, or who has forgotten it.”¹⁹

The influence in the first quarter of the twentieth century of what Hal Foster (b. 1955) called “The ‘Primitive’ Unconscious of Modern Art” is now well documented.²⁰ Primitivism has influenced the emergence of new forms of pastoralism, suggesting images of the unspoiled natural landscape or of the rural world to convey representations of felicity. This “movement towards such a symbolic landscape”, Leo Marx contends, “also may be understood as movement away from an ‘artificial’ world, a world identified with ‘art,’ using this word in its broadest sense to mean the disciplined habits of mind or arts developed by organized communities.”²¹ In the end of Eça de Queiroz’ *The City and the Mountains*, the narrator returns to Paris, to the city, searching for reconciliation with civilization, only to depart definitively to the mountains: “Goodbye, then, because I won’t be back! You won’t catch me again stuck in the mud of your vice and the dust of your vanity! And whatever good qualities you may have – whatever clear, elegant genius – I will receive in the Mountains by post!”²²

This vehement outcry epitomizes an impulse that, according to Leo Marx, “gives rise to a symbolic motion away from centers of civilization toward their opposite, nature, away from sophistication toward simplicity, or, to introduce the cardinal metaphor of the literary mode, away from the city toward the country.”²³ I would suggest, however, that this impulse doesn’t mean a complete withdrawal from civilization, from art. Instead, as beautifully illustrated by Eça de Queiroz, it is a retreat in the countryside, amidst nature, a place where, nevertheless, you expect to receive the benefits of civilization, even if it is only by post.

The Growth of a New Tradition

In 1894, the Portuguese neo-romantic writer Alberto Oliveira (1873-1940) wrote in his book *Palavras Loucas* that

In Portugal we, the poets, should migrate to the villages, getting used to a sweet and monastic life plunged into gloomy libraries (...). We would then learn Portuguese history socializing with

18. *Ibid.*, 82.

19. *Ibid.*, 92.

20. Hal Foster, “The ‘Primitive’ Unconscious of Modern Art,” *October* 34 (October 1, 1985): 45–70.

21. Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 9.

22. Queiroz, *The City and the Mountains*, 235.

23. Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 9–10.

the barely primitive *Beirão* or the *Transmontano* rough as furze, the superstitious fishermen in the coast (...). Maybe then we would understand our country's character, thus seeing wide the narrow path that can be suddenly created, overflowing novelty, within this fatigued literature.²⁴

In a critical review of Oliveira's book, Eça de Queirós, who championed a realist approach to writing, questioned the author: "Don't you think *Nativism* and *Traditionalism* as supreme ambitions of intellectual and artistic endeavours are somewhat pitiable? The whole humanity is not compressed between the banks of the Minho River and the Santa Maria cape."²⁵ In 1978, the Portuguese philosopher Eduardo Lourenço (b. 1923), underlined the ambivalence of both realism and romanticism in accounting the societal transformations brought forth by modernity. Lourenço argued that *Palavras Loucas* is a book that triggers the splintering of a "critical stimulus, decadent due to an excess of abstract progressivism," in a simplifying and dogmatic fashion.²⁶ And he goes on highlighting that despite his criticism on Alberto Oliveira's romanticism, Eça himself was by then supporting "an analogous return to his patriarchal *Tormes*, exhausted as Junqueiro's sheppard-poet, in searching for the *maternal* truth across the whole world."²⁷

24. Alberto Oliveira, *Palavras Loucas* (Coimbra: F. França Amado, 1894), 32. This quote was taken from the chapter *Do Neo-garrettismo no Teatro*, pp. 17-47. This book was republished in 1984 by Civilização Editora. *Beirão* and *Transmontano* are the gentile for the inhabitants of the Portuguese regions of Beiras and Trás-os-Montes, respectively.

25. Quoted in Eduardo Lourenço, *O Labirinto da Saudade. Psicanálise Mítica do Destino Português* (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1978), 104. The last edition of this book was published in 2009 by Gradiva. The image "between the bank of the Minho River and Santa Maria cape" refers to both extremes (north and south) of the Portuguese continental territory.

26. *Ibid.*, 103.

27. *Ibid.*, 104.

28. The first version of this article was delivered in the famous 1951 Darmstädter Gespräche, which theme was Mensch und Raum (People and Space) and published in the event's proceedings. In 1971, it was translated into English in Martin Heidegger, "Building Dwelling Thinking," in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 145-61.

This ambivalence between the nostalgia for the rural world, its purity and authenticity, portraying the identity of people also *primitive* and *rough* and the inescapable appeal of progress, of civilization, of the mythical Paris, would turn out to be an immanent trait of the Portuguese intellectual debate from the late nineteenth century until the mid-1960s. More than half a century after Oliveira's *Palavras Loucas* and Eça de Queiroz' *The City and the Mountains*, the architectural discipline becomes also fascinated by the rural world. For post-war architects, the countryside stands as the counter-point to a certain idea of urban decadence, to industrialization, where local cultures were being dissolved in a process of universalizing globalization.

The German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), in his 1951 essay "Building Dwelling Thinking," would famously problematize this process, contending that modernity condemned men to a metaphorical condition of homelessness, where dwelling (*wohnen*) was not possible anymore.²⁸ For Heidegger, the notion of space (from the Latin word *spatium*) was related to an abstract void, whereas the notion of place (*Raum*, in German) was reminiscent of tradition and community, of lived experience. Hence, according to Heidegger, to dwell it is necessary to find shelter in places where *Men* can save and preserve those things in consonance with *Nature*.

At any rate, Heidegger's 1951 essay "Building Dwelling Thinking," epitomizes this call for preservation and symbiotic relation with nature, and delivers a critical account on the spatial

abstraction and placelessness of Modern Movement's principles. Sigfried Giedion (1888-1968), was arguably one of the most notable supporters and interpreters of these principles. In effect, in his famous *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, first published in 1941, Giedion championed the idea that the modern project of emancipation and progress would create a new relation between space and time stemming from a process of assimilation of technic for the service of man. The architecture resulting from this new tradition would naturally develop the conditions to create a harmonious relation between men and its equal, between men and nature. The idea of a universal civilization would similarly build a universal harmony.

Standardization and Irrationality

In the first edition of *Space, Time and Architecture*, the protagonists of this new tradition were Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, and Walter Gropius. However, as the tragic events of the 1940s unfolded, Giedion's idea of a universal civilization became broader and accommodated instances of regionalism that were, nevertheless, reconceptualised to comply with the tenets of his vision of modernity. Arguably, the ultimate illustration of this revision was the inclusion of Alvar Aalto as a main protagonist in the second edition of the *Space, Time and Architecture*.²⁹ The chapter dedicated to Aalto is an extended version of an essay, titled "Irrationality and Standard," which Giedion had written many years before, in 1941, in the journal *Weltwoche*. In this essay, Giedion already explored the tension between Aalto's universality and regionalism. "Aalto is restless. He does not always remain in the pine and birch forests in Finland. (...) [He] belongs to a world where national borders no longer exist."³⁰

If, as Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen contends, the geopolitics of the early 1940s was instrumental to Giedion's championing of Aalto's conflation of tokens of modernity (standardization) and rooted individuality (irrationality), then the aftermath of WWII and the fall of the colonial empires would project him as the reference to cope with the challenges faced by the design disciplines in those times.

In the early 1960s, the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005) formulated a compelling illustration of the intellectual challenges that surfaced in the aftermath of the decolonization processes in North Africa and Asia, ensuing in the late 1950s. In his essay "Universal Civilization and National Cultures," published in 1961 in the magazine *Esprit*, Ricoeur optimistically argued "we are in a tunnel, at the twilight of dogmatism and the dawn of real dialogues."³¹ Ricoeur underlined the advantages of a globalizing process in which a great part of mankind - recently

29. As Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen notes, in the second edition of *Space, Time and Architecture*, the chapter dedicated to Aalto, "Alvar Aalto: Elemental and Contemporary," is longer than those on Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, or Walter Gropius. This fact alone, Pelkonen contends, "pays witness not only to Giedion's high esteem for Aalto's genius but to the political and territorial dimension of his work and persona. See Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen, "Alvar Aalto and the Geopolitics of Fame," *Perspecta* 37 (January 1, 2005): 96.

30. Quoted in Pelkonen, "Alvar Aalto and the Geopolitics of Fame."

31. Paul Ricoeur, "Universal Civilization and National Cultures," in *Architectural Regionalism. Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 53.

released from the colonizers rule - could finally participate. However, he underscored the dangers of this process, namely the destruction of what he called “the ethical and mythical nucleus of mankind.” As a solution to harmonize universal civilization and local culture, Ricoeur suggests an approach able to foster continuous invention using the past as support without simply repeating it, though.

This entwined relation between civilization and culture would pervade the politics of architectural design and theory. In effect, with his championing of Aalto’s architectural approach, Giedion offers a possibility for reconciliation between universal civilization and rooted culture. In the second edition of *Space, Time and Architecture*, Giedion begins the chapter on Aalto contending that the Finnish architect “is the strongest exponent of the combination of standardization with irrationality, so that standardization is no longer master but servant.” And he goes on declaring “the moral force behind the development of architecture in recent decades has had one supreme concern: to re-establish a union between life and architecture. [...] Alvar Aalto is the youngest of those architects who have been the creators of the present-day vocabulary.”³² And, in a small chapter with the title “The Development of Contemporary Architecture”, featured immediately after the chapter on Aalto, Giedion includes a section titled “Universal trends and local problems”, where he finally declares that

Those countries which accepted contemporary architecture as a kind of universal coinage – a collection of particular shapes which retained their full value wherever they were transplanted – invited architectural bankruptcy. Modern architecture is something more than a universally applicable means of decoration. It is too much the product of our whole period not to exhibit some universal tendencies, but, on the other hand, it is too much concerned with problems of actual living to ignore local differences in needs, customs, and material. Finland, under the leadership of Alvar Aalto, has shown how contributions can be made to architecture universally through solutions adapted to the specific conditions of their native setting.³³

With this sentence, Giedion bluntly criticizes the commodification of the architecture of the modern movement, and suggests Alvar Aalto’s architectural approach as a token of a situated modernity. I would thus argue Giedion’s attention in the post-war years to the contingency of “actual living”, including “local differences in needs, customs, and material” resonates with a global societal tendency, in liberal democracies, that became aware of the need to cope with the interlocked relation between mass culture and the individual, and attempted to develop a re-humanization of architecture. A reassessment of the vernacular tradition played an important role in this process.

32. Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1949), 453.

33. *Ibid.*, 495.

2.2• The Habitat for a Human Humanism

In 1935, the director of the Italian magazine *Casabella*, Giuseppe Pagano (1896-1945), published an article where he suggested vernacular architecture should be used as an instrument of detoxification. “Where nineteenth-century culture saw only arcadia and folklore,” he argued, “the analysis of this great repository of energy that has always existed as mere background, can give us the joy of discovering expressions of honesty, clarity, logic, and longevity.”³⁴ With this article and the exhibition *Architettura Rurale Italiana*, presented at the 1936 Milan Triennale, Pagano sought an alternative for the classical/monumental version of modernism cherished by Mussolini’s fascist regime. The *real* identity of Italian architecture, according to Pagano, was in the rural world and not in the classical heritage.

Some years after, in 1937, and in a completely different context, the Brazilian architect Lúcio Costa (1902-1998) would also support the development of a research on Brazilian vernacular architecture and its origins. In his essay “Documentação Necessária,” (Necessary Documentation) he argued that more attention should be given to works built by the “mestre-de-obras portuga” (the Portuguese immigrant master-builder), highlighting that, in Portugal, vernacular architecture was more interesting than the so-called erudite.³⁵ Lúcio Costa went on saying:

It is in the villages, in the virile aspect of their rural buildings, both rough and cosy, that the qualities of the people are better shown. Without the prim and sometimes even pedantic look when one tries to refine, there [in rural buildings], with freedom, [those qualities of the people are] naturally developed, projecting in the precision of its proportions and in the absence of make-up, a perfect plastic health.³⁶

Lúcio Costa thus asserts Brazilian modern architects, while studying the “plain and modest” house inherited from Portuguese colonization, can benefit from an experience of more than three hundred years, “in another fashion than just that of reproducing its out-dated appearance.”³⁷ Costa undoubtedly discloses his agenda, contending from that research certain prejudices regarding modern architecture would be challenged, thus revealing that modernism is nothing else than just part of a developing natural evolution.³⁸ Lúcio Costa therefore suggests a legitimization of the tenets of the modern movement asserting their purported continuity with the vernacular tradition.

Lúcio Costa’s essay is key to cast the background against which, in the 1940s, Brazilian architecture would get great publicity and gain international prestige. At any rate, part of this success was due to the exhibition *Brazil Builds*, curated by Philip Goodwin (1885-1958) for the MoMA in New York where it opened in 1943. This exhibition achieved an enormous success and it was

34. Giuseppe Pagano, “Documenting Rural Architecture,” trans. Michelangelo Sabatino, *Journal of Architectural Education* 63, no. 2 (2010): 92. The original version of this article, “Documenti di Architettura Rurale”, was published in Italian in 1935 in the magazine *Casabella* 95, pp. 18-25.

35. Lúcio Costa, “Documentação Necessária,” in *Lúcio Costa. Registro de uma Vivência*, ed. Maria Elisa Costa (São Paulo: Empresa das Artes, 1995), 457–62. The original version of Lúcio Costa’s article was published in 1937 in *RPHAN* 1, pp. 31-40. For more information on Lúcio Costa and his approach to the themes of modernity, tradition and national identity, see Carlos Eduardo Dias Comas, “O Passado Mora ao Lado: Lúcio Costa e o Projecto do Grande Hotel de Ouro Preto 1938/40,” *Arqtexto*, no. 2 (2002): 11.

36. Costa, “Documentação Necessária,” 457.

37. *Ibid.*, 458.

38. *Ibid.*, 459.

presented in several venues around the world.³⁹ The exhibition's catalogue was published in a bilingual edition (English and Portuguese) and would also become an influential reference for a generation of Portuguese architects whose education, in the late 1940s and early 1950s was shifting from a *beaux-arts* model towards an education inspired by the principles of modernism.⁴⁰ According to an influential Portuguese architect of the second half of the twentieth century, Nuno Teotónio Pereira (b. 1922), "this book, extremely well documented, had an enormous repercussion on Portuguese architects and it was considered a treasure by those who owned it."⁴¹

Beyond the impact triggered by the presentation of recent works from a generation of young and talented Brazilian architects, the exhibition also attempted to create a connection between modern architecture, Portuguese colonial heritage and vernacular references. The subtitle of the exhibition and catalogue, *Architecture New and Old 1652-1942*, reveals a chronological arch that seemingly confronts modern production with the colonial past. Next to modern projects designed by, for example, Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer (1907-2012), buildings and settlements such as colonial cities and villages, *fazendas* (agricultural estates), churches, or even fishermen's huts were also shown in the exhibition and published in the book. Goodwin's curatorial approach resonates, I would argue, with Pagano's and Costa's drive to portray the vernacular tradition as part and parcel of a rhetoric of continuity in which the tenets of architectural modernism are subsidiaries of the "perfect plastic health" of the vernacular.

Fernando Távora's Primitivism

When Pagano organized the exhibition *Architettura Rurale*, Mussolini's regime was at the apex of its influence in Italy. It was also seen as the ideological beacon for the dictatorial regime ruling Portugal since 1926, the so-called *Estado Novo* (New State) which was inspired by Italian fascism in constructing an ideological framework to articulate a dialogue between the values of tradition and those of modernity. Concerning the architecture discipline, that framework pursued an aesthetic program that, naturally, was engaged in fostering national identity. In the 1940s, this state of affairs triggered the intensification of a disciplinary debate on the idea of architectural regionalism. At any event, this was nothing but a re-enactment of a discussion that had already started in the late nineteenth century. In this case, however, the political overtones became more salient though often repressed or subdued.

Raul Lino (1879-1974) was one of the main contributors to this debate. His book *Casas Portuguesas*,⁴² published in 1933, was highly influential suggesting an approach driven by, as João

39. See Zilah Quezado Deckker, *Brazil Built: The Architecture of the Modern Movement in Brazil* (London and New York: Spon Press, 2001), 135.

40. Philip Lippincott Goodwin, *Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old 1652-1942 / Construção Brasileira: Arquitetura Moderna e Antiga 1652-1942*, 1st Edition (The Museum of Modern Art, 1943). For more information on how the relation between the exhibition and catalogue *Brazil Builds* and the Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture contributed to the reconceptualization of the modern aesthetic program, see Ana Vaz Milheiro, "O Brasil Moderno e a sua Influência na Arquitetura Portuguesa: A Tradição em Brazil Builds (1943) e seu Reflexo no Inquérito à Arquitetura Popular em Portugal (1955-1961)," in *Arquitetura Moderna no Norte e Nordeste do Brasil: Universalidade e Diversidade*, ed. Fernando Diniz Moreira (Recife: CECI/UNICAP, 2007).

41. Nuno Teotónio Pereira, *Escritos* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1996), 303. For more information on the architectural dialogue between Portugal and Brazil, see Ana Vaz Milheiro, *A Construção do Brasil. Relações com a Cultura Arquitectónica Portuguesa* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2005).

42. Raul Lino, *Casas Portuguesas. Alguns Apontamentos Sobre o Arquitectar de Casas Simples* (Lisboa: Edições Valentim de Carvalho, 1933).

Leal puts it, a concatenation of the ideas where “what is popular is beautiful” and “what is popular is national”.⁴³ Because of its resonance with the Estado Novo’s nationalist principles and populist approach, both Lino’s work and his discourse became instrumental for the dissemination of the dictatorship’s pastoral project to create a society embedded with the virtues of rural communities. Hence, supported by Lino’s work, the *Casas Portuguesas* (Portuguese Houses) movement gained momentum.⁴⁴

In architectural education, the influence of this pastoral project was critically framed by a conflation of academicism and modernism. In the school of Porto, for example, Carlos Ramos (1897-1969), the director of the school and its leading figure, sought to mingle the Beaux-Arts tradition with a modern approach, chiefly inspired by Walter Gropius’s text “Blueprint for an architect’s training”, which he would eventually translate into Portuguese.⁴⁵ This conflation was, however, deemed somewhat ambivalent. In effect, as Alexandre Alves Costa had it, Carlos Ramos’ “teaching according to rationalism’s purist discourse, mostly quoting Gropius, never alienated his solid Beaux-Arts academic education.”⁴⁶

In 1945, Fernando Távora (1923-2005), one of Ramos’ students, trying to make sense of the challenges of those days, would reflect on the opportunities brought about by the multiplicity of art forms. Seemingly inspired by Ortega Y Gasset’s *The Revolt of the Masses*, Távora wrote an essay with the title “Primitivismo” (Primitivism), in which he argued:

The unity is lost: today each one aims to fulfil his affinities on that art form, or that philosophy, or that religion that seem more sympathetic to him; and there is no defined modern Art, as there is no defined modern philosophy or religion; there are several forms of modern art, there are several forms of philosophy, there are several religions. [...] We must accept, however, this modern trait: it is characterized by the absence of characteristics, its unity lies in its multiplicity, its knowledge in its eclecticism; it is a vest made of assorted ragged cloths, but nevertheless, a vest. We were accustomed to use only one fabric in its making; today it is made of many.⁴⁷

With his acceptance of the multiplicity sparked by modernity, Távora shows a more lenient approach to the emergence of mass-man than that of Ortega Y Gasset.⁴⁸ However, in that year of 1945, this indulgence to multiplicity and eclecticism would evolve towards a long-term engagement with a dialectic between art and life, universal and local, modern and vernacular. On 24 October, Távora wrote on his diary: “In this moment I am enjoying the books (3 vols.) of Le Corbusier’s Complete Works that I bought and that have opened my eyes.” And then he continues: “Some days ago I sent [...] an article to Nuno Vaz Pinto to be published in *Aleo*...”⁴⁹ The article mentioned

43. João Leal, *Arquitectos, Engenheiros, Antropólogos: Estudos Sobre Arquitectura Popular no Século XX Português* (Porto: Fundação Instituto José Marques da Silva, 2009), 20.

44. Raul Lino (1879-1974) was a Portuguese architect with an education influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement. For more information on the Casa Portuguesa movement, see Rute Figueiredo, *Arquitectura e Discurso Crítico em Portugal (1893-1918)* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2007).

45. For more information about Carlos Ramos and his conflation of Beaux-Arts and Modern architectural education, see Gonçalo Canto Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno da Arquitectura. A Reforma de 57 e as Escolas de Belas-Artes em Portugal (1931-69)” (PhD, University of Coimbra, 2011).

46. Alexandre Alves Costa, *Dissertação...* (Porto: Edições do Curso de Arquitectura da ESBAP, 1982), 47.

47. Fernando Távora, “Primitivismo”; manuscript dated February 6, 1945, pp. 17-18, cited in Manuel Mendes, “Para Quê Exigir à Sombra a Rectidão Que Não Possui a Vara Que a Produz?,” in *Leonardo Express*, ed. Rita Marnoto, Leonardo 2 (Coimbra: IEIFLUC, e|d|arq, 2004), 119.

48. According to Manuel Mendes, between 1942 and 1956, Távora writes regularly, searching for a systematization of diverse topics on disciplines such as History, Philosophy, Art, Poetry, Aesthetics, Architecture. Next to many important Portuguese authors he read, Távora was also a reader of international authors such as Ortega Y Gasset, Spengler, Bergson, Croce, Meumann, Semper, Giedion, Picasso, and Le Corbusier. See *Ibid.*, 123.

49. Fernando Távora, *Diário*, Foz, 24 de Outubro de 1945, Agenda IPL n.º 3, apud. *Ibid.*, 126.

by Távora, is the influential “O Problema da Casa Portuguesa” (The Problem of the Portuguese House), where he suggests a validation of modernist architecture through an insightful research on the vernacular tradition.⁵⁰

Resonating with Pagano’s and Lúcio Costa’s suggestions made in the 1930s, Távora argues in “O Problema da Casa portuguesa,” that “the vernacular house will provide us with great lessons when properly studied, as it is more functional and less fanciful, or in other words, more in accordance with the new intentions.”⁵¹ At any rate, however, for Távora in the late 1940s those new intentions were the principles of architectural modernism.⁵² He thus suggested a clear distinction between the truthfulness of vernacular references and the traditionalist formalism supported by the regime and epitomized by Raul Lino’s *Casas Portuguesas*.

50. Fernando Távora, “The Problem of the Portuguese House,” in *Fernando Távora*, ed. Luiz Trigueiros (Lisboa: Editorial Blau, 1993), 11–13. This text was originally published in 1945 with the title “O Problema da Casa Portuguesa”, in the magazine *Aléo* (10-11-1945). It was revised and republished in 1947 in the first issue of *Cadernos de Arquitectura* by suggestion of Nuno Teotónio Pereira, and get wider attention among the architectural community.

51. *Ibid.*, 13.

52. In fact, at the time Távora wrote the article, his ideas were chiefly inspired by the Brazilian architectural modernism and by the growing influence, in Portugal, of the projects and ideas of Le Corbusier. In an interview given in 1988, Fernando Távora confirmed how influential the book *Brazil Builds* was in his education, together with the triumphal arrival of Le Corbusier’s ideas on projects. See Bernardo Ferrão, “Tradição e Modernidade na Obra de Fernando Távora 1947/1987,” in *Fernando Távora*, ed. Luiz Trigueiros (Lisboa: Editorial Blau, 1993), 24.

53. Francisco Keil do Amaral, “Uma Iniciativa Necessária,” *Arquitectura 2a Série*, no. 14 (April 1947): 12–13.

54. *Ibid.*, 12.

55. Whereas Távora had a very discreet presence, Keil do Amaral, the recently elected president of the SNA, presented one of the papers delivered at the congress, on the theme of the education of the architects.

In 1947, Távora’s article was republished in the first issue of a new architectural journal called *Cadernos de Arquitectura*. In that same year, another young architect, Francisco Keil do Amaral (1910-1975), an influential figure among the younger generation of architects working in Lisbon, also contributed a seminal text to challenge the *Casas Portuguesas* movement. Next to Távora’s manifesto-essay, Keil do Amaral’s *Uma Iniciativa Necessária* (A Necessary Initiative) suggested the development of an empirical research on the country’s vernacular architecture, which would eventually present a counter-proposal vision to an idea of regionalism mainly supported by picturesque features, without intellectual depth and genuine identity.⁵³ The goal was to search “more pure and coherent sources for the creation of a Portuguese modern architecture,” which, according to Keil do Amaral, should go beyond the notions that “our facade regionalists expect us to believe in.”⁵⁴

Sun, Air and Social Change

One year after Keil do Amaral’s criticism on the phony regionalism cherished by the regime, the first congress of Portuguese architects was held in Lisbon from 28 May until 4 June 1948. Távora and Keil do Amaral were listed among the participants, with very different prominence in the debates, though.⁵⁵ The congress was divided in two themes that conspicuously expressed the main concerns of the Portuguese architects in the late 1940s: the National Scope of Architecture, and the Housing Problem in Portugal. Both themes combined disciplinary and ideological matters of concern. The first theme echoed Távora’s and Keil do Amaral’s campaign against the nationalist tenets of the architecture supported by the regime, whereas the latter resonated with the agenda of a generation of young architects (mostly born in the 1920s), engaged in involving the discipline with its social condition.

In fact, this congress would prove to be a seminal event for the affirmation of an outspoken confrontation of this young generation of architects with the dictatorship's political and social agenda.⁵⁶ Among the members of this generation, some denounced the living conditions in the rural world in an overtly counter-pastoral approach. António Matos Veloso (b. 1923), for example, asserted that on the countryside "men and animals, live together more or less mixed, without the least sense of hygiene and cleanliness." And he went further contending, "the sun and the air seem frightened with the idea of breaking into those houses. The protection against climate variations, both in the summer and in the winter, offers no assurance whatsoever. The tortuous and poorly oriented streets are the waste dumps of those dens of misery."⁵⁷ Then, he argued "the conclusion given at the sixth CIAM congress, which originated the Athens Charter [sic], that it is necessary to *summon and release the land of the cities*, should be also applied to the *countryside* to accomplish the 'logis and loisirs'."⁵⁸

In the thesis presented by Viana de Lima (1913-1991) he also mentioned the principles of the Athens Charter as a universal framework where "the collectivist and cooperative spirit should be adopted in the construction of new neighborhoods, so that everybody can take advantage of a perfect modern facility." And he concluded, "not only in urban and rural buildings, but also in the urban plans of all settlements, the guiding principles stated and defined in the Athens Charter should be followed and adopted."⁵⁹ Further, regarding the living conditions of the urban population, the young architects Nuno Teotónio Pereira and M. Costa Martins (1922-1996) claimed for a combined action of several fields of human knowledge and craftsmanship to foster social betterment, specially that of the proletariat. "An analysis to the social structure of the big cities reveals two groups among the population suffering with housing shortage. We realized that one of those groups – the proletariat – lives on the margin of the city, an alien constituent among it."⁶⁰ And thus, they suggest, "it is a primary and essential condition to integrate in the city the houses of the proletariat, abandoning the construction of segregated neighborhoods."⁶¹

It is striking that the thesis discussed above, ideologically at odds with the politics of the dictatorship, could nevertheless be presented and discussed in a public event, supported by the Ministry of Public Works. In any event, at the end of the 1940s, the regime's tolerance to dissent was triggered by political pragmatism. In effect, as Nuno Teotónio Pereira highlighted fifty years after the Congress, the participants, he himself included, benefited from a moment when the regime "was forced to wear a democratic mask", to keep a neutral position while the geopolitical readjustment resulting from the outcome of WWII was in progress. The architects took advantage of this

56. In the 1948 congress, a relatively open confrontation between supporters and critics of Salazar's political agenda was possible due to the regime's frailty in the context of the aftermath of WWII. In the world conflict Portugal played a neutral position, despite the well-known sympathy of Salazar's regime with Fascism. The *fac-simile* volume of the thesis presented in the Congress, and a very informative account of the event can be seen in Ana Tostões, ed., *1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura, Edição Fac-Similada* (Lisboa: Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2008).

57. António Matos Veloso, "Habitação Rural e Urbanismo," in *Relatório da Comissão Executiva. Teses. Conclusões e Votos do Congresso* (presented at the 1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura, Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1948), 190–191.

58. *Ibid.*, 192.

59. Alfredo Viana de Lima, "O Problema Português da Habitação," in *Relatório da Comissão Executiva. Teses. Conclusões e Votos do Congresso* (presented at the 1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura, Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1948), 215–22.

60. The other group was the middle-class, which was equally suffering from the shortage of housing fit for their social condition.

61. Nuno Teotónio Pereira and Manuel Costa Martins, "Habitação Económica e Reajustamento Social," in *Relatório da Comissão Executiva. Teses. Conclusões e Votos do Congresso* (presented at the 1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura, Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1948), 248.

circumstance to recuperate their freedom of speech and to be united around new ideals. These new ideals, Teotónio Pereira argues, were chiefly inspired in the messianic doctrine of the Athens Charter, the architectural principles of the modern movement, and inspired by the reformist culture generated by the opportunities sparked in several European countries by the massive reconstruction effort supported and funded by the Marshall Plan, the emergence of the Welfare State and liberal policies inspired by the New Deal.⁶²

ODAM: Modernism Entering by the Backdoor

Around two hundred architects participated in the works of the congress and thirty-five communications were presented. Among these, nine were delivered by architects from the group ODAM – *Organização dos Arquitectos Modernos* (Group of Modern Architects). The group ODAM group was founded in Porto, in 1947, gathering architects born in the 1910s, such as Viana de Lima and a young generation born in the 1920s, such as Fernando Távora and Matos Veloso, some of them still students at the time of the group's foundation. The group was created by thirty-seven architects, who shared a common interest in advocating the principles of the architecture of the modern movement against the dual tendency of Salazar's regime to encourage picturesque regionalism on the one hand, and classical monumentality on the other hand.⁶³

In a sort of manifesto presented and distributed as a pamphlet during the 1948 congress, twenty-two architects from Porto, most of them members of the group ODAM, challenged Salazar's regime and its ideological apparatus, to pursue a new approach to housing, both in the cities and in the countryside. This manifesto, allegedly written by Artur Andrade (1913-2005) and subscribed by other twenty-one architects from Porto, had the curious title of “Opiniões que entram pela porta de serviço por chegarem atrasadas” (opinions entering by the back door due to late arrival). It was triggered by the acknowledgement that the *Federação das Caixas de Previdência* (FCP, Federation of Social Welfare Institutions) was planning building 5.000 dwellings in the Porto region. The group's prompt reaction with the text read at the congress aimed at resisting to the intromission of the central services of the regime's bureaucratic apparatus in their territory, as it were.⁶⁴ Among their postulates two deserve further notice for their relevance to this work.

The first one is concerned with an outspoken determination in universalizing the tenets of modernity beyond the urban world. “It is urgent the development of a survey to rural housing and building residential units for rural housing,” they argued. And they went on contending that “the benefits of technical progress and Science should be taken to the countryside so that everyone

62. Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “Que Fazer Com Estes 50 Anos?,” in *1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura. Edição Fac-Similada*, ed. Ana Tostões (Lisboa: Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2008), 43–49. The first version of this article was published in September 1998 in *Jornal Arquitectos*.

63. For a thorough documentation on the group ODAM, see Edite Rosa, “ODAM: Valores Modernos e a Confrontação com a Realidade Produtiva” (PhD, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Barcelona, 2005).

64. See Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “Manifesto do Grupo ODAM Lido no Congresso e Distribuído em Folheto Sobre o Problema da Habitação,” in *1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura. Edição Fac-Similada*, ed. Ana Tostões (Lisboa: Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2008), 51–52.



Figure 2.01. Raul Lino - Little House by the Sea (1933). Source: Raul Lino, *Casas Portuguesas*, 11th ed., Lisboa, Cotovia, 1992 (1933), Illustration 18.

Figure 2.02. Fernando Távora – House by the Sea (1950). Picture of the model. Photo: © Arménio Teixeira.

can have electricity, water, collective sports and educational centers, welfare institutions, work cooperatives. The problem of the rural housing cannot be removed from the protection of agriculture.”⁶⁵ If this postulate was keen in reclaiming for the rural world their share of modernity, they were also fierce critics to the attempts to create a forged folk culture in the urban world. “We wish and even find necessary,” they argued,

That should be stimulated the praise on the naturalism and naïveté of popular expressions, its authenticity and spontaneity, in one word, on the Folklore; but it is excessive that these expressions should be transformed into a sort of pinnacle of national culture, celebrating and sublimating them as if they were the proper materialization of the artistic genius and the wisdom of our people. Building with concrete and glass in the countryside or in the mountains is considered a sacrilege, but no one feels outraged with the folkloric bacchanal that infests our cities.

This manifesto noticeably illustrates the conundrum in which a generation of Portuguese architects lived in the late 1940s. Though they were active in Porto, hence geographically detached from the regime’s political core, they nevertheless aspired at participating in the transformation of the built landscape armed with the tenets of modernity, and following the references of the disciplinary avant-garde.

These references, I would contend, resonate with the so-called new intentions that Távora talked about in his article, mentioned above. The confrontation between these new intentions and the demagogical fallacies of the picturesque regionalism cherished by the regime, would eventually be clearly expressed in Távora’s graduation project, the so-called CODA⁶⁶, with the title *Uma Casa Sobre o Mar* (A House Overlooking the Sea). In this project, Távora deliberately explores one of the examples of *Casa Portuguesa* designed by Raul Lino, *Uma Casita à Beira-Mar* (A Little House by the Sea), [Figure 2.01] and presents his own architectural interpretation of Raul Lino’s theme, with a proposal that is noticeably driven to deliver a sharp contrast with the *picturesque* tenets of the *Casa Portuguesa* movement. [Figure 2.02]

The *Casa Sobre o Mar* is a clear manifesto of Távora’s criticism on the fanciful regionalism of the *Casa Portuguesa* movement. Curiously enough, however, it falls short as an example of the great lessons of the vernacular he suggested in *O Problema da Casa Portuguesa*, as an alternative to Raul Lino’s picturesque palette cherished by the regime. In fact, Távora’s project is profoundly embedded with the modernist rationale, exhibiting technological accomplishments, gloriously epitomized in the design of the balcony projecting from the cantilevered volume of the house, anchored to the ground by eight *pilotis* fixed on the verge of the cliff. Távora’s graduation project thus echoes the

65. AA.VV., “Opiniões Que Entram pela Porta de Serviço por Chegarem Atrasadas” (presented at the 1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura, Lisboa, 1948), 8.

66. CODA was the acronym used in Porto’s School of Fine Arts for “Concurso para a Obtenção do Diploma de Arquitecto” (Submission for Obtaining the Architect’s Diploma).

drive of a generation of Portuguese architects, chiefly represented by those educated in the school of Porto, to champion modernism as a fundamental part of their disciplinary ethos.

After the active participation of the members of ODAM in the 1948 congress, in 1951 the group organized in Porto an exhibition of the work produced by its members. Interestingly, the poster made for the event's opening ceremony, displayed a quote from the catalogue of MoMA's 1941 exhibition "What is Modern Architecture?". The quote read: "our buildings are different from those of the past because we live in a different world."⁶⁷ This epigraph is meaningful; it seemingly testifies to the group's affiliation with MoMA's agenda of championing the widespread acceptance of modernism. However, the thesis defended by the members of the group in the 1948 congress revealed that this universalism, based on propagating standardization and mechanization, was mediated by a critical translation of the tenets of modernism through an approach inspired by the idea of a "new humanism."

This approach can be illustrated by António Lobão Vital's presentation in the 1948 congress, titled *A Casa, o Homem e a Arquitectura* (The House, Men and Architecture). Lobão Vital (1911-1978), an architect member of the Portuguese communist party and obviously a firm opponent of the fascist regime, delivered an insightful account of the emergence of a machinist civilization after the French Revolution and the subsequent advent of a New Humanism. Lobão Vital recognizes the importance of the bourgeois revolutions to this advent. He nevertheless quotes the 1915 Nobel Prize of Literature, Romain Rolland, to highlight that a *new* humanism, a concrete and integral *human* Humanism, should trigger the development of a *new* architecture. "To a New Humanism," Lobão Vital contends, "corresponds a new architecture, at the service of Man – the total Man." And further ahead he claims: "I want, as Portuguese and as architect, our architecture to correspond to the new humanism; to express what the modern man carries in his mind. I want the cathedrals of modern times built in our country."⁶⁸ Further, in his presentation, he fiercely denounces the conditions of housing in the rural world and in the cities, supporting it with scientific studies that show the miserable conditions of a large part of the population, thus challenging the pastoral vision on the rural world, championed by the regime.

Viana de Lima, in the same congress, stresses the idea of the instrumental role of the architect to create conditions to stimulate social change, based on a strong belief that a humanist and critical attitude should be always in the center of the discipline's approach. "It is our duty" Viana de Lima contends,

Not only as technicians but also as humanists, to devote

67. Rosa, "ODAM: Valores Modernos e a Confrontação com a Realidade Produtiva," 116.

68. António Lobão Vital, "A Casa, o Homem e a Arquitectura," in *Relatório da Comissão Executiva. Teses. Conclusões e Votos do Congresso* (presented at the 1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura, Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1948), 197–214.

VIANA DE LIMA
Rua Anta Zaida 535.2° 1846

Porto, le 8 Mars 1951

Monsieur Siegfried GIEDION
Dolderstr. 7
ZURICH

Cher Monsieur,

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous adresser, le 27 Septembre 1948, une lettre écrite par mon collègue et ami Monsieur André MULLIS, concernant la création en Portugal du Groupe CIAM.

Malheureusement, et certainement à cause de vos multiples occupations, je n'ai jamais reçu de réponse. Néanmoins, je continue très intéressé dans l'organisation d'un Groupe CIAM, non seulement parce qu'on trouve aujourd'hui en Portugal un courant d'activités intéressées aux principes CIAM, mais surtout parce que notre pays a été invité à faire partie du Comité d'Organisation subsidiaire du Sous-Comité de l'habitat de la Commission Economique pour l'Europe. Et, conséquemment, je crois très utile pouvoir faire connaître, et possible, l'esprit des principes de la Charte d'Atènes dans le Comité portugais.

Dans la lettre à laquelle je fais référence plus haut, Monsieur MULLIS vous soumettait sommairement du projet arrêté de Monsieur LE CORBUSIER à la création du Groupe CIAM portugais, à condition que vous régler vous-même cette question.

Etant dans l'urgence de cette affaire, je serais heureux de vous lire dans un court délai et de vous voir d'après, cher Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments très distingués.

Viana Lima

Figure 2.03. Letter from Viana de Lima to Sigfried Giedion (8 March 1951). Source: CIAM Archive ETH Zurich, 42-SG-33-344. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

ourselves to the noble task of building ‘Houses’ without exaggerated folkloric drives and without the spirit of imitating the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; to build houses, yes, but whose plans guide men towards a moral and spiritual health, to the love and beauty that surrounds us with such prodigality.⁶⁹

Obviously, as he himself recognises in the presentation, this call for building houses to accommodate a morally and spiritually healthy human, was deeply inspired by the principles of the Athens Charter.

Hence, in the shift from “the Age of Catastrophe” to “the Golden Age” as Eric Hobsbawm put it, a group of Portuguese architects were immersed in a debate that discussed concepts such as modernity, tradition, universalism, regionalism, humanism and identity. Though in the late 1940s Portugal lived under quite exceptional geopolitical conditions, these matters of concern were similar to those discussed in the post war CIAM debate on architecture and urbanism, arguably the main forum for the discussion of Modern Movement’s architectural and urban design principles. Curiously enough, soon after the events discussed above, a Portuguese CIAM group would be created.

CIAM-Portugal and the Charter of the Habitat

In 8 March 1951, Viana de Lima wrote to the secretary of CIAM, Sigfried Giedion, expressing his interest in creating a national CIAM group.⁷⁰ Viana de Lima argued that in Portugal “there is today a group of architects committed with CIAM principles”, asserting that he himself would also support the principles of the Athens Charter. Further, he added that in a previous message dated from 1948, he had already mentioned the approval of Le Corbusier to the formation of a Portuguese CIAM group. [Figure 2.03]

Few days after, on 13 March 1951, Giedion replies to Viana de Lima, confirming the interest in the formation of the Portuguese CIAM group and reiterating Le Corbusier’s agreement. This letter was copied to the secretary of the MARS group, which by then was in charge of preparing the 8th CIAM congress, to be held at Hoddesdon from 7 to 17 July 1951. Viana de Lima would eventually travel to Hoddesdon, together with Fernando Távora, where they participated as observers in the works of the congress, whose theme was “The Heart of the City.”⁷¹ In the Council Meeting of 11 July the creation of the group CIAM-Portugal was formalized.

The Portuguese CIAM group was chaired by Viana de Lima and its constituency was a relatively small number of architects, most of them members of ODAM.⁷² The first contribution of the Portuguese group for the CIAM was delivered at the working congress held in Sigtuna, a locality situated on the

69. Lima, “O Problema Português da Habitação,” 216.

70. Letter from Alfredo Viana de Lima to Sigfried Giedion, March 8, 1951, 42-SG-33-344, gta archive.

71. For more information about this congress, see Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, José Luis Sert, and Ernesto N. Rogers, eds., *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life* (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1952); Leonardo Zuccaro Marchi, “The Heart of the City: Continuity and Complexity of an Urban Design Concept” (PhD Dissertation, Delft University of Technology, 2013).

72. In the manuscript of the CIAM group meeting of 5 November 1952, seven persons were referred as present: Agostinho Ricca, Cândido Barbosa, Arménio Losa, Viana de Lima, Lixa Filgueiras, João Andresen and Fernando Távora. See José Sommer Ribeiro and José Joaquim Rodrigues, eds., *Viana de Lima. Arquitecto 1913-1991* (Lisboa and Porto: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and Árvore - Centro de Actividdaes Artísticas, CRL, 1996), 30.



Figure 2.04. Habitat Grid proposal designed by CIAM Portugal (above); Example of its application as showed at the Siguna meeting (below). Source: CIAM Archive ETH Zurich, 42-AR-12-100a / 42-SG-37-72. Photo of the Habitat Grid scheme: © Nelson Mota.

outskirts of Stockholm, from 25 to 30 June 1952. [Figure 2.04] The Portuguese delegation was constituted by Viana de Lima (Delegate member), Luís Canossa (member) and António Matos Veloso (member). The purpose of the Sigtuna congress was the preparation of the 9th CIAM congress, which would be held in Aix-en-Provence in the following year. Its specific mission was to outline the *Charte de l'Habitat*, which should be the main focus of the forthcoming congress. The aim of producing such document was supported by some CIAM groups, Le Corbusier's ASCORAL for example, and seen as a complement to the Athens Charter on the realm of dwelling and its extensions.

Hence, following a framework document produced by ASCORAL, the Portuguese group suggested the *Charte de l'Habitat* as a universal instrument that shouldn't thwart particular expressions, though. The Portuguese proposal read as follows:

The "Charte de l'Habitat" to be defined by CIAM 9 should be elaborated after an analysis of the problems of the habitat in the different countries of the world and have such a nature that its usage won't go against the proper spirit of each country that wishes to adopt it as support for their accomplishments.⁷³

As an addition to this proposal, the group also suggested a different method of analysis to the current condition of the habitat, which "aspiring the universal, should allow its application in the particular."⁷⁴ They thus advocated the adaptation of the CIAM Grid of Urbanism, the presentation method that had been suggested by the ASCORAL group in the 7th CIAM congress held in Bergamo in 1949.⁷⁵

The *Habitat Grid* proposed by the Portuguese group follows essentially the principles that had been defined in the *Grille CIAM d'Urbanism* (CIAM Grid of Urbanism), which were, on their own, subsidiary of the Athens Charter. Whereas in the ASCORAL grid the horizontal axis was dedicated to the four functions of urbanism defined in the Athens Charter,⁷⁶ in the Grid of the Habitat suggested by the Portuguese group the horizontal axis was meant for three qualities of the habitat: Health, Activity and Thought.⁷⁷ The vertical axis was dedicated to analysis on the conditions of the habitat.⁷⁸ A sample grid illustrated the group's proposal where they showed an analysis to spatial conditions.

Next to the proposal suggested by the Portuguese group, the French group Bâtir, headed by Vladimir Bodiansky, also presented a proposal for the CIAM Grid of the Habitat. After several discussions on the topic, it was then decided to create the "Committee for the Grid of the Habitat", with the specific purpose of developing a method of presentation for the Aix-en-Provence congress. The delegates invited for this commission were Vladimir Bodiansky (secretary), Michel Ecochard,

73. CIAM-Portugal, "Groupe Portugais" (Sigtuna, 1952), 42-AR-6-85, gta archive.

74. Ibid.

75. The introduction of the CIAM grid as a standard presentation device in the work of different groups in the CIAM congresses was heavily criticized. For more information on this issue, see Annie Pedret, "Dismantling the CIAM Grid: New Values for Modern Architecture," in *Team 10 1953-81. In Search of a Utopia of the Present*, ed. Max Risselada and Dirk Van den Heuvel (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005), 252-57.

76. The four functions of urbanism, according to the Athens Charter, are Dwelling, Working, Leisure and Circulation.

77. The three functions of Habitat had been suggested in a document sent by the group ASCORAL to the other national groups in 10 January 1952. See ASCORAL, "Project de Programme pour le IX^e Congrès C.I.A.M. 1953. La Charte de l'Habitat," January 10, 1952, 5-8, 42-AR-6-5, gta archive.

78. The conditions presented in the Portuguese group Grid proposal are: Geographical, Sociological, Spatial, Technical, Cultural, Ethical, Economical and Programmatic.

Fred Forbat, Hovens Grove, Viana de Lima and Jacqueline Tyrwhitt. [Figure 2.05] The outcome of the work developed by this commission, however, failed to persuade some delegates, especially those of the younger generation. It was decided, then, that instead of a mandatory set of guidelines for the CIAM 9 presentations, only some basic rules defined by the commission should be adopted, thus giving freedom to the presentations of the national groups.

Then, at the 9th CIAM congress, held in Aix-en-Provence from 19 to 26 July 1953, the method used by each national group to present their contribution to the congress, resonated conspicuously with their position regarding CIAM's agenda. To be sure, the debate was divided between those championing a more universalist approach, the older CIAM generation, and those suggesting a more situated approach, the younger generation. The universalism of the model of habitat proposed by the generation of the masters was confronted with the emergence of a younger generation, which brought about references from other cultures. Moreover, the interwar focus on the *ideal and abstract Man* was now being challenged and changed into an attention to the man in the street, to the *mass men*, as Ortega Y Gasset had it.⁷⁹ At any rate, the repositioning of the mass men at the core of the debate was utterly epitomized by the "Urban Reidentification" Grid presented by the Smithsons, with their displaying of "a utopia of the present" using scenes from the everyday illustrated by pictures taken by Nigel Henderson in London's Bethnal Green district.⁸⁰ [Figure 2.06]

79. The grids presented at the 1953 CIAM congress by the group GAMMA (Morocco), "Habitat du Plus Grand Nombre"; CIAM-Alger (Algeria), "Bidonville Mahieddine"; and the Smithsons / MARS Group, "Urban Re-Identification", illustrate with clarity this shift. Cf. Risselada and Van den Heuvel, *Team 10, 1953–1981*, 20–41. For an account on the disciplinary shift from the ideal man to the *real* man, see Shadrach Woods, *The Man in the Street: A Polemic on Urbanism* (Penguin Books, 1975).

80. For an insightful discussion of the Smithsons' UR grid, see Dirk Van den Heuvel, "Le Présent de L'utopique: La Grille de Réidentification Urbaine d'Alison et Peter Smithson," in *La Modernité Critique. Autour Du Ciam 9 d'Aix En Provence*, ed. Jean-Lucien Bonillo and Claude Massu (Marseille: Editions Imbernon, 2006), 147–55.

81. The Portuguese CIAM group was represented in Aix-en-Provence by the following delegation: Viana de Lima (delegate); João Andresen, Arménio Losa, Fernando Távora, and António Matos Veloso (members); Abelha, Luis Praça, Candida, Noye Praça, and Mrs. Viana de Lima (participants).

82. CIAM-Portugal, "Groupe CIAM Portugais," 1953, 42-SG-33-76, gta archive.

Against this intellectual background, the Portuguese CIAM group showed in Aix-en-Provence a new version of their proposal for the Grid of the Habitat, which was partially based in the version suggested by the Sigtuna commission.⁸¹ [Figure 2.07] This new version defined in the horizontal axis three themes: lifestyle, its material manifestation, and its respective technical consequences. In the vertical axis two domains were highlighted: the situation (subdivided in natural and social) and men (subdivided in material and spiritual demands). Analysis on legislation and funding conditions were also suggested.

In the summary included in the conference proceedings, the group regrets that the Portuguese authorities weren't sufficiently aware to the problem of the habitat and, thus, they could not show any relevant experience as an example. However, with their proposal, the group claims they were interested in "showing that housing could not be considered in isolation." "Housing as a whole [system] does not exist," they argued. And they went on contending housing "is part of a community and thus continuous with its extensions."⁸² The Portuguese group, in this statement, resonates some of the critical positions on a certain idea of universality, stressing the dependence of housing on a set

PROPOSITION DE LA COMMISSION

A Programme et Conditions		B Besoins Fondamentaux		C Divers		D Commentaires
		Matériels(rouge)	Spirituels(bleu)			
Ses du Projet	Milieu 1					
	2					
	3					
	4					

EXEMPLE D'UNE PAGE DE PRESENTATION BIEN REMPLIE

A Programme et Conditions		B Besoins Fondamentaux		C Contraintes Universelles		D Commentaires
		Matériels	Spirituels	Validité	Gr.Nombre	Spécificité
Ses du Projet	Milieu Naturel					
	Milieu Social					
	Formes					
	Techni- ques					



Figure 2.05. Habitat Grid proposed by the Siguna commission on the method of presentation of work for CIAM 9. Source: CIAM Archive ETH Zurich, AR-X-4. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

Figure 2.06. Alison and Peter Smithson - Urban Reidentification Grid, CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence, 1953. Source: *Team 10 1953-81*, ed. Max Risselada and Dirk Van den Heuvel (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005), 30-32.

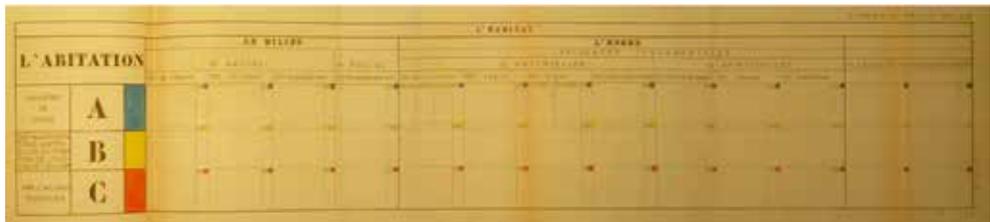


Figure 2.07. Habitat Grid proposal presented by CIAM Portugal at the CIAM 9 meeting in 1953; Source: CIAM Archive ETH Zurich, 42-AR-12-100b. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

Figure 2.08. Arménio Losa - Grid of the Survey to three households in the city of Porto (UIA Congress 1953). Source: Union Internationale des Architects, *Troisième Congrès de L'Union Internationale Des Architects. Rapport Final* (Lisbonne: Librarie Portugal, 1953).

of specific aspects, both material and metaphysical, such as the idea of dwelling extensions and community.

The theme of the habitat was definitely the central matter of concern for the members of the Portuguese CIAM group. To be sure, a few months after the ninth CIAM congress, two of the members that went to Aix-en-Provence, Arménio Losa (1908-1988) and João Andresen (1920-1967), would address once more the theme of the habitat in their participation in the Third Congress of the *Union Internationale des Architectes* (UIA), held in Lisbon, from 20 to 27 September. This event would bring about an important opportunity to foster the disciplinary debate in a semi-peripheral country such as Portugal.

The 1953 UIA Congress was chaired by Carlos Ramos, who was since 1 August 1952 director of the Porto's Fine Arts school. The presentations at the congress were organized in eight working groups with the following themes: The Education of the Architect; the Social Role of the Architect; discussion on the respective roles of the architect and the engineer and on their collaboration; the synthesis of the Fine Arts: discussion on the collaboration between the architect and the artists; Urbanism; Habitat; Educational Buildings; and Industrialization of the Construction. Távora was invited by Ramos to contribute to the congress with a survey on Portuguese traditional construction techniques and expressions, which was presented to the delegates of the congress on 22 September 1953.

The working group on the theme of the Habitat, chaired by the Italian Luigi Piccinato, asked the participants to reflect on the housing needs of a family, dealing with three themes: the shelter (housing solutions for low income families), the dwelling (housing solutions for middle-income families), and the study of the relation between construction volume and cost.⁸³ Losa addressed the theme of the shelter emphasizing that a balance should be achieved between establishing universal minimum conditions and solutions contingent with each specific context. [Figure 2.08] He highlighted that housing was not a gift but a right for all, and argued that the rigidity of the norms could hinder the efficacy of housing the great number. Regarding the theme of the middle-class housing, Losa, emphasized the need to answer the biological, affective and spiritual needs of the families by an intense and sincere exchange between the architect and the individuals in the family or in the group.⁸⁴

In his presentation, Andresen underlined the dialectic between men's primal needs as universal constants, and the different manners to provide for their fulfilment, which are dependent of Space and Time, on psychic, historical, and social factors. He further argued that the fulfilment of men's essential needs in terms of housing could be accomplished through a wise

83. Next to the two Portuguese presentations, by Losa and Andresen, there were presentations by the groups of the following countries: Algeria, Cuba, France, Netherlands, Italy, and Czechoslovakia. Michel Ecochard from Rabat could not attend the congress, but send a communication that was read by the Delarozière, the *Rapporteur* of the working group.

84. Union Internationale des Architectes, *Troisième Congrès de L'Union Internationale Des Architectes. Rapport Final* (Lisbonne: Librairie Portugal, 1953), 305–312.

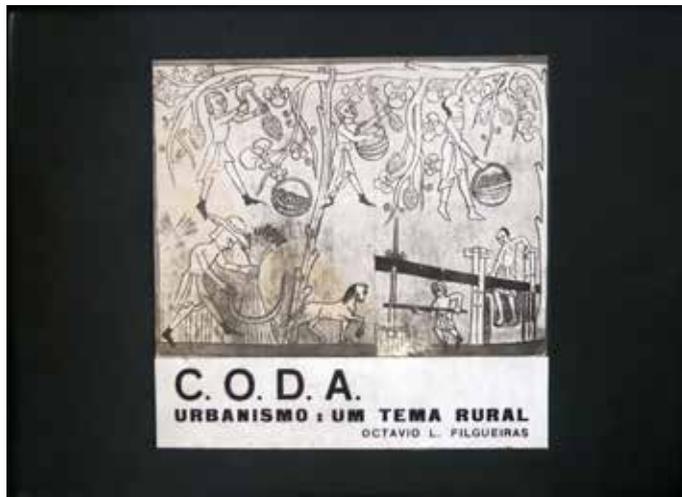
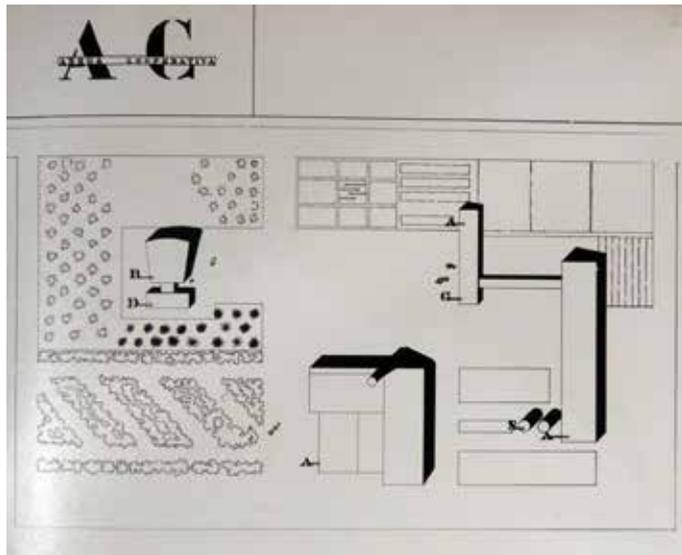


Figure 2.09. Octávio Lixa Filgueiras - CODA "Urbanismo: Um Tema Rural" (1953): "Adega Cooperativa" (Co-op Winery) (above); Cover (below). Photos: © Gonçalo Canto Moniz.

interpretation of tradition. Andresen suggested, moreover, that an intense survey should be held in every country to identify how housing primal needs are determined by a specific space and time condition. As an example to this type of survey, Andresen showed a grid with a survey to three different households living in the Porto urban area.

At the end of that same year, another member of the Portuguese CIAM group, Octávio Lixa Filgueiras (1922-1996), delivered his CODA, with the title *Urbanismo: Um Tema Rural* (Urbanism: A Rural Theme), where he suggests an approach to rural habitat strongly supported by methodologies imported from human and social sciences.⁸⁵ [Figure 2.09] Filgueiras' goal was to present the rural world as a central constituent of a disciplinary debate where social principles should overcome formal aspects. He sees himself as the follower of the work developed by Eduardo Lima Basto and Henrique de Barros, authors of the *Inquérito à Habitação Rural* (Survey on Rural Housing). This reference is meaningful as this survey, developed in the 1940s, challenged the regime's pastoral vision of the countryside, denouncing the misery of living conditions of Portugal's population living in the rural world.⁸⁶ [Figure 2.10]

Next to this counter-pastoral approach, Filgueiras also adopted an analytical methodology inspired by the work of the ethnologist Jorge Dias (1907-1973), who, in 1953, published a monograph study on the remote communitarian village of Rio de Onor, located on the northeast of Portugal, in the region of Bragança and right on the border with Spain.⁸⁷ This affinity is also conspicuous. In effect, Jorge Dias claimed for himself the pioneering role in the development of an organic and functionalist methodology to ethnology, inspired by the American cultural anthropologist Ruth Benedict and her book *Patterns of Culture*. Hence, for Filgueiras this novel methodology should be able to yield a characterization of a human settlement in its natural environment assessing "culture as a whole, not forgetting its ecological component".⁸⁸

Beyond the references from social sciences, Lixa Filgueiras was further interested in the analytical method suggested by CIAM, the famous CIAM grid of urbanism. He acknowledged that the CIAM grid was able to "bring about to the realm of figurative representation the key idea of the correlation and interdependence of the elements embodied [in the whole life of urban clusters]." On a more critical tone, though, he used a metaphorical language to argue one should avoid "an idolatized cultural approach to accomplish arriving at a conscious collaboration through a constructive critical approach. This approach would eschew the reserved purport and that pedantic frown of who aims at discovering the dynamite using other's nitro."⁸⁹

85. Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, "Urbanismo: Um Tema Rural" (Concurso para a Obtenção do Grau de Arquitecto (CODA), Escola de Belas Artes do Porto, 1953), Arquivo Pessoal Octávio Lixa Filgueiras.

86. Eduardo A. Lima Basto and Henrique Barros, *Inquérito à Habitação Rural*, vol. 1, 1943.; and Henrique Barros, *Inquérito à Habitação Rural*, vol. 2, 1948. For more information on the *Inquérito à Habitação Rural* (Survey to Rural Housing), see João Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular e Identidade Nacional* (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2000), 145–164.

87. Jorge Dias (1907-1973) was arguably the most influential Portuguese ethnologist. After finishing his studies on German Filology in the University of Coimbra, Dias received a doctoral degree in Ethnology from the University of Munich. He founded in 1947 the Ethnology Research Centre of the University of Porto.

88. Jorge Dias, *Rio de Onor: Comunitarismo Agro-Pastoril*, 2nd ed. (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1981). The first edition of this book was published in 1953 by Instituto para a Alta Cultura. Jorge Dias pointed out that this methodology was fundamental "for understanding our psycho-social essence" and to "accomplish, one day, the scientific determination of our national character"

89. Filgueiras, "Urbanismo: Um Tema Rural," 4–5.

Filgueiras suggests an approach opposed to “today’s (or forever’s) tendency to praise the extraordinary, losing sight on mundane fundamentals.”⁹⁰ He stresses his engagement in seeing the extraordinary aspect of ordinary things. His interest on the countryside and on the rural world as important loci to discuss the problems of modern urban planning, epitomizes an ambivalent drive in the design disciplines, in the early 1950s, between a pastoral attitude that cherished the qualities of the everyday, and a counter-pastoral vision that denounced the misery of the masses and suggested that social change could be triggered by an ethical use of the specific tools of the design disciplines. This drive would be a vital aspect in CIAM’s reconceptualization of the notion of habitat through the 1950s.

Reconceptualizing the Habitat

The impact created by and the discussion around some of the presentations delivered at CIAM 9, fuelled the motivation of a group of younger CIAM members to rethink the principles inherited from the older generation. Hence, from then on, a group became increasingly engaged in revising those principles. Among the members of this group, some were assigned with the task of organizing the tenth CIAM congress.

One of the first results produced by this group came about in the aftermath of a meeting between some Dutch and English members of CIAM 10’s organising committee, which was held in the Dutch city of Doorn from 29 to 31 January 1954. The outcome of this meeting became famously known as *The Doorn Manifesto*.⁹¹ This document envisioned to build an alternative to the *totality* of the Athens Charter functions, which, according to the participants in the meeting, thwarted a truthful manifestation of the diversity of activities developing in the city, and didn’t expressed the vitality of human associations. They thus proposed as an alternative the notion of scales of association, inspired by the work of the Scottish sociologist Patrick Geddes.⁹² [Figure 2.11] Four scales of association were then defined, with different degrees of complexity: Isolated buildings, Villages, Towns, and Cities. Each of these scales of association represented a so-called ecological field, which would then be analysed using the four functions of the Athens Charter.

With the Doorn Manifesto, the six young members of the Dutch and English CIAM groups gathered in Doorn delivered an overt criticism on their “spiritual fathers,” i.e. Le Corbusier, Gropius and Giedion, especially on the grounds of the inadequacy of the Athens Charter’s principles. They argued, “urbanism considered and developed in the terms of the Charte d’Athene [sic] tends to produce ‘towns’ in which vital human associations are inadequately expressed.”⁹³ They were explicitly against the idea of an assessment of the built environment through the lens of

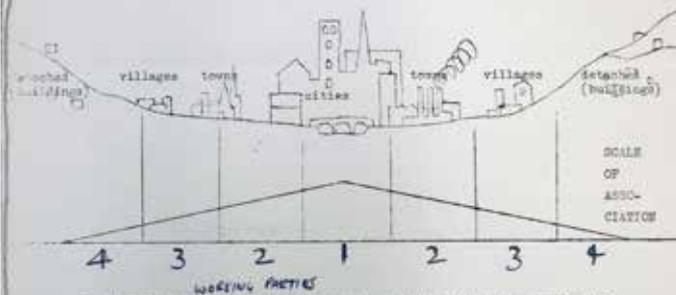
90. Ibid., 1.

91. The participants in this meeting were Bakema, Van Eyck, Van Ginkel, Hovens Grove, the Smithsons and Voelcker.

92. For more information about the influence of Geddes on Team 10, see Volker M. Welter, “Post-war CIAM, Team X, and the Influence of Patrick Geddes” (presented at the CIAM Team 10, the English Context, Delft, 2001), <http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft1/welter.pdf>.

93. Quotation from the manuscript of this document, kept in the Bakema Archive held by NAI, Rotterdam. See AA.VV., “Statement on Habitat” (presented at the Doorn Meeting, Doorn, 1954) NAI - BAKEg26.

These can be shown on a Scale of Association as shown below:



We suggest that ~~the commissions~~ operate each in a field (not a point) on the scale of association, for example,

isolated buildings
villages
towns
cities

This will enable us to study particular functions in their appropriate ecological field.

Thus a housing sector or satellite of a city will be considered at the top of the scale, (under City, 1), and can in this way be compared with development in other cities, or contrasted with numerically similar developments in different fields of the Scale of Association.

This method of work will induce a study of human association as a first principle, and of the four functions as aspects of such total problem.

Figure 2.11. Report from the CIAM Meeting in Doorn 29,30,31 January 1954. Source: Team 10 Archive NAI Institute, TTEN7. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

the four functions proposed in the Athens Charter, which didn't considered other "ecological fields" apart from towns. Thus, they argued in favour of considering every community, despite its size, as a "particular *total* complex".

One of the most striking consequences of this proposal, was the deliberate shift from the universalism of the Athens Charter, into a disciplinary approach concerned with specific "atmospheres", as Peter Smithson called them, which should be the basis for the creation of the Charter of the Habitat. They were also critical on the separation of architecture and urban planning, which was embedded in the interwar CIAM's discourse. "In the past of CIAM", Peter Smithson argued, "[there was] too much dualism between house and city, without realising the interrelation."⁹⁴ Next to his future Team 10 fellow members, Peter Smithson was thus calling for a new understanding of the discipline, which should be supported by a new term: relationship.

The idea of the scales of association and its implicit new analytical methodology would eventually be formalized in December 1954 in the instructions sent by Team 10 to the national groups as a framework for the preparation of their contribution to the tenth congress. In this document, labelled "Draft Framework 5", the analytical principles underlying the Athens Charter were criticized on the grounds of the document's failure in producing good cities, acknowledging it, nevertheless as a useful instrument to struggle against the mechanical disorder in existing cities.⁹⁵ In the Draft Framework 5, the Team 10 members asked the groups to present their projects for an ideal human habitat, "recognising and exploiting the reality of their various situations." These projects should be presented according to the aforementioned scales of association, which were now also referred as "*symbols* for a much more complex series of relationships."⁹⁶

The organizing committee for CIAM 10 proposes, then, devising "a new way of thinking about urbanism that would consider each problem as an entity, as a unique example of Human Association at a particular time and in a particular place."⁹⁷ I would suggest, then, that this new way of thinking sought a subtle yet fundamental paradigm shift from considering the challenges to contemporary urbanism not as a universal approach but a situated answer to particular circumstances. In this context, the group leaves aside the goal of creating a Charter of the Habitat as a main concern for the next CIAM for they considered the sole notion of Charter rather normative. Hence, after meeting with Giedion and Le Corbusier, they decided that the title of the next congress would be *Problemes de l'Habitat: Premier proposition CIAM. Constataions et Resolutions* (Problems of the Habitat. First CIAM Proposition. Definitions and Resolutions). Further, they also decided to change the presentation method, deliberately avoiding the use of the expression *Grille CIAM de l'Habitat*.

94. AA.VV., "Notes from First Meeting" (presented at the Team 10 Meeting, Doorn, 1954) NAI - TTEN7.

95. Cf. CIAM X, "Draft Framework 5," December 1954, 1, 42-AR-9-20, gta archive.

96. Team 10, "Draft Framework 5 - CIAM X - Instructions to Groups," 1954.

97. CIAM X, "Draft Framework 5," 1.

They encouraged, instead, every group to present a set of four panels to one or more of the Scales of Association. The content of each panel was prescribed and defined in the instructions sent to the groups.

Several national groups reacted on this document with some critiques and suggestions, though the overall feedback was positive. The Portuguese CIAM group replied on 15 January 1955 agreeing in general with the framework, but expressing doubts on the extent to which the presentation method suggested would enable a proper assessment of the projects.⁹⁸ Later, at the CIRPAC meeting held in Paris on 29 June 1955, Viana de Lima presented an extended report, which was also somewhat more critical on Team 10's proposal. First and foremost, Viana de Lima sustains and emphasizes his belief in the production of a Charter of the Habitat, which he thought should be "developed from an analysis to the problems of the Habitat in different countries of the world, thus conferring an universal scope to the 'Charter'".⁹⁹

This declaration shows the extent to which Viana de Lima's approach (and the Portuguese CIAM group, for that matter) was still wholeheartedly following the Charter of the Habitat as a methodological apparatus with a universal scope, thus resonating with the character of the Athens Charter. Further, in the same report, Viana de Lima criticizes the terminology of the Scales of Association and suggests, as an alternative, dividing the Habitat into three scales only: the Habitat itself; the Habitat in small communities; and the Habitat in big communities.¹⁰⁰ He emphasizes his criticism on Team 10's draft framework arguing the four panels will not allow the proper documentation of the analysis thus delivering an overly subjective synthesis. Viana de Lima laments that the suggestion of the Portuguese group had been overlooked, specially the work presented and discussed in Sigtuna.¹⁰¹ Hence, he presents once again a proposal for a CIAM Grid of the Habitat, which could "contribute for coordinating Team X's points of view and the proposals discussed in the Paris meeting of 30 June 1954."¹⁰² [Figure 2.12]

98. Cf. Jaap Bakema, "CIAM X - 1955. Résumé des réactions dans 'Instructions aux Groupes,'" 1955, 3, 42-AR-9-85, gta archive.

99. Alfredo Viana de Lima, "Rapport du Groupe CIAM portugais à la Réunion CIRPAC du 4 Juillet 1955" (Porto, June 29, 1955), 1, 42-SG-47-36, gta archive.

100. Cf. Ibid.

101. Ibid., 2.

102. Ibid., 3.

In the report on the new Grid proposal presented by the Portuguese group, Viana de Lima reiterates his confidence in the principles of the CIAM Grid of Urbanism and suggests it should be simply adapted to the scale of Housing. He claims the *Grille d'Urbanisme* contemplates already such a broad set of themes that its division admits any investigation, from the scale of the domestic problems to the continental gamut. Hence, he questions:

What is the purpose of talking about 'Isolé', 'Village', 'Ville', 'Metropolis' – City, Village, Isolated [buildings]? It should be considered in the schemes of each 'Grille' the ordered

separation of the analysis to the milieu and to the entity one aims to define (city in the case of the CIAM grid of urbanism, or housing in this case of the Grille de l'Habitat).¹⁰³

In the new Grid proposal presented by the Portuguese group – the third since Sigtuna – two horizontal axis were defined: one to present the analysis (*Constatations*) and other for the presentation of the proposals (*Résolutions*). The vertical axis's were organized in three themes: The situation (*le milieu*); Man (*l'homme*); and techniques (*les techniques*). According to the range of the analysis, the group suggests each of the three themes should be divided in sub-themes where the four functions of the habitat should be considered, each one occupying one of the grid's modules: health (*santé*); action (*activité*); thought (*pensée*); and affectivity (*affectivité*).¹⁰⁴ This scheme shows an attempt to adapt the universalist approach suggested by the analytic methods inherent to the ASCORAL grid of Urbanism, presented in Bergamo, to a more humanist and situated analytical approach that considers the human being and his/her circumstance as the focus of a new disciplinary drive. It also shows, however, that the Portuguese CIAM group resisted following Team 10's outspoken criticism on the Athens Charter and its universalist scope. Though the work produced by the group recognized the importance of a disciplinary ethos focused on the human person and its cultural milieu, they maintained their belief on the benevolence of modern movement's principles. The project designed by them for the 10th CIAM congress would eventually epitomize their attempt to reconcile modernity with the vernacular.

2.3• CIAM 10: Modernity and the Rural World

The 10th CIAM congress was initially due in the summer of 1955 in Alger, then part of the French colonial empire. However, the uprising of the Algerian nationalist liberation movement, which started at the end of 1954, gained momentum and caused postponing the congress and eventually choosing a different location. In the meantime it was decided to hold a CIAM meeting of delegates in September 1955 at La Sarraz, CIAM's foundational and mythical cradle, while the new location and date for the 10th congress was being devised.

103. Alfredo Viana de Lima, "Rapport sur le schema de Grille proposée," 1955, 1, 42-SG-47-35, gta archive.

104. Ibid., 2. Three of these functions of the Habitat had been already suggested in the grid presented in Sigtuna to which the function "Affectivity" was now added.

105. CIAM-Portugal, "CIRPAC La Sarraz. Rapport du groupe portugais" (Porto, September 1, 1955), 2, 42-AR-12-97/110, gta archive.

In this meeting, Viana de Lima insisted once again in suggesting the Portuguese group's Grid proposal as an alternative to the presentation method suggested by Team 10. Further, he also presented to CIAM's Council of Delegates a proposal to held the 10th CIAM congress in Portugal, in Bom Jesus do Monte – Braga, announcing that he had already the official support of the Ministry of Public Works for the realization of that event in Portugal.¹⁰⁵ [Figure 2.13] None of these proposals were

successful, though. The presentation method suggested by Team 10 was approved and the congress would eventually be held in Dubrovnik, then part of the socialist federation of Yugoslavia led by Josip Broz Tito.

Triggered by the Smithson's idea of the scales of association and by the on-going drive to re-humanize architecture, the rural world emerged as a reference for the creation of a harmonic relationship between the individual and the community. At La Sarraz, the grid "Rural Resettlement Project," presented and designed by John Voelcker (1927-1972), a member of the British MARS group, illustrates this shift. [Figure 2.14] Voelcker's project showed a shattered group of individual houses with private gardens, organized around a common orchard, and unified by a continuous boundary strip made out of concrete blocks. In the text displayed on his grid, Voelcker argued that the intention of the project is "to contrive a building of elements which have, besides their constructional purpose, a formal significance," which was noticeably inspired on the vernacular agricultural dwelling pattern.

The housing units were also designed according to the "traditional cottage plan." Their building system, however, was mainly based on pre-fabricated elements using processed materials such as concrete blocks, concrete precast frame, and corrugated asbestos sheets, combined with more traditional solutions such as weatherboarding cladding. This scheme, Voelcker argued, was meant to "signify connections between the inhabitants and the universe beyond. In so doing they may provide the means of extension from individual to communal, from man-made to phenomenal."¹⁰⁶

Voelcker's grid thus suggests an instance of the conflation between art and nature, between Man and his milieu, between the individual and the community. This resonates, in fact, with Sigfried Giedion's proposal to discuss in the 10th congress the problem of inter-relationships, which he presented at the La Sarraz meeting. This notion of inter-relationships, Giedion contended, should overcome the idea of specialization and "provide a structure for CIAM X, which is to handle the subject of the Habitat." Among those relationships, Giedion referred, are "the relations between the new regionalism and the ambiance in which the machine civilization was developed."¹⁰⁷ At any rate, then, the project presented by Voelcker could thus be offered as a good example to elucidate Giedion's praise on the development of interrelationships. At the La Sarraz meeting, it was finally decided to organize the tenth congress in Dubrovnik, in the summer of 1956. In this congress, the idea of inter-relationships would indeed surface, strongly supported by a thoughtful exploration of the rural world and the vernacular tradition.

106. MARS Group and John Voelcker, "Rural Resettlement" (La Sarraz, September 1955), BAKEt129, NAI, Bakema Archive.

107. Sigfried Giedion, "Minutes of the CIAM Meeting of Delegates at La Sarraz" (La Sarraz, September 10, 1955), BAKEg41, NAI, Bakema Archive.

Dubrovnik, 1956: Revisiting the Rural World

The 10th CIAM congress was held from 3 to 13 August, 1956, and it was initially meant to collect and discuss contributions to produce the CIAM Charter of the Habitat, ambitioned by some members as a follow-up to the Athens Charter at the scale of the dwelling and its extensions. This Charter was never produced, though. Still, an intense, lively and groundbreaking debate was nurtured by its preparation. According to CIAM's president, José Luis Sert, the Dubrovnik congress should deliver a methodological approach to define the future structure of the human habitat.¹⁰⁸ To pursue that goal, thirty-five *grids* were presented and discussed in Dubrovnik. Among these, there was John Voelcker's new scheme for a Rural Habitat. [Figure 2.15] In this new version, the project evolved towards a more abstract layout, which was defined by a common spine of "Night-time" components articulating the unobstructed "Day-time" volumes. Regarding the building system, Voelcker argued that the dwelling components were designed to meet the local building industry, combining both traditional techniques with industrialized components.

Alison and Peter Smithson, also members of the MARS group, were keen in demonstrating the ideas they championed since the Doorn manifesto. They thus brought to Dubrovnik no less than five grids, providing instances to illustrate the four scales of association. The scale to which they arguably dedicated more attention was the village, presenting two grids, "the galleon cottages" and the "fold houses."

In the "galleon cottages" grid, the Smithsons delivered a critique to contemporary politics of development patterns at the countryside, which were aimed at "stooping non-traditional building to avoid 'loss of amenity'." [Figure 2.16] They argued, however, "a suburban house cannot be made into a country house by making its walls of stone or its roofs of slate."¹⁰⁹ They went further considering this approach an outrage, as can be boldly seen in the grid's first panel. Hence, they contended the problem is "to invent a form which can accommodate the typical houses required in a small village." They rejected the "typical standard housing universally applied without reference to location or type of community." Instead, they sustained a new approach to the design of non-urban dwellings, which was the *village unité*, an architectural unit formed by placing several houses together, autonomous from the village's existing urban structure, an idea inspired on the traditional Almshouses.¹¹⁰

In the "fold houses" grid, although considering the same scale of association- the village - the problem was somewhat different. In this case, the Smithsons' goal was to bring about a solution to solve the problem of inventing a housing type to be used in infill

108. CIAM Porto, "Group Porto, Portugal. Description de la grille" (Dubrovnik, August 7, 1956), 14, 42-JT-13-32/33, gta archive.

109. Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "Galleon Houses - Fold Houses - Burrows Lea Farm" (Dubrovnik, 1956), BAKEf11, NAI, Bakema Archive.

110. The Almshouses are charitable houses, usually terraced and often secluded from the public realm, to which they could gain access through a narrow passageway.

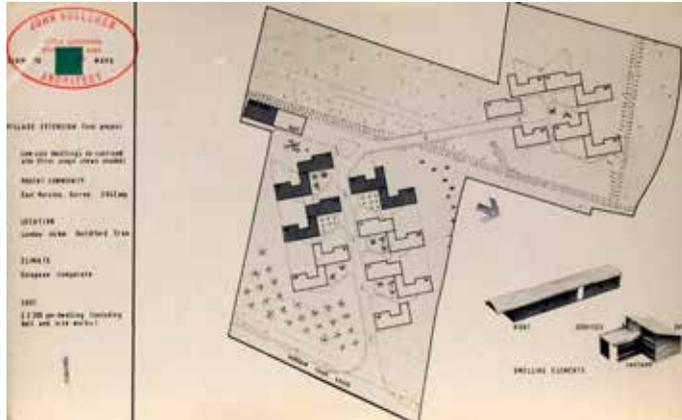


Figure 2.15. MARS-Group (John Voelcker) - Village Extension Grid - Panels 1 and 4 (1956). Source: Bakema Archive, NĀi Institute, BAKEf12. Photos: © Nelson Mota.

developments at the village scale. [Figure 2.17] They looked at vernacular settlements in the Scottish island of Tiree and in the Greek island of Poros to exemplify how the use of identical units articulated with the site's topography would foster, at the scale of the village, "an identity of coherence - like red apples on a tree." In a village, they argued, development patterns cannot be pursued since the scale is too small. Instead, they suggested, "infill development is all this type of village can hold." They presented several variants of housing layouts, which could be added next to the existing constructions, "placed over the whole of the old alike a new plant growing through old branches."

Aldo van Eyck, another Team 10 member present at the Doorn meeting in 1954, had been since the early 1950s pursuing his own survey on the primal elements of architectural language, which could guide him towards an alternative conception of progress. This quest for the primitive and elementary motivated his trips to the North of Africa in 1951 and 1952 which were, according to Francis Strauven, "journeys of discovery through the oases of the Algerian Sahara, (...) where the traditional settlements, due to the climate and their physical isolation, had remained, irrespective of Western civilisation, as constant as the pre-rational world-view that they reflected."¹¹¹

At Dubrovnik, van Eyck presented a grid with the plan for Nagele, a new village in the Dutch Noordoostpolder.¹¹² [Figure 2.18] Aldo van Eyck's acknowledgement of the virtues of the Saharian traditional settlements was not explicit in this plan, though. At any event, the plan resonates more with a group of Jaap Bakema's neighbourhood units than with the pre-rational worldview of the traditional settlements.¹¹³ The organisation of these units reveals, however, both formal and social approaches that challenged the principles of bourgeois planning. The egalitarian distribution of the neighbourhood units around the open core embodied van Eyck's rejection of the institutionalization of social hierarchies. Both the thick windswept surrounding the village and the central core epitomized van Eyck's goal that "the entire village should be the expression of unity."¹¹⁴

Van Eyck illustrates the fourth panel of his grid with a pastoral picture of a couple laying on the ground, adding a quotation from Dylan Thomas: "four elements and fives senses and man a spirit in love." [Figure 2.19] Drawing on his attachment with Johan Huizinga's notion of Homo Ludens, van Eyck argues that the core of the village was meant to be the place with "a large central green, grooves, woods and places for fun, repose and seclusion." And he went on contending that "rather [these] than the rigidity of the vast polder or the street's of the usual village form." Hence, in the context of the referenceless geography of the reclaimed polder, van Eyck delivers a proposal to build a place for each man and every man; a synthesis of the classical,

111. Francis Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998), 144.

112. Aldo van Eyck had been engaged with the plan for Nagele since 1947 as a member of the Dutch CIAM group 'de8'. Different versions of this plan were presented at the CIAM congresses held at Bergamo (1949) and Hoddesdon (1951). Aldo van Eyck has not attended any of these two congresses. The project presented at Dubrovnik corresponds to the second phase of its design, which resulted chiefly of Van Eyck's ideas. In the same congress, Aldo van Eyck presented another grid, titled "Lost Identity", which was related with his projects for several playgrounds built in Amsterdam.

113. This observation is not without reason since Bakema was involved with the Nagele plan since 1952.

114. Risselada and Van den Heuvel, *Team 10, 1953-1981*, 58-59.

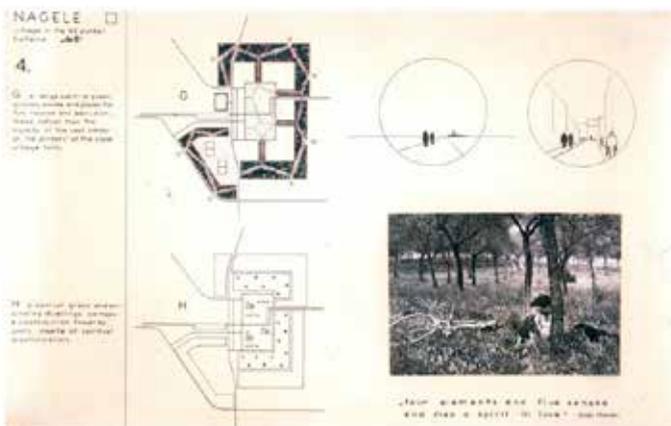
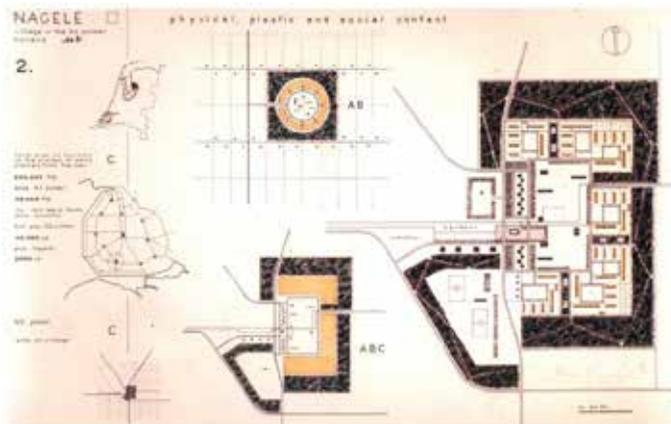
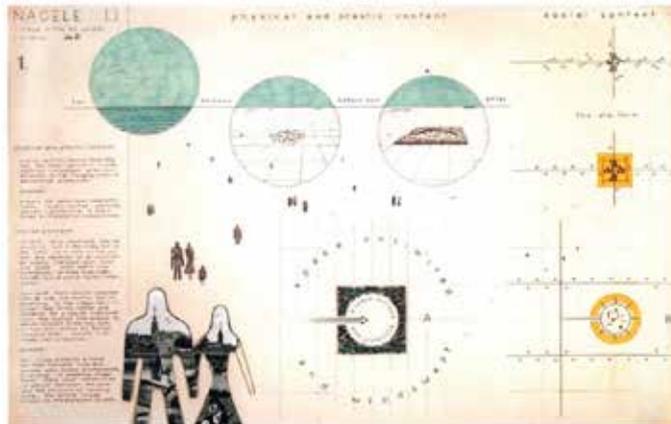


Figure 2.18. Aldo van Eyck - Nagele Grid - Panels 1 and 2 (1956). Source: *Team 10 1953-81*, ed. Max Risselada and Dirk Van den Heuvel, 58.

Figure 2.19. Aldo van Eyck - Nagele Grid - Panel 4 (1956). Source: *Team 10 1953-81*, ed. Max Risselada and Dirk Van den Heuvel, 58.

the modern and the vernacular of the heart, as he will later illustrate on his Otterlo circles.

The Norwegian CIAM group, PAGON (Progressive Arkitekters Gruppe Oslo Norge), represented in Dubrovnik by the architects Arne Korsmo, Geir Grung and the painter G. S. Gundersen, presented at the congress a proposal that was focused on the relation between building and nature. [Figure 2.20] They depicted the vernacular (such as a farm in the countryside or fisherman's homes) as "a simple understanding of living in its relationship to nature as defined through time into a form - expression and milieu of high cultural quality."¹¹⁵ These references represented the bringing together of nature and artefact. In fact, they argued, "all these buildings belong to the landscape whether they seem to slip away or lay close to it." Contrasting to this, they presented the contemporary result of a "shift from tranquillity and simplicity to the speed, the typically hurried and economically hazarded impression of our age."

With their proposal, The Norwegian group aimed to bring together tempo and quality, essential virtues that influenced greatly the outcome of the work delivered by craftsmen and architects. They contended that the sense of totality was jeopardized by contemporary demands of speed and the tendency to overlook the building's quality. Considering the social consequences brought about by this, they argued, "it is terrifying to see the unconscious and passive condition into which modern man has been directed." They advocated, thus, a more personalized society with a more active individual in it, building for it a solution that forms intersections of aesthetical quality between housing and nature. "The face of each family is to be seen in the façade of each family home." The Norwegian project stresses, thus, the achievement in contemporary housing schemes of the qualities of the vernacular, championing a symbiotic relation between nature and housing and between the individual and its community. At any rate, in Dubrovnik, the forms of community life inspired by the rural world would contribute eloquent demonstrations of this attempt to reconcile art and nature. CIAM-Portugal's project *Habitat Rural*, was arguably one of the most compelling instances of this phenomenon.

A New Agricultural Community

The Portuguese contribution for CIAM 10 was a project for an agricultural community, entitled *Habitat Rural. Nouvelle Communauté Agricole* (Rural Habitat. New Agricultural Community). The project was designed by Viana de Lima, Fernando Távora and Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, with the collaboration of Arnaldo Araújo (1925-1984) and Carlos Carvalho Dias.¹¹⁶ This project was closely related with the development of a survey to Portuguese regional architecture,

115. Arne Korsmo, Geir Grung, and G. S. Gundersen, "CIAM 10 Grid" (Dubrovnik, 1956), BAKEf17, NAI, Bakema Archive.

116. The two official delegates of the Portuguese group in CIAM 10 were Viana de Lima and Fernando Távora.

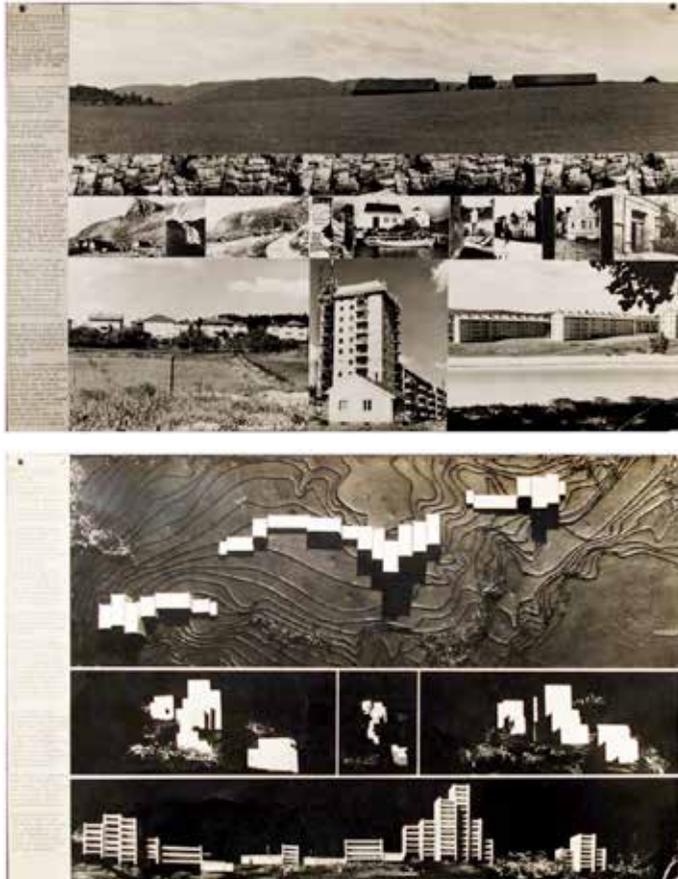


Figure 2.20. PAGON (Oslo-Norway) - CIAM 10 Grid - Panels 1 and 4 (1956). Source: Bakema Archive, NAI Institute, BAKEf17. Photos: © Nelson Mota.

an initiative of the SNA (*Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos*, National Syndicate of Architects) pursued since the late 1940s, which was finally approved and financed by the Portuguese government in 1955, one year before the tenth CIAM congress. In effect, the Survey, was the outcome of the debate instigated in the late 1940s by Távora's and Keil do Amaral's plea for an in-depth research on the Portuguese vernacular tradition, and by the outspoken criticism of the young generation of Portuguese architects on the regime's phony regionalism and pastoral vision of the countryside, clearly expressed in the Congress of 1948. In 1955, after being approved by the government, the fieldwork for the survey immediately started with six teams distributed through Portugal's continental territory.¹¹⁷ Both Távora and Filgueiras coordinated one of the six teams of the survey, those in the northern part of the country.

In effect, the location chosen to develop the project presented at the tenth CIAM was part of the area surveyed by the team coordinated by Filgueiras, and also formed by the trainees Carlos Carvalho Dias and Arnaldo Araújo, both of them collaborators in the project presented in Dubrovnik. The project was located on a rural area in the region of Bragança, in the northeast of Portugal, next to the border with Spain. [Figure 2.21] The choice of the location is conspicuously coincident with the region in which Jorge Dias developed ethnological studies in the early 1950s. In effect, Dias examined thoroughly the agro-pastoral communitarian village of Rio de Onor, and published the results of his research in 1953. This research and the book with the results of the study would be highly influential for those involved in the survey and, as mentioned above, praised by Filgueiras as a model for a new analytical approach in the design disciplines.¹¹⁸ Hence, there is an interlocking relation between the research developed by Jorge Dias, the field work for the survey and the project presented in Dubrovnik by the Portuguese CIAM group. In effect, the collection of material for the design of the new agricultural community presented in the tenth CIAM congress coincides with the development of the Survey's fieldwork, and, moreover, was also backed by a thorough ethnological research. These factors will chiefly influence the contribution of the Portuguese group to the CIAM debate on the habitat.

In Praise of Naturalness and Spontaneity

The project presented in Dubrovnik by the group CIAM Portugal was developed for a community of forty families, an amount resonant with the average size of the region's agricultural communities (typically numbering around twenty-five to fifty households). The existing communities also inspired the selection of the project's situation, on a river valley. [Figure 2.22] In the text delivered at the Dubrovnik presentation, the team argued their proposal had "a very natural and very simple

117. The insular part of Portugal, and obviously the colonies, were excluded from the Survey. A deeper account of the Survey will be presented in the next chapter.

118. This was reported to me by Carlos Carvalho Dias in an interview given on 19 July 2010.



Figure 2.21. Group CIAM Porto – CIAM X. Rural Habitat. A New Agricultural Community (1956). Panel 1 – Outline of the Problem. Source: CEAU-FAUP

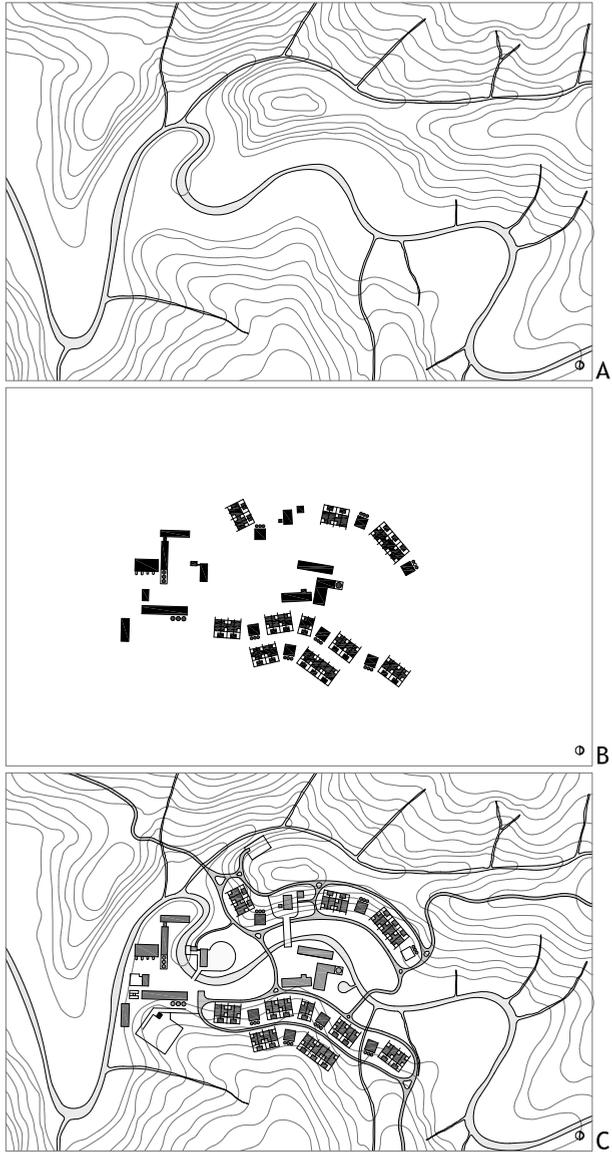


Figure 2.22. Rural Habitat. A New Agricultural Community (1956). A - Site Topography; B - Buildings; C - General Plan. Source: author's drawing

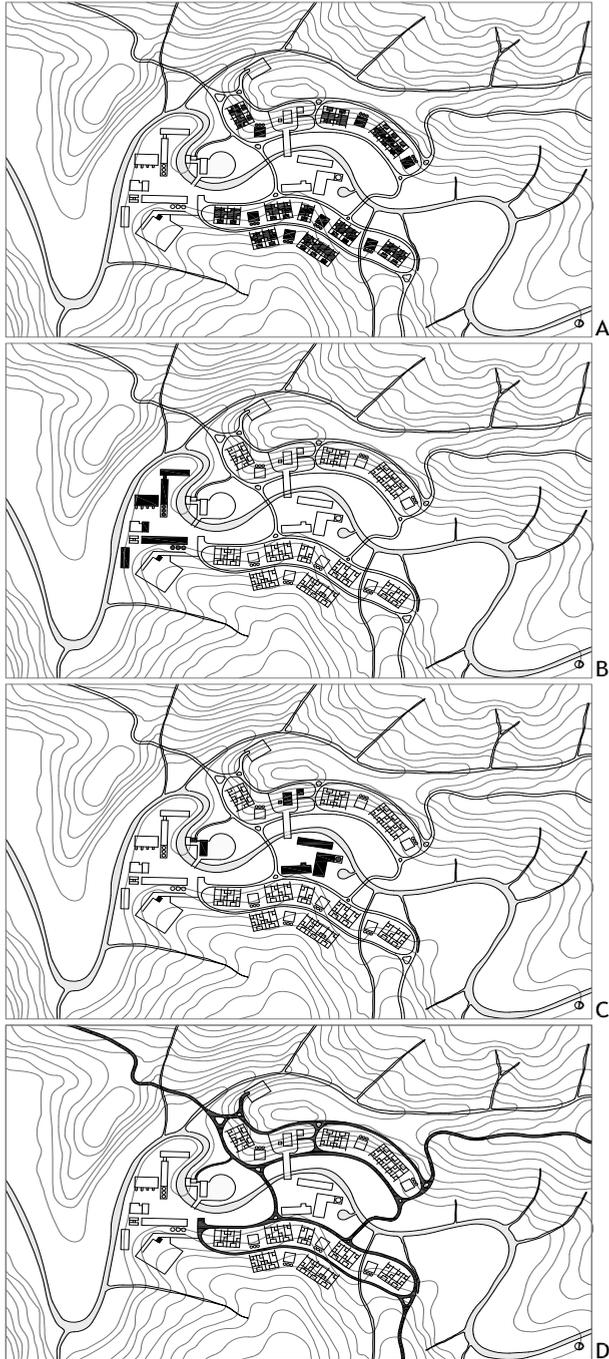


Figure 2.23. Rural Habitat. A New Agricultural Community (1956). Functional Organization: A - Housing; B - Agricultural Facilities; C - Civic Amenities; D - Circulation. Source: author's drawing.

structure and composition thus accommodating an easy growth of the settlement, should it be necessary.”¹¹⁹ The mimicking of the extant settlements was deliberate, thus revealing a noteworthy pastoral belief in the qualities and naturalness of the spontaneous agglomerations.

Further, choosing an agricultural community as the theme for the group’s presentation revealed their willingness in suggesting the scale of a rural settlement as a matter of concern in which modern movement’s principles can also be applied. In the description of the project, the group stated that their proposal could contribute for the *Charte de l’Habitat* reaffirming “the importance of the rural habitat, which CIAM shouldn’t overlook if their principles should become truly universal.” The group thus argued that CIAM principles cannot refer only to large settlements and to the metropolis but also to those small communities forgotten by the heroic drive of the interwar period. They went on criticizing the excessive standardization of planning, and highlighting “the importance of very intense surveys, mainly in very specific cases, such as this one.” This approach, they argued, “will gradually eliminate the plans developed without contact with local realities, and will, on the other hand, thwart the dangerous tendency towards the centralization that we find everywhere.”¹²⁰

Though this statement seems to encompass some criticism on a certain idea of standardization and universalism embedded in the principles of the Athens Charter, their proposal brings about some of the tenets of the functional city. In fact, from an urban design perspective, the *Habitat Rural* project is yet subsidiary of the zoning principle, with housing, work, and leisure *nuclei* well defined and articulated by a circulation infrastructure. The project seemingly suggests that the principles of the Athens Charter were immanent in spontaneous arrangements. [Figure 2.23] To be sure, the plan for the village [Figure 2.24] shows conspicuous resemblances with Le Corbusier’s scheme for the reconstruction of St. Dié, which was presented in the 1951 CIAM congress. [Figure 2.25]

As mentioned above, the group’s engagement with the study of pre-industrial settlements, in the Survey to Portuguese Regional Architecture, has deeply influenced the outcome of the *Habitat Rural* project. The panels presented in Dubrovnik reveal an explicit attempt at translating the language of the vernacular into the syntactic codes of the discipline. This translation, in fact, occurs at all scales of the work presented. In the panel number two, for example, the master plan for the community is presented alongside with two existing communities. [Figure 2.26] This confrontation evidences the parallels between the new scheme and the traditional settlements, each of which organized at the bottom of a valley, with the buildings distributed on both banks of the river. A photography of one of these existing settlements

119. Alfredo Viana de Lima, Fernando Távora, and Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, “Tese ao X Congresso do CIAM,” *Arquitectura*, 3, no. 64 (January 1959): 21–28.

120. CIAM Porto, “Group Porto, Portugal. Description de la grille.”

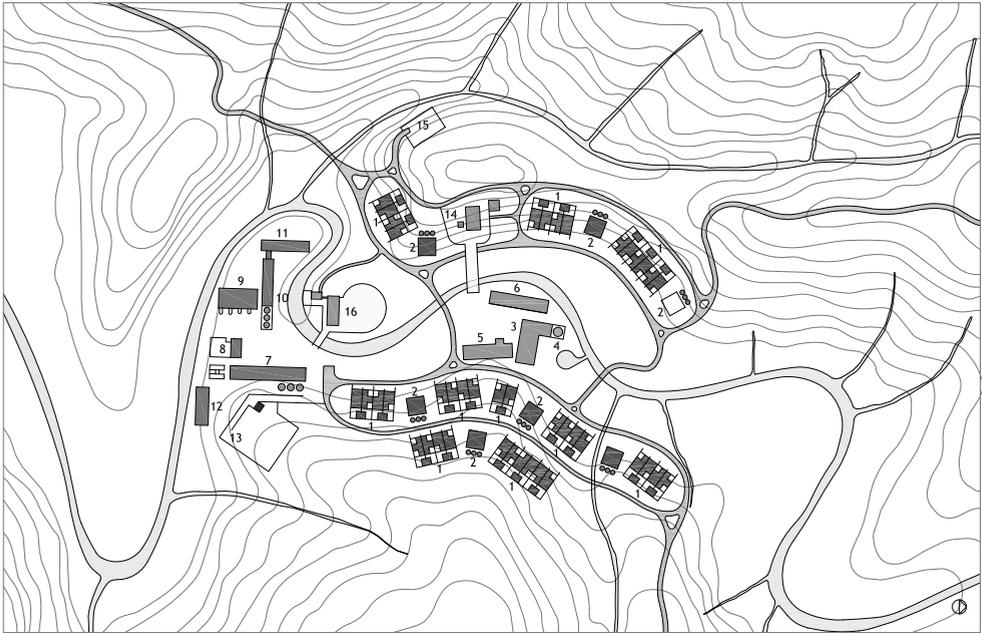


Figure 2.24. Rural Habitat. A New Agricultural Community (1956). General Plan: 1- Dwellings; 2- Stalls and Grain Silos; 3- Shops; 4- Collective Oven; 5- Administrative Centre; 6- Health Centre; 7- Stall and Smokehouse; 8- Piggery; 9- Hangar; 10- Silos and Granary; 11- Wine storage; 12- Olive oil storage; 13- Threshing-floor; 14- Church; 15- Graveyard; 16- School; 17- Orchard. Source: author's drawing.

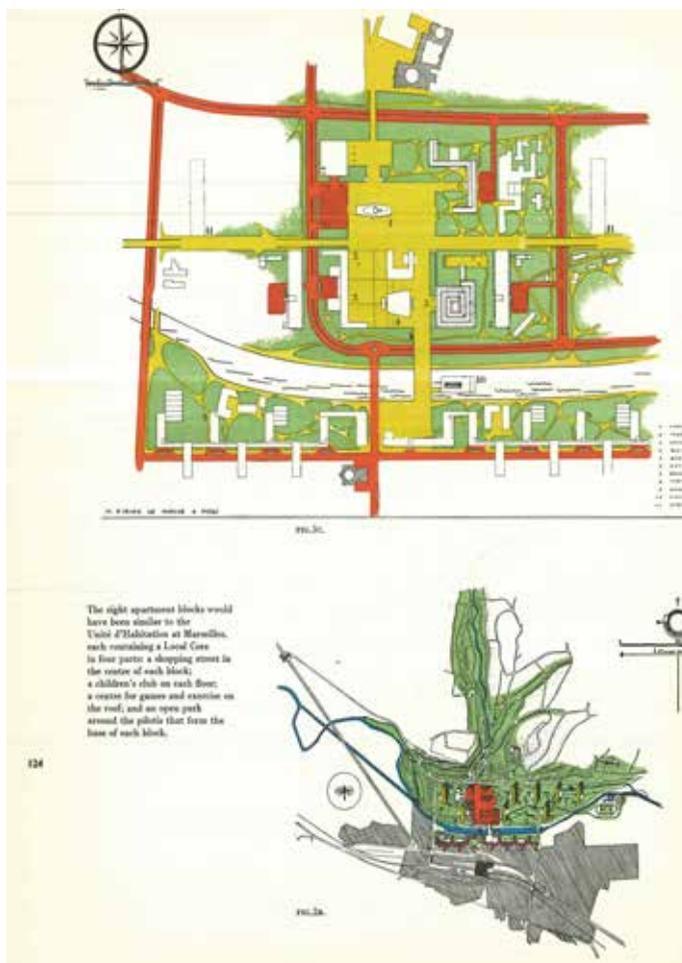


Figure 2.25. Le Corbusier - St Dié. Project for a new town centre (1945). Source: Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, José Luis Sert, and Ernesto N. Rogers, eds., *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life* (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1952), 124.



Figure 2.26. Group CIAM Porto - CIAM X. Rural Habitat. A New Agricultural Community (1956). Panel 2 - General Plan. Source: CEAU-FAUP.

Figure 2.27. Group CIAM Porto - CIAM X. Rural Habitat. A New Agricultural Community (1956). Panel 3 - Detailed Plan. Source: CEAU-FAUP.

is provided to show the site's physical context, chiefly its corrugated topography, which is responsible for the distortions in the layout of the plan's structural layout, which otherwise would be canonically modern.

The third panel is focused on the housing unit and displays a rather complex set of information. [Figure 2.27] The layout of this information is, however, meaningful. At the bottom of the strip with the textual information, at the left side of the panel, a picture depicting the hearth of a vernacular building is featured. This almost abstract picture, suggests the primitiveness of the life conditions at the Portuguese countryside. In the central section of the panel, the plan of the proposed dwelling is confronted, at the same scale, with the plan of an existing house surveyed in the region. Though the plastic quality of the layout cannot be overlooked, the counter-pastoral confrontation of the existing with the proposal is self-explanatory in emphasizing the group's commitment in granting improved conditions to the community's future inhabitants.

As regards the project's elevation, a different approach was pursued, though. A picture of a vernacular reference was used next to the representation of the new solution, which was drafted both with plain lines, suggesting the building's materialization, and with lines filled in with solid hatching to emphasize the protruding and set back parts of the building. The result is a straightforward suggestion of likeness between the project and the vernacular tradition.

The group's presentation strategy underscores their concern with two fundamental scales: the community (panel 2) and the family (panel 3). Finally, on the fourth panel [Figure 2.28], the determination of the project's principles is underlined by a quotation from the French writer Abel Hermant that seemingly synthesized the project's rationale:

May our homes and our cities become natural by our wonderful modern methods, and with this beautiful mechanical precision - which is also that of living organisms - develop as our ancient rural houses, spontaneously generated as plants, forming a family and social life in equilibrium with its milieu ...¹²¹

Hermant's quote provides the key to understand the group's ambivalent approach to the design of a rural community. The boundaries between the categories of the natural and the artistic, the spontaneous and the designed, the organic and the mechanical were deliberately blurred. The pastoral vision of the houses spontaneously generated as plants and in equilibrium with its milieu, is confronted with a denunciation of the miserable material conditions in which the rural population lived.

121. The quote was rendered in the panel in the original in French, which reads as follows: "puissent nos habitations et nos villes redevenir naturelles, par nos prodigieux moyens modernes, et avec cette exactitude de belles mécaniques - qui est celle aussi des organismes vivants - mais comme le furent nos anciennes maisons rurales, librement issues comme des plantes, d'une vie familiale et sociale en équilibre avec son milieu..."

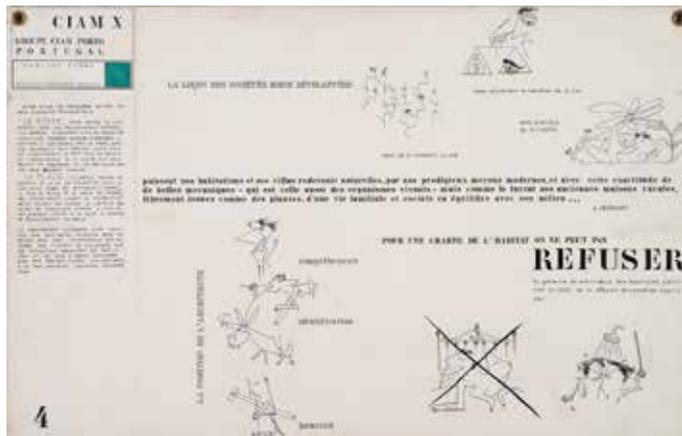


Figure 2.28. Group CIAM Porto – CIAM X. Rural Habitat. A New Agricultural Community (1956). Panel 4 – Determination of the Principles. Source: CEAU-FAUP.

Enhancing Ownership

The topic of identity, which had been gaining momentum in the post-war CIAM debates, was explored by the Portuguese delegation from two perspectives. On the one hand, the design of the new buildings deliberately sought a synthesis of vernacular building traditions and their plasticity, translating them through a contemporary interpretation. [Figure 2.29] On the other hand, the *habitat Rural* project accepted and even encouraged the participation of the future users in the building process. In the project's description written by the team, they suggest the enhancement of ownership, a design approach that would gain currency only a couple of decades after. In effect, the group challenged the established power relation between the architect and the user, and highlighted the productive contribution of citizen's participation and individual expression in housing, arguing that "the principles followed by the urban plan and by the plan for the residential unit caters for a truthful and permanent collaboration of all people in the architectural and urban works, collaboration which entitles them to say my house, my village."¹²²

Concerning the design of the residential unit, they further argued that its "plan allows a great variety of types that can be adapted to the growth of the household, whose members could themselves perform the work necessary to adapt the house to the needs of the moment."¹²³ The project would thus create a basic structure, flexible enough to accommodate the growth and change triggered by the evolution of each family's necessities. [Figure 2.30]

Further, the group delivered a critical account on the modern idea of disciplinary autonomy, and of the architect as a creative genius. They argued

The role of the architect is no longer that of the dictator whom imposes his form, but the natural, simple and humble man, who dedicates himself to solve the problems of his akin not to be served, but to serve them, thus creating anonymous works, perhaps, but nevertheless intensely lived.¹²⁴

The Portuguese CIAM group thus suggests a reconceptualization of the disciplinary ethos, conflating the universalist principles of modernity with a situated approach to the circumstance.

Their praise on naturalness and spontaneity caters for a more humanist approach, strongly supported by an idea of community that accommodates individual expression, without giving away the productive role of the project as a key instrument to cater for the betterment of the living conditions of the rural population. In the Dubrovnik congress, this disciplinary approach would define an important benchmark to scrutinize the extent to which

122. Lima, Távora, and Filgueiras, "Tese ao X Congresso do CIAM," 24 Original emphasis.

123. Ibid.

124. Group Porto, Portugal. Description de la Grille. In CIAM, "CIAM 10 Dubrovnik 1956," 1956, 132, 42-X-115A, gta archive.

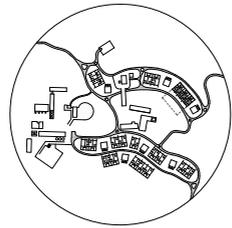
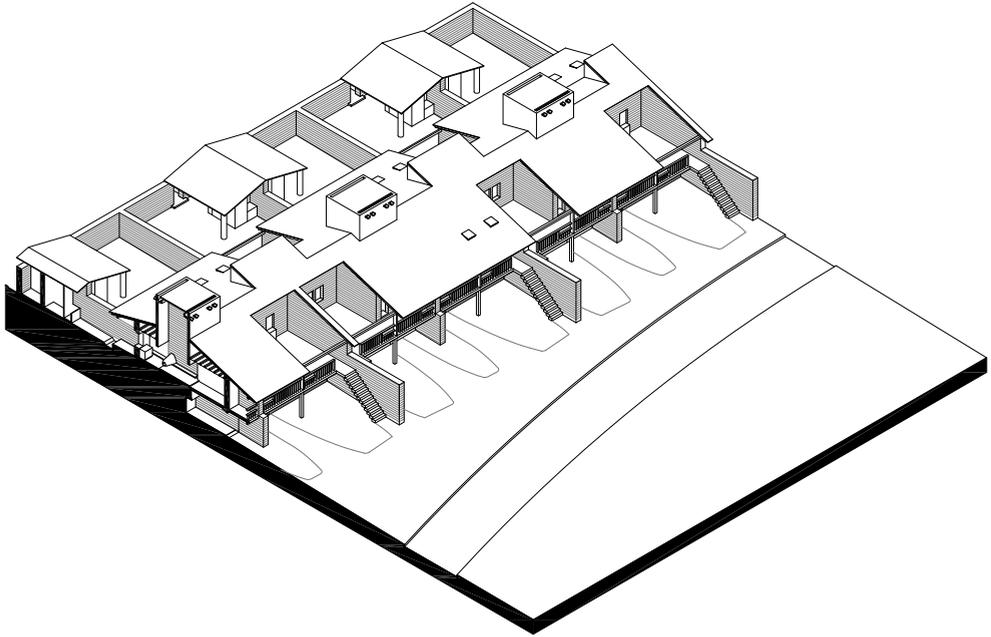


Figure 2.29. Group CIAM Porto - CIAM X. Rural Habitat. A New Agricultural Community (1956). Axonometric perspective of a Housing Cluster. Source: author's drawing.

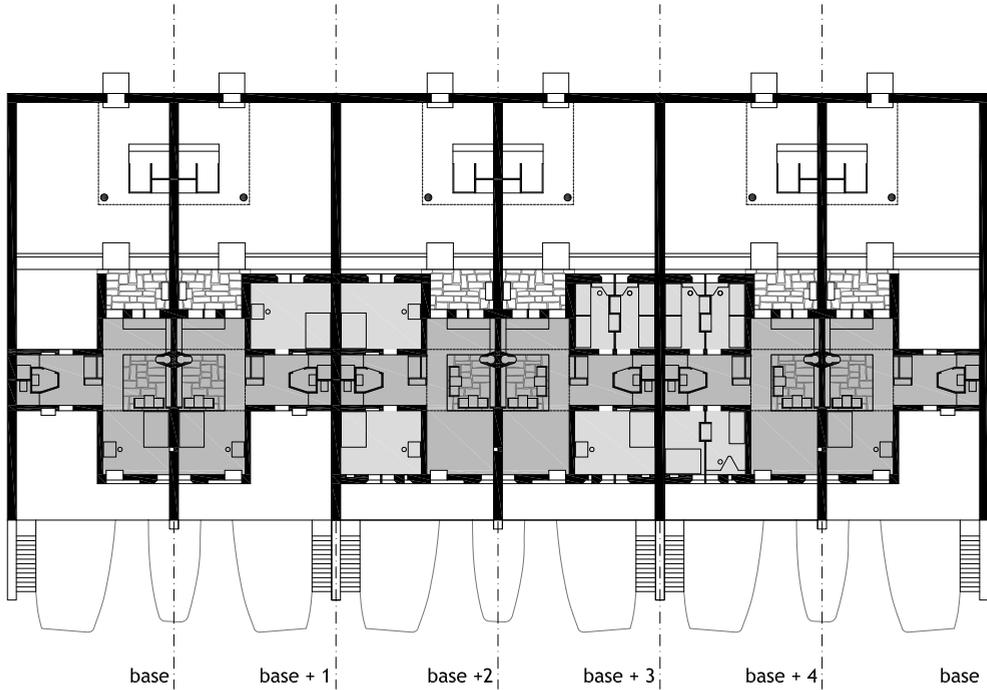


Figure 2.30. Group CIAM Porto – CIAM X. Rural Habitat. A New Agricultural Community (1956). Plan of a housing cluster showing the dwellings' incremental growth. Source: author's drawing.

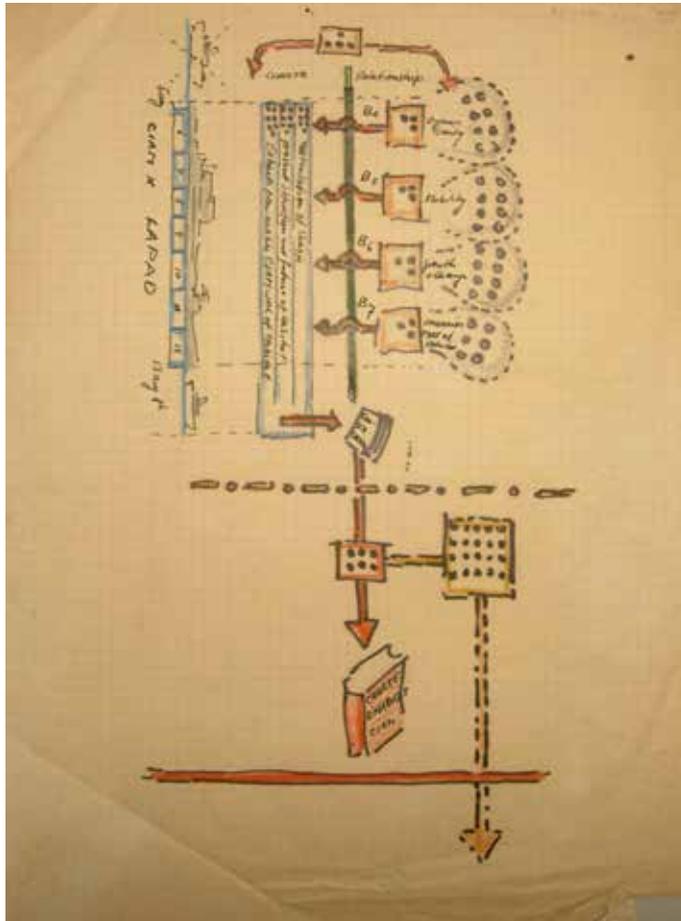


Figure 2.31. Unknown author - Sketch of the organizational structure of the CIAM 10 in Lapad (Dubrovnik), 1956. Source: CIAM Archive ETH Zurich, 42-SG-47-155. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

a critical account of the vernacular tradition contributed to CIAM's drive to re-humanize architecture.

2.4•The Garden in the Machine

At the Dubrovnik congress, the works were divided in two commissions, complemented by an articulation group and public relations. The Commission A was in charge of the definition of the bases to create the Charte de l'Habitat and the commission B was responsible for analysing and reviewing the Grids presented by the national delegations. Within each commission, several sub-commissions were created with a thematic analysis.¹²⁵ Each of these commissions produced a report gathering a critical account on the contribution of each delegation for the definition of the Charter of the Habitat. [Figure 2.31]

In the first report of the commission B4, chaired by Peter Smithson and dedicated to the theme "The Problem of the *Cluster*", the criticism on the universalizing principles of the Athens Charter was reaffirmed and the scales of association suggested as an alternative to it. The report reads: "the problem of cluster is one of developing a distinct total structure for each community, and not one of sub-dividing a community into parts." Hence, according to this report, a new discipline should be created "to relate the parts of a community into a total cluster". Further, the report asserted, "at all levels of community identifying devices are necessary."¹²⁶

This commission debated also whether there was a social base to guide the development of these communities or not. Considering this, Peter Smithson himself recognized in the same report that "in the grilles, outside the visually appreciated unit – hamlet or village – hardly any success has been achieved in the larger scale cluster."¹²⁷ According to the report of the second meeting, "only in agricultural communities can there be observed any closed economic and social basis."¹²⁸ The project presented by the Portuguese group, together with Nagele, presented by Aldo van Eyck from the Dutch group "De 8", were referred as examples where that social basis existed, in opposition to bigger communities where the family represented the higher level of social grouping. This issue was highlighted in the final report, where it was stated, "if one lives in a community one should be able to understand its structure. This is more than a matter of being able to find ones way about, it is a matter of feeling that you are somebody living somewhere."

This statement embodies this generation's attempt at reconceptualising the architect-urbanist's role towards a more humanist approach to the habitat, a *human humanism* to borrow Romain Rolland's expression used by Lobão Vital in the congress

125. The Commission B was divided in four sub-commissions: B4 – The Problem of the cluster (where Fernando Távora was a member); B5 – The Problem of Mobility; B6 – The Problem of Change and Growth; B7 – Urbanism as part of the Habitat (where Viana de Lima was a member).

126. CIAM X / LAPAD. Cluster (Team X). Report of the Commission B.4., Aug. 8, 1956. In CIAM, "CIAM 10 Dubrovnik 1956," 81.

127. Peter Smithson, *Report 1st Meeting Commission B4*, CIAM 10 Commission Report (Lapad / Dubrovnik, August 8, 1956), TTEN15, NAI, Team 10 Archive.

128. CIAM X / LAPAD. Cluster (Team X). Report of the Commission B.4., Session 2 Aug. 9, 1956. In CIAM, "CIAM 10 Dubrovnik 1956," 82.

of 1948. The projects discussed in this chapter provide different contributions to achieve that same goal. They were, nevertheless, dwelling on a blurred line between a pastoral vision of the vernacular tradition as a model to foster a conciliation between the individual and the community, and a counter-pastoral view of the challenges faced by the people living in the rural world. In Dubrovnik, many projects strived to make sense of the need to rethink the disciplinary ethos, catering for social change and pursuing a universal drive to the betterment of living conditions in the countryside, reconciling art and nature.

Between Art and Nature

John Voelcker's Rural Resettlement scheme highlighted the bucolic features of agricultural communities just to translate them into a highly abstracted instance of his vernacular reference. The 1955 version of the project showed an amalgamation of references, which were purged in the 1956 version, together with the remaining ties with the traditional rural settlements. The projects presented by the Smithsons were deliberately severed from any kind of formal translation of vernacular references. They otherwise used the rural world and the vernacular tradition to deliver a critical assessment on both the housing policies for the countryside and their contempt towards the picturesque. Van Eyck's fascination with the timelessness of the Saharan vernacular architecture, which he contrasted with the mechanistic tropes of the Modern Movement, was hardly recognizable in the Nagele plan. What remained of it, however, was solely his keen interest in rejecting hierarchical structures, hindering the inhabitant's alienation from the community. Finally, the project presented by the Norwegian group looks onto the surface of vernacular references to extract from it guidelines that could enhance the relation between nature and the artefact. The outcome is, however, noticeably detached from the rural settlements or the fisherman's houses they praised.

In all these projects one can find a common drive to challenge binary polarities and to cope with the tensions brought about by a problematic balance between the universal principles of the machinist civilization and the contingent negotiation of disciplinary principles with tokens of local culture. From Sigtuna to Dubrovnik, the ambivalent approach of the contributions of the Portuguese group in the CIAM meetings and conferences epitomize these tensions. On the one hand, their affiliation with a framework of thought resonating with universalist conceptions suggested by the Athens Charter is still present and salient. On the other hand, both within the Portuguese group and among many other participants in the CIAM congresses, a new sensibility was growing towards cherishing the expressions of local culture, which became chiefly evident in the 1956 Dubrovnik congress. In fact, in the projects presented and

discussed in Dubrovnik, as in Eça de Queiroz' *The City and the Mountains* the main characters move in successive shifts from pastoral visions of machine civilization and bucolic countryside to counter-pastoral images of the alienating character of the big city and the misery of the rural world. At any event, the project for a rural community developed by the group CIAM Portugal dwells on a blurred line where it negotiates instances of pastoral and counter-pastoral visions of the rural world. They praise the qualities of the spontaneous creation of a symbiotic relation between art and nature. However, the team's approach deals with the vernacular beyond a mere appraisal of its bucolic resonances of an idyllic and romanticized habitat, or the imagined qualities of rural communities. Both the scheme's urban layout and the design of the housing unit reveal a commitment to upgrade the living standards of the community, preserving, nevertheless, identifying devices and formal references at both scales.

This condition resonates with what Hilde Heynen considers modernity's ambivalent character, which "links a strong orientation toward the future with a certain melancholy, a pursuit of progress with a feeling for the ephemeral and the transitory."¹²⁹ This ambivalence, however, aims at building an architectural approach with a drive to overcome the binary polarity between modernity and dwelling, to transgress the boundaries between the landscape of the megalopolis and the landscape of the *domus*, as Jean-François Lyotard put it.

Making a Contaminated Landscape

From Sigtuna to Dubrovnik, Viana de Lima, Fernando Távora and Lixa Filgueiras, to name but a few of those more involved with the group CIAM-Portugal, created a growing consciousness on the existence of the "other" of modernity. They acknowledged its vital role in the preservation of cultural identity. They further asserted architecture's role as an essential tool to translate disciplinary expertise into the betterment of everyday life. With this translation, they pursued a disciplinary ethos that negotiates the universal and the local, civilization and culture.

They resisted the conciliatory appeal of what Leo Marx called the middle landscape, a place between art and nature.¹³⁰ Rather, the ambivalence that pervaded their attempt to negotiate modernity with the countryside generated a contaminated landscape.

In his *The Garden in the Machine*, Leo Marx argued that in Virgil's Arcadia "Tityrus is spared the deprivations and anxieties associated with both the city and the wilderness." And he goes on:

Although he is free of the repressions entailed by a complex civilization, he is not prey to the violent uncertainties of nature. [...] Living in an oasis of rural pleasure, he enjoys the best

129. Hilde Heynen, "Architecture between Modernity and Dwelling: Reflections on Adorno's 'Aesthetic Theory,'" *Assemblage*, no. 17 (April 1, 1992): 80.

130. For an account of the idea of "middle landscape" to explain the form of the American suburb, see Peter G Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991).

of both worlds - the sophisticated order of art and the simple spontaneity of nature.¹³¹

As opposed to Tityrus, I would argue, CIAM's engagement with the rural world in the 1956 congress accepted the conflictive relation between the violent uncertainties of nature, and the sophisticated order of art. Instead of a bucolic middle landscape, with the best of both worlds, what came about was a contaminated landscape where universal civilization and local culture coexisted in everlasting tension. As opposed to Henry Adams Manichean image of the Virgin and the Dynamo, where the latter "represents an industrial society that threatens [...] to destroy the creative power embodied in the Virgin,"¹³² in the contaminated landscape the tenets of Modernity and Primitivism can be negotiated.

131. Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 22.

132. *Ibid.*, 349.

3• The Native Genius of Architecture Universal and Local in Portuguese Postwar Modernism

In the 1950s, the architectural discourse and practice was strongly influenced by a dialectic between the universal tenets of modernity and a drive to re-humanize architecture and urban planning through a reassessment of the situated qualities of the so-called native genius. Le Corbusier's *Le Modulor*, originally published in 1948, and Sibyl Moholy-Nagy's *Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture in North America*, published in 1957, are two notable cases in which the tension between these two poles surfaced conspicuously. At any event, making sense of the tensions between the universal and the situated, and between hegemony and humanism would spark a reconceptualization of the politics of architectural design and theory, affecting the relation between the discipline and the society at large. The ideal man and the native genius would become increasingly intermingled through the 1950s and 1960s and would eventually influence the architecture of dwelling.

With *Le Modulor*, *Le Corbusier* sought “a harmonious measure to the human scale universally applicable to architecture and mechanics.”¹ The book was translated into English in 1954 and reviewed in 1957 by Sybil Moholy-Nagy, who considered the *Modulor* as a “magnificent folly.” *Le Corbusier*, Moholy-Nagy remarks, dwells between violent contradictions: from revolting monstrosity and brutal dictatorship in his urban concepts, to deep humanism in his religious projects and love for nature. With the *Modulor*, she argues, “the service which *Le Corbusier* rendered lies in the transformation of time-bound phenomena - industrialization, urbanization, building technology - into timeless art.” And she goes on, concluding, “in a century of

1. *Le Corbusier, The Modulor: A Harmonious Measure to the Human Scale, Universally Applicable to Architecture and Mechanics* (Springer, 2000).

all-pervading utilitarianism the folly and depth of inapplicable greatness is the contribution of Le Corbusier.”²

In order to understand Moholy-Nagy’s account of Le Corbusier’s *magnificent folly*, one should confront it with her book *Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture in North America*, published in that same year of 1957. In this book, Moholy-Nagy delivers criticism on architectural approaches more interested in mechanical progress than in truly humanist progress. In producing “architectural standards based on different values than those of pre-industrial times,” she argues, new architectural standards were created, which “are concerned less and less with design and more and more with technology.”³ Her criticism on technological fetishism is countered with other kinds of fetishist accounts that fail to relate with a specific locus. Hence, she goes on criticizing also those who, out of an inferiority complex, need to find architectural significance in remote contexts, overlooking their native circumstance. She thus contends, “the romantic glow of the ancient and the far-away has dimmed for us the achievements of our own untutored and intuitive architectural geniuses.” And she goes on arguing “it is this very anonymity that gives special weight to their work because it was preserved for no other reason that its adequacy beyond the life of the builder. It fulfilled an *ideal standard*.”⁴

Sibyl Moholy-Nagy’s ideal standard, produced by the native genius overly disputes Le Corbusier’s aim to “harmonize the flow of the world’s product through standardization” with the Modulor. She suggests situated practices as an alternative to universalist principles. This resonates, I would suggest, with the challenges brought forth by the postwar reconstruction effort, a period when the wounds caused by the devastating global conflict were still fresh. In this context the negotiation of the boundaries between the realm of the individual and the realm of the community surfaced as a vital matter of concern, chiefly influencing the politics of housing design and, consequently the architecture of dwelling. In this chapter, this intense and rich debate will be discussed through an account of critical moments unfolding in Portugal from the late 1940s until the early 1970s, in which the politics of architectural design and theory contributed to rethink the entwined relation between universal civilization and local culture.

2. Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, “Magnificent Folly,” *College Art Journal* 16, no. 3 (1957): 191.

3. Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, *Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture in North America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 12.

4. Ibid. Original emphasis.

The first part of the chapter will explore one of the most significant moments in the Portuguese disciplinary debate in the twentieth century, the Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture. It will be discussed the background against which this endeavor was produced, and how, from the outset, it influenced the ways of looking into the rural world. In the second part of the chapter, the discussion moves to the international stage to deliver an account of the experiences of Fernando Távora, one of the most

influential figures of that time in the Portuguese architectural *milieu*. This part will examine his participation in the CIAM Otterlo congress and in Team 10's Royaumont meeting, as well as his trip to America and Asia in 1960. The third and last part of this chapter, will address the consequences to architectural design, education and research, in the Portuguese context, of the debate on the notion of habitat and how the confrontations between universal principles and the contingencies of reality influenced housing design. In this part, the central role performed by Nuno Portas in the Portuguese disciplinary debate through the 1960s will be discussed and articulated with broader societal and political changes that ensued in Portugal through that period.

3.1•Searching for an Ideal Standard

The Survey to Portuguese Regional Architecture (hereafter referred to as “the Survey”), developed in the second half of the 1950s and published in 1961, holds a mythical reputation as the seminal event that triggered a local reconceptualization of architectural modernism, challenging its mechanist tropes and praising the contingency of the vernacular as a token of an architecture of common sense. Moreover, it is also regarded as a fundamental contribution to confront the regime's sponsoring of a national architectural style supported by sham regionalisms and influenced by a pastoral vision of the rural world. If the Survey's importance and its influence in Portuguese architecture of the second half of the twentieth century cannot be overlooked, it was, nevertheless, a much more complex and ambiguous process than a simplistic formulation of a third way between modern movement's universalism and the regime's picturesque regionalism.

Keil do Amaral's Architecture of the Middle Way

A key figure to understand the initial process that led to the development of the Survey is Francisco Keil do Amaral, whose 1947 article *Uma Iniciativa Necessária* (A Necessary Initiative) was already discussed in the previous chapter. Keil do Amaral's professional career started blossoming at a very early age, when he won the competition for the Portuguese pavilion in the Paris International Exhibition held in 1937. The modernist tropes of Keil do Amaral's winning scheme were eventually fashioned to accommodate tokens of Salazar regime's nationalistic rhetoric. In Paris, Keil do Amaral followed the pavilion's building process from 1936 until 1937, having thus the opportunity to circulate among some of that times' most outstanding figures of the architectural milieu and to see their work.

The 1937 exhibition was indeed a key moment to understand how architecture resonated with the complex political

backdrop of the interwar period. Famously, the exhibition showed Picasso's "Guernica" exhibited in the Spanish pavilion designed by Jose Luis Sert, and the clash between Fascism and Communism embodied in the confronting pavilions of Nazi Germany and Soviet Union. Further, the main representation of the host country, France, was the picturesque *Centre Regional* (Regional Centre) where the country's regions formed a complex assortment of so-called regional architectures. While the pavilions for the exhibition were being built, France was itself in the midst of an internal political convulsion, after Leon Blum's *Front Populaire* (Popular Front) winning of the 1936 elections.⁵ The Parisian exhibition utterly expressed the political tensions that were unfolding in Europe in the second half of the 1930s, whose shadow was also cast to the Portuguese context, where Salazar's regime sympathy with Fascism was all but concealed.⁶

5. The Popular Front was a coalition of left-wing political parties and movements, including the Communist Party, The French section of the Workers' International, and the Radical Socialist Party. An insightful account on the political resonances of regionalism in the 1937 Paris International Exhibition can be read in Eric Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), 219–246. For a thorough and thoughtful survey of the incidents related with the Portuguese pavilion, see Margarida Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo 1934-1940* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1998), 38–73.

6. In the mid-1930s, the influence of Italian Fascism and German Nazism in the works of architecture sponsored by the regime was pervasive. The contacts between the cultural elite of the country and Italy were frequent. Further, in 1941 the exhibition "Moderna Arquitectura Alemã", the Portuguese version of "Neue Deutsche Baukunst", curated by Albert Speer, was brought to Portugal, and visited by the main figures of the regime, including Salazar himself.

7. The Dutch college was designed by W.M. Dudok (1884-1974) in 1926 but only inaugurated in 1938.

8. A brief yet insightful account on Keil do Amaral's visit to Holland and its influence on his architecture can be seen in Raúl Hestnes Ferreira, "Keil do Amaral. Prática da Arquitectura e Desenho Urbano: O Início e a Visita à Holanda," in *Keil do Amaral no Centenário do seu Nascimento*, ed. Ana Tostões (Lisboa: Argumentum e Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2010).

9. Francisco Keil do Amaral, *A Moderna Arquitectura Holandesa* (Lisboa: Seara Nova, 1943), 49.

Despite the very many outstanding national and regional pavilions being built for the exhibition, what caught Keil do Amaral's attention was the Dutch college, by then being finished at the *Cité Internationale Universitaire de Paris*.⁷ In the context of such a polarized political context, the Dutch civic culture in general, and the work of Dudok, in particular, represented for Keil do Amaral an ideological safe haven where the political elite and the common citizens shared a praise on the democratic values that framed the rights and responsibilities of society at large, downright manifested in the organization of the built landscape.

Since then, he became increasingly fascinated by Dutch architecture, and particularly interested in Dudok's works. So much so that in 1943 he published a book on modern architecture produced in The Netherlands, *A Moderna Arquitectura Holandesa* (Dutch Modern Architecture). In this book, whose draft was written after a visit to the Netherlands in 1937 and revised in 1942, Keil do Amaral praises the moderate attitude of the Dutch society, and the extent to which that temperance is reflected on the country's architecture and urban planning.⁸ "Born after the needs of a new age," Keil do Amaral argues, "the Dutch modern architectural movement gained experience with the most varied, daring and sometimes also nonsensical experiences." And he goes on claiming "from Berlage's first attempts, through De Klerk's singular and fanciful works, until the masterful buildings of Dudok, everything was experimented. And, at the end of the day, a very agreeable middle way was achieved, maybe that middle way where virtue lies, as the saying goes."⁹ This remark was obviously influenced by a polarized perspective that characterized the Portuguese disciplinary debate, which, as in many other places at that time, opposed two groups: those championing a national or regional architecture, and those engaged with the promotion of the universalist

principles of architectural modernism. Against this intellectual background, in the early 1940s Keil do Amaral saw the Dutch case as the reference for creating buildings with “a true regional expression.” He argued this should be “the outcome of all factors that determine the life of a certain region, on a given moment, and never the sole decoration with typical motifs, as characteristic as they may be.” And he went on claiming “the regional expression should come about as result of the care taken in solving the several problems inherent to the region and not the copy of previous features, albeit their reasons.”¹⁰

In the second half of the 1940s, Keil do Amaral would become an active critic of the regime’s praise on regionalism, which he deemed as “phony”. In March 1948, approximately one year after publishing *Uma Iniciativa Necessária*, Keil do Amaral was elected president of the SNA (*Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos*, National Syndicate of Architects). Though the results of the election were revealed before the 1948 congress, Keil was never invested in the job, and he was dismissed by the regime in 1949, due to his outspoken criticism on the government’s housing policies. The atmosphere, at that time is well described in a paragraph written by Francisco Silva Dias (b. 1930):

Beyond the confrontation, sometimes Manichean, between the regional and the universal, between the folk and the erudite, between the modern and the traditional, [the polemic on the *Casa Portuguesa*] would soon gain political tones, becoming a ferocious clash against the imposed rule, the opposition between the style dictatorially imposed and the freedom of choice and creation.¹¹

However, even before his tenure as president of the SNA was abruptly interrupted, Keil do Amaral submitted in February 1949 a petition to the State Agency for High Culture asking for funding to support an initiative whose aim was to develop a thorough research on the architecture of Portugal’s different regions. The goal of this research was to bring about more information on Portuguese regional architecture, which, they claimed, was needed to understand and learn from it, thus avoiding the current practice of just mimicking or making stylized copies of characteristic buildings. “What is important,” Keil do Amaral argued in the application document, “is researching, in each region, the ways how the population managed to solve the problems that the climate, the materials, the economy, and the life conditions inherent to the region imposed onto the buildings.”¹² And he went further, highlighting the importance of this research for Portuguese architects, and even for the country. Portuguese architects “would be able to free themselves from the phony regionalisms that have been belittling their works, which would benefit, with an indispensable conceptual update, from the human warmth accessible to Portuguese people and

10. *Ibid.*, 54.

11. Francisco Silva Dias, ed., “Keil do Amaral e o Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa,” in *Keil do Amaral: O Arquitecto e o Humanista* (Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1999), 115.

12. Quoted in *ibid.*, 116. Further references to this text are from the same source.

take a more solid root on national realities.” Further, the country, Keil do Amaral concluded, “would benefit from having more useful, coherent and dignifying buildings.”

13. In the preface to the first edition of the book containing the results of the Survey, *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (Vernacular Architecture in Portugal), published in 1961, the directors of the SNA explicitly acknowledged Arantes de Oliveira for his effort, dedication and enthusiasm in the development of that endeavour. Arantes de Oliveira, had already shown signs of support to the members of the group CIAM-Portugal, and even backed the group’s idea of organizing the tenth CIAM congress in Portugal.

14. Decreto-Lei nº 40349 (Decree-Law no. 40349), published on 19 October 1955. The text of this document was published in the book *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*. See, in the last edition of this book, published in 2004, Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, 4th ed. (Lisboa: Centro Editor Livreiro da Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2004), xiv. Further references to this document are taken from this source.

15. During the preparation and development of the Survey, the members of the SNA involved were Inácio Peres Fernandes, Manuel Mendes Tainha, Rui Mendes de Paula, José Rafael Botelho, Alberto José Pessoa, Francisco Conceição Silva, and Sebastião Formosinho Sanchez.

16. The members of the teams were: Zone 1: Fernando Távora with Rui Pimentel and António Menéres; Zone 2: Octávio Lixa Filgueira with Arnaldo Araújo and Carlos Carvalho Dias; Zone 3: Francisco Keil do Amaral with José Huertas Lobo and João Malato; Zone 4: Nuno Teotónio Pereira with António Pinto de Freitas and Francisco Silva Dias; Zone 5: Frederico George with António Azevedo Gomes and Alfredo da Mata Antunes; and Zone 6: Artur Pires Martins with Celestino de Castro and Fernando Torres.

17. The son of an important figure of the Portuguese political elite before the emergence of the dictatorship in 1926, Keil do Amaral was born in Lisbon, but spent most of his childhood in the Portuguese countryside, in Canas de Senhorim, a village in the Beiras region, in the centre of Portugal, where his family had a house and agricultural estates.

Though this seemingly mutually beneficial undertaking, the petition was eventually rejected by the state agency in March 1949 and Keil forced to leave the position of president of the SNA. Over a period of six years, new members of the SNA board persisted in pursuing Keil do Amaral’s research project. The arrival of a new minister of Public Works, Eduardo Arantes de Oliveira (1907-1982), appointed in April 1954, would change the course of these events. A civil engineer with a fairly progressive outlook regarding the role of architecture in upgrading the quality of the country’s infrastructure, Arantes de Oliveira would be a key figure in the approval, in 1955, of a new attempt to undertake the project envisioned by Keil do Amaral in the late 1940s.¹³

The Decree-Law approving the Survey was published on 19 October 1955, and signed by the most outstanding figures of the regime, including António Salazar himself. The text of the document, however, shows a two-headed authorship and thus an ambivalent account on the Survey’s goals. In effect, the preamble of the law argues that the initiative resonates with “the acknowledgment of the incremental character of architectural solutions that tend to be naturally adapted to its time, following the development of building techniques and the actual evolution of aesthetic ideals.”¹⁴ This acknowledgment of the importance of architecture’s relation with the *zeitgeist*, probably suggested by someone from the SNA, would be paralleled with the suggestion, probably formulated by a member of the regime apparatus, that “the new solutions should not discard being supported on national architectural traditions.” Further, “some of those building traditions (...) are still perfectly adjusted to the national character and embody a living lesson on underlining the concrete value to the desired Portuguese rendering of modern architecture in our country.”

This preamble thus shows the ambivalent character of an endeavour meant to account the Portuguese vernacular tradition as both progressive and rooted.¹⁵ Eventually, in the last trimester of 1955, the SNA organized six teams, comprising each one a coordinator and two junior architects or trainees. Each team had to survey one of the six zones in which the country was divided.¹⁶ Keil do Amaral, was invited to coordinate the region of his patriarchal home, and he was also one of the key figures in the definition of the strategies for the development of the Survey.¹⁷ In effect, according to Francisco Silva Dias, one of the junior architects in the Zone 4 team, the guidelines of the research were defined by Keil do Amaral and discussed by all teams. The outline of the research to be developed focused on

some aspects that should be addressed by all teams, though each one was free to include other issues that they might consider relevant. Hence, the main research topics were the general characterization of the region, its topography, geology, climate, farming types, property ownership and cadastre, settlement structures, economy, history, and culture. This should result in the development of a typological chart with a synthesis of these aspects.¹⁸

The teams had three months for fieldwork, where famously they covered a distance of 50.000 kilometres by car, scooter, horse, and by foot. Over those months they took more than 10.000 pictures and films, dozens of building surveys, hundred of pages with drawn and written notes. [Figure 3.01] After the fieldwork, they had a similar period of three months for selecting material and produce drawings synthetizing the information obtained in the fieldwork, to be published by the SNA. Eventually, the book with the outcome of the Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture would be published only in 1961, roughly six years after the government's approval of the funding for the project, and the beginning of the fieldwork.¹⁹ Over this long period, however, the consequences of the Survey on Portuguese politics of architectural design and theory became notorious and deeply influenced those involved in the process. One of the most outstanding of these consequences was the participation of the Portuguese group in the tenth CIAM congress held in Dubrovnik in the summer of 1956, discussed in the previous chapter. Another important shockwave caused by the Survey was the emergence of the rural world as a critical locus for the academic discussion on the theme of the habitat. The CODA presented in 1957 in Porto's School of Fine Arts by Arnaldo Araújo, one of the junior members of the Zone 2 team, and collaborator in the project presented in Dubrovnik, epitomizes this tendency.

Arnaldo Araújo and the Structure of the Community

Arnaldo Araújo's CODA, with the title *Formas do Habitat Rural – Norte de Bragança. Contribuição para a Estrutura da Comunidade* (Forms of the Rural Habitat – North of Bragança. Contribution for the Structure of the Community), was delivered in 31 May 1957. In this academic work Araújo would further develop and discuss the theme of the work presented in 1956 in Dubrovnik by the Portuguese CIAM group. The work for the CODA, the author humbly declared, aimed at delivering a modest contribution for increasing the acknowledgment of the region he studied for the Survey, further arguing that he “sought to transmit something of a local ‘atmosphere’, some dominant traces and some of its specificities, to create a scale of proximity... even some portraits. Natural portraits, random portraits, [taken] among some hundreds of people.”²⁰

18. See Dias, “Keil do Amaral e o Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa,” 117.

19. The reasons for this delay are seemingly only related with production issues. In the oral and written reports of some of those involved in the process, it is never mentioned any kind of political or other external pressures to withhold the publication of the results of the Survey.

20. Arnaldo Araújo, “Formas do Habitat Rural - Norte de Bragança. Contribuição Para a Estrutura da Comunidade” (Escola de Belas Artes do Porto, 1957), 4, Centro de Documentação da Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto.

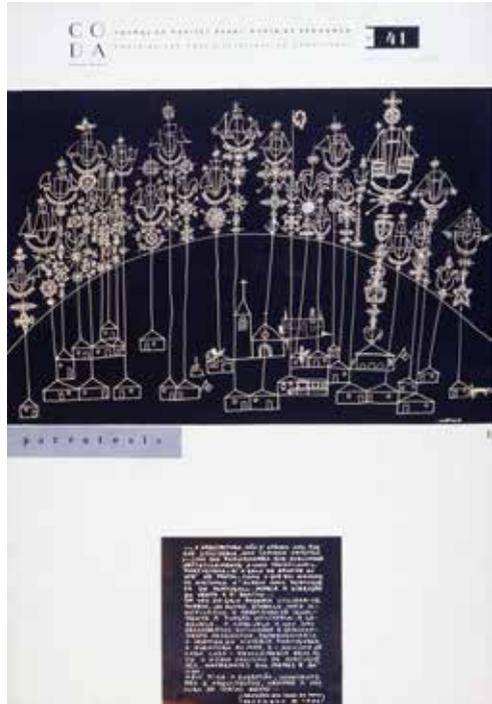
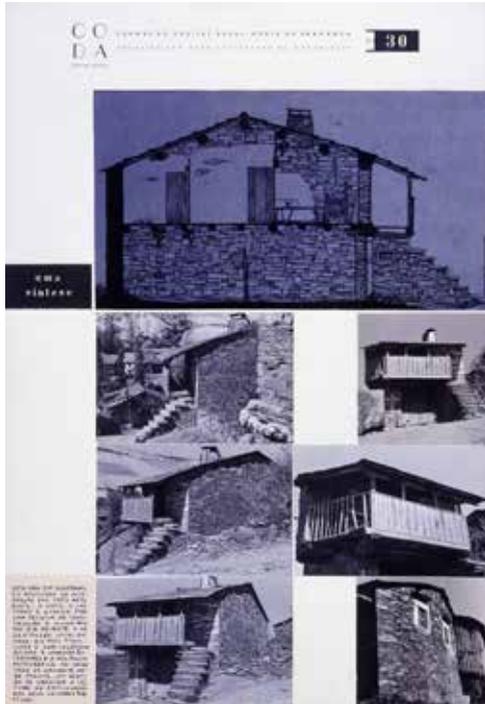


Figure 3.02. Arnaldo Araújo – *Formas do Habitat Rural. Norte de Bragança* (1957). Page titled “parêntesis”, illustrated with a drawing made by the artist António Quadros showing signs of Portuguese identity. Source: CEAU-FAUP.

This naturalness and this flukiness reveal, however, a strategy to fight both the dogmas of modernist universalism and the equivoques of populist regionalism. Arnaldo Araújo thus demonstrated that he was driven to deliver a novel approach to regionalism where vernacular architecture would be showcased as a token of a *natural architecture*. The houses of Rio de Onor, for example, were discussed as if he was describing a work of the modernist avant-garde: “contours of light and shade, sharp shapes and rhythms, balance of stone and wood, shelter and care, ‘proximity’. The house extends to the street.”²¹ Further, Arnaldo Araújo quotes the Spanish architect Miguel Fisac (1913-2006) to further highlight the righteousness, the real functionalism and the symbiotic relation with the landscape one can observe in the vernacular architecture.²²

We can thus see an approach to the spontaneous deeply directed by the specific codes of the architecture discipline. A house in Guadramil, for example, is showcased as a synthesis on the use of the region’s materials, though highlighting the assessment of its *plastic qualities*.²³ [Figure 3.02] The new regionalism suggested by Arnaldo Araújo is thus a conflation of principles embodying the abstract and the real, the universal and the local. Araújo suggests that “the Portuguese architect, without having to (and unable to do so) dismiss or lessen his connection with modern architecture’s universal principles (technical and aesthetical), should come closer to people’s realities, interpret their virtues, build a Portuguese architecture deeply rooted, thus universal.”²⁴ The drawing by the artist and poet António Quadros included in Araújo’s work, utterly illustrates this anxiety to bring together the local and the universal, portraying an allegory of the Portuguese people paradoxical character as farmers, attached to the little house on the countryside, and sailors that, with their *caravelas* revealed unknown worlds to Western civilization.

In order to make his ideas operative, Arnaldo Araújo suggested a set of references for the creation of new rural settlements, developed under the framework of a so-called new regional architecture. He argued “the structural basis of the new settlements should be the ‘assembly room’, the real ‘house for the people’, where its social life can flourish and where the formation of ‘communal centres’ can emerge.” To deliver a support for the real fulfilment of individual and communal material and spiritual needs, Arnaldo Araújo suggests building communitarian centres with people’s participation, thus stimulating people’s consciousness on the importance of collectivity. In this participative process, however, Araújo does not downplay the central role of the discipline, endorsing the architect with the necessary expertise to provide “the essential technical guidance and economical assistance” in the process.²⁵ Arnaldo Araújo’s CODA is thus an important contribution to make sense of the role of the architect in processes that activate

21. Ibid., 24.

22. Ibid., 40.

23. Ibid., 30.

24. Ibid., 48.

25. Ibid., 46.

civic participation and negotiate the dynamics of the spontaneous with the project of modernity.

The Dynamics of the Spontaneous

In 1959, Nuno Portas (b. 1934), published in the journal *Arquitectura*, an article where he invited the members of the new generation of Portuguese architects to cope with the responsibility of contributing to create a synthesis to the revision of the concept of modernity.²⁶ Portas argued Alvar Aalto's work was an epitome of that synthesis, though he also contended that the Finnish architect failed to translate his architectural approach into a method or pedagogy. Further, he went further asserting that synthesis should be able to cope with contingency and shun dogmatic approaches either determined by the myth of progress or by a reaction to it. With that synthesis, he argued, "the spatial creation should answer a meticulous research on human needs, thus giving shape to the ambiguities and the contradictions of both personal and social demands." Considering the specific case of Portugal, he contended the new generation should "stimulate a fruitful dialogue, search for a common method to interpret the complex reality that demands it, to renounce current vocabularies when those are factors of formal abstraction."²⁷

Nuno Portas' *advice*, published four years after the beginning of the fieldwork for the Survey, reveals, I would suggest, a subdued concern on the outcome of that project, and whether it would be instrumental or not to illustrate and deliver the synthesis he claimed for. In that same issue of *Arquitectura*, two other contributions reflected on the challenges and opportunities brought about by the Survey, which, by then, was still unpublished. Both articles were illustrated with images taken from the Survey's fieldwork, which performed a parallel – visual - discourse to the written pieces. [Figure 3.03]

In his article, "Tradicionalismo e Evolução" (Traditionalism and Evolution), António Freitas (b. 1925), one of the junior architects involved in the Survey's Zone 4 team, traces back the origins and relevance of surveying traditional architecture. He highlights the importance of the Romantic Movement, emerging in Central Europe in the eighteenth century, to spark the interest on *folklore* as opposed to cultural concepts influenced by pragmatic and classicist models.²⁸ He goes on, however, deeming *chauvinist* some initiatives that sought to mingle folk elements with contemporary architecture, such as the *Casa Portuguesa* movement. On the other hand, António Freitas criticized avant-garde approaches, such as the mechanist tropes praised by the 1920s abstract rationalism, for their "brutal repression" and lack of cultural assimilation, which otherwise could have produced, as in the Nordic countries, a natural evolution and correct integration of contemporary architecture

26. Nuno Portas, "A Responsabilidade de uma Novíssima Geração no Movimento Moderno em Portugal," *Arquitectura* no. 66 (November 1959): 13–14. Nuno Portas was by then one of the editors of *Arquitectura*, the most important architecture journal published in Portugal at that time.

27. *Ibid.*, 14.

28. Quoted in António Freitas, "Tradicionalismo e Evolução," *Arquitectura* no. 66 (November 1959): 30–37.



Figure 3.03. Cover of *Arquitectura* 66
(November 1959)

with its national context. Freitas finally argued that the future of architecture depended on the capacity to correctly assess the true sense of tradition in architecture, which for him is a dynamic, lively, adaptable phenomenon. Further, he quotes the Japanese architect Gakuji Yamamoto to contend that “when we talk about tradition in architecture, that is not the collection of several architectural forms established at each epoch, rather something universal and common that exists in the shape of a function (process of architectural creation) that is a combination of variants – the conditions of each epoch.”

António Freitas contends, then, that depending on the concept of tradition one adopts, either the dynamic or the static notion, the results of the Survey “can definitively contribute to vitalize our architecture, or, on the contrary, they can become the garrotte yoking its harmonious evolution.” He thus underlines, in the actual application of the results of the Survey, the danger embedded in a static and inert interpretation of tradition, as it may spark, on the one hand, the emergence of a “neo-provincialism, retrograde and sickening,” or on the other hand, the development of a “new formalism,” an imported version of appropriate solutions for different contexts. He nevertheless stresses that in a country that is still in a process of social and economical development, and where the majority of the population still lives on the rural countryside, the Survey can contribute to grow consciousness on architectural problems. He thus concludes asserting that if one understands the regional architecture portrayed by the Survey, its contribution can be worth of merit and fruitful.

Next to António de Freitas’ article, Carlos Duarte, another member of *Arquitectura*’s editorial board, published a piece with the title “Breves notas sobre a arquitetura espontânea” (Short notes on spontaneous architecture).²⁹ In his article, Duarte uses Giuseppe Samonà’s article “Architettura spontanea”, published in the Italian journal *Urbanistica*, to highlight the challenging task of reflecting on the qualities of the so-called spontaneous architecture, the buildings that were left out of history, as Samonà called them.³⁰ Duarte’s conspicuous choice of Samonà’s notion of “spontaneous,” instead of the more current “regional,” “popular,” or “folk,” is meaningful. It reveals his critical account on a static interpretation of the vernacular. He is keen in underlining the fact that the perceived qualities of the rural settlements are nothing but the result of a long period of isolation, craftsmanship, and cultural permanence. He argues these circumstances, however, were by then being challenged by the emergence of mass culture, namely new communication infrastructures, mechanization, and new media for cultural diffusion, such as TV.

The collective and communitarian spirit of those “spontaneous” settlements was being swiftly transformed into a group of

29. Carlos Duarte, “Breves Notas Sobre a Arquitectura Espontânea,” *Arquitectura* 3ª Série, no. 66 (December 1959): 38–43. In 1959, the editor-in-chief of *Arquitectura* was Rui Mendes de Paula. Both Nuno Portas and Carlos Duarte were members of the editorial board. Octávio Lixa Filgueiras and Arnaldo Araújo were regional editors for the North of Portugal.

30. See Giuseppe Samonà, “Architettura Spontanea: Documenti di Edilizia Fuori Dalla Storia,” *Urbanistica* no. 14 (1954).

individuals, more focused on expressing their differences than their identity. Further, he identifies two different groups regarding their attitude towards those settlements: the *conservatives* – urbanites with a romantic view on the rural life – and the *dynamic realists* – prominent members of the rural elites (e.g. politicians, industrialists, retailers, contractors) that sought for social and economical betterment, either driven by sincere social concern or just by profit making. He argues, then, that architects should avoid being part of either of those two groups. Rather, they should cope with the responsibility of developing “a growing intervention in the construction of these small settlements, both inspired by the loss of the creative instinct of the autochthonous populations and by the greater complexity of programs and building techniques.”

The risks of an architectural “urban” look onto the rural world are also mentioned by Carlos Duarte. He argued the most sensible approach is the one that searches for the right measure of a modern language based “on the intimacy of a dialogue with the living habits, the ecology and the local architecture.” This language will then become a progressive proposal (from inside) instead of a cosmopolitan intrusion (from outside). Finally, he suggests modern architects should avoid being “dazzled by the discovery” of regional architecture to such an extent that the fetishization of its formal aspects would “recreate, in only few years of distance, the absurd of recent times, though this time via the respectable hand of modern architects.” He concludes, then, with a dispassionate statement:

In the same way that man and animal power was replaced by the machine, so spontaneous architecture, for as much as it costs to our conservative spirit, will give place to a new urban architecture and art, not only because there are new technical realities but also because the individual and family aspirations are diverse, and the forms of social and communitarian conviviality are different.³¹

Carlos Duarte thus agrees with the position supported by António Freitas, that the new generation of Portuguese architects should avoid static, sentimental and romanticized accounts of the so-called regional or spontaneous architecture, and should, instead, praise its transient and dynamic character to use it as an instrumental device for the revision of the concept of modernity.

The cover of the issue of *Arquitectura*, where the articles written by Portas, Freitas and Duarte were published, shows a picture taken during the Survey’s fieldwork. The picture shows a group of typical houses from the southern part of Portugal, framed in an oblique point of view, from the roof to the ground, showing an exquisite composition of stairs, terraces and courtyards. Interestingly, the picture is conspicuously similar to some of those published in 1935 in *AC*, the journal of the Spanish modernist

31. Duarte, “Breves Notas Sobre a Arquitectura Espontânea,” 43. Original text in Portuguese, translated to English by the author.



Niza



Niza (El mar Jónico)



Formentor



Niza



Niza



Formentor, 1930

Figure 3.04. Page of *AC - Documentos de Actividad Contemporanea* 18 (1935), an issue dedicated to vernacular architecture in the Mediterranean.

architects (GATEPAC), where they asserted the Mediterranean roots of modern architecture. [Figure 3.04] The selection of this image, I would argue, resonates with the ambiguous position of Portuguese architects at the end of the 1950s, regarding the role of vernacular architecture in the definition of an architectural synthesis to the revision of the concept of modernity, which Portas was claiming for. Among those involved with the Survey, there was no “danger” of a neo-provincial, retrograde and sickening approach. There was, however, different disciplinary approaches regarding the assessment of the qualities of the rural world, its people and its culture as reflected in the buildings surveyed. There was a pastoral vision of the rural world, praising the native genius of their people and their buildings, and there was a counter-pastoral vision that brought about the qualities of vernacular architecture, without denying the architectural manifestation of the rural population’s material ailment and its consequences to their living conditions.

Surveying the Rural World

Notwithstanding SNA’s guidelines for the six teams working in the Survey, each group developed a particular approach, highly influenced by the idiosyncrasies of its members. The two volumes of the Survey published in 1961 as *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (Vernacular Architecture in Portugal) provide sufficient evidence that testify to this. In that work, the chapters dedicated to Zone 1 (coordinated by Fernando Távora) and Zone 2 (coordinated by Lixa Filgueiras), the northernmost zones of the country, utterly illustrate two different visions of the rural world, one essentially pastoral and the other mostly counter-pastoral.

In the chapter on Zone 1, the team coordinated by Fernando Távora, with Rui Pimentel and António Menéres (b. 1930) as collaborators, gave a great deal of importance to the historical background of that part of the country. They have used and referred to extensive archaeological data to go as far as the Iron Age and identify the first marks of transformation to the region’s built environment. With a strong emphasis on military, religious and aristocratic architecture, this team’s text highlights how, despite different origins and programs, the buildings in the region seem to acquire local features, “the character of a rooted form and expression, typically regional.”³² This regional character is timeless, they argue:

Granite, plasterwork and whitewash have been used successively as basic materials for this architecture, which has passed through the Prehistoric, Roman, Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque phases. However, as usually happens, the final result is that regional characteristics stand out clearly and even in the hands of foreign architects a typical art form has flourished bearing the mark of local detail.³³

32. Fernando Távora, Rui Pimentel, and António Menéres, “Zona 1,” in *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, ed. Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, vol. 1, 4th ed. (Lisboa: Centro Editor Livreiro da Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2004), 19. Original in Portuguese. This and further quotations taken from this book were translated into English by the author, except where noted.

33. Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, “Traduções,” in *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, 4th ed. (Lisboa: Centro Editor Livreiro da Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2004), 408. Originally written in English.

The pervasiveness of this regionalism is such that it creates striking linguistic transferences between the *Solares* (rural mansions) and ordinary buildings. To emphasize this, they compare plans and pictures of both cases to show the extent to which “these buildings [the *solares* or rural mansions] are akin to folk constructions; how they serve, in this or that aspect here, as model to the latter, and then, in some shape or detail they copy their [vernacular] donaire.”³⁴

The most striking aspect in this group’s analysis of the region’s built environment is how ordinary rural houses are described. In the description of the house in Sobreira, a particular case of a residence combined with a granary, they highlight the building as being “an extremely well balanced case from a plastic point of view.” [Figure 3.05] Further, they added,

The broken line in the façade, the reduced ceiling-height and the double sequence, of wooden posts in the second floor, and granite pillars below, in different frequencies, not only counter the noticeable horizontality of the whole, but also stress the pleasant effect of stillness and cosiness to whom observes it thoughtfully.³⁵

This description clearly shows, I would argue, an account of the vernacular strongly determined by a disciplinary intellectual framework. Further, this reasoning is articulated through a pastoral vision of the native genius. “As in many other objects produced by the hand of the people,” they argue, “so the Architecture express the wholeness of its being, the flourishing of its personality.”³⁶

The main focus of the survey to Zone 1 is given to its northernmost part, the *Minho*, the region of Távora’s patriarchal house. Curiously enough, in the description of the cases located in the southern part of the river Douro, especially in the area where schist is the predominant material, they are somewhat less complacent with the architectural outcome of the native genius. “For this unfortunate places, with reduced agricultural yield and low demographic density, the art of building is usually deprived of the interest that we have revealed in other works and in other regions, certainly more wealthy.”³⁷ [Figure 3.06] This statement reveals an alleged correlation between the material fortune of a community or a region, and the artistic interest of their built environment. They contend, however, that in relatively wealthy regions, such as the *Vouga* valley, - also in Zone 1’s southern part, there are contaminations brought about by progress or just bad taste, that also lessen the interest of its vernacular architecture. In this region, they argue, the panorama is not good, “due to complex reasons, among which a congenital indifference, a cultural desolation where a valid building tradition does not exist.” They thus highlight “the destructive effects of a progress that has yet to find established forms to express it correctly.

34. Távora, Pimentel, and Menéres, “Zona 1,” 46.

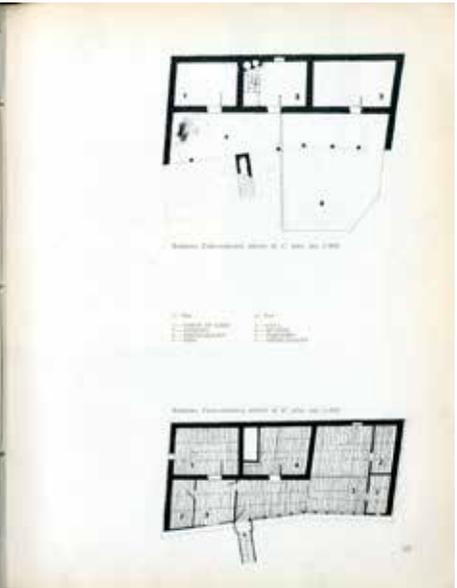
35. *Ibid.*, 52.

36. *Ibid.*, 54.

37. *Ibid.*, 76.



Esta casa em Sobreira, distrito de Vila Real, embora seja bastante contemporânea, não difere de uma casa rural vulgar local de madeira, que aqui também tem alguma importância, já que os materiais empregados são de madeira. O que a torna moderna é a sua estrutura de betão, que lhe dá uma aparência mais sólida, e a sua planta, que lhe dá uma aparência mais moderna. A planta é simples, com um salão e uma cozinha, e um quarto e um banheiro. A planta é simples, com um salão e uma cozinha, e um quarto e um banheiro. A planta é simples, com um salão e uma cozinha, e um quarto e um banheiro.



Este edifício em Schist e Adobe, situado em Vila Real, apresenta uma estrutura de madeira e betão. A planta é simples, com um salão e uma cozinha, e um quarto e um banheiro. A planta é simples, com um salão e uma cozinha, e um quarto e um banheiro.



Este edifício em Schist e Adobe, situado em Vila Real, apresenta uma estrutura de madeira e betão. A planta é simples, com um salão e uma cozinha, e um quarto e um banheiro. A planta é simples, com um salão e uma cozinha, e um quarto e um banheiro.



Figure 3.05. House in Sobreira - Spread from *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (1961), volume 1, zone 1, 52-53.

Figure 3.06. Buildings in Schist and Adobe - Spread from *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (1961), volume 1, zone 1, 78-79.

Besides, everything is copied, specially the houses in Minho's fashion."³⁸

At the same time that this seemingly illegitimate copy is criticized, the group praises simplicity. In fact, throughout the text they systematically use terms such as "simple construction", "charming simplicity", "simplicity of means." Moreover, in the pages of the chapter on Zone 1, the balance between the exceptional and the current weights more on the side of the previous, as the group frequently highlights singular examples or unique instances rather than serial occurrences.

In the chapter written by the group working on Zone 2, coordinated by Lixa Filgueiras with the collaboration of Arnaldo Araújo and Carlos Carvalho Dias, the methodological approach was noticeably different.³⁹ In the introduction to the chapter, they emphasize the importance of studying the habitat, considering as a primal source the population's different customs and living conditions. They argue the study of the prevalent forms of rural settlements can only be made through a comprehensive account of the local human landscape. They clarify that "for each case, we will try to recognize its natural environment, learn about its people, how and from what they live, enter the space of their houses and find how they organize it, understand the dominant materials and their chiselled shapes."⁴⁰ In effect, this ethnological approach was acknowledged as an influence of the methods used by Jorge Dias, as means to convey a portrait of the reality in the rural world. They explain that:

The examples that seemed to us more in accordance with the chosen method, took over to the episodic, to the picturesque always so easy to tackle, in any case, to everything that could depict wrongful impressions of a social life that, far from being stagnated, is rather continuously stirring in the ordinary everyday, an heroic fight for its own survival, even if among quasi-ruins.⁴¹

They thus committed themselves to portray a counter-pastoral vision of the rural world that went beyond the picturesque and thrived to show the precarious life conditions, the misery and scarcity. This was utterly expressed in their definition of the notion of house in one of the villages surveyed. The described it as "a closed space where the cold and the rain meddle in with more or less difficulty, but that is, nevertheless, the ultimate shelter of a person's life." And, further, they described a house using expressions such as "black floor," "precarious walls," or "aspect of extreme poverty."⁴² It becomes clear, then, that the goals expressed by this team discarded what António Freitas and Carlos Duarte called a static, sentimental and romanticized vision of the so-called regional or spontaneous architecture.

They praised, however, the "humble exuberance of natural

38. *Ibid.*, 78–79.

39. For a personal account of field work developed by this team, see Carlos Carvalho Dias, *Memórias de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro nos 55 Anos do "Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa"* (Guimarães: Opera Omnia, 2013).

40. Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, Arnaldo Araújo, and Carlos Carvalho Dias, "Zona 2," in *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*, ed. Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, vol. 1, 4th ed. (Lisboa: Centro Editor Livreiro da Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2004), 118.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, 124.

facts” that can be seen in the growth, appropriation and change of buildings in the rural world, driven by “reasons without any apparent explanation, other than the extreme richness of the direct mentality free from common-places that organizes things in accordance with the spirit of the moment.”⁴³ Further, the communitarian spirit of some isolated settlements, such as Rio de Onor, the village studied before by the ethnologist Jorge Dias, was distinctively praised as a condition to overcome the hardships of the life in the rural world. The transition between collective and private realms was also investigated to show how elements such as doors, stairs, balconies, and courtyards reflect each individual’s negotiation of his participation in the collective space. The house in Guadramil, already discussed by Arnaldo Araújo in his CODA presented in 1957, utterly illustrates how these elements determine the composition of the house. [Figure 3.07]

As mentioned above, in this group’s description of the houses there is generally a tone that circumvents a romanticized and fetishist view of the rural world. The qualities of the people are highlighted but at the same time the wretched material conditions in which they live are bluntly denounced. This can be seen in the fashion they addressed the “texture and the nobility of materials” used in the region’s constructions. They described the use of stone, wood, and ceramic tiles as “nobility in the humility and majesty (...). And wisdom, in the way men saw how to let them speak for themselves and submit them to the vicissitudes of necessity and the contingencies of its use.”⁴⁴ There was, in fact, a strong emphasis in highlighting the extraordinary ability of rural communities to cope with contingency, and in some incidental pastoral remarks, to stress how this results in mingling art with nature. For example, describing a village on the mountains they observed how “the contours of the landscape have a shape that is almost as familiar as the houses, and one does not even get to know whether the mountains were made by men, or men were made for the mountain.”⁴⁵

Confronting the texts, pictures and drawings produced to convey and illustrate the survey to Zones 1 and 2, one can thus conclude that the two teams pursued different methodological approaches, triggered by distinct intellectual frameworks, which eventually conveyed two distinct visions of the rural world: a pastoral vision in the case of Zone 1, and a counter-pastoral in the case of Zone 2. In fact, whereas in Zone 1 the outstanding protagonists were the buildings, in Zone 2 the leading role was given to the people. For example, in the latter case, many buildings were identified with the name of the owner, e.g. Mr. José Tamanqueiro, or Mr. Virgílio, something that does not happen in the text of Zone 1. The use of pictures is also very different in the two zones. In the chapter on Zone 1 the images are usually of the exterior of the buildings, people are seldom present in the pictures, and the

43. Ibid., 127.

44. Ibid., 158.

45. Ibid., 169.

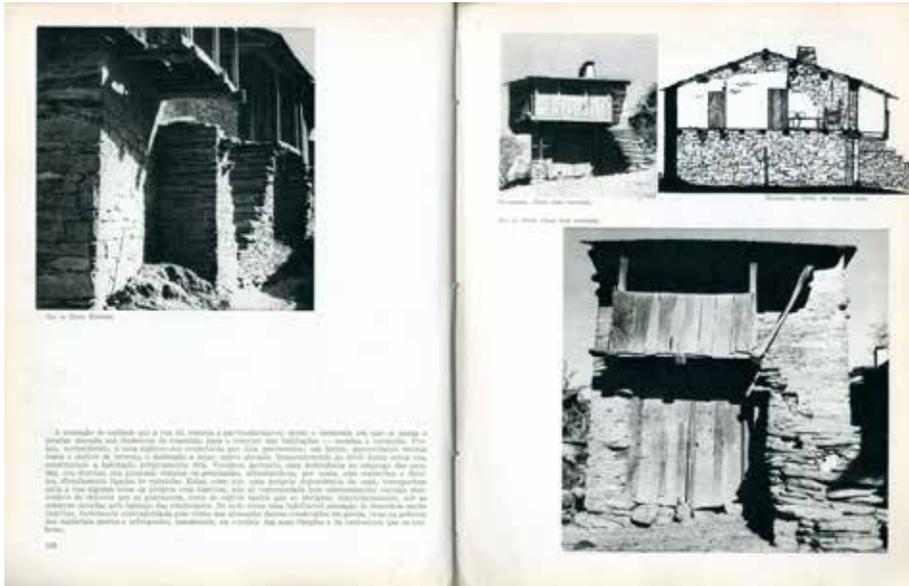


Figure 3.07. Stairs and Balconies -
 Spread from *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (1961), volume 1, zone 2,
 138-139.

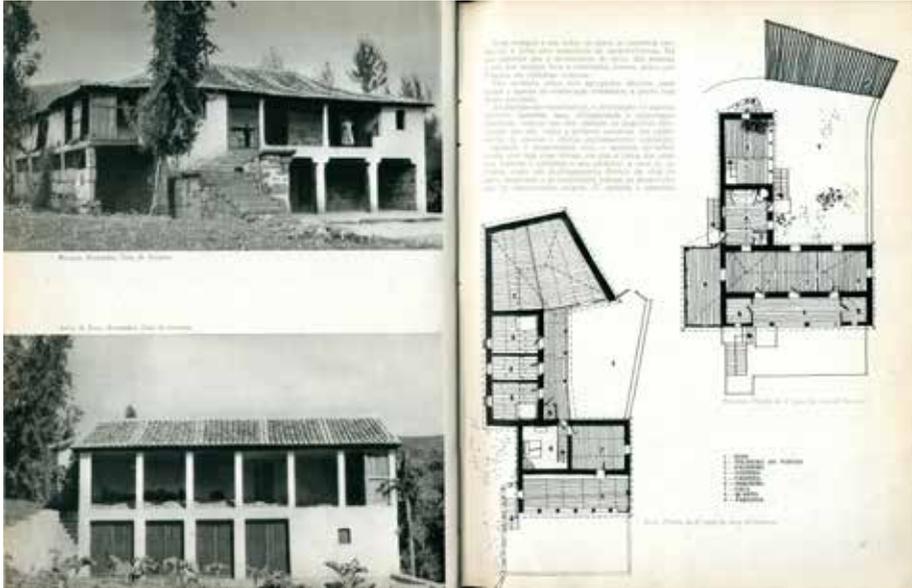


Figure 3.08. Farmer's Houses - Spread from *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (1961), volume 1, zone 1, 40-41.

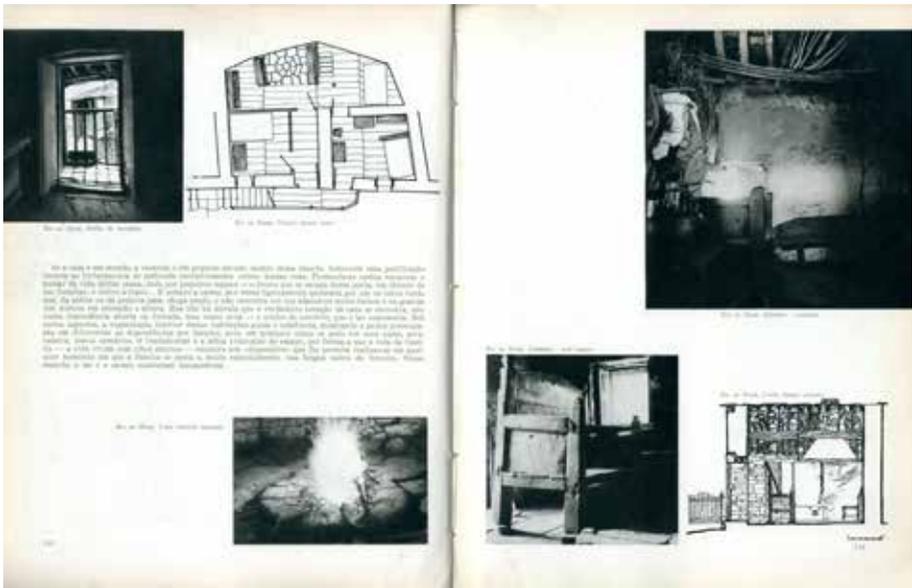


Figure 3.09. House in Rio de Onor - Spread from *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (1961), volume 1, zone 2, 140-141.

buildings are many times deliberately framed in compositions that explore its plastic effect. [Figure 3.08] In the chapter on Zone 2, otherwise, there was a clear emphasis in showing details expressing human action in the transformation/decoration of the materials, people were often present in the pictures, and further, there is a great deal of importance given to images of interiors, showing the living conditions in rural dwellings. [Figure 3.09] Finally, the drawing techniques used to produce plans, sections and elevations was also different in both zones. In Zone 1, the drawings show some concern with technical accuracy, using thin lines and a careful routine of representing elements at the same scale for the sake of comparability. Some architectural details are highlighted, and, in the plans, the layout of the houses is usually represented without furniture. [Figure 3.10] In Zone 2, the drawings were made with a thicker line, and somewhat more spontaneous, including the representation of furniture, agricultural tools and appliances, and even piles of hay. [Figure 3.11]

These two chapters showcase different accounts of the architecture of the rural world as it was perceived by groups of architects engaged in re-humanizing the discipline. They have in common, however, a keen engagement in challenging a superficial notion of regionalism, which was championed by the regime to support its nationalist agenda of a pastoral society embedded with the qualities of the rural world. Famously, in the introduction written by Keil do Amaral for the 1961 publication of the results of the Survey in the book *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, it was bluntly declared that the soil, and the climate, among other factors, are more important than political boundaries. Hence, Keil do Amaral declared:

Portugal, for example, lacks unity in the field of Architecture. There is no such thing as ‘Portuguese Architecture’ or a typical Portuguese house. There are far greater differences between a village in the province of Minho and a ‘monte’ in the Alentejo than between certain Portuguese and Greek buildings.⁴⁶

This conclusion alone was an important achievement for the SNA, for Keil do Amaral, for Fernando Távora, and for all those interested in denouncing the regime’s claim for a picturesque regionalism with an alleged national character. Rather, the results of the Survey testified to a dynamic vernacular tradition that was chiefly determined by situated circumstances. Furthermore, for the architects involved with the Survey and for their likeminded colleagues, it became instrumental to overcome the regime’s resistance to the principles of architectural modernism, and to present a counter image for the populist principles of the *Casa Portuguesa* movement. Either casting a pastoral vision of the vernacular or conveying a counter-pastoral account of the rural world, the likes of Távora and Filgueiras brought forth the extent to which the architecture of the rural world, allegedly so much

46. Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, “Traduções,” 403.

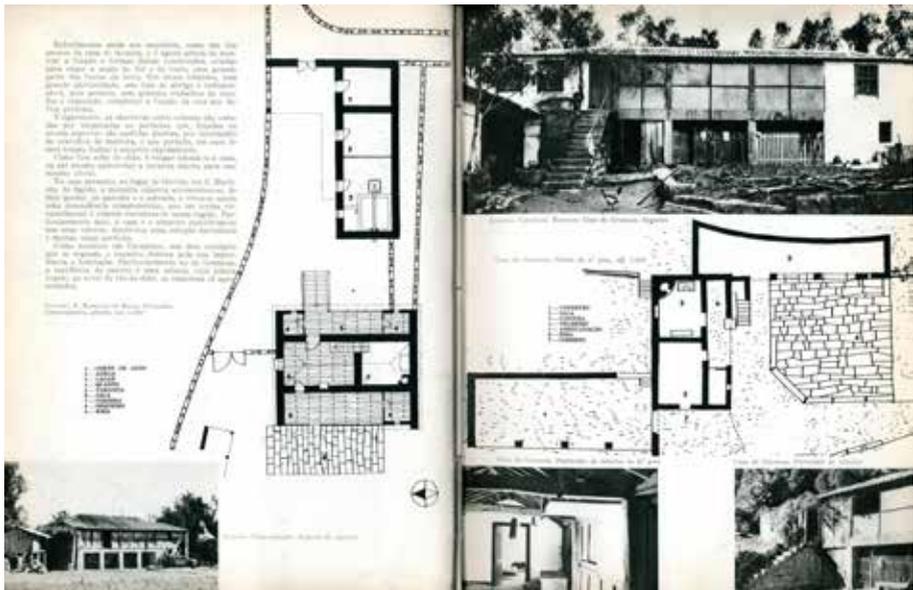


Figure 3.10. Houses and Granaries - Spread from *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* (1961), volume 1, zone 1, 50-51.

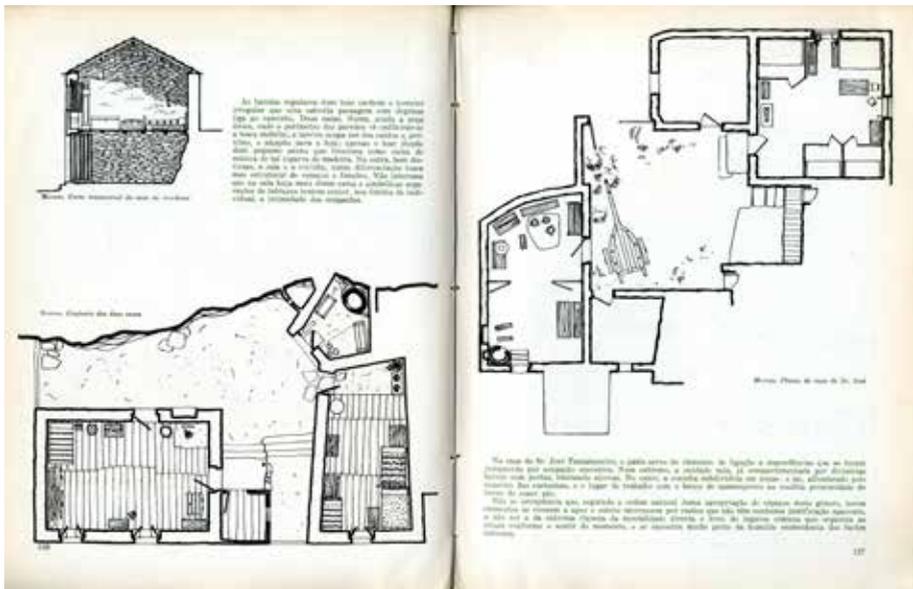


Figure 3.11. Houses in Montes - Spread from *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* (1961), volume 1, zone 1, 126-127.

praised by the regime, resonated, in fact, the same rationalist and functionalist ethos of modern architecture. In Portugal, at the turn of the 1960s, the Survey would be a vehicle to legitimize the tenets of architectural modernism, much in the same way as it had been to Sert, Pagano, and Lúcio Costa in the 1930s. However, this time the outcome of the Survey would go somewhat further, reassessing the role of the architect and the discipline's societal impact. Instead of bringing about the radical modernity of the vernacular, the confrontation with the harsh reality that was hidden in the rural world, hitherto romanticized and unknown by many, would trigger a complex and many times contradictory negotiation between modernity and the vernacular. The very many instances of the outcome of this negotiation would strongly influence the Portuguese reconceptualization of architectural modernism, from the onset of the Survey until the mid-1970s. The works and writings of Fernando Távora at the turn of the 1960s, can be pointed out as seminal instances of this revision.

3.2• From Otterlo to Royaumont

The events unfolding in the CIAM congresses, from the outset of their post-war reinstatement, triggered a progressive reaction against the binary polarities, which had been used in the interwar period to establish the revolutionary ethos of architectural modernism. Aldo van Eyck's text "Is Architecture Going to Reconcile Basic Values?" which circulated in the 1959 CIAM congress at Otterlo, epitomizes this reaction.⁴⁷ Van Eyck brought about a simple challenge: "The time has come to gather the old into the new; to rediscover the archaic principles of human nature." And he went on contending that "Modern architecture has been harping continually on what is different in our time to such an extent even that it has lost touch with what is not different, with what is always essentially the same." And then he asked: "Is architecture going to reconcile basic values?"⁴⁸ Van Eyck highlighted that, in every culture, there are always universal and peculiar aspects. He thus illustrated his call for a reconciliation of these aspects with his famous "Otterlo Circles" where he underlined his vision of the architect's job as something *par nous pour nous* (by us for us), "a dual phenomenon that cannot be split into conflicting polarities." And he concluded arguing, "the time has come (...) to avoid the pitfalls of eclecticism, regionalism and modernism, for these are utterly false alternatives – three kinds of short-sightedness that continually alternate."⁴⁹

In his text, Aldo van Eyck clearly denounces modern architecture's lack of contact with reality, with the everyday and the ordinary, but also with the timeless and the archaic. In the same Otterlo congress, another delegate, Giancarlo de Carlo, similarly voiced

47. Aldo van Eyck's text circulated among the delegates of the Otterlo CIAM congress. It was published two years after in Aldo van Eyck, "Is Architecture Going to Reconcile Basic Values?," in *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, ed. Oscar Newman, Documents of Modern Architecture 1 (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961), 26–35. Further references to this text are taken from the same publication.

48. *Ibid.*, 27.

49. *Ibid.*

his criticism on modern architecture's polarized relation with reality, and argued that, to overcome the current crisis in modern architecture, they should "shake off the blind stubbornness which paralysed our meetings in the post-war period, making them give up the fruitful tracks of research and criticism and take up the barren road of vague statements and academic self-satisfaction."⁵⁰ In his paper, De Carlo identifies two different trends in modern architecture's history: a progressive route with a radical-historical-objectivity approach, and a regressive route, an autonomous disciplinary approach that rejected history and refused to contaminate itself with reality. While the earlier was an attempt to develop a renewal of structures that eventually generated a technological fetishism, the latter aimed at a renewal of outward appearance that produced a stylistic restoration and the inclination to escape from contemporary reality. He concludes, then, "some of the present retrogression is due to the radicalism of the first approach, but far more is a result of the attitudes of the second which, being less revolutionary and more inclined to conciliation, found an easier way to melt and spread."⁵¹ In order to overcome the current crisis of modern architecture, De Carlo then suggests "that we can not possibly succeed (...) if we once again surrender to the reliance on the 'significant coexistence of opposites'."⁵²

50. Giancarlo de Carlo's paper circulated among the delegates of the 1959 CIAM congress in Otterlo. A revised version of this paper was published in Giancarlo de Carlo, "Talk on the Situation of Contemporary Architecture," in *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, ed. Oscar Newman, Documents of Modern Architecture I (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961), 80. All further references to this document were taken from this revised version.

51. *Ibid.*, 81.

52. *Ibid.*, 86.

53. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, 35th Anniversary (Oxford University Press, USA, 2000), 347.

54. There were also two young Portuguese architects, trainees in the office of Viana de Lima, who participated in the congress: Sergio Fernandez (b. 1937) and Joaquim Bento Lousan (b. 1932).

55. As it was discussed in the previous chapter, both Viana de Lima and Távora had already a long history of participation in the post-war CIAM congresses, and they were two of the three authors of the Habitat Rural project presented at the tenth CIAM congress, held in Dubrovnik in 1956.

56. The transcriptions of the discussions at the Otterlo conference can be consulted in the Bakema archive, held at the former NAI – Netherlands Architecture Institute (now renamed The New Institute), in Rotterdam. This was also communicated to me in an interview with Sergio Fernandez, one of the Portuguese students that attended the congress.

57. AA.VV., "Transcription of the Recording of Távora's Presentation at the Otterlo Congress," September 1959, BAKEg113, NAI, Bakema Archive.

It is clear, then, that at the end of the 1950s, and with the ethos of modern architecture facing a critical moment, one of the main concerns among the delegates to the Otterlo congress was to overcome the binary polarities that were jeopardizing the discipline's engagement with reality. It was, then, a moment to move beyond a Manichean construction of reality where, using Leo Marx's reading of *The Education of Henry Adams*, "the opposition between the Virgin and the Dynamo figures as an all-embracing conflict: a clash between past and present, unity and diversity, love and power."⁵³

The Virgin and the Dynamo

Two Portuguese delegates were invited to participate and to present their works at the Otterlo conference: Alfredo Viana de Lima and Fernando Távora.⁵⁴ The earlier presented a project for a hospital, [Figure 3.12] and the latter presented two projects: a market, and a summerhouse.⁵⁵ [Figure 3.13] According to the transcription of the discussions held at the congress, the debate around these projects was mild.⁵⁶ In fact, Viana de Lima's project was almost completely overlooked, and the discussion on Távora's projects went around the topic of modern architecture's use of materials and techniques and its relation with national and local culture. It was also discussed the extent to which the design strategy used in the project of the market could contribute to generate collective spaces appropriable by the city at large.⁵⁷ In his account of the Otterlo congress, Oscar Newman published

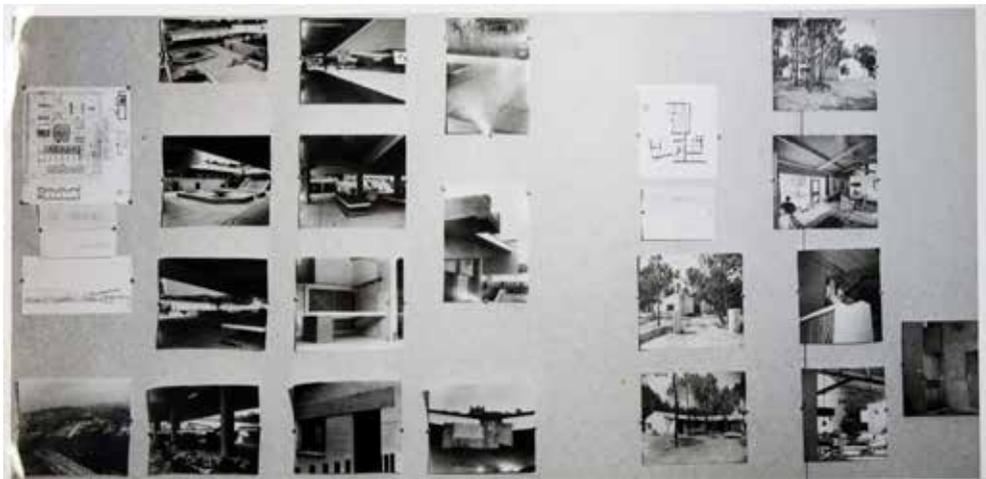
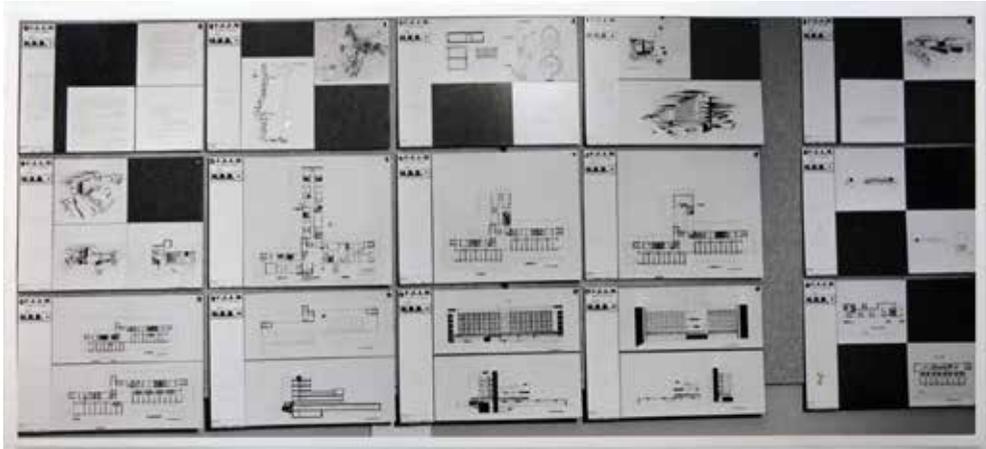


Figure 3.12. Picture of Viana de Lima's presentation at CIAM's 1959 Otterlo meeting (Project for a Hospital in Bragança). Source: Bakema Archive, NAI Institute, BAKEf24.

Figure 3.13. Picture of Fernando Távora's presentation at CIAM's 1959 Otterlo meeting (Projects for a Market Place (left) and a Vacation Home (right)). Source: Bakema Archive, NAI Institute, BAKEf24.

Viana de Lima's project for the hospital and Távora's project for the market. The drawings and illustrations of the project for the hospital were accompanied only by a summary of relevant data. [Figure 3.14] Regarding Távora's project for the market, Newman refers that "the discussion, which developed around this scheme, talked of the possibilities inherent in architecture of transcending its simple three-dimensional existence as space, and becoming an element which could encourage the spontaneous meeting and intermixing of people." [Figure 3.15] And he goes on stating that "in this context van Eyck suggested that the notion of space and time no longer carried its original impact and that it [should] be replaced with the more vital concept of place and occasion."⁵⁸

In fact, after the Otterlo congress Aldo van Eyck would often explore the concepts of place and occasion as notions that take into account its significance as the 'counterform' of the mind "for each man and all men" as opposed to the epistemological independence of the mind on the notions of space and time.⁵⁹ In 1960-61, for example, in his article "There is a Garden in Her Face", published in the Dutch magazine *Forum*, he would write "whatever space and time mean place and occasion mean more. For space in the image of man is place and time in the image of man is occasion."⁶⁰ For Van Eyck, the dyad place and occasion resonates with his notion of the in-between, a specific set of dual phenomena that, as Francis Strauven explains, converts spaces into places, determined by "a specific interweaving of mutually attuned polarities."⁶¹ Hence, I would suggest, Newman's remark on Távora's market as an instance of Van Eyck's dyad is yet another example of the late CIAM's pervasive attempt to challenge binary polarities, specially the attempt to rearticulate the old into the new, as Van Eyck suggested. Távora's project, however, was certainly not the only case where this attempt was made. In fact, at the Otterlo congress, many other delegates presented projects that pursued similar goals. This was the case of, first and foremost, Aldo van Eyck's Amsterdam Orphanage, but also that of Giancarlo de Carlo's shops and apartment building in Matera, BBPR's Torre Velasca in Milan, Ralph Erskine's sub-Arctic Habitat, or Kenzo Tange's Kagawa prefectural office, to name but a few of the most well-known cases. Yet, when compared with these projects, Távora's is arguably the architectural operation that explores further the ambivalence between modernity and the vernacular. This ambivalence, I would argue, would further surface in the following year, during his study trip to the United States and Japan.

The Teacup and the Motorcycle

On 13 February 1960 Fernando Távora leaves Portugal heading to the United States with the official goal of developing a research on the pedagogic methods of some of the most

58. Oscar Newman, ed., *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, Documents of Modern Architecture 1 (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961), 136. In the transcription of the discussion on Távora's projects, Newman's observations cannot be found. It remains, thus, unknown the source for his comments on Távora's project for the market.

59. In the architectural debate at the late 1950s, the most current use of the notions of space and time was, obviously, Giedion's widespread book *Space, Time and Architecture*.

60. Quoted in Francis Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998), 359-360.

61. *Ibid.*, 359.



Figure 3.15. Fernando Távora - Market Place at Vila da Feira Source: *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, ed. Oscar Newman, Documents of Modern Architecture 1 (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961), 136-139.

renowned American schools and to further investigate urban design strategies in important planning offices. He stayed there for almost three months, with an interval in Mexico (from 22 until 29 April, visiting Mexico City and Teotihuacan). On 8 May, he flew to Japan to attend the World Design Conference (WoDeCo), which was held in Tokyo. On 28 May, he departed from Japan returning to Portugal in a trip with many stops along the way, visiting Bangkok (Thailand), Karachi (India), Beirut and Baalbek (Lebanon), Cairo (Egypt), and finally Athens (Greece), before arriving to Lisbon on 12 June.⁶² Over those four months, Távora kept a daily register of all the events that unfolded in those remarkably distinct places.⁶³ However, reading his diary the impression that surfaces is that it was neither the urban planning strategies and the teaching methods of the American schools of design, nor the lectures, exhibitions and presentations in the WoDeCo, that impressed him the most.⁶⁴ It was instead, I would suggest, an overwhelming confrontation with the triumph of the masses, with the extraordinary emergence of the ordinary man in a way that Távora had hitherto unacknowledged in Europe, let alone in Portugal. Travelling by bus on the roads of the USA, Távora described the scenario unfolding before his eyes as follows:

[Always] the same leaflet restaurants, the same motels wishing to be different from the others but all identical, the same group of ground floor houses looking as if they were made of cardboard, the same selling car parks, the same propaganda craze, the same chaotic filling and service stations.⁶⁵

Notwithstanding the chaos of mass culture and mass consumption, for Távora everything looked different when nature was not yet superseded by civilization, or at least when art and nature seemed to be in harmony, as when he travelled on the New Jersey Turnpike heading to New York: “a magnificent two hours trip (...) impeccable and magnificent [where] the natural landscape stands out in contrast with a couple of built elements.”⁶⁶

The contrast between his familiar and aristocratic Europe, and the strangeness of the backdrop against which American capitalism was unfolding, caused on Távora a noticeable effect of bewilderment. In Manhattan, for example, after walking on the streets, visiting big architectural offices and planning agencies, he decides to go to a movie theatre. Eventually he described this experience in blunt terms. “Fool, I went to see ‘Ben-Hur’ in one of Broadway’s cinemas (‘the best film of the year,’ those guys claimed). What a bore; four hours of cinema and the same thing as with the architects: a lot of money, big scenarios, a lot of people, good garments, etc. etc. But a total crap; Eisenstein with a few guys, in black and white and just a handful of dollars, told me things that I never forgot; of this movie I will always remember that it is an awful and grandiose crap.”⁶⁷ This

62. A thorough account of this trip can be seen in Ana Mesquita, “O Melhor de Dois Mundos. A Viagem do Arquitecto Távora aos EUA e Japão - Diário 1960” (Master Dissertation, University of Coimbra, 2007).

63. The original manuscript of Távora’s Diary was recently published in two volumes, one with a facsimile of the original and the second with an edited version of the text. See Fernando Távora, *Diário de “Bordo,”* ed. Rita Marnoto, 2 vols. (Matosinhos: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012).

64. In his interviews in the USA, Távora talked with figures such as Louis Kahn, Paul Rudolph, Robert C. Smith, Jose Luis Sert, Kevin Lynch, or Vincent Scully, and in the WoDeCo some important figures were also present; Louis Kahn and Paul Rudolph were there again, but also some of his fellow CIAM members such as the Smithsons, and Kenzo Tange, or the graphic designer Samuel Bass.

65. Távora, *Diário de “Bordo,”* 80. Original in Portuguese. This and further quotations taken from this book were translated into English by the author.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*, 93.

impression of American culture, an awful and grandiose crap, resonates, I would argue, with Ortega y Gasset's idea of the "height of the times" and its related notion of decadence, where "each individual feels, with more or less clearness, the relation which his own life bears to the height of the time through which he is passing." Further, Ortega Y Gasset asserted, "the *tempo* at which things move at present, the force and energy with which everything is done, cause anguish to the man of archaic mould, and this anguish is the measure of the difference between his pulse-beats and the pulse-beats of the time."⁶⁸

I would argue, however, that Távora's archaic mould is not a helpless melancholy for a bygone era of plenitude, rather the disquiet and restlessness created by his negotiation of a strong historical awareness with the tenets of a "modern culture" that creates, as Ortega Y Gasset puts it, "a delightful impression of having escaped from an hermitically sealed enclosure, of having regained freedom, of coming out once again under the stars into the world of reality, the world of the profound, the terrible, the unforeseeable, the inexhaustible, where everything is possible, the best and the worst."⁶⁹ This freedom, however, comes with strings attached. "The great drama of this civilization," Távora notes, is "how to achieve individual freedom, variety, in this regime of masses in which the individual is dragged into and the differences are increasingly less."⁷⁰

In face of the ambivalent relation between art and nature generated by modernity, this archaic mould surfaces and sparks alternating pastoral and counter-pastoral visions, which are utterly illustrated by Távora's impressions on two seminal visits to places around Lake Michigan. The first is when he visits the world's biggest industrial plant of that time: the factory complex of Ford Motor Company, located in Dearborn, Michigan, along the Rouge River. He describes, "the plant is worn-out and the most 'industrial' in the bad sense one can imagine. Dust, coal, filthiness, disharmony, ugliness (I mean, of course, its visual aspect)." And, after visiting the assembly line, "the impression was dreadful," he claims. "The Charlot [Charlie Chaplin] of modern times was always in my spirit." And he goes on reporting how he finds alienating the condition of the factory workers, that despite owning cars and earning comparably more than an university teacher, seem to live in a new form of slavery. "Would it not be better", he asks, "if they earned less and had a smaller car, etc., etc, and had a more free and creative life?"⁷¹

The second illuminating experience happens when he visits Frank Lloyd Wright's Taliesin East, in Spring Green, Wisconsin. In his Diary, the pastoral vision that unfolds from the description of his arrival is striking.

68. José Ortega Y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1964), 28.

69. Ibid., 33. Ortega y Gasset defines "modern" as "what is 'in the fashion,' that is to say the new fashion or modification which has arisen over against the old traditional fashions used in the past. The word 'modern' then expresses a consciousness of a new life, superior to the old one, and at the same time as imperative call to be at the height of one's time. For the 'modern' man, not to be 'modern' means to fall below the historic level."

70. Távora, *Diário de "Bordo"*, 197.

71. Ibid., 211.

We further continued and, some seconds after I saw, in the

crown of a hill, Wright's house; Distant, in another hill, but located on the slope, the group of red buildings (of an earthly red), of a 'farm'. This is a moment I cannot forget, this first contact with Taliesin. The landscape, without being grandiose, is large and even though the buildings are not large their presence in the landscape is perfectly recognizable, without devaluing it whatsoever. The idea of Taliesin as a construction vanished from my mind in that moment; Taliesin is a landscape, Taliesin is a whole, in which is perhaps hard to distinguish the work of God from the work of Man.⁷²

This vision describes, according to Jorge Figueira, Távora's moment of redemption. "Within the American misfortune," Figueira contends, "the visit to Taliesin is a moment of rare concert, where Távora sees the validation of his efforts of integrating the tradition, the land with the archaic, with modern spatiality and techniques."⁷³ This concert resonates, I would add, with Leo Marx's notion of the "middle landscape," something like Eça de Queiroz' pastoral vision of Tormes, a vision that, as Marx had it, resonates with an idealized world, neither wild nor *overcivilized*, where is still possible to dream of humanity in harmony with nature.⁷⁴

As in Virgil's eclogues or in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, in his diary Távora is constantly confronting the forces of civilization with nature and praising the moments when the creative impulse of men mediates both. In Japan, for example, he comments on the "disastrous" impression caused on him by the chaos of Tokyo that, despite keeping some traces of beauty, is however worthless with its streets, buildings, and immense traffic. He thus laments, "What progress has led to, the machine, democracy, money, and all modern myths..."⁷⁵ However, when he visits the Nijō Castle, in Kyoto, Távora highlights its "extraordinary clarity, the good relation with the gardens, the diagonal articulation between the buildings, involving galleries, enormous dignity and hierarchy of spaces."⁷⁶ [Figure 3.16] The gardens of the Castle were specially praised for their beauty, recognized as the result of "a constant struggle between man and nature," to preserve a perfect relation between the different elements. And he goes on, comparing this attitude with the chaos offered by metropolitan life where that balance was being lost. "The growth of cities, like trees in abandoned gardens," he argues, "breaks the optimal proportion and we fall in the customary chaos. Yet, it is easier pruning and domesticating trees than controlling the life in the cities."⁷⁷

Távora finds in the dualism between the teacup and the motorcycle, two tokens of Japanese design, an illustrative synthesis of the contemporary challenges to the design disciplines. The teacup "is related to a traditional ceremony and should be a work of art to complete the ritual," whereas "the motorcycle, which is entirely new to the Japanese physical landscape, should meet the character of a universal design." The parallel with architecture becomes, then, clear. "Whether the

72. *Ibid.*, 231.

73. Jorge Figueira, "Fernando Távora, Alma Mater. Travel in América, 1960," in *Fernando Távora. Permanent Modernity*, ed. José António Bandeirinha (Matosinhos: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012), 138.

74. Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 377.

75. Távora, *Diário de "Bordo"*, 306.

76. *Ibid.*, 332.

77. *Ibid.*, 333.

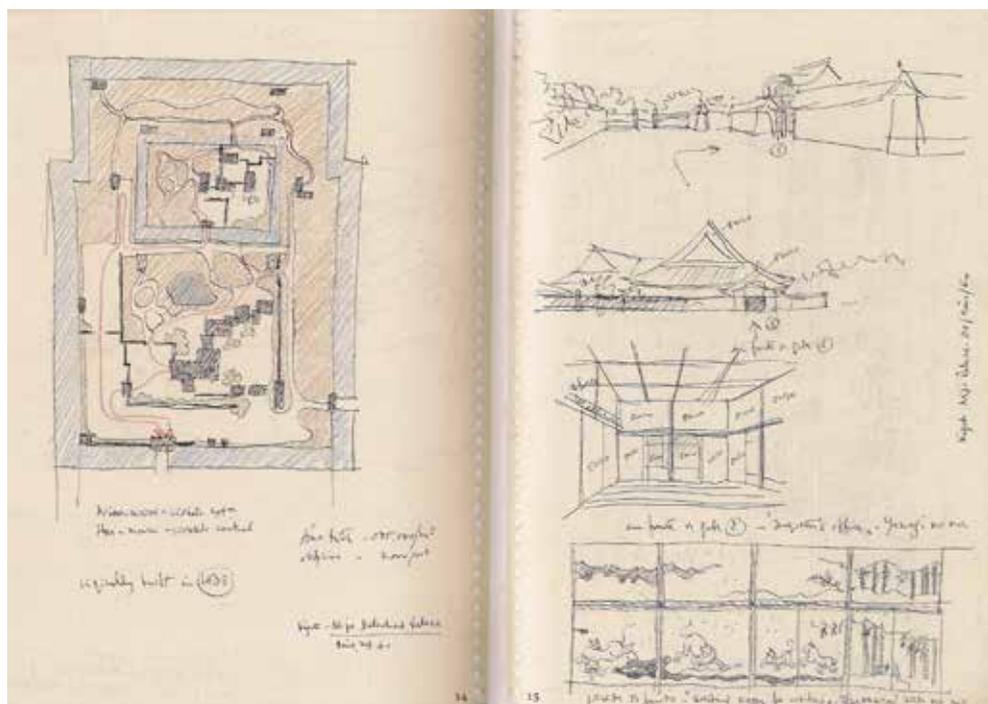


Figure 3.16. Fernando Távora - Sketch of the Nijo Palace in Kyoto (24 May 1960). Source: *Fernando Távora, Diário de "Bordo,"* ed. Rita Marnoto, vol.2 (Matosinhos: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012) - Sketch Book A, sketches 14, 15.

individual house generally follows [...] the traditional way, the department store or the elevated street (Tokyo), correspond to characteristics that are becoming universal.”⁷⁸

In his 1961 essay “Universal Civilization and National Cultures,” already discussed in the previous chapter, Paul Ricoeur highlights the latent tension, in post WWII societies, between the ambition of participating in the progress brought about by processes of modernization and the need to preserve their heritage. Then, he posits the paradox: “how to become modern and to return to sources; how to revive an old, dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization?”⁷⁹ Ricoeur’s paradox brings to the fore the challenges to cultural identity in a globalized world. He states that

We can easily imagine a time close at hand when any fairly well-to-do person will be able to leave his country indefinitely in order to taste his own national death in an interminable, aimless voyage. At this extreme point, the triumph of the consumer culture, universally identical and wholly anonymous, would represent the lowest degree of creative culture.⁸⁰

However, Ricoeur rejects resistance to progress as an excuse to preserve a rooted culture. He challenges both nostalgic and progressive approaches, claiming “the problem is not simply to repeat the past, but rather to take root in it in order to ceaselessly invent.”⁸¹

Távora’s dualism between a design rooted in tradition and one inspired by the universalist tenets of modernity, seemingly embodies an intellectual conundrum that resonates with Ricoeur’s. These problems will be pervasive in Távora’s writings and work from then on. In 1962, one year after the publication of Ricoeur’s article, Távora wrote a long essay, with the title *Da Organização do Espaço* (On the Organization of Space), where this dualism will noticeably surface.⁸² In this essay, Távora recognizes the existence of “a phenomenon of cultural universalization to an extent never experienced before in the history of man.” He argues, however, that this will not generate cultural standardization, at least in the next generations, because there are, everywhere, “autochthonic cultural values, some of them very vigorous, others in decadence, and from this encounter and from the creation of new homegrown cultures, though with a common base, the European culture will itself suffer changes in its structure.”⁸³

Távora thus suggests that a new culture shall emerge, resulting from the clash between the satisfaction of the needs of the masses and the originality of local cultures.⁸⁴ However, the transformative role of the machine, of technical progress, is undeniable, he argues, though he considers it a potential ally for the development of a synthesis. “The product of the machine,”

78. *Ibid.*, 318.

79. Paul Ricoeur, “Universal Civilization and National Cultures,” in *History and Truth*, trans. Charles A. Kelbley (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 271–284. This article was originally published in French, in 1961, in the magazine *Esprit*.

80. *Ibid.*, 278.

81. *Ibid.*, 282.

82. This essay was prepared as part of the documentation needed for his participation in the competition for the position of Professor of Architecture in Porto’s School of Fine Arts. The competition started in January 1962 and ended in March of the same year. The other participants in the competition were Octávio Lixa Filgueiras and José Carlos Loureiro (b. 1925). For more information about this process, see Gonçalo Canto Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno da Arquitectura. A Reforma de 57 e as Escolas de Belas-Artes em Portugal (1931-69)” (PhD, University of Coimbra, 2011), 477–478.

83. Fernando Távora, *Da Organização do Espaço*, 5th ed. (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2004), 29–30. Távora’s notion of circumstance was most probably also influenced by his readings of Ortega y Gasset. In his writings, Ortega y Gasset famously challenged the Cartesian dictum *cogito ergo sum*, with his maxim “I am myself and my circumstance,” formulated as early as 1914 in his book *Meditaciones del Quijote*, where he suggested that to understand reality one needs to understand it a sum of the ego and its circumstance.

84. Távora takes the notion “the originality of cultures” from the 1953 Unesco report titled “L’originalité des cultures, son rôle dans la compréhension internationale.”

he contends, “characterized for its anonymity, its objectivity, is thus placed side to side with the product of local cultures and novel relations between them will develop, real clashes, which will be progressively eliminated, diluted little by little thanks to a synthesis between the traditional and the new life conditions.”⁸⁵

Reflecting on his experience and impressions after the participation in the Survey and his 1960 trip to America and Asia, Távora concludes that both in the big metropolises of that time, such as New York or Tokyo, as in the rural world, there is a relentless process of chaotic occupation of the space, instead of its organization. He believes that the design disciplines can play an important role in creating a harmonious organization of the space, as soon as they engage in horizontal collaborations (between men of the same time), and vertical collaborations (between men from different times). For this collaboration to unfold, Távora follows Ortega Y Gasset, highlighting the destructive role of “the barbarism of specialization”, with its tendency to produce an hermetic and self-satisfied - thus barbarian and primitive – man.⁸⁶ Távora argues that men should overcome specialization, because it only caters for the creation of a sum of contributions and not for collaborative undertakings. Further, Távora argues that, for the creation of a harmonious organization of the space, with both horizontal and vertical collaborations, a set of human and natural factors must be taken into account. He calls these factors “the circumstance.”⁸⁷

To understand how circumstances influence the forms created by men, and especially the architectural and urban forms, Távora draws on examples taken from his recent trip around the world, New York and Teotihuacan, the Giza pyramids and the Katsura palace, Versailles and the Athens Acropolis, to explain how different worlds of circumstance signify such different forms. He argues, “it changes the light, the sites’ natural shape and its composition, the climate varies, the concepts of physical and spiritual life vary, the techniques vary, the uses and costumes vary... in one word, it varies the circumstance of each one of these different worlds of forms created by man.”⁸⁸

85. Távora, *Da Organização do Espaço*, 30.

86. Ortega Y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, 107–114.

87. Távora, *Da Organização do Espaço*, 22. For a more extensive account on Távora’s notion of “the circumstance” and his attempt to negotiate the effects of mass culture with those of the *grand* tradition, see Nelson Mota, “The Teacup and the Motorcycle. Situating the Circumstance in Fernando Távora’s Reconceptualization of Architectural Modernism,” *OASE - Journal for Architecture*, no. 92 (2014): 96–111.

88. *Ibid.*, 23.

89. *Ibid.*, 74.

Then, in the concluding section of his essay, when Távora writes on the role of the architect, he argues that in order to avoid designing senseless and whimsical forms, the designer should pursue “a wise balance between his personal view and the circumstance around him, and therefore, he should understand it thoughtfully, so thoughtfully that understanding and being become muddled.” Further, Távora contends that the architect should have a critical attitude towards the circumstance, but also a collaborative approach. “He should not think he is a demiurge, the only one, the genius of the organization of space – others also participate in the organization of space. One should attend to, and collaborate with, them in the common effort.”⁸⁹ Next

to an intense and necessary specialism, Távora concludes, the architect should know the problems of the common man, and be driven by a “profound and indispensable humanism.”⁹⁰ At any event, Távora’s reflections in his *Da Organização do Espaço*, published in 1962, resonate with those of his friend José António Coderch, famously expressed in the latter’s 1961 article “No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora” (It’s not Geniuses we need now).

It’s Not Geniuses We Need Now

At the Otterlo congress, the Spanish architect José Antonio Coderch presented Torre Valentina, a scheme for a touristic complex on the Mediterranean coast.⁹¹ The project’s brief required a dense occupation of a privileged area stretching on a hill next to the seaside, with holiday houses and leisure facilities.⁹² Coderch used Mediterranean vernacular references to design Torre Valentina as an ensemble that sought building harmony between the built artefact and nature. [Figure 3.17] In fact, according to Antonio Pizza, Coderch’s project resonated with many issues debated in Otterlo, specially those with anthropological overtones, revealing a scheme “inspired by the orderly disorder of a Moroccan souk, lively and rich in experiences, including architectural, where the supreme principle of interaction emerged as the only undisputed value, specifying the degree of variability of the individual events in a superior combinatory mechanism of comprehension.”⁹³

When, in Otterlo, the CIAM were declared dead, and the members of Team 10 decided to continue the debate in a smaller, more familiar group, Coderch was invited to become one of the members of this inner circle. Though he was unable to attend the first meetings in 1960 and 1961, he would eventually join the group. In effect, on 1 August 1961, as a sort of presentation letter, he has sent a text to Jaap Bakema, the secretary of the emerging organization, with the title “It’s Not Geniuses We Need Now”, copied also to many other members of his professional and intellectual network, including his new Team 10 colleagues.⁹⁴ In this text, Coderch delivers a heartfelt criticism on the contemporary disciplinary ethos, which he deems detached from the moral roots of the profession (or trade, the term he deliberately uses to make sense of its traditional crib). “We need thousands and thousands of architects to think less about ‘Architecture,’ money, or the cities of the year 2000, and more about their trade as architects.” And he goes on, “let them work tied by a leg so that they cannot stray too far from the place in which they have their roots or from the men they know best; let them always clutch a firm foundation based on dedication, goodwill, and honour.”⁹⁵ Coderch thus seems to echo Távora’s concern with an uprooted modernity, more concerned with the transience of a world in rapid growth than with the

90. *Ibid.*, 75.

91. This was Coderch’s first presentation of work in a CIAM congress, and it was recommended by the former secretary of CIAM and Coderch’s compatriot, Jose Luis Sert.

92. For an extensive documentation on Torre Valentina, see Gerardo García-Ventosa López, Xavier Llobet Ribeiro, and Isabel Ruiz Castrillo, *José Antonio Coderch. Torre Valentina: A Landscape Project, 1959* (Madrid: Editorial Rueda, 2004). For an insightful and in-depth overview of Coderch’s work, see Antonio Pizza and Josep M. Rovira, eds., *Coderch 1940-1964. In Search of Home* (Barcelona: COAC, 2000).

93. Antonio Pizza, “The Tradition and Universalism of a Domestic Project,” in *Coderch 1940-1964. In Search of Home*, ed. Antonio Pizza and Josep M. Rovira (Barcelona: COAC, 2000), 139.

94. In the early 1960s the text was widely published in architectural journals. The first journal to publish it was *Domus* in November 1961, which was followed by many others, including the Portuguese journal *Arquitectura*, in December 1961. See *ibid.*, 87.

95. A version of the text was published in English in Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Primer* (London: Studio Vista, 1968), 37–39. In this translation, however, some parts of the original text were removed. Hence, all further references to this text were taken from the Spanish version of the text published in the November 1961 issue of *Domus*. The translation of this version into English is responsibility of the author. See José Antonio Coderch, “No Son Genios lo que Necesitamos Ahora,” *Domus* no. 384 (November 1961). The text was also published in Portugal in the next month in *Arquitectura*. See José Antonio Coderch, “No Son Genios lo que Necesitamos Ahora,” *Arquitectura* no. 73 (December 1961): 3–4.



Figure 3.17. Coderch and Valls - Hotel and Appartments at Torre Valentina/Costa Brava. Source: *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, ed. Oscar Newman, Documents of Modern Architecture 1 (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961), 40-41.

preservation of an ethical attitude inspired on traditional values. Coderch goes further, contending that “today the ruling classes have lost their sense of mission, and the blood aristocracy as well as that of money, that of intelligence, that of the Church, that of politics, with very rare exceptions, contribute decisively with their worthlessness, drive for profit, power and lack of conscience of its responsibilities, to the current architectural disorientation.”⁹⁶

Coderch seems thus to reverberate his compatriot Ortega y Gasset on rendering accountable the contemporary elites for failing to cope with their traditional role as agents of the civilizing mission, and hence, allowing an *externalization*, as it were, of the decisions to the ordinary man.⁹⁷ Coderch’s text, I would further suggest, resonates also with Távora’s Manhattan perplexities after the hollow grandiloquence of Ben-Hur, and his 1962 appraisal in *On the Organization of Space* of the generative role of “the circumstance” for the architect’s disciplinary ethos.

Curiously enough, Távora was also invited to become a member of the Team 10 family. However, due to his trip to the USA and Japan, he could not make it to the group’s inaugural meeting in Bagnols-sur-Cèze at the end of July 1960. As Coderch, also Távora was not invited to the next working meetings (only attended by Team 10’s inner circle) in Paris (5 January 1961), London (2, 3, and 5 July 1961), and Drottninghold/Stockholm (January 1962). They would, nevertheless, be invited and eventually attend the next meeting, with an extended list of invitees, which was held in Royaumont from 12 until 16 September 1962.

When the Myth of the Untouchable White Virgin was Undone

The theme of the Royaumont meeting, suggested by the Smithsons, was the reciprocal relation between the concepts of urban infrastructure and building group.⁹⁸ In this meeting, the inner-circle of Team 10 was extended with representatives from a broad geographical scope, from Japan to Mozambique. Even though the usual CIAM procedure of having national delegates had been abandoned since Otterlo, Coderch and Távora were, somehow, the representatives of the Iberian Peninsula.⁹⁹

On the invitation to the participants, two references as to how to deal with the issue of infrastructure were given. The first was chiefly inspired on Candilis, Josic & Woods’ idea of “stem”, a system articulated through a structure where the formal outcome cannot be anticipated. The second was based on the concept of “group form,” which had been chiefly elaborated by Fumihiko Maki and the Japanese metabolists, and was based on the idea of a natural and organic growth framed by a pre-conceived form.

96. Coderch, “No Son Genios lo que Necesitamos Ahora,” December 1961, 4.

97. See Ortega Y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, 97–106.

98. For an account of this meeting, including transcriptions of the discussions, see Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Meetings 1953–1984* (Delft: Publikatieburo Bouwkunde, 1991), 37–101. See also Max Risselada and Dirk Van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10, 1953–1981. In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005), 99–119.

99. Sainz de Oiza and Correa were also invited but did not attend. The Portuguese architect, Amâncio Guedes (better known as Pancho Guedes), working in Mozambique was invited via the Smithsons’ and their South African connection through Theo Crosby.

According to Alison Smithson's report, Coderch presented a project for an apartment building in the Barceloneta area in Barcelona, which was somewhat off-centre with the meeting's theme, and Távora has not presented any project. I would thus suggest that this reveals the extent to which their work and their interests at that moment was somehow disconnected with the agenda of Team 10's inner circle, which was greatly determined by large modernization programmes sponsored by the welfare state. In fact, according to the transcription of the meeting sessions, published in *Team 10 Meetings*, Coderch only intervenes in the presentation of George Candilis, and there is no reference to Távora altogether.

This detachment from the debate seems somewhat strange if we consider that both of them, in the essays mentioned above, had recently reflected on the problems challenging the discipline. I would suggest there are geopolitical reasons lurking behind Távora's and Coderch's apparent withdrawal from the Team 10 debates. The fact that Team 10 noticeably shifted from French to English as a working language may be a possible explanation to that phenomenon. French had been widely used in the CIAM congresses, and it was the foreign language Távora (and, for that matter, the other southern Europeans too) commanded better.¹⁰⁰ In fact, among the participants in the Royaumont meeting there was a conspicuous supremacy of those with English as a native language, or fluent in it.

The meeting was tense at some moments, with heated debates on the topic of designing for the great number. The transcription of the debates reveals lively discussions, many times with the Smithsons and Aldo van Eyck as main contenders. However, it was Georges Candilis' presentation of his plan (designed with Alexis Josic and Shadrach Woods) for the Toulouse-Le Mirail urban extension that sparked Coderch's criticism on the designers' seemingly hasty approach in a project that was meant to accommodate one hundred thousand new inhabitants. He brings about the question of the architect's moral responsibility in dealing with such vast scale. "In my limitations," he claims struggling to articulate it in English,

I think that it is very necessary for me, many times, to complete only a little thing within six months; I am able to make one thing. It is a great responsibility to compromise in this way. What goes out of here, I said to myself, is not so complete and after I saw the film [on Toulouse-Le Mirail] I found that it is very, very complete. Then it is a sickness.¹⁰¹

Coderch thus reveals his discomfort, at that time, in dealing with the design for the so-called great number.

Távora's participation in this debate was not recorded in the transcriptions of the meeting. This fact does not mean, however,

100. In his Diary of the 1960 trip, Távora often reports his discomfort in speaking English. In the transcription of the Royaumont meeting, Coderch also seems to have some difficulty in commanding English.

101. Quoted in Smithson, *Team 10 Meetings 1953-1984*, 98. In an undated letter to Alison Smithson, Coderch recognizes that Candilis was right in Royaumont when he challenged him to say "Yes" to the great number, thus abandoning romantic views incompatible with modern building systems. See note 101 in Pizza, "The Tradition and Universalism of a Domestic Project," 138.

that he was indifferent to the polemics. In fact, some months after the Royaumont meeting, in December 1962, Távora shall react on that debate, in an article published in the Portuguese journal *Arquitectura*, with the title “O Encontro de Royaumont” (The Royaumont Meeting).¹⁰² In this article he clarifies his position in the meeting:

I cannot consider myself exactly a participant in the meeting, because I haven't presented any work there, and thus a certain natural inhibition hindered my public contribution to the debate. Hence, I have participated more as an observer, and perhaps because of that, I was able to witness from the exterior, as it were, the nature of the discussions and the works presented.

Therefore, in his privileged position as an “observer,” Távora compares the 1962 Team 10 meeting with the 1933 CIAM congress that resulted in the creation of the Athens Charter, and emphasizes the “clear, lucid, outlined conclusions” of the men of Athens, which were able to create a common, universal language. “At the present moment,” he then contends, “a formal conclusion, similar to that remarkable document, is absolutely impossible, almost puerile.” He highlights the challenges of the contemporary world, which is “complex, unsettling, strange,” and where

Connexions have increased, new cultures came into play, concepts are relativized, the fields of sciences and techniques are broadened; in short, Man and the world flourish in unexpected aspects. One feels that this is a moment for research and doubt, of rapprochement, of drama and mystery.

“Hence,” he asks, “how to conclude with clarity?”

Távora then goes on claiming that “the spirit of this meeting has had possibly its synthesis in Coderch’s small comment when Candilis showed his plan for 25.000 dwellings in Toulouse, designed in five months in the face of which Coderch declared he needed six months to design the project for a small single family house.” Távora thus recognizes the vital importance of dealing with the disciplinary and moral challenges brought about by designing for the great number, and, at the same time, resisting the mechanist tropes of modernity. He nevertheless concludes “the truth was on both sides,” and he then calls for a synthesis, in terms that deserve to be quoted at length:

The need for a new synthesis between the number 1 and the number 25.000 is growing vital in our spirit. Whatever direction, meaning or scope endorsed to this contrast, one will confirm that it is spread all over our world; isn't it in the balance between individual freedom and the “rebellion of the masses”, which we have been seeing; in the direction separating the raw object from the mechanical production; in the void, which is vital to fill, between the intelligence and love about the order and the need for the spontaneous, the chaotic, the subjective; in the world that exists between ancient cultures, which can't

102. The article was originally published in July 1963, in Fernando Távora, “O Encontro de Royaumont,” *Arquitectura* 3ª Série, no. 79 (1963): 1. A recent translation into English is available in Fernando Távora, “The Royaumont Meeting,” in *Fernando Távora. Modernidade Permanente*, ed. José António Bandeirinha, trans. Nelson Mota (Matosinhos: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012), 164–165. Further references to this article will be taken from the English translation.

be rejected, and the advanced forms of civilization; in the most extreme differences of living standards that set men apart; in the speed that the pedestrian and the astronaut can reach; between the human love for peace and the imminent danger of a war devastating everything and everyone; between the scale of the little rural village and the cities of several millions of inhabitants, the region, the continent or the entire globe?

Távora further notes that, at a time when such striking contrasts unfold, and when “exact truths don’t exist,” the responsibility of the architect becomes a vital issue, and the designer should come back from utopia and take full awareness of reality. Hence, he formulates the aspiration “that the impossibility to arrive at a conclusion now, that the determination to *continue* and to *survive*, become the most meaningful conclusions of our meeting and be able to encourage us undertaking further meetings.” He then concludes the article with an enigmatic sentence that nevertheless reveals his strong commitment in situating the disciplinary ethos in reality: “Life continuously revives from itself.”

In April 1963, some months after his reflexions on the Royaumont debates, in a text written to discuss his project for the Cedro Primary School (1957-1961), Távora would further develop his position in the current debate.¹⁰³ In that text he claims “for years I thought of Architecture as something different, special, sublime and unworldly, something like an untouchable immaculate virgin, so sublime, so perfect that only very rarely was it actually achieved or understood.” And he goes on: “I considered an architect to be either a demigod or a nobody.” Then, Távora explains how as time went by and he engaged more profoundly in the real world, things started to change; he saw now architecture as part of life, with all its uncertainties, complexities, and its diverse “circumstances.” Then, he writes, “the myth was undone. And between the shack and the masterpiece I saw that affiliations do exist as I now know they exist between a bricklayer (or any other person) and a brilliant architect.” For Távora, then, the contingencies of reality became the framework for a new disciplinary ethos, the source from where the strength of the discipline springs, and where the architects could identify their responsibilities in the organization of the space. Using his project for the Cedro School as an example, he concluded his text declaring:

This building has roots like a tree, it throws shade and protects its occupiers, it has moments of beauty and, just as it was born, one day it will die after having lived its life. It is not an untouchable immaculate virgin but a small and simple construction made by man for man.

Távora’s breaking of the myth of beauty as an untouchable, immaculate white virgin, thus overcomes Henry Adams’ Manichean duality between the Dynamo and the Virgin, mentioned above. For Távora, then, the task was not to search for

103. This text was originally published in English in John Donat, *World Architecture One* (London: Studio Books, 1964). It was later published in Portuguese in the journal *Arquitetura*, issue 85 (December 1964), and it was republished bilingual (Portuguese and English) in Luiz Trigueiros, ed., *Fernando Távora* (Lisboa: Editorial Blau, 1993), 86,90. Further references to this text were taken from the latter publication.

beauty in a Virgilian Arcadia, but in reality, in the circumstances, in the challenges to the organization of the space brought about by the revolt of the masses.

3.3•(Re)Searching the Modernity of the Vernacular

In the early 1960s, a critical account of reality gains currency as the locus for the reconceptualization of the disciplinary ethos of architectural modernism. The figure of the architect seen either as a demi-god or a nobody, gives place to the (re)emergence of the architect engaged with social change. In Portugal, the shockwaves produced by the publication in 1961 of the results of the Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture will contribute to spark an important discussion on the role of the architect in contemporary society. This debate will bring forth a critical account on the disciplinary ethos and on the position of the design disciplines regarding an organization of the space capable of mediating individual empowerment and collective identity.

Architecture Against Specialization

Fernando Távora's 1962 long essay *Da Organização do Espaço* (On the Organization of Space), next to his other writings of the early 1960s clearly illustrate this debate. Another important contribution for the discussion came from Octávio Lixa Filgueiras' essay *Da Função Social do Arquitecto* (On the Social Role of the Architect), published at the same time as Távora's *Da Organização do Espaço*.¹⁰⁴ Some intellectual differences between these two figures were already discussed above, regarding their methodological approach to the presentation of the results of the Survey. Similarly, I would suggest, in their essays these differences can be further observed, though both share a strong commitment to critically rethink the role of the architect on the face of the challenges of their time.¹⁰⁵

Lixa Filgueiras argues that the architect, as someone whose actions interfere with society, has to work in accordance with an ethical and professional responsibility that goes beyond the individualistic "answer at the scale of 'an eye for an eye' of a chaotic world where, more or less veiled, the law of the jungle rules, and the takeover by privilege precedes the most basic moral principles."¹⁰⁶ In the same vein as Távora, also Lixa Filgueiras criticizes the relentless growth of specialization. He goes back, then, to the Scholastic period and to Gothic architecture to illustrate a moment in history that expresses the wholeness of human knowledge. He highlights how the architects of the early Gothic were able to express, not their own merits, but the sense of everyday life's spirituality through a dialectic between the

104. As mentioned above, in January 1962, both Távora and Lixa Filgueiras were competing for the same position of Professor of Architecture at the Porto School of Fine Arts. Eventually the position was given to Lixa Filgueiras. The complete title of Lixa Filgueiras' essay was *Da Função Social do Arquitecto. Para uma Teoria da Responsabilidade numa Época de Encruzilhada* (On the Social Role of the Architect. For a Theory of Responsibility in an epoch at the crossroads). The original essay was re-published in 1985, in Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, *Da Função Social do Arquitecto*, 2nd ed. (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1985).

105. For an account of the impact of the Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture for the development of the so-called *Escola do Porto* (School of Porto), see Jorge Figueira, *Escola do Porto: Um Mapa Crítico* (Coimbra: e|d|arq Edições do Departamento de Arquitectura da FCTUC, 2002); Eduardo Fernandes, "A Escolha do Porto: Contributos para a Actualização de uma Ideia de Escola" (PhD Dissertation, Universidade do Minho - Escola de Arquitectura, 2010); Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno da Arquitectura."

106. *Ibid.*, 22–23.

diaphanous lightness and the weight of the materials. “In a world that lived from the reality of faith,” he argues, “the image of the City of God resembled, in a non-abstract way, to a concrete cosmological experience, with values accessible to an ordinary mentality, not only able to understand them, but also needing them as a way to overcome the clash between the ideal and reality.”¹⁰⁷

According to Filgueiras, in the transition from the Scholastic period to the Renaissance, this connection between the architect and the so-called ordinary mentality would be progressively severed due to an increasing professionalization of the *metiers*, and its consequent corporatization. The secrets of the trade were now protected instead of revealed, decreasing the relation of the architects with the world of the ordinary people. This is also, Filgueiras, contends, the period when the first eclecticism emerges, when the architects try an impossible marriage between two distinct worlds, an universal harmony between art and nature, between Man and God, using a vocabulary loaded with compromises with a far off world, that creates an abstract cosmogony, strange to the people’s understanding.¹⁰⁸ In the Renaissance, he continues, the search for an ideal beauty was merely superficial, skin deep, and detached from the moral values of antiquity. A masquerade made of a fictional appearance is thus created, living only for *le monde de l’art* and detached from everyday life.¹⁰⁹ In the Baroque period, things did not get any better. Architects became servants of the quasi-god absolutist aristocrat, withdrawn from the realm of the masses and prisoners of the sensual world of forms.

In the nineteenth century, with the triumph of the bourgeoisie, architecture became an instrument to legitimize the ascension of the new ruling class, and the architect became a submissive pawn on their hands. The hybrid and transient character of the bourgeois ethos, sparks an analogous character in the architectural outcome, which ignores the misery and ugliness sparked by industrialization and rapid growth. This challenge, Lixa Filgueiras argues, was only seldom tackled, in cases such as Ruskin’s anti-industrialism, Violett-le-Duc’s praise on the art for art’s sake and, Morris’ plea for a social art.¹¹⁰ And he goes on, chiefly guided by Giedion’s *Space, Time and Architecture*, claiming that it was only with Haussmann that architecture has finally returned to the real world, even if only as a *décor de la vie*.

Modern architecture, finally, takes advantages of the progress brought about by modernity and the development of a broader consciousness on the problems of the cities. Architecture became, then, a discipline at the service of the masses, and no longer just an instrument for the satisfaction of the elites. With a renewed professional and social responsibility, modern architects shared

107. *Ibid.*, 37–38.

108. The epitome of this historical episode is Alberti, his personality, works and writings. Further, the publication in 1949 of Rudolf Wittkower’s *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* would produce a revival of this period, that Lixa Filgueiras acknowledges and criticizes.

109. Filgueiras, *Da Função Social do Arquitecto*, 53.

110. *Ibid.*, 78–79.

the common ideal of fostering the social upgrading of the masses, though with different disciplinary approaches, such as those of Le Corbusier (elitist, political), Gropius (non-political) and Lloyd Wright (individualist).

Finally, Lixa Filgueiras challenges the negative views of Huxley, Orwell and Camus, to optimistically suggest “there is always a new beginning because time does not stay still.” And he goes further claiming that the social values embedded in the work of the architect “do not comprise only an aesthetical factor confined to an object that *can be seen*, but to the whole *surrounding us* and all our gestures and actions, thus creating the great stage for life.” He concludes, then, claiming “for the architect, the world of tomorrow is always a new world.”¹¹¹

Curiously enough, among the specific bibliographic references used and credited by Lixa Filgueiras in his essay, he highlights some sources that contributed to frame his discussion on the social role of the architect, including Coderch’s article “No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora.” I would suggest, then, that the three pieces written by Coderch, Távora and Filgueiras in a short period between August 1961 and January 1962, epitomize a relentless attempt to highlight the role of the architect in championing a situated approach to encourage social change, thus challenging modernity’s uprooted solutions to cope with rapid growth. Coderch suggests that architects should work in “the place in which they have their roots,” Távora contends that the architect should pursue “a wise balance between his personal view and the circumstance around him,” and Filgueiras contends that architects should go beyond mere formal issues to take into account “the whole surrounding us.”

The Social Function of the Architect

In the early 1960s, then, the disciplinary ethos championed by Coderch, Távora and Filgueiras would spark the emergence of research programs engaged in superseding the mechanist tropes of modern architecture. In Portugal, this process was chiefly influenced by the Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture, by the thorough attention given to vernacular architecture and by an extended account on the life conditions at the rural world.¹¹² The project presented in 1956 by the Portuguese CIAM group to the tenth CIAM congress showed a seminal contribution to generate architectural solutions where the tenets of modernity could be negotiated with a situated approach. Arnaldo Araújo, in his CODA written in 1957, immediately discussed the perils of fighting universalism with an equivocal and populist regionalism. In Otterlo, Távora would then show the project for the Vila da Feira market as an instance of that situated modernity. In architectural education, this concatenation of events would influence the emergence of academic works whose purpose was

111. *Ibid.*, 106. Original emphasis.

112. For an account on the importance of studying the vernacular tradition in architectural education in Portugal through the 1950s and 1960s, see Alexandre Alves Costa and Nelson Mota, “Nem Neogarretianos nem Vencidos da Vida. Uma Pastoral Transmontana.,” *Monumentos*, no. 32 (2011): 148–57.

to bridge the gap between architecture and reality, between art and life.

At that time, Arnaldo Araújo's academic work would be influential for two other CODA's developed by students of Porto's School of Fine Arts. One of these was José Joaquim Dias, with the work *Recuperação de Aldeias (Espinhosela, Bragança)* (Village Renewal – Espinhosela, Bragança), and the other was Sergio Fernandez (b. 1937) with the work *Recuperação de Aldeias (Equipamento Colectivo) Rio de Onor, Bragança*, (Village Renewal – Collective Facility – Rio de Onor, Bragança).¹¹³ They would thus further contribute to transport architecture to the rural world and, once there, to rethink the role of the architect. Both works selected as case studies villages of the northeast of Portugal, in the same area where was located the 1956 Rural Habitat project presented at the Dubrovnik CIAM congress. Further, as mentioned above, this area had already been thoroughly studied by the ethnologist Jorge Dias and by the team supervised by Lixa Filgueiras for the Survey.

José Dias aimed at developing a thorough analysis to a rural settlement (Espinhosela) to build a solid basis to support its regeneration, which should be pursued in such a way as to assure a process of generational continuity, without ruptures. "To preserve the principles of an 'habitat' defined after a long and painful crystallization", he argued that was necessary "regenerating to guarantee the continuity between the bygone – or in the verge of becoming superseded - rural way of life, and the future with all its associated innovations."¹¹⁴ He further claimed the importance of the architect as the person capable to understand and evaluate the community's assets and thus "decide on their greater or lesser relevance for spatial improvement."

The vernacular was not seen here as a universal tenet, rather as a subjective element, liable for personal interpretation, on which the architect performs a central role. José Dias emphasized also the importance of the *spirit of solidarity* in these communities. "A small social community as the rural village has common material needs because the wholeness of its existence can be only achieved by genuine social communion." In Espinhosela, as it had already been suggested in Dubrovnik, the importance of citizens' participation was highlighted. "Dwellers participation," he claimed, "must be direct, complete and doubtless in all phases [and] this participation is enhanced when each dweller believes the programme is 'his programme' and that it somehow depends on his viewpoint." The experience of *preserving by rehabilitating* is presented as an example of a process where disciplinary expertise is negotiated with the ambitions of the community.

113. The CODA of José Joaquim Dias was delivered on 2 April 1963 and that of Sergio Fernandez on 30 May 1964. See Fernandes, "A Escolha do Porto," vols. 1, 236. See notes 167 e 168.

114. José Joaquim Dias, "Recuperação de Aldeias (Espinhosela, Bragança)," *RA - Revista de Arquitectura* no. 0 (October 1987): 71. Further references to this work were taken from the same source, except when explicitly noted.

Architecture as Mediation

The possibility of finding in the rural world operative references to cope with the problems brought about by the process of modernization is also explored by Sergio Fernandez to defend his work on the village of Rio de Onor. [Figure 3.18] “For a correct planning at the large scale,” Fernandez contends, “we consider absolutely necessary studying regions with a predominately rural character (as an extreme example).”¹¹⁵ To develop that research, he sought contributions from other disciplines, especially social sciences.¹¹⁶ The experience of José Dias in Espinhosela was referred as an example of this interdisciplinary approach. Fernandez claims “if there are aspects where our presence is clearly needed, there are others that stand within a blurred zone in the transition to other sciences, arts and techniques.” And he goes on contending, “we believe this circumstance, instead of thwarting our task, will instead open the doors for a collaboration with other professions.”¹¹⁷ He regrets, however, that he had to make do without that collaboration.

At any rate, in Rio de Onor, interdisciplinary approaches became more a desire than an accomplishment. The motivation to challenge architecture’s disciplinary autonomy faced hindrances that had to be solved with the architect’s heteronomy. For example, Fernandez declares, “we had to adopt, probably with many flaws, the position of sociologists, especially regarding the preparation and development of surveys.” In fact, Sergio Fernandez lived in the village while he conducted his research, mingling with the local population and their customs.¹¹⁸ This heteronomy of the architect became sometimes blurred in the different roles it performed and in the different ways of looking to that reality. Hence, some dissonances came about between the architect’s approach and the anxieties of the community. As Sergio Fernandez recognizes, “we thought, romantically, that Rio de Onor should be preserved as it was. However, people replied ‘you love this because you don’t live in this hole’.”¹¹⁹

This dissonance of perspective resonates, I would suggest, with the architect’s pastoral view that looks into the rural world as a possibility to learn methods of organizing the space that provide solutions to overcome the alienation brought about by processes of rapid growth. Sergio Fernandez goes further, contending, “this marvellous architecture, which is the result of knowledge gathered along centuries and scarce resources, worked very well.” Then, understanding the virtues of this rooted functionalism, as it were, was instrumental to pursue both an alternative to universal functionalism and to populist regionalism. In any event, Fernandez adds, “that efficiency was the target of the architects that invented the Survey, because they were searching for a validation of their own modern architecture, functional, smart, etc. In fact, the journey to the examination of

115. Sergio Fernandez, “Recuperação de Aldeias (Equipamento Colectivo). Rio de Onor, Bragança.” (Concurso para a Obtenção do Grau de Arquitecto (CODA), E.S.B.A.P., 1964), 5, Centro de Documentação de Urbanismo e Arquitectura da Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto.

116. Sergio Fernandez recognizes the influence of the work of Jorge Dias in the selection of Rio de Onor as his case study, next to the contribution brought about by the work of Michel Giacometti e Margot Dias. See Sergio Fernandez, “Rio de Onor, 1963-1965,” *Joelho* no. 2 (2011): 40.

117. José Dias, Cited in Fernandez, “Recuperação de Aldeias (Equipamento Colectivo). Rio de Onor, Bragança.”, 31.

118. In an interview given to me on 24 May 2012, Sergio Fernandez emphasized the importance for his work and conclusions of his experience sharing the everyday of the community in Rio de Onor.

119. Fernandez, “Rio de Onor, 1963-1965,” 42.

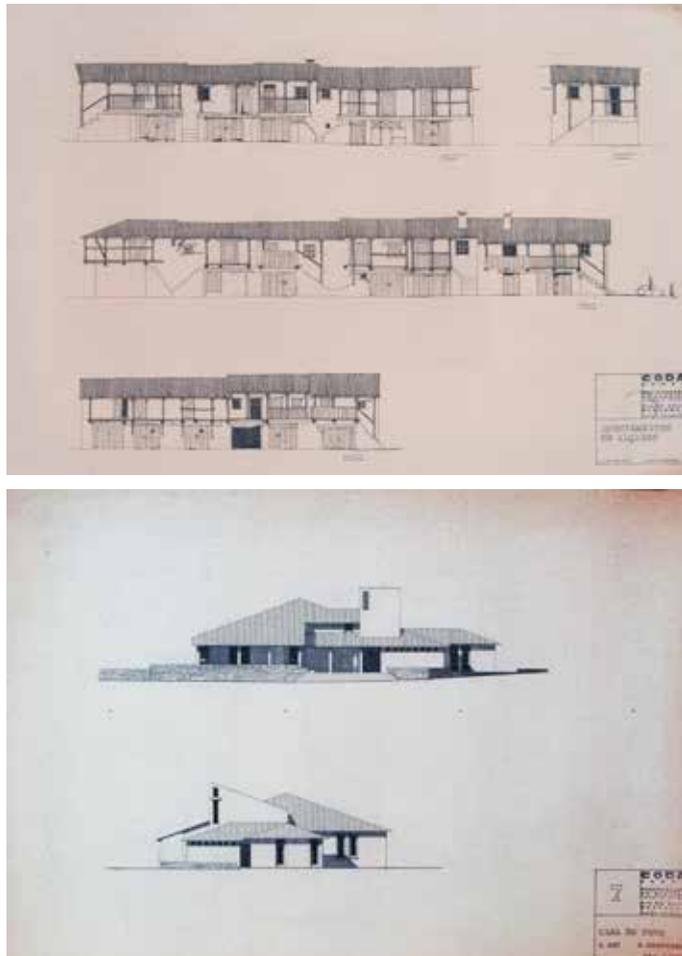


Figure 3.18. Sergio Fernandez – Drawings from *Recuperação de Aldeias (Equipamento Colectivo)*. Rio de Onor. Bragança (1964). Street Elevation Survey (above); Elevations of the project for a “Casa do Povo” (below). Source: Personal Archive Sergio Fernandez.

vernacular architecture wasn't innocent."¹²⁰

The rural retreats of José Dias and Sergio Fernandez show a deliberate attempt to overcome the tactic use of the vernacular to denounce “false” regionalisms. In their work, I would suggest, there is a self-conscious engagement with the rural world as a genuine source of social and material references to frame the role of the architect in the face of the challenges afflicting those times. They pictured the architect neither as the genius nor as a mere pawn at the service of the people or submissive to the will of the ruling classes. Instead, the image they produced is that of the architect as an expert, but also a mediator and a negotiator.

3.4•The Housing Problem in Portugal

For the architectural practice in Portugal at the early 1960s, the influence of the Survey and the very many theoretical contributions to the debate on the interwoven relations between modernity and the vernacular were striking. So much so that some voices immediately expressed concern on the dangers brought about by an uncritical reading of the phenomenon. Nuno Portas was arguably the most noticeable contributor in raising consciousness on the perils of a populist approach to, and a fetishist account of, the vernacular tradition as the solution for a more humanistic approach to the habitat. Next to Portas' active role as a polemicist, the work of the so-called *Atelier da Alegria* and the housing complexes sponsored by the Portuguese Federation of Social Welfare Institutions are vital aspects to depict a vivid picture of how the housing problem was tackled in Portugal in the period that Hobsbawm called The Golden Age of the twentieth century.

Housing and Social Welfare

From the early 1950s on, in the main urban centres of the country, especially in Lisbon and Porto, some successful attempts were made to design housing for the greater number. The most notable example was the *Bairro de Alvalade* (Alvalade District), a large urbanization sponsored by one of the most progressive members of Salazar's entourage, the minister of public works, Duarte Pacheco (1900-1943). [Figure 3.19] Contemporary with the construction of the Alvalade district, the *Federação das Caixas de Previdência – Habitação Económica* (FCP-HE, Federation of Social Welfare Institutions – Social Housing) was created as the institutional locus to centralize the housing policies of the regime.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, and with a growing housing shortage sparked by rural migration to the cities, the government had to change its previous policy of “providing

120. Ibid., 44.



Figure 3.19. “Plano de Urbanização da Zona a Sul da Av.da Alferes Malheiro”, also known as “Bairro de Alvalade”. General Plan, Lisbon Municipality, DSUO (1944-45). Source: João Pedro Costa, *Bairro de Alvalade*, 3rd ed. (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2006), 30.

social housing through the construction of neighbourhoods with low-cost, happy and healthy houses, which allowed the formation of a rank of small owners, called to carry out a relevant role in the preservation of social order.”¹²¹ In fact, Salazar himself discussed in 1944 the importance of home ownership and independence for the preservation of the Portuguese family values. He argued, “the intimacy of family life demands for shelter, asks for isolation, in one word claims the house, the independent house, our house. [...] We are not interested in the big phalansteries. [...] For our independent custom, in favour of our moderate simplicity, we desire the small house, independent, lived in with full ownership by the family.”¹²²

The increasing speculation in the housing market, however, inflated the price of building plots, the transaction of buildings, and the value of the rents, thus creating a situation that threatened social stability, and the “moderate simplicity” of the people. To overcome this problem the government passed the Law 2009 on 7 May 1945, creating the system of *Casa de Renda Económica* (Rental Social Housing), to encourage the provision of rental houses to accommodate the urban middle class. Nevertheless, in an attempt to cope with Salazar’s fear of “big phalansteries,” and to preserve as much as possible the regime’s pastoral vision, and the “moral dignity” of the families, the law prescribed four floors as the limit to the height of the buildings. On 25 April 1946, with the Decree-Law 35611, the government gave a push to the process, defining a funding scheme based on the capital provisions of the social welfare institutions. Still, observing a resistance of the private sector in collaborating with the process, on 7 April 1947 the government passed the Decree-Law nº 36212, as a way to “discipline” the real estate and construction sectors. In the prologue of this document it was noticeably mentioned, “the housing problem stands among the most serious problems of the country’s economic situation.” This Decree-Law thus introduced the legal foundation for the development of a rental market controlled by the state, and invested the FCP-HE with the responsibility to articulate the process with trade corporations and syndicates of civil servants.

The FCP-HE was thus created in 1947 to apply its growing capital reserves, resulting from the workers contributions, in building social housing for the associates of the social welfare institutions that were part of the federation.¹²³ At the outset of its activities, the FCP-HE performed a mere bureaucratic role, commissioning projects to private offices. The first architect hired by FCP-HE was Nuno Teotónio Pereira, in 1948, a young architect that, as mentioned above, would participate in that same year in the first congress of the Portuguese architects with a fervent intervention on the theme of social housing and social change.¹²⁴

121. Quoted from the prologue of the Decree-Law nº 35.611.

122. Quoted in Maria Fernanda Gaspar Tavares, “Federação de Caixas de Previdência - Habitações Económicas. Um Percorso na História da Habitação em Portugal” (Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 2003), 18.

123. For a broad scope on the creation and work of FCP-HE, see Tavares, “Federação de Caixas de Previdência - Habitações Económicas. Um Percorso na História da Habitação em Portugal.”

124. See Nuno Teotónio Pereira and Manuel Costa Martins, “Habitação Económica e Reajustamento Social.” in *Relatório da Comissão Executiva. Teses. Conclusões e Votos do Congresso* (presented at the 1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura, Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1948), 243–249.

Towards and Architecture for the Real Reality.

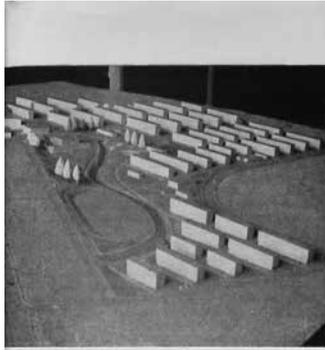
From the early 1950s on, Teotónio Pereira and several other architects, led by João Braula Reis (1927-1989), joined the institution and collaborated with it in the coordination of several processes spread all around the country. Most of their work, however, dealt with organizational issues and giving technical assistance. A large majority of the projects were commissioned to architects working in the private offices. In fact, Teotónio Pereira was the responsible to commission Fernando Távora in 1951 with the design of a project for a new housing district in Porto, in the Ramalde area.

Távora's project for the Ramalde housing district, however, would deliver an outcome that challenged the regime's pastoral vision, introducing clear references to the functionalist principles of the modern movement. [Figure 3.20] Távora's scheme was chiefly influenced by Piero Bottoni's QT8, in Milan, which he had visited in the early 1950s.¹²⁵ The approach in first version of the masterplan followed some of the most notorious principles of the functional city, as defined by CIAM's Athens Charter, with parallel rows of housing blocks organized according to the solar orientation and structured in clearly defined functional zones. In the second phase of the plan, however, Távora blended this approach with strategies to define clusters of dwelling units, thus creating a sequence of cores, both at the scale of the immediate extensions of the house and also at the scale of the whole neighbourhood unit. The typological approach in the housing units, however, shows a prominent use of a somewhat conservative scheme of portico dwellings, with a straightforward definition of service, living and sleeping areas. In the characterization of the buildings, Távora plays with elements such the entry porch, the balconies, and the laundry area, to create a simple yet important playfulness in the composition of the volume, thus avoiding the shortcomings of the endless repetition and standardization.

From the initial plan, which was made to accommodate 6.000 inhabitants, only a fraction was eventually built. In 1961, Nuno Portas wrote a critical review on this project in the journal *Arquitectura*, where he contended that the project for Ramalde showed Távora's clear affiliation with the references provided for by the interwar modernist avant-garde, as a counter-proposal to "the timid and petit bourgeois attitude of Alvalade." Further, in his review, Portas argues that Távora, though somewhat belatedly, adopts some of the dogmas of a functionalist approach, "with its declared subordination to facade orientation, its concept of free plan and core, defining a straightforward zoning."¹²⁶ In fact, Nuno Portas both as a critic and as a designer was one of the main contributors, to supersede the Ramalde model, as it were, by contributing to trigger the pervasive

125. The QT8 was an experimental housing district, with a plan designed by Piero Bottoni for the eight edition of the Triennale di Milano, in 1948, with successive revisions in the early 1950s.

126. Nuno Portas, "Arquitecto Fernando Távora: 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional," *Arquitectura* 1961, no. 71 (1961): 12.



Vieta do conjunto tal como se previa no estudo inicial e aspecto dos edifícios construídos na 1.ª fase e que ocupam a primeira planta da maqueta. Os pilares verticais das varandas foram então pintados com as cores primárias, ressaltando das paredes claras.

Em baixo: A nova implantação dos edifícios que constituem a 2.ª fase, mantendo-se o interesse de criar pequenos núcleos cujo ambiente conta com a diferença de pisos indicada. Os blocos de habitação, que mantiveram a mesma planta, receberam cobertura de telha e foram esofidados, lustrados, nas superfícies de parede. Todos os elementos do batão ficaram simplesmente descolados e na sua cor natural. Na fotografia a seguir: Formosa de um dos núcleos da 2.ª fase.

...diferentemente do que aconteceu no Campo Alegre, a ideia de Ramalde era a de instalar comodamente — em todos os sentidos — outros tantos 6000 habitantes. O plano foi executado tomando em conta dois projectos existentes (baseados no Bairro de Aivalade, o supra-sumo para a altura) e que se não integravam num esquema geral. Procurou-se então dimensioná-lo para permitir um mínimo de vida própria; o tráfego mecânico, a perda de importância à medida que se aproxima dum eixo central de pedes, ligando as casas, o parque e o centro comercial. O equipamento era bastante desenvolvido e a orientação das fachadas a melhor possível — o que agrava um condicional geométrico já condicionado pelo volume dos edifícios previamente projectados e dos quais se introduziram apenas algumas alterações. Passei ali alguns dos grandes momentos da minha vida profissional... Depois, a Câmara não fez as plantações previstas, os edifícios públicos e o parque não se realizarem, a anti-

PORTO: UNIDADE RESIDENCIAL DE RAMALDE (1952-60)

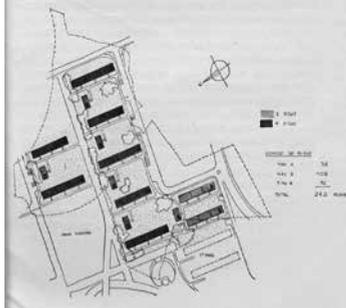


Figure 3.20. Fernando Távora - Ramalde Housing Complex (1952-1960). Source: *Arquitetura* 71 (July 1961), 15.

influence in Portugal of Italian and Scandinavian references, importing models from INA-Casa's neorealism and the Nordic welfare state's neo-empiricism. After urging in 1959 the new generation of Portuguese architects to pursue a disciplinary synthesis of the tenets of modernity, Nuno Portas came to the floor in 1963 alerting to the risks lurking behind the enthusiasm with the vernacular as a vehicle to build that synthesis, or integration, as he now called it. The fundamental idea behind Portas' notion of integration was "the need to adjust or, better, to relate the expression of a house with the concrete conditions of the *place* where it is located and the *people* to whom it is destined, abstracted from a preconceived formal system."¹²⁷ Portas recognizes this drive to integrate as the most prominent and pervasive token of the Portuguese disciplinary context of that time. This phenomenon, though justifiable as a "search for less intellectualized forms, closer to the experience of the everyday," was nevertheless complex and contradictory. One of the most outstanding features of this search for an integrated architecture was, according to Portas, the emergence of "a trend sympathetic with a desire to acclimatize the new with the forms of the rural man or the societies of the past." He highlighted, however, that this trend "may thoughtlessly be bestowed with a certain enchanted character, insinuating suspicion on the new technological possibilities of an industrial mass society, falling into solutions detached from the irreversible perspectives of today."¹²⁸

Portas thus contended the results of the Survey published in *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* (Vernacular Architecture in Portugal) set up a notable source for study but also a dangerous catalogue if it would be used as an appealing and paternalist idea of designing for the common man according to their "taste." However, there were also cultural and societal challenges to this architectural approach that went beyond the disciplinary field. In fact, "the insurmountable contradiction of this 'new architecture'," Portas asserts, is that "all these multifarious efforts to meet the *real reality*, the situated man, bump into a sociocultural structure which remains largely stagnated and closed to modern revolution, asphyxiated in its dynamism by the ruling strata."¹²⁹ Notwithstanding Portas' remarks and observations, I would argue that in Portugal, through the 1960s there were some valid attempts to counter this asphyxiation, and to cope with the challenges brought about by the society of the masses, the so-called greater number. The design of housing was, for obvious reasons, the seminal program where those challenges were tackled.

The Atelier da Alegria

The aftermath of the first congress of Portuguese architects, in 1948, and the following actions developed through the

127. Nuno Portas, "Arquitectura Integrada?," in *Arquitectura(s). História e Crítica, Ensino e Profissão* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2005), 28. Original emphasis. This article was originally published in *Jornal de Letras*, 84 (May 1963), 8-9,15. Further references to this article were taken from the 2005 edition.

128. *Ibid.*, 25.

129. *Ibid.*, 29.

early 1950s by the SNA, which would lead to the development of the survey on Portuguese regional architecture, cannot be overlooked as important contributions for the disciplinary debate and production. It was also influential the on-going discussion in architecture schools, especially in Porto's School of Fine Arts, on the paradigm shift from the *beaux-arts* model to a modern education. Notwithstanding the importance of institutions such as the SNA or architectural schools, I would nevertheless argue that in the 1950s in Portugal small groups in Lisbon and Porto, detached from an institutional framework, played the key role in the critical debate on the politics of architectural design and theory.

If in Porto, as was discussed above, the role of ODAM and then of CIAM-Porto was central, in Lisbon it was the group *Iniciativas Culturais Arte e Técnica* (ICAT, Cultural Initiatives Art and Technique) that developed the most noticeable contributions to spark the disciplinary debate. Founded in 1947 by architects opposed to the politics of Salazar's dictatorship, the group ICAT would have an active and militant participation in the 1948 congress, challenging the regime's agenda on housing policies, in the same vein as the group ODAM, from Porto. The differences between the debate in Porto and Lisbon were, however, rather notorious in the academia. Whereas in Porto Carlos Ramos was operating a noticeable renovation of the pedagogic tenets of *beaux-arts* education, at the Lisbon school, more controlled by the regime *apparatus*, the renovation was muffled. It burgeoned, however, in small groups, such as ICAT, organized around influential figures such as Keil do Amaral and Nuno Teotónio Pereira. In fact, it was in the office of the latter, that a young generation of architects from Lisbon created several partnerships that developed some of the most relevant contributions for the debate on the renovation of the modernist disciplinary ethos. The office was familiarly known as the *Atelier da Alegria*, named after the street where it was located (Rua da Alegria).¹³⁰

A young architect, Nuno Portas (b. 1934) joined the *Atelier da Alegria* in 1957, the same year that ICAT took over the direction of the country's most important architecture journal, *Arquitetura*.¹³¹ According to Teotónio Pereira, with his multifarious interventions and hyperactive attitude, Portas "gave a decisive contribution for a new phase" in the work of the office.¹³² Then, in 1957, the partnership of the *Atelier da Alegria* was made of Nuno Teotónio Pereira, Nuno Portas, and Bartolomeu Costa Cabral (b. 1929). The members of this group would be influential for the debate on housing design in the late 1950s and 1960s. This influence can be seen, for example, in some of the buildings designed by the *Atelier da Alegria* for FCP-HE, in urban contexts such as Lisbon's Olivais-Sul neighbourhood, in smaller provincial towns, such as Vila do Conde, or in the

130. For an overview of the importance of the *Atelier da Alegria* in the Portuguese architectural debate on housing, see José António Bandeirinha, "Nuno Teotónio Pereira, Rua da Alegria. O Arquitecto, o Atelier e a Questão da Habitação," in *Arquitetura e Cidadania. Atelier Nuno Teotónio Pereira*, ed. Ana Tostões (Lisboa: Quimera, 2004), 62–79.

131. The new series of *Arquitetura* that started in 1957, directed by members of ICAT, would perform an important change in architectural criticism in Portugal. From then on, the projects featured in the journal would have a critical commentary, instead of merely describing the project, as usual practice hitherto. The articulation with the international debate, has also noticeably increased, including up-to-date book reviews and news from the on-going discussions in the most relevant stages of the disciplinary debate and practice. For an insightful overview of this new phase of *Arquitetura*, see Ana Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos na Arquitetura Portuguesa nos Anos 50* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1997), 155–158.

132. Nuno Teotónio Pereira, "Um Percurso na Profissão," in *Escritos* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1996), 157.



Figure 3.21. GEU, Lisbon Municipality - General Plan of Olivais Sul Neighbourhood. Source: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, *Habitación Social na Cidade de Lisboa 1959-1966* (Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1967), 43.

rural countryside, such as the village of Chamusca.¹³³

Transforming the Art of Inhabitation

The Olivais-Sul neighbourhood, in Lisbon, was the most extensive housing scheme under construction in Portugal in the 1960s. [Figure 3.21] The plan was designed in 1959 to accommodate 34.000 inhabitants on an area of 186ha, and it was developed by a group of architects working for Lisbon Municipality's *Gabinete de Estudos de Urbanização* (GEU, Office for Urbanization Studies), coordinated by José Rafael Botelho (b. 1923) and Carlos Duarte.¹³⁴ The general plan shows conspicuous influences from the urban planning principles developed by Nordic neo-empiricism and Italian neo-realism. Further, the scheme of the so-called Cell C, designed by Bartolomeu da Costa Cabral and Nuno Portas, was conspicuously inspired by the work of the Swedish partnership of Backström and Reinius, and utterly illustrates the same motivation to challenge the compositional dogmas of the interwar avant-garde of architectural modernism. [Figure 3.22]

The layout of the housing complex designed by Portas and Costa Cabral shows an attempt to create spaces of transition between the realm of the family, the housing unit, and the city. A carefully planned, yet ambiguous, articulation of horizontal and vertical blocks was made, organizing them around collective cores, where the activities of the community of dwellers are centralized, using clear references from the squares of the traditional city. Regarding the design of the housing blocks, Costa Cabral and Portas decomposed in several plans the surfaces, thus creating multiple perceptions of the volume, and an individualization of each dwelling in relation with the neighbouring unit, utterly expressed in the position and shape of the balconies. Moreover, the expressive use of materials such as brick and concrete in the composition of the volume emphasizes that individualization and contributed for the creation of a variegated confrontation of plans and materials.

The layout of the dwellings presents also an innovative organization, which is chiefly determined by the distribution of the partitions around a core, the living area, thus sparing the use of circulation space, and suggesting the living core as the vital component of the working class contemporary urban life style. This block, designed to accommodate inhabitants from the lower strata of the Portuguese middle class, illustrates how these architects contributed to rethink the role of the discipline in providing an emerging group of the Portuguese urban society with a new conception of domestic space and its extensions. In the Olivais-Sul Cell C, I would thus suggest that, using the lessons from the vernacular tradition, Costa Cabral and Portas pursued a conflation of the advantages of communitarian life,

133. The Olivais district (North and South) was the largest housing neighbourhood in construction at that time in Portugal. The plan was designed by the technicians of the municipality of Lisbon.

134. See Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, *Habitação Social na Cidade de Lisboa 1959-1966* (Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1967).

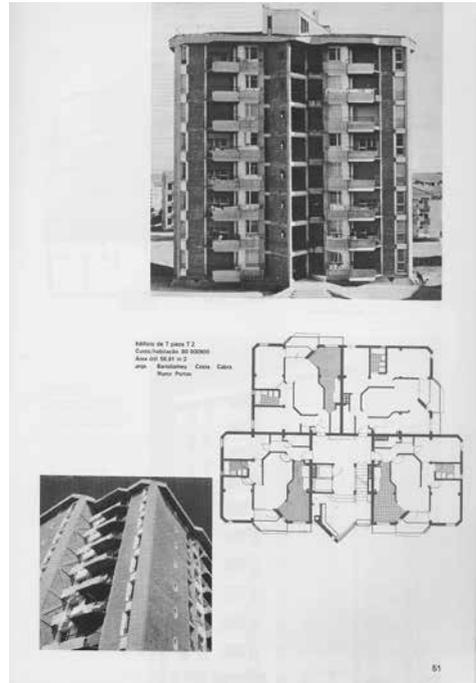


Figure 3.22. Bartolomeu Costa Cabral and Nuno Portas - Housing Complex in Olivais Sul, Cell C (1959-1968). Sketch of the General Plan for Cell C (left) and Tower block (right). Source: IHRU/SIPA, Archive of Nuno Teotónio Pereira Atelier (left); Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, *Habituação Social na Cidade de Lisboa 1959-1966* (Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1967), 51 (right).

preserving nevertheless individual expression.

This ambition would also surface in different contexts such as the housing complex at the provincial town of Vila do Conde, designed by Nuno Portas and Nuno Teotónio Pereira. [Figure 3.23] The project of the complex, which was planned to accommodate 60 families, started in 1957 and the buildings were completed in 1964. It perfectly illustrates, I would suggest, an instance of the conflation and amalgamation of urban and rural models, so much debated at that time, first and foremost by Portas and Teotónio Pereira, the authors of the scheme themselves. In the urban layout of the scheme, the site's topographic features are negotiated with two different building and dwelling types. At the higher part of the site, there are two volumes of row housing stacked in two floors with independent access. At the lower part of the site, three T-shaped "towers" of apartments were distributed, each one defined by two volumes articulated through a central open staircase. In these towers, the rural image embedded in the height limitation imposed by the law, four floors above the ground, is shrewdly manipulated with the decomposition of the volumes and the articulation of the buildings with the topography. Moreover, in the terraced buildings, the geometrical distortions of the volume and access system, deliberately creates an ambiguous outcome, neither a rural row housing type nor an urban low-rise apartment building. [Figure 3.24]

The access systems used in the Vila do Conde scheme dwell heavily on references imported from the INA-Casa program, especially Ridolfi and Quaroni's Tiburtino neighbourhood, which were praised by Portas and Teotónio Pereira for their ability to mingle the new challenges of social housing with references from the vernacular tradition. The image of the collective was clearly defined notwithstanding the importance of individual relation with the dwelling, though. As regards the broader urban impact of housing complexes coordinated by FCP-HE such as this, a problem of articulation pervaded the operations, especially those located in provincial towns and on the rural countryside. In fact, the lack of available plots or the limitation of their size usually created a loose articulation of the new neighbourhoods with the existing urban fabric, as well as a limited number of new dwellings.¹³⁵ Hence, the social housing complexes promoted by FCP-HE remained as quasi-islands inside or outside the urban fabric of the cities.

Integration Beyond Folklore

Despite the intentions of the regime to "discipline" the real estate sector, the number of houses produced through the 1945 law of social rental housing (Law 2009) was largely insufficient to solve the country's housing problem. Then, on 9 April 1958,

135. For a good synthesis of the innovative character of the work developed by FCP-HE as well as its shortcomings, see Nuno Teotónio Pereira, "A Federação das Caixas de Previdência - 1947-1972," in *Escritos* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1996), 205–211.

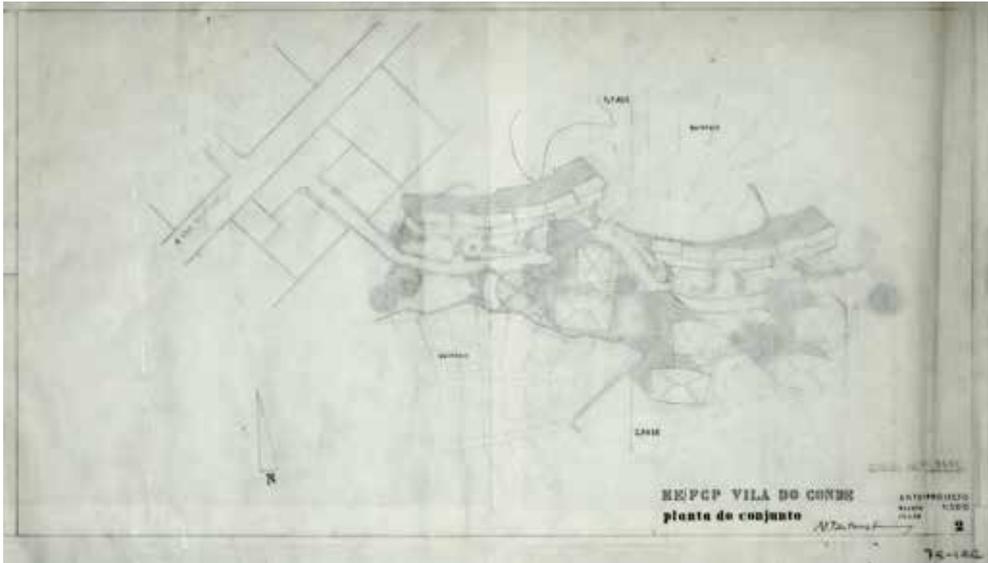


Figure 3.23. Nuno Teotónio Pereira and Nuno Portas - Social Housing for the FCP-CE, Vila do Conde, 1957-1964. General Plan (above) and perspective of the preliminary project of the complex (below). Source: IGFSS Archive, Project CRE AVP 1292 (above). IHRU/SIPA, Archive of Nuno Teotónio Pereira Atelier (below). Photos: © Nelson Mota.



Figure 3.24. Nuno Teotónio Pereira and Nuno Portas - Social Housing for the FCP-CE, Vila do Conde, 1957-1964. Current Situation (2013). Photos: © Nelson Mota.

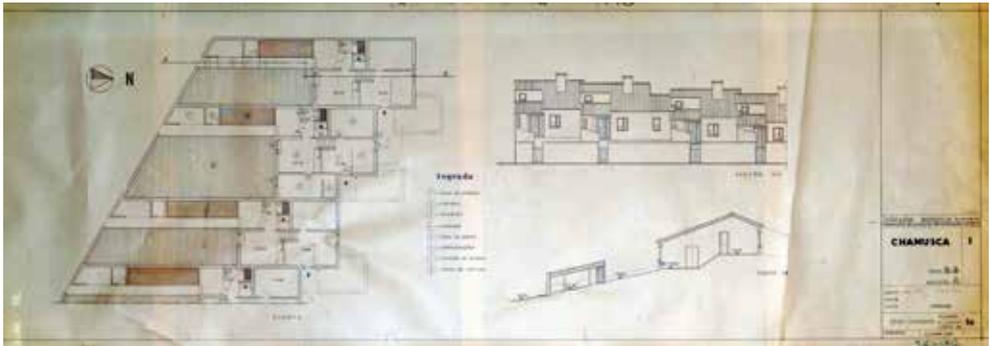


Figure 3.25. Bartolomeu Costa Cabral and Vasco Croft - Chamusca Social Housing estate (1st Phase 1959-1961). General Plan (above) and Housing Type A (T2-T3). Source: IGFSS Archive, Project CRE 1°C 96. Photos: © Nelson Mota.

the government decided to broaden the program, passing the Law 2092, which stimulated the creation of a system of loans to groups of individuals organized in local community centres (*Casas do Povo*), for employees of companies with economic relevance in its region of influence, or to individual associates of the welfare institutions.¹³⁶ The new law sparked a substantial increase in new constructions, and also a shift in the relation between the designers and the future dwellers. The commission for the projects came now directly from individuals or from small, organized groups. Hence, the nexus between the technician and the future residents became an important part of the design process. Moreover, the shockwaves produced by the on-going research on the country's vernacular architecture, as discussed above, would further contribute to foster a strong engagement with the *real* world.

The housing neighbourhood designed in 1960 for the village of Chamusca by Bartolomeu Costa Cabral and Vasco Croft, utterly illustrates this particular moment in the Portuguese disciplinary debate and practice, when the architects were searching for what Nuno Portas called an “integrated architecture” in his 1963 article, discussed above. [Figure 3.25] The design of the scheme started in 1959, and in 1961 the first phase was completed, with forty dwellings built out of a total of seventy-four planned. In this project, the urban layout and the design of the dwellings shows an attempt to introduce, in a predominantly rural context, novel typological solutions based on split-level houses, taking advantage of the site's topography. Further, the layout of the whole complex negotiates the presence of the individual unit with a clear definition of the collective spaces. Moreover, the spatial, plastic and material qualities of the buildings testify to the possibilities of mingling some of the tenets of architectural modernism with the *real* reality of the rural world. [Figure 3.26]

This would be recognized in a critical review of the project, written in the March 1962 issue of *Arquitectura* by Carlos Duarte and Daniel Santa Rita (b. 1929).¹³⁷ Though they criticize the remote location of the site in relation to the core of the village, they praise the general layout conceived by the architects, which they deem as an exemplary case. “Without compromises with folklore images,” they contend, “it successfully solves all the physical conditions [...] respecting what should be respected from the local customs regarding a tradition of open-air sociability.” They further praise the ability of the project to create lively spaces without fanciful fantasies or picturesque elements, and a perfect integration in the landscape, adapted to it “without mimesis or naturalism,” in harmony with the essential expressions of the vernacular tradition. The layout of the dwellings and the detailing of the solution is also remarked as innovative and thoughtful, but also realist. The project, they conclude, shows “a dignifying ‘habitat’ and provided with a

136. Law 2092, published in 9 April 1958. This law granted loans to individuals and small associations to build private owned houses. The services of FCP-HE coordinated the application process, the technical quality of the sites and the project (which was sometimes designed by members of its staff), and the construction of the buildings, when the project was made by the staff of FCP-HE.

137. Carlos Duarte and Daniel Santa Rita, “Bairro Económico na Chamusca. Comentário,” *Arquitectura* 74 (March 1962): 3–4. All further references to this article were taken from the same source.

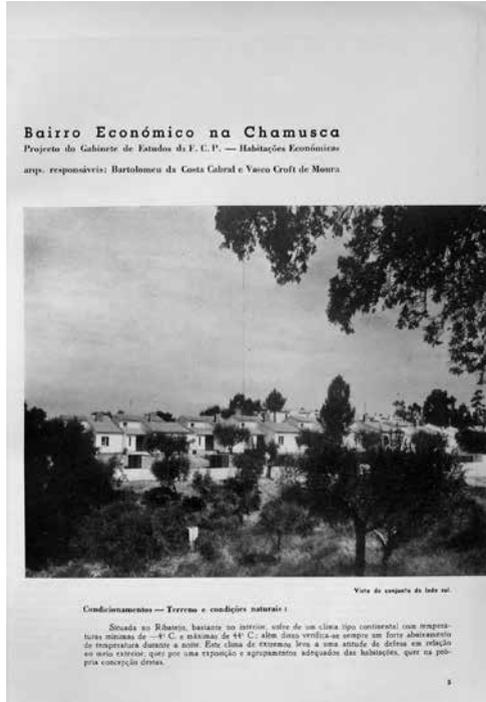


Figure 3.26. Pages from *Arquitectura* 74 (March 1962) featuring the Chamusca Social Housing Estate, designed by Bartolomeu da Costa Cabral and Vasco Croft de Moura.

certain generosity, translated into an organization of the space suitable to the present time and open to further evolutions.”

These comments illustrate, I would argue, the pervading challenge to dwell on a contaminated landscape, where the virtues of the rural world can be negotiated with the benefits of modernization. The role of the technicians of FCP-HE, first and foremost Nuno Teotónio Pereira, and also the novel solutions to create that “contaminated landscape” developed by some of the architects invited to contribute solutions for social housing in processes coordinated by FCP-HE, cannot be overlooked as a fundamental locus for experimentation and research on housing design in Portugal in the 1950s and 1960s. The most systematic and consistent reflection on this theme was, nevertheless, developed by Nuno Portas, who contributed to discuss social housing with essays, projects, theoretical reflections, and research in a way that, in this period, was unmatched by any other architect in Portugal.

3.5• Housing for the Great Number

The 1960s were a rich period for a critical account on the relation between housing design and its consequences in the everyday life of *the man on the street*. Cross-disciplinary studies, especially with contributions from sociology and anthropology, surfaced in the post-war architectural debate as a demonstration of the discipline’s engagement with social change. In Portugal as in many other places influenced by the paradigm shift in housing production ensuing from the aftermath of WWII, this phenomenon strongly influenced design, research and education, and eventually introduced new methods of thinking on the social habitat.

Family, Dwelling, and the Habitat

In 1959, Nuno Portas produced a research on the topic of social housing as part of the documentation for his CODA in Porto’s School of Fine Arts. The title of the work, *A Habitação Social. Proposta para a metodologia da sua arquitectura* (Social Housing. A proposal for the methodology of its architecture), immediately reveals Portas’ interest in focusing his research on processes rather than on products.¹³⁸ From the outset, Portas declares that his goal is to develop a way of thinking the social habitat that should go beyond mere intuitive aspects and develop an analytic method able to provide designers with elements for a rigorous self-critique. The epigraph of the essay is a quotation from the French sociologist Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe that reads, “the study of the housing of men is an excellent field to foster the integration of human sciences.”¹³⁹ The outline of the work, confirms an ambition to support Chombart de Lauwe’s

138. Nuno Portas’s CODA was partially published as a book in Nuno Portas, *A Habitação Social. Proposta para a Metodologia da sua Arquitectura*, 2 vols. (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2004). All further references to this work were taken from this source.

139. *Ibid.*, 13. The quotation was presented in the original in French: “L’étude de l’habitation des hommes est un terrain excellent pour oeuvrer à l’intégration des sciences humaines.”

idea. The essay is divided in two parts, one dedicated to the family as the subject of housing, and the other to its spatial support, the habitat.

Through the essay there is a pervasive discussion on the negotiation between the realm of the individual and the realm of the collective. Portas thus explores the idea of family as a double axis or a mediation place between individual life and community life, and highlights the importance of the family as a critical institution to promote a harmonic society. He contends there is “a dialectic, a balance always incomplete, between needing the ‘other’ for the development of individual personality (man personifies himself by participating in the life of the community) and the need to return to himself, [...] as a condition to grant authenticity to that encounter with the ‘other’.”¹⁴⁰ In a conservative country such as Portugal in the late 1950s, Portas keenly emphasizes the on-going transformations on the role of women in society as a fundamental aspect that should be considered to understand the new domestic everyday life.

In his research on methods for a sociology applied to the habitat, Portas dwells heavily on the work of Anglo-Saxon sociologists on the notions of neighbourhood, community, group dynamics, on the work of Nordic sociologists on the theme of the house itself, and in the work of French sociologists, first and foremost Chombart de Lauwe, and their systematic and thorough research on the psychological and sociological aspects of the habitat. Using these examples as reference, Portas underlines the importance of the development of surveys on housing conditions to achieve a clearer idea on the human needs in terms of habitat in a given context.

In the part of the essay dedicated to discuss the concept and conception of the habitat, Portas critically reviews the evolution of the modern concept of the habitat, from William Morris to the Italian Neo-Realism, highlighting its ethical nature. He praises the ethos of interwar rationalism for its goal to eradicate social classes, but criticizes its scientific drive to produce a universal levelling of needs, an archetype, which sought “the creation of an atmosphere without any contamination by reality, which was considered as ‘alienated’.” This produced, he goes on, “an intellectualized position understandable in the framework of European culture in the interwar period.”¹⁴¹ Under the overly optimistic alibi of hygienization, rationalist modernism lost its relation with reality, with the phenomena of real human action, which contained, he argues, “the filth of customs and manias that should be cleared” but also “the validity of an existential experience that was already unremittently translated into forms, which could not admit a radical rupture without risking uprooting the person itself.”¹⁴²

140. *Ibid.*, 20.

141. *Ibid.*, 65.

142. *Ibid.*, 65–66.

Portas emphasizes, then, the evolution of modern movement's principles regarding the design of the habitat, going beyond mere "intellectual schemes" and considering the vital role of the "real particularities" of individuals and groups. Hence, Portas argues, the notion of functionalism should be broadened by "the motivation to intimately interpret the natural physiognomy of a place, or the persistence of customs and formal and ecological models attached to it, as well as searching the dialogue with all the *roots* that can contain suggestions for a language more committed and straightforwardly human."¹⁴³ He uses as main examples of successful contributions for the development of this broader notion of modernist functionalism, the work produced in the 1930s and 1940s by the so-called neo-empiricism movement, in the Nordic countries, especially the work of Sven Markelius and the partnership of Sven Backström and Leif Reinius. Next to them, Portas emphasizes the importance, in the European post war reconstruction period, of the architectural synthesis sought by the Italian neo-realism, absorbing the influence of Frank Lloyd Wright chiefly activated by the historiographical studies of Bruno Zevi. The most notable cases of this "difficult synthesis," Portas argues, can be seen in many of the works produced for the INA-Casa program, notably the projects of Ridolfi, Quaroni, Astengo, Samoná, Vaccaro, de Renzi, Gardella, Albin and Libera. [Figure 3.27]

Portas uses this references to deliver criticism on both the "indiscriminate claims" of the generation of architects that in the 1948 congress suggested the extensive use of large scale blocks for social housing inspired by the principles of the Athens Charter, but also to the regime's "ignorant" pastoral vision of the country as an immense village.¹⁴⁴ He thus suggests an architectural approach that should aim the creation of a social mix, where the cost factor should be seen beyond its material aspect, in order to create "the realist habitat for the family in development."

One of the main references for Portas research in *A Habitação Social*, arguably the most important, was the work of Chombart de Lauwe, specially his books *Familles et Habitation* (Families and Housing, published in 1956), and *La Vie Quotidienne des Familles Ouvrières* (The Everyday life of Working Class Families, published in 1959). This influence was confirmed when, in 1960, Chombart de Lauwe was invited to participate in a colloquium on the social aspects in the design of the habitat, organized in Portugal by the SNA.¹⁴⁵ According to a summary of the colloquium written by Nuno Teotónio Pereira, Chombart de Lauwe showed the participants that they were living at the dawn of a new civilization, where the architects should play an active role in the unfolding transformation of reality. "We can," Teotónio Pereira claims, "strongly help building the future, giving that new civilization a vigorous human touch."¹⁴⁶

143. *Ibid.*, 68.

144. *Ibid.*, 83.

145. This Colloquium took place on 14 February 1960 and, next to Chombart de Lauwe, the other invited expert was the French urban planner Robert Auzelle. For an account of the main topics discussed in the colloquium, see Nuno Teotónio Pereira, "Aspectos Sociais na Construção do Habitat," in *Escritos* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1996), 34–39. In his account, Teotónio highlights the participation of Portas and Chombart de Lauwe as the most remarkable of the event.

146. *Ibid.*, 39. In the aftermath of Chombart de Lauwe's participation in the 1960 SNA colloquium, the journal *Arquitectura* published his article on research methods and perspectives on the sociology of housing, translated by Nuno Portas. See Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe, "Sociologia da Habitação. Métodos e Perspectivas de Investigação," trans. Nuno Portas, *Arquitectura* 1960, no. 68 (July 1960): 41–50.

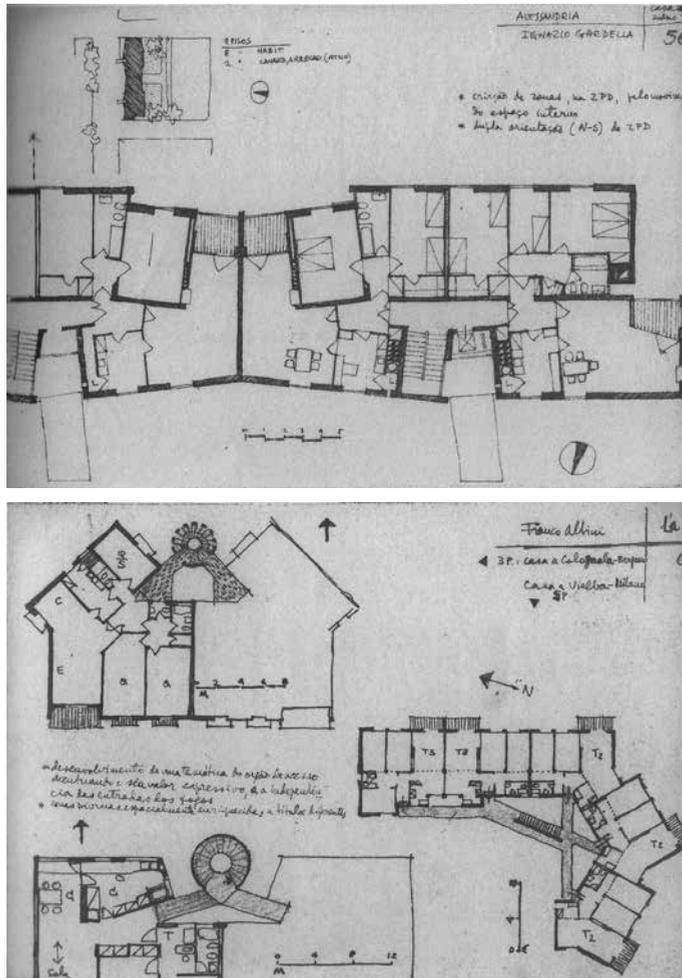


Figure 3.27. Nuno Portas - Analytical files of case studies on social housing. Source: Nuno Portas, *A Habitação Social. Proposta para a Metodologia da sua Arquitectura*, vol.2. (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2004).

Urban Surveys

The confluence between the design disciplines and social sciences became, in Portugal, a vital topic in the 1960s. As discussed above, the development of the Survey prompted very many different attempts to articulate the disciplinary boundaries of architecture and urban design with disciplines such as anthropology, ethnology and sociology. On the one hand, the work developed by Arnaldo Araújo, José Joaquim Dias or Sergio Fernandez was focused on the generative potential of the vernacular tradition to produce a contaminated landscape where the tenets of modernity were negotiated with the real. On the other hand, Nuno Portas championed a revision of the design methods, which should include an in-depth and scientific account of the sociological aspects of the habitat. In architectural education, this trend was most visible, I would suggest, in the pedagogical methods developed by Octávio Lixa Filgueiras at Porto's School of Fine Arts. In the academic year 1961-62, while he was preparing his application for the position of Professor of Architecture, Lixa Filgueiras designed a new pedagogic experience with his students.¹⁴⁷ In opposition to the *beaux-arts* analytical methods that prevailed hitherto at the school of Porto, chiefly concerned with studies of the classic tradition, Filgueiras suggested an analysis focused on the real, with the development of urban surveys and accounts on objects of the everyday. Taking advantage of his experience as coordinator of the Survey's Zone 2, Lixa Filgueiras used the methodological apparatus provided for by the development of surveys onto the rural vernacular to promote the student's consciousness on the living conditions of deprived urban communities.¹⁴⁸ He went further recognizing the influence of the analytical methods developed at the Venice school by Giuseppe Samonà, and the Townscape campaign promoted by Gordon Cullen in the pages of *Architectural Review*.¹⁴⁹

Throughout the 1960s, he thus pursued an educational agenda based on a method where the relation between architecture and society achieves paramount importance. This became noticeable in the students' analytical approach to the case studies, through the use of different media (photos, drawings, watercolours, etc.) and straightforward techniques to communicate the outcome of a direct observation of reality, avoiding what Lixa Filgueiras considered the "most dangerous of all hurdles, the formalist allure," and giving to the documents thus produced "the freshness of living records."¹⁵⁰

As early as in 1963, Nuno Portas would review on the pages of *Arquitetura* the work produced by a group of Lixa Filgueiras' students, maintaining that this pedagogical method showed an alternative to the approach of the "master-architect," thus "understanding the relations between society and architecture,

147. The essay *Da Função Social do Arquitecto* (On the Social Role of the Architect) was part of the material submitted. Eventually, as was already referred above, Lixa Filgueiras won the position.

148. For an account of Lixa Filgueiras' pedagogic methods in the 1960s, see Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno da Arquitectura," 483-488.

149. Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, "Inquéritos Urbanos. Experiências Pedagógicas da Escola Superior de Belas-Artes do Porto entre 1961 e 1969," *Urbanização* 5, no. 1 (March 1970): 11.

150. *Ibid.*, 14.

integrating in the synthesis of form the acknowledgment about the man to whom one builds.”¹⁵¹ This is an important contribution, Portas contended, at a time when two tendencies in architectural education seem to be entangled. On the one hand a tendency concerned with fashions determined by a superficial knowledge imported from international magazines, and on the other hand, an increasingly popular interest of the new generations in the rural world and ancestral techniques. Regarding the latter, Portas contends that it could be very fruitful if it “generates an anthropological reflexion on the content of spontaneous forms.” And he went further highlighting his position regarding the importance of a non-pastoral vision on the rural world. Hence, for Portas, surveying the rural world and the spontaneous forms is fruitful only “if that reflexion can be made without illusions, i.e., without the enchanting character of who forgets the irreversibility of the radical transformations that will shake the cultural balance, which has been isolated for centuries.”¹⁵² When this does not happen, he contends, a new eclecticism is prone to unfold. “Mainly after the publication of *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*,” he went on, “we seem to find increasingly a tendency to the ‘rustic,’ something like an aesthetics of traditionalism and good sense (meaning, sense of the roots), which, however, has not even the support of a populist ideology, as the Italian experienced in the famous Tiburtino...”¹⁵³

Lixa Filgueiras would develop the urban surveys assignment, also known as *Operações* (Operations), until the academic year of 1968-69. The first experience, the one commented by Portas, was still very much framed by an account of the material qualities of the urban space, analysing streets, façades and public space. [Figure 3.28] However, in further operations, in the fisherman’s village of Matosinhos or in the deprived areas of Miragaia and Barredo, located in Porto’s historic centre, a stronger sociological approach could be perceived, encouraging an understanding of the nexus between the space, the individual, the family, and the community. As Gonçalo Canto Moniz notes, “in Miragaia and in Barredo, the students compulsively drawn and took pictures to the interior spaces, recording through plans, sections and perspectives, but also taking photos, of the objects of the everyday, from the crockery to the bedspread.”¹⁵⁴ [Figure 3.29]

In 1970, reflecting on the pedagogical experience of the urban surveys, Lixa Filgueiras claimed that it sparked on the students a consciousness on the living conditions of the population, and resonating with his approach in the Survey, he argued, “the concept of life, the life of the others, must have become embedded in the memories and concerns of future professionals, avoiding the reveries and risks of an office-based messianic approach.”¹⁵⁵ Filgueiras pedagogical experiences suggest, I would argue, that at the beginning of the 1970s, surveying the

151. Nuno Portas, “Uma Experiência Pedagógica na E.S.B.A. do Porto,” *Arquitetura* 77 (January 1963): 16–18.

152. *Ibid.*, 17.

153. *Ibid.*

154. Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno da Arquitetura,” 485.

155. Filgueiras, “Inquéritos Urbanos,” 10.

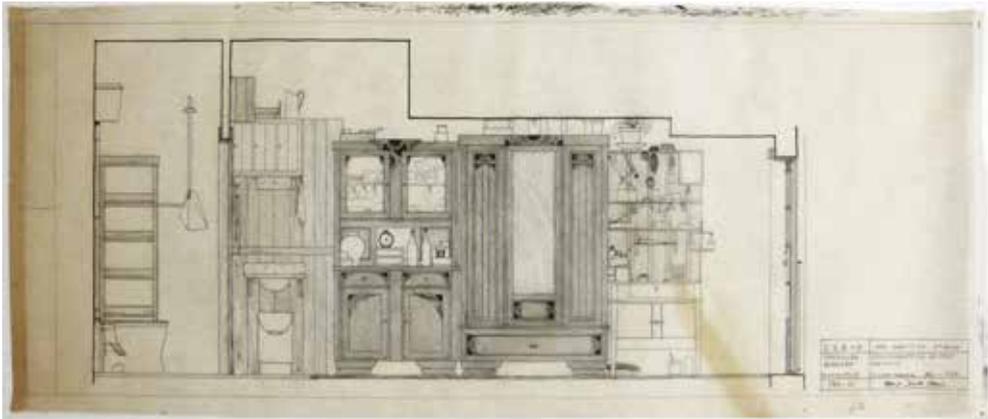


Figure 3.29. Jorge Canto Moniz - Barredo Operation - Quarter IV, Survey of a dwelling, *Arquitectura Analítica*, ESBAP, 1964-65. Source: Archive CDUA-FAUP.

vernacular with a non-pastoral vision was still regarded by him as a possibility to foster the discipline's civic engagement. The realism of the everyday was thus preferred to the idealism of an autonomous disciplinary approach, and the naturalness of the native genius was praised as a support for a more humanist architectural approach to the habitat.

Architecture and the Struggle for Shelter

Nuno Portas' research interests on housing policies and design would be instrumental for his invitation, in 1962, to develop further his studies in the institution framework of LNEC (*Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil*, National Laboratory of Civil Engineering). At the LNEC, Portas created the Division for Construction and Housing, which he directed until the early 1970s. Through the 1960s, this division developed several reports on housing, such as analysis of relations between functions in the dwelling (1966), on the relation between design and appropriation of the domestic space (1968), or in the relation between functions and demands of housing areas. Through the 1960s, next to his research activities in LNEC, Portas would also develop an intense activity as teacher at the Lisbon School of Fine Arts, as critic in many Iberian-American architectural journals, and as a writer. In 1964 he published *A Arquitectura para Hoje* (The Architecture for Today), and in 1969 *A Cidade como Arquitectura* (The City as Architecture).¹⁵⁶ In his contributions for the journal *Arquitectura*, he was pioneer in presenting and discussing with critical insights the work of Álvaro Siza and Fernando Távora as early as 1960 and 1961, respectively.

On 28 September 1968, Salazar, since 1933 the leader of the dictatorial regime that ruled the country since 1926, suffered a brain haemorrhage and was replaced as chief of the government by Marcelo Caetano, who tried to open the regime, creating the so-called *Primavera Marcelista* (Marcelist Spring). In 1969, under this political context, the reflexions on the issue of habitat became again noticeable in the disciplinary debate. In February 1969, in a colloquium on Urbanism, Nuno Teotónio Pereira recuperates the famous notion of the great number, to deliver a presentation with the title “Habitações para o maior número” (Housing for the Great Number). In this presentation Teotónio Pereira discusses the importance of considering the “great number” not only in terms of quantity, but also in the qualitative aspect, which implies, he argues, “structural changes, sparked by the transformation of a rural society subject to urban centres into a society with urban roots. The new dimension should be understood in these terms.” He then contends that to tackle the challenge of building houses for the great number, the quantitative aspect should be solved building thousands of houses, but, moreover, one should ask: “to whom should these

156. Nuno Portas, *A Arquitectura Para Hoje* (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1964); Nuno Portas, *A Cidade Como Arquitectura* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1969).

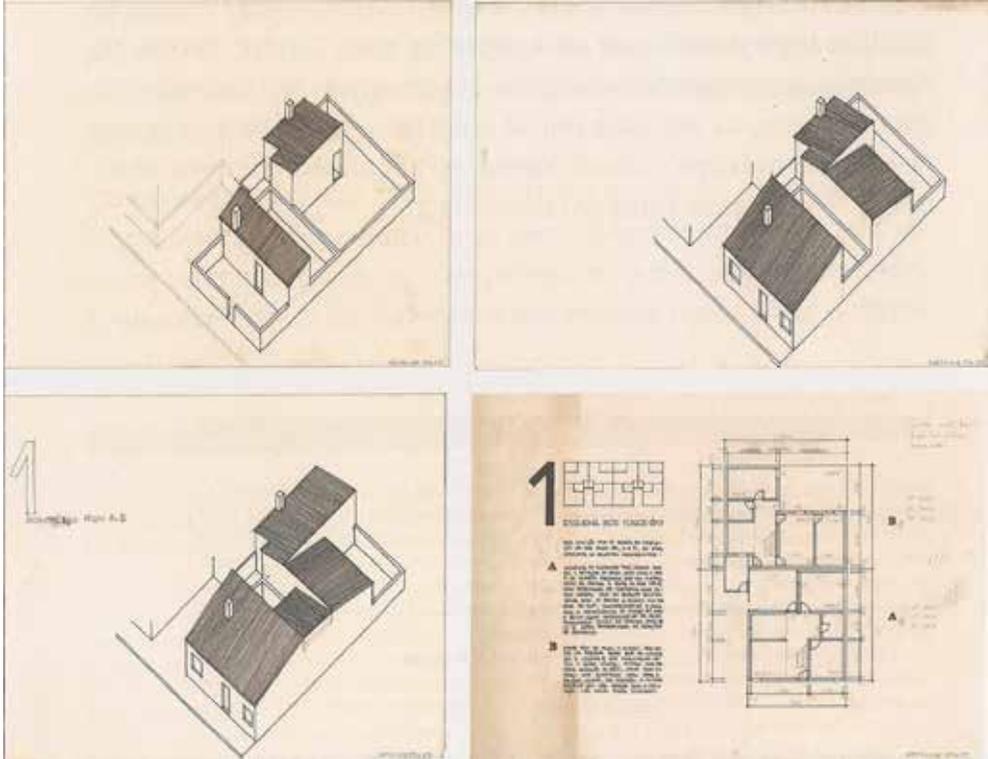


Figure 3.30. Nuno Portas and Margarida Sousa Lobo - Pilot Scheme for the Quinta do Pombal "Shanty Town" (1970). Source: IHRU/SIPA, Archive of Nuno Teotónio Pereira Atelier.

houses be built?; where to build them?; how to build them?; and further: building, not exhaustive amounts of houses, but balanced urban complexes, organized and equipped.”¹⁵⁷

Some months later, in September 1969, a colloquium especially dedicated to discuss housing issues, the *Colóquio Nacional da Habitação* (National Colloquium on Housing), was held in Lisbon, and organized by the Ministry of Public Works. In the report with the conclusions of the colloquium, the organization set a compromise to promote and respect the right to housing. However, Nuno Teotónio Pereira wrote in *Cadernos Necessários*, a clandestine publication, that the colloquium, promoted by Marcelo Caetano’s political and bureaucratic apparatus, was just driven to produce a cosmetic impression of openness regarding the housing problem, failing to develop serious policies to cope with it. Teotónio Pereira suggested that the solution of the housing problem in Portugal could only be found with a strong participation of the State in the process, with the socialization of the land, financial resources and means of production. Further, he claimed that those who suffer the hardships of the everyday, the working-class masses, should become part of the economical and political power and, thus, also part of the solution to the country’s housing shortage.¹⁵⁸

After several visits to countries such as Peru, Brazil or Morocco, where new experiences on housing were being developed, Nuno Portas participated in the National Colloquium on Housing with a contribution on incremental housing, that was converted in 1971 into a LNEC report, co-authored with Francisco Silva Dias. A part of this report would be published in 1972 in the journal *Arquitectura*.¹⁵⁹ However, Portas interest in this topic went beyond his institutional relation with LNEC. In the *Atelier da Alegria*, Portas would develop, together with Margarida Sousa Lobo, a proposal to collaborate with the technical services of the municipality of Lisbon in solving the problems of the slums that were, by then, pervasive in the built landscape of the city’s periphery. The pilot scheme for the “Quinta do Pombal” shantytown was thus developed and presented in April 1970. [Figure 3.30] At any event, this project showed noticeable influences of the ideas developed by Charles Abrams in his *Man’s Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World*, published in 1966, and drew noticeably on the ideas of, and work developed by, John Turner in Peru, through the 1960s.

Portas and Sousa Lobo advocated an unconventional methodology to tackle the housing problems faced by the people living in sub-standard conditions. They suggested taking advantage of the latent resources of the population living in those settlements, such as spirit of initiative, possible savings, capacity for normal or extra work. Further, always stressing that their approach was based on the idea of a process and not

157. Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “Habitações Para o Maior Número,” in *Escritos* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1996), 80.

158. Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “O Colóquio da Habitação,” in *Escritos* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1996), 98–105.

159. Francisco Silva Dias and Nuno Portas, “Habitação Evolutiva,” *Arquitectura* 3ª Série, no. 126 (October 1972): 100–121.

a product, they recommended the development of the existing communal spirit in the layout of the cluster of dwellings, and proposed the development of incremental systems of housing to accommodate the residents' social mobility.¹⁶⁰

These experiences, in the early 1970s, would become important references to determine the direction of Portas perspective on the disciplinary methods to cope with the challenges of designing houses for the greater number. He would thus add to his interest on the sociological aspects of the habitat, presented in his 1959 CODA essay, a political commitment in solving the problems of the urban poor through methods that challenged the traditional boundaries of the design disciplines. Through a critical negotiation of the vernacular tradition with the ethos of modernity, the Portuguese politics of architectural design and theory developed from the mid-1940s through the early 1970s an architecture of dwelling that brought together the dynamics of the spontaneous and the instrumental apparatus of the discipline. The idea of ideal standards, either those of the native genius or those of the creative genius, was downplayed in favour of an architecture approach that accommodated *mixage* and contamination as part and parcel of its engagement with social change.

160. See Nuno Grande, ed., *The Urban Being: On the Trails of Nuno Portas* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2012), 306–313.

4• Architecture's Public Negotiating Expertise and Participation in the SAAL Process

In the aftermath of the protest movements that pervaded the Western world in the late 1960s, the social role of the architect and architecture's disciplinary ethos became key topics of the politics of architectural design and theory. Architecture's traditional alliance with the elites was brought forth as a token of its severance from reality. Thence, in order to restore its social relevance, a new disciplinary approach surfaced where the agency of architecture should be thought of beyond the classic relation designer/client, and giving the user a creative role in the design process.

Though the revolutionary atmosphere of the 1960s triggered a wider impact of this phenomenon, a disciplinary approach engaged with the real and with the everyday had already been addressed in some earlier events. For example, at the last CIAM congress, held at the Dutch village of Otterlo in 1959, the debate was dominated by a keen interest in reconciling the design disciplines with reality. There was a pervasive interest in challenging binary polarities, or reconciling basic values, which was utterly illustrated by Aldo van Eyck's persistent interest on cosmological notions such as the in-between, reciprocity, and thresholds.¹ These notions, however, were seemingly too abstract for the likes of Giancarlo de Carlo, who was concerned with a more tangible reconciliation of the discipline with the everyday. In Otterlo, De Carlo discussed the situation of the modern architectural movement, and how while attempting to revolt against the pre-modern "naturalistic idiom and the mystifications it brought about," they generated "involutive" developments caused by either a "stylistic restoration process,

1. Van Eyck's first version of the Otterlo circles, presented at the meeting of 1959, stands as a seminal illustration of his interest in the so-called *twinphenomena*. A second version of the Otterlo circles was produced later, in the mid-1960s, including new illustrations in the two circles, now named, in English, "By Us" and "For Us". For an insightful account of Aldo van Eyck's interest in these notions, see Georges Teyssot, "Aldo van Eyck's Threshold: The Story of an Idea," *Log* Winter 2008, no. 11 (2008): 16.

the lack of engagement and the inclination to escape from the reality of contemporary problems,” or a technological fetishism manifested in abstract structuralism, eclecticism and revival.²

De Carlo was arguably the most combative supporter of a disciplinary approach that should be able to “associating architecture with the life of society,” as he put it. In Otterlo, he illustrated his attempt to cope with this challenge presenting a housing scheme designed for Matera, a provincial town in the south of Italy. [Figure 4.01] With this project, de Carlo highlighted the importance of using history to acquire “an exact knowledge of the problems,” and to secure architectural solutions and choices that are “tied to continuous reality and are progressive.”³ This approach, however, was criticized by Wogenscky who, curiously enough, accused De Carlo of a regressive approach returning architecture to a purely aesthetic level of conception. De Carlo’s building for Matera, Wogenscky contended, “does not open these people’s eyes to the whole of the actual situation in the world today, both artistically and technologically, but rather turns them back to the past and, if anything, hinders them from this realization.”⁴ In the same discussion, Peter Smithson argued that that debate showed how they were confronted with the difficulty of overcoming a knife-edge situation between the concepts of “an architecture of social engineering,” and of “an architecture of art.” This situation explains, Smithson claimed, “some of the irreconcilable attitudes that have been coming out at this meeting.” And he went on contending “we are face to face, not with accepting the old forms of architecture, but with the need for a genuine invention of a new formal vocabulary – a new architecture.” For Peter Smithson, De Carlo’s manipulation of forms from the past carried with it “a reimposition of past social contents,” a social period which is long since past, and which one is particularly moved against.⁵

This debate on the irreconcilability between an architecture of social engineering and an architecture of art, would resonate in very many different venues through the 1960s, first and foremost, in debates related with housing for the great number. Several attempts were, nevertheless, made to counter this irreconcilability. Hassan Fathy’s *Architecture for the Poor*, published in English in 1973 is arguably one of the most compelling contributions to reconcile modernity with the vernacular tradition in mass housing design.⁶ At any event, writing in the aftermath of the late 1960s protest movements, Fathy’s remarkable account of his experience in designing New Gourna at the turn of the 1950s shed new light on the possibility of engaging architects and architecture in decision-making processes in which man, society and technology could be brought together. For Fathy, these processes should pursue a disciplinary ethos intensely contingent with the situation and dependant on a negotiation between the individual and the collective. “There must be

2. Giancarlo de Carlo, “Talk on the Situation of Contemporary Architecture,” in *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, ed. Oscar Newman, Documents of Modern Architecture 1 (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961), 85.

3. *Ibid.*, 88.

4. Wogenscky’s remarks were published in the summary of the discussion on De Carlo’s presentation, in *Ibid.*, 90.

5. *Ibid.*, 91.

6. Hassan Fathy, *Architecture for the Poor: An Experiment in Rural Egypt* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1973).

neither faked tradition nor faked modernity, but an architecture that will be visible and permanent expression of the character of a community”, he claimed.⁷

In Portugal, Nuno Portas’ plea for a synthesis on the revision of the concept of modernity chiefly inspired by the Nordic and Italian examples of mass housing design, discussed in the previous chapter, resonates, I would suggest, with both De Carlo’s and Fathy’s praise on the balance between civic engagement, history and technique for the emergence of a “more careful and sober development” of the modern movement in architecture.⁸ With the 1968 events, however, a confrontation between those two disciplinary approaches, civic engagement and art, would become pervasive, and produce new developments in the relation between the architect and reality.

The widespread challenge on established power relations led to the growing popularity of citizens’ participation in urban and architectural design processes. Then, in this context, social engineering and art could be mingled and define the framework in which a disciplinary approach engaged with social change and conscious of the political implications of aesthetics could unfold. De Carlo, a critic of Peter Smithson’s praise of invention and newness as essential tenets of the disciplinary ethos, would instead suggest an alternative process of articulating art and life in his seminal essay “Architecture’s public”, published in the Italian magazine *Parametro*, in 1970.⁹

In his discussion on how the modern movement oscillated between social commitment and estrangement, De Carlo addressed a fundamental question: “what is architecture’s public?” He gave some possible answers: “The architects themselves? The clients who commission the buildings? The people –all the people who use architecture?” And he went on contending that if the latter hypothesis was valid – an hypothesis hard to resist in those days – the tenets of the modern movement should be challenged as they failed to deliver a radical expressive renewal, reflecting its bourgeois origins and “the deliberate programmatic attitude of an elite,” which never stepped out “to stand on the other side: the side of the people – those who use and bear architecture.”¹⁰ According to De Carlo, modern architecture lost its credibility when it “chose the same public as academic or business architecture; that is, when it took an elite position on the side of the client rather than on the side of the user.”

He further contends that modernism was always more interested in the problems of the “how” and less on the problems of why,” as could be chiefly illustrated by the 1929 CIAM congress in Frankfurt, whose theme was *Existenzminimum* (Minimum Housing). De Carlo claimed:

7. Ibid., 45.

8. Carlo, “Talk on the Situation of Contemporary Architecture,” 84–85.

9. Giancarlo de Carlo, “Architecture’s Public,” in *Architecture and Participation*, ed. Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till (London and New York: Taylor and Francis, 2005), 3–22. This article was originally published as “Il Pubblico dell’Architettura” in *Parametro* 3:4 (1970), 4–12. All further references to this article were taken from the 2005 English translation.

10. Ibid., 6–7.

We have the right to ask “why” housing should be as cheap as possible and not, for example, rather expensive; “why” instead of making every effort to reduce it to minimum levels of floor area, space, of thickness, of materials, etc, we should not try to make dwellings spacious, protected, insulated, comfortable, well-equipped, rich in opportunities for privacy, communication, exchange, personal creativity, etc.¹¹

Then, he concludes, “working on ‘how’ without rigorous control of ‘why’ inevitably excludes reality from the planning process.” This, among other arguments, contributes for the non-credibility of architecture, which, nevertheless, the world cannot do without, De Carlo claimed. He suggested, then, “architecture has become too important to be left to architects,” and its current condition should thus be subverted, abolishing the class codes and established power relations. “The intrinsic aggressiveness of architecture and the forced passivity of the user,” De Carlo argued, “must dissolve in a condition of creative and decisional equivalence where each – with a different impact – is the architect.” And he went further claiming a non-specialist architectural agency, where “every architectural event – regardless of who conceives it and carries it out – is considered architecture.”¹²

To restore architecture’s historical legitimacy and credibility, De Carlo contended that collective participation in the design process should surface to change the whole range of objects and subjects that participate in the architectural process, rather than merely searching for a stylistic renewal. He explained, then, that architecture should be able to clarify its ideological position regarding the whimsical power of the client and the identification with the users’ real needs. However, he went on, “identifying with the users’ needs does not mean planning ‘for’ them, but planning ‘with’ them.”¹³ To plan ‘with’ the people, he contended, consensus should remain permanently open, rather than frozen into a permanent fact once it is reached. Further, to plan ‘with’ the people does not mean transforming their aspiration into images, but developing a process planning, as opposite to authoritarian planning, where three fundamental phases (the discovery of needs, formulation of hypotheses, and actual use), have a cyclical relationship, accept confrontations, and are contingent rather than universal.

In this chapter, De Carlo’s notion of a dynamic and conflictive consensus will be key to set the background against which the politics of architectural design and theory tackled the societal challenges unfolding in the transition between the periods that Eric Hobsbawm called The Golden Age and The Landslide. The debate on the definition of architecture’s public will be addressed by a discussion on the SAAL Process, a program launched in the aftermath of the Portuguese democratic revolution of 25 April 1974, conceived to solve the housing shortage in

11. *Ibid.*, 9.

12. *Ibid.*, 13.

13. *Ibid.*, 15.

Portugal, including citizens' participation in the design process. The specific approach of the SAAL process in Porto will be singled out and the projects developed by the SAAL brigades coordinated by Álvaro Siza, S. Victor and Bouça, will be analysed to reveal the disciplinary challenges brought about by the participatory processes and a sudden confrontation with the reality of the mass man.

The first section of the chapter is dedicated to the definition of the background against which the SAAL process unfolded. A sequence of moments of dissent will contribute to understand the outset of the pervasive social struggle for the right to the city. In the second section of the chapter, the work of Álvaro Siza for the SAAL process will be thoroughly discussed, to make sense of his particular approach to participatory processes, urban renewal, and housing for the urban poor. In this section, it will be further discussed the main reasons behind the decision of prematurely ending the SAAL process. The final section of the chapter discusses the relation between the architectural discipline and grassroots empowerment. The power relations between the architect and the other stakeholders in the design process are discussed to contribute for a clarification on the definition of architecture's public.

4.1•Dissent and Conflictive Consensus in the SAAL Process

During the year of 1976 there was an unprecedented interest of the international architectural media in Portugal. The May/June 1976 issue of the influential French magazine *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, directed by Bernard Huet, was dedicated to Portuguese architecture with the theme: "Portugal Year II". Some months after, the November 1976 issue of the prominent Italian magazine *Casabella*, at that time directed by Bruno Alfieri, featured a long account on the SAAL Process, written by Francesco Marconi, with the title "Portugal – Operação SAAL". In the following month, the December 1976 issue of *Lotus International*, directed by Pierluigi Nicolini, published Álvaro Siza's project for the S. Victor neighbourhood. Up until that year, Portuguese architecture was seldom published abroad.¹⁴ The main reason that triggered this sudden interest of the architectural milieu in Portugal was clear: the works produced under the aegis of the so-called SAAL process, an ephemeral housing programme created in the aftermath of the Portuguese revolution of 25 April 1974.¹⁵ Among the projects featured in those magazines, the architectural media showed a special interest in the SAAL operations developed in the city of Porto, where the work of Álvaro Siza, among others, arguably epitomized a novel approach to urban renewal.

14. Portuguese architecture, before 1976, was mainly known among a close circuit of Spanish and, to a lesser extent, Italian architects and architecture magazines. Arguably the first appearance of a Portuguese architect work in the architectural media mainstream was Vittorio Gregotti, "Architetture Recenti Di Alvaro Siza," *Controspazio*, no. 9 (September 1972): 22–24.

15. SAAL is the acronym for Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local (Mobile Service for Local Support). It was launched on 6 August 1974, in the second provisional government of Portugal's revolutionary period. After the first constitutional elections, in 1976, the first elected government determined the program's obsolescence by changing completely the power relations embedded in the principles that had originated it, in 1974. Only part of the on-going projects would be eventually built. For a brief account on the reasons for the dismantling of the SAAL process, see José António Bandeirinha, *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura no 25 de Abril de 1974* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2007), 248.

What was then so appealing in these works? What was the rationale of this unforeseen interest in Portuguese architecture? The answer, I would argue, is relatively straightforward and entails the concatenation of three factors: the political appeal of the Portuguese bloodless democratic revolution, the emergence of grassroots movements, and the development of participatory processes in architecture and urban design. The concurrence of these factors was, in fact, timely at a moment of widespread disciplinary and political debate. In this chapter, I will argue that the fundamental aspects of that contribution were prompted by a reassessment of the power relation between architects and grassroots empowerment in planning and design processes. Through the discussion of the interplay between dissent and conflictive consensus-building in the SAAL process, I will illustrate how the architects working in Porto's SAAL operations negotiated their expertise and their position as authors/artists with grassroots movements, thus producing an hybrid architectural outcome that aspired at creating a synthesis of disciplinary autonomy with the vital impulses emerging from the collective and the everyday; a contaminated total work of art.

To frame my account on the architectural outcome of Porto's SAAL operations, I will first discuss how successive moments of dissent were instrumental to enable a paradigm shift in the country's housing policies and, arguably, in the architecture discipline itself. The notion of dissent needs thus further definition. Dissent, as Cass R. Sunstein bluntly argues, is the "rejection of the views that most people hold."¹⁶ This definition sounds, however, rather simplistic and the concept is perhaps better understood elucidating what it stands against. Dissenters challenge and combat, according to Sunstein, the emergence of three phenomena determined by informational and reputational influences: conformity, social cascades and group polarization. The first influence is related with the information provided by other people and the latter by the pervasive desire to have the good opinion of others.¹⁷ Hence, doing what others do, concerning about what will the neighbours think, or travelling in herds, as it were, are typical phenomena challenged by the dissenter. History shows that there are bad and good dissenters; sometimes dissent triggered catastrophes, while other times avoided them. To be sure, one of the most common assumptions is that dissent is a menace to social cohesion. Sunstein recognizes that social cohesion is indeed important and that fostering nonconformity or dissent can undermine it. Nonetheless, as he points out, "social influences threaten, much of the time, to lead individuals and institutions in wrong directions." Hence, he concludes, "dissent can be an important corrective."¹⁸

In Portugal, however, dissent seems to be at odds with the character of its people. For example, in his 1912 book *In Portugal*, the English traveller and lusophile Aubrey Bell

16. Cass R. Sunstein, *Why Societies Need Dissent* (Harvard University Press, 2005), 7.

17. *Ibid.*, 9.

18. *Ibid.*, 12.

synthesises the two characteristics most fundamentally Portuguese: “a quiet human thoughtfulness and a certain wistful melancholy or *saudade*.” The latter, he argues, “is a vague and constant desire for something that does not and probably cannot exist, for something other than the present, a turning towards the past or towards the future; not an active discontent or poignant sadness but an indolent dreaming wistfulness.”¹⁹ Bell’s account of the Portuguese character thus resonates with a certain tendency for indolent resignation with the present and discouragement from an active pursuit of social change. In 2011, commenting the Portuguese reaction to the current social crisis, the Portuguese sociologist Boaventura Sousa Santos pointed out a condition similar to that noticed by Bell one century earlier. Santos explained the Portuguese tendency for self-punishment as the consequence of a bad consciousness about their passivity. Moreover, he argued that Portugal, as well as other peripheral and semi-peripheral countries, have an excess of past in their present, which is chiefly fostered by the acknowledgement of their withdrawal from the route of development of the countries that belong to the core of the world system. Santos concluded, thus, that the past becomes problematic as an excess of diagnosis.²⁰ This resignation and passivity, identified by both Bell and Santos, was nevertheless challenged on 25 April 1974 with a military, first, and then civic uprising that ended forty-eight years of dictatorial governments.

A Carnation in the Rifle’s Barrel

To better understand the three factors that arguably made Portuguese architecture attractive to the international architecture media, revolution, grassroots movements, and participatory processes in architecture, one needs to grasp the socio-political backdrop of the April 1974 revolution. From the onset of the dictatorial regime, in 1926, Portuguese society lived with repressed political and civic rights. The country was first governed by an authoritarian military government (1926-1933), and afterwards the population was ruled by the *Estado Novo* (New State) dictatorship. The first period of the dictatorship, from 1933 until WWII, was inspired by Italian fascism, but it survived politically the world conflict keeping a neutral – or, rather, an ambivalent – position. In the 1960s, a technocratic sector of the regime advocated a swift economical transformation for the country’s modernization, through a gradually opening of its economy to the exterior and its membership in international institutions such as the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).

This process ensued next to increasing political tensions triggered by the 1961 uprising of the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, which fostered the regime’s anachronistic perseverance in keeping its colonial empire in

19. Aubrey Bell, *In Portugal* (London and New York: John Lane, 1912), 7.

20. Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Portugal: Ensaio Contra a Autoflagelação* (Coimbra: Edições Almedina, 2011). For more information on the concept of semi-periphery, see Immanuel Wallerstein, “Semi-Peripheral Countries and the Contemporary World Crisis,” *Theory and Society* 3, no. 4 (December 1, 1976): 461–83.

Africa, fighting a war that created increasing discontent among an important faction of the military. Thereafter, the regime faced growing opposition and dispute in the 1960s and at the end of the decade it could no longer conceal the internal opposition to its policies, which became conspicuous in labour activism, student protest and political mobilization. In 1969 Marcelo Caetano – a leading member of the country’s single authorized party, the Party for National Union (Partido da União Nacional), - replaced António Salazar, the dictator that held the power since 1933. After Caetano’s initial period of “political spring,” those tensions and conflicts relentlessly grew fuelled by an economic crisis caused by the drainage of capital demanded by the African war effort and to overcome the social and economical problems sparked by the 1973 oil crisis. It is thus in this context that a group of military organized in the Movement of the Armed Forces (Movimento das Forças Armadas - MFA) challenged the dominance of conformity and triggered the collapse of the regime on 25 April 1974, through an almost bloodless military coup which would become known as the Carnation Revolution (Revolução dos Cravos), which was epitomized by the image of a child depositing a blooming carnation in a rifle barrel. [Figure 4.02] This was, then, the first moment of dissent, which will be deeply influential to determine the launching and the architectural outcome of the SAAL process.

Through the 1960s, the process of rapid modernization and the industrialization of the country led to an overwhelming migration of people from the rural parts of the country to the regions where the workforce was needed, i.e. Lisbon, Setúbal and Porto. The state housing policies failed to answer the demand for dwellings created by this process and the country thus faced a severe problem of housing shortage, affecting mainly the urban proletariat. Without enough social housing to accommodate the growing working force arriving to the main cities, and with a pervasive speculative process that hindered this class from gaining access to the regular housing market, the proletariat was forced to find contingent solutions in “arrival cities” such as peripheral *bairros-de-lata* (slums) in Lisbon or, in the case of Porto, living in substandard houses, the so-called *ilhas* (islands), built in the interior of urban blocks at the city centre.²¹

It comes as no surprise, thus, that an immediate outcome of the 1974 revolution was the emergence of demonstrations of public unrest fostered by the poor material and social living conditions in which the worse-off class lived. In Lisbon, there was a prominent movement of squatters that occupied vacant, and in many cases still under construction, public housing. In Porto, the first contestation movements were led by the tenants of public social housing, protesting against the persecutory conditions that they were required to follow in order to avoid

21. In Portugal, the two main metropolitan centres, as it were, experienced the phenomenon of the “arrival city” as Doug Saunders put it, in two different historical moments: In Porto, the rural-urban was more intense in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, while in Lisbon it was chiefly processed through the last half of the twentieth century. For the conceptual framework of the notion of “arrival city” see Doug Saunders, *Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History Is Reshaping Our World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010).

LE 25 AVRIL 1974 ... ET LES ARCHITECTES

par Raul Hestnes Ferreira, architecte

Illustration de Raul Hestnes Ferreira, 1974
© Raul Hestnes Ferreira, 1974
Tous droits réservés. Toute réimpression ou utilisation non autorisée sans la permission écrite de l'auteur est formellement interdite.

Photo: Matt Smith Agency,
Photo: Magazine Photo de Brigitte Sauer

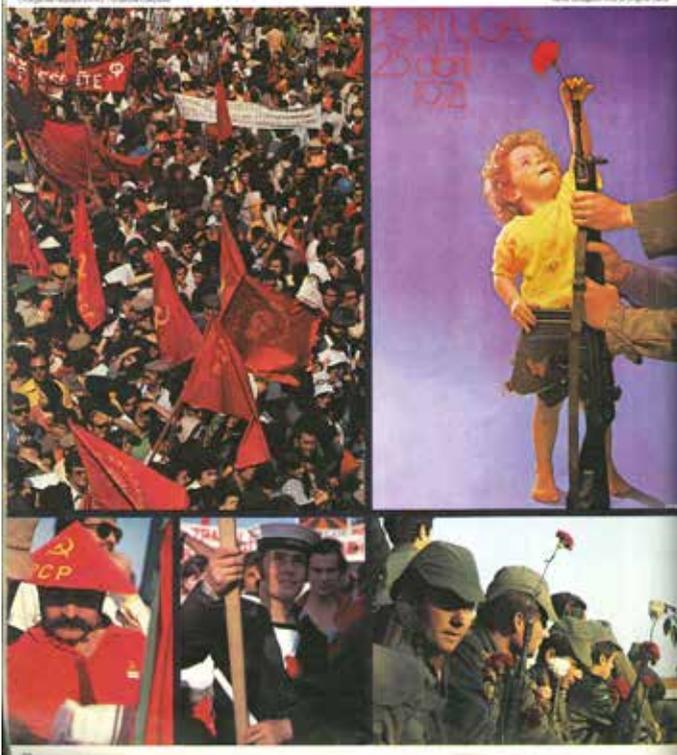


Figure 4.02. Images of events related with the 25 April 1974 revolution used as illustrations for an article written by Raul Hestnes Ferreira. Source: *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 185 (May/June 1976), 58.



Figure 4.03. Demonstrations in support of the squatters (above) and against slums (below). Source: Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril - Universidade de Coimbra. Photos © Alexandre Alves Costa.

eviction. [Figure 4.03]

These movements resonate, according to José António Bandeirinha, with a context where Portuguese society suddenly championed liberty beyond its political resonances, as an artistic and cultural achievement. “It wasn’t the power that fell into the streets”, Bandeirinha argues. Otherwise, he contends it was,

The argument and the debate, the cultural and artistic activity, the cry of rebellion, all the most varied feelings, joy and sadness, it was life itself that conquered the right to the street, that was spread from square to square, from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, until the exorcism of fear and establishment of a widespread aura of liberty which, while it endured, didn’t have any parallel in the contemporary world.²²

However, I would argue that the artistic and cultural achievements fostered by this aura of liberty were deeply influenced by the tensions triggered by a swift change of power relations, that emerged in the revolution’s aftermath. An account of the novel housing policy ambitioned with the creation of the SAAL program, with all its contradictions and ambiguities, will thus testify to that emergence of liberty out of a productive use of power.

Nuno Portas Towards a Social Organization of the Demand

The first provisional government after the revolution, formed on 16 May 1974, appointed Nuno Portas, as SEHU (*Secretário de Estado da Habitação e Urbanismo* - Secretary of State of Housing and Urbanism)²³. This cabinet was ephemeral and the second provisional government was formed only two months after, on 18 July 1974. The new minister for Social Infrastructure and the Environment (Ministro do Equipamento Social e Ambiente - MESA) José Augusto Fernandes, a military engineer, kept Portas as his SEHU.

The minister’s plea to Portas was, according to the latter, a swift resolution of the housing problem, arguably with the intention of neutralizing the social unrest sparked by the squatters’ movements and the ill-housed proletariat. According to Nuno Portas, the minister envisioned a pragmatic military approach to it, such as the construction of prefabricated barracks that could solve the problems as swiftly and cheaply as possible.²⁴ Portas, however, refused to comply with solutions of this nature and, instead, developed further some ideas on incremental housing and self-construction that he had been researching on since the late 1960s. His strategy, chiefly inspired by the theories of John Turner, Manuel Castells, and Chombart de Lauwe, consisted in fostering grassroots initiatives in housing policies. The outcome of this strategy was the publication, on 6 August 1974, of a government’s resolution creating the SAAL (*Serviço*

22. Bandeirinha, *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura no 25 de Abril de 1974*, 109.

23. Manuel Rocha, the minister that appointed Portas, was the director of the LNEC (*Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil*, National Laboratory of Civil Engineering), where Portas had been specially engaged in developing research on social housing.

24. Nuno Portas’ declarations on the outset of the SAAL process can be seen in João Dias, *As Operações SAAL*, Documentary (Midas, 2007).

Ambulatório de Apoio Local, Mobile Service for Local Support), signed by Nuno Portas and Manuel da Costa Brás, the Minister of Interior (Ministro da Administração Interna – MAI).²⁵

The fundamental dissent embedded in Portas' strategy was a break with the past regarding the social organization of the demand. Instead of a top-down housing policy determined by a centralized agency, the resolution that created the SAAL aimed at contributing with technical and financial aid to support "the initiative of the population living in poor conditions to foster their collaboration in the transformation of their own neighbourhoods, investing their own latent resources."²⁶ The six main principles for the SAAL operations were: a) self-organization of the ill-housed city dwellers; b) physical and social preservation of the dweller's ties with their community; c) fostering their autonomy by lessening bureaucratic technocracy; d) stimulating ownership by incorporating the dweller's own resources; e) decentralization of the housing stock; and f) accommodating growth and change through time by developing an incremental housing strategy.²⁷

Though there were some blurred areas (to say the least) regarding the financing of the operations and the legal tools to expropriate the construction sites, the SAAL programme caught the attention of many people: working class dwellers, social activists, students, sociologists, and, of course, architects. In the months following the publication of the resolution many brigades (the name given to the group of "mobile" technicians) were created all over the country to assist groups of organized dwellers.²⁸ However, as a former coordinator of the programme argued, the fundamentals of the SAAL operations were chiefly modelled to combat the housing problems signalled in Lisbon and in neighbouring cities of its industrial belt.²⁹ These problems were mainly related with "arrival cities", communities of relatively recent rural migrants living in slums located at peripheral areas. Hence, the models of "third world" cases of slum upgrading publicized by John Turner, for example, were inconsistent with the specific problems of the second biggest city of the country, Porto. There, the housing problems were epistemologically distinct; the communities had a long history of living in the city, though in poor sanitary conditions, and they were fighting not only for the right to have decent houses but also for their right to live in the city. Alexandre Alves Costa (b. 1939) goes further claiming that in Porto, the SAAL operations "though confined and fragmented, were implicitly directed towards a radical model of the city and urban planning: a city where the worse-off also have the right to the historic centre, where several social strata and several urban functions can be accommodated"³⁰.

This was thus the context for the emergence of a third moment of dissent, one in which a group of well-knit network of technicians working in city of Porto would challenge some of

25. The resolution was translated into English in Pierluigi Nicolini, ed., "Portugal after 25th of April," *Lotus International*, no. 10 (1975): 34–37. This translation is, however, somewhat flawed. Hence, further references to the text of the resolution will be made from the original version in Portuguese.

26. Conselho Nacional do SAAL, *Livro Branco do SAAL 1974-1976*, vol. 1 (Conselho Nacional do SAAL, 1976), 64.

27. For a more detailed account of these principles, see Bandeirinha, *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura no 25 de Abril de 1974*, 121–122.

28. One of the prerogatives of the SAAL was that only organized groups of dwellers would be eligible for technical and financial support. Two legal options were possible: creating dwellers associations or social housing cooperatives. However, choosing between one or the other became the object of a serious debate, charged with ideological resonances. For an overview of this debate, Mário Brochado Coelho, "Um Processo Organizativo de Moradores (SAAL/Norte - 1974/76)," *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 18/19/20 (February 1986): 646–71.

29. Margarida Coelho, "Uma Experiência de Transformação no Sector Habitacional do Estado. SAAL 1974-1976," *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 18/19/20 (February 1986): 625.

30. Alexandre Alves Costa, "1974-1975, O SAAL e os Anos da Revolução," in *Arquitectura do Século XX: Portugal*, ed. Annette Becker, Ana Tostões, and Wilfried Wang (München and New York: Prestel, 1997), 69.

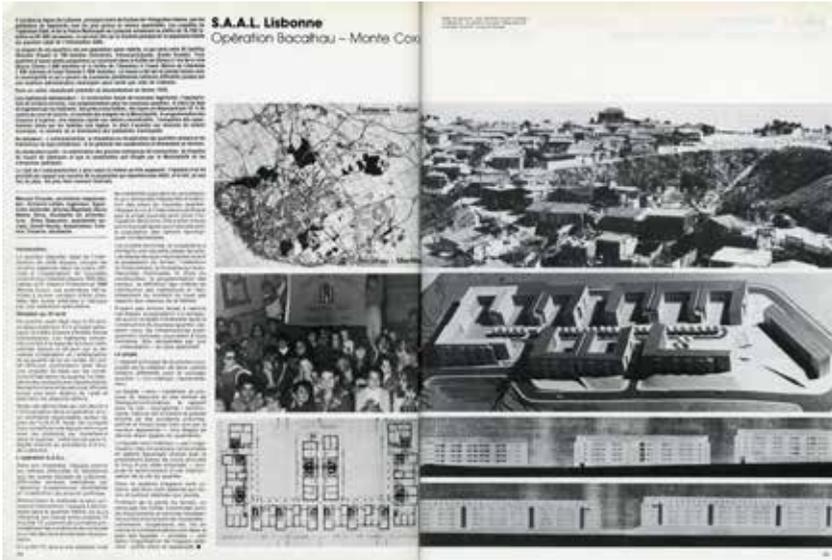


Figure 4.04. SAAL Lisbon - Bacalhau - Monte Coxo Operation, project coordinated by Manuel Vicente. Source: *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 185 (May/June 1976), 64-65.

Figure 4.05. SAAL Algarve - Meia Praia Operation, project coordinated by José Veloso and Luis Abreu. Source: *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 185 (May/June 1976), 76-77.

the principles embedded in Portas' resolution, e.g. self-help and other methodological approaches designed for contexts such as the rural world or suburban areas.

In Praise of the Right to the City

The specific challenges the SAAL brigades had to tackle would be eventually reflected in the administrative organization of the programme. In effect, three regional coordination zones were created: North (predominantly Porto), Lisbon/Centro-Sul (mostly focused in Lisbon and the towns on its industrial belt), and Algarve. In Lisbon the architectural approach would be heterogeneous, with a great deal of conformity with some practices inherited from the 1960s. [Figure 4.04] In Algarve, there was a more consistent and novel approach but comprising isolated actions diffused through a large territory. [Figure 4.05] In the North, however, the SAAL operations for Porto developed a coherent strategy of a critical confrontation with the real, where the outcome of the power negotiation between technicians and dwellers was conspicuous. To illustrate this, I will summarize the architectural outcome of three SAAL operations built in Porto's city centre, Leal, Lapa, and Antas, which had widespread appraisal among the architectural milieu.

The SAAL operation in the Leal zone, coordinated by Sergio Fernandez, epitomizes the nature of the challenges the teams working in Porto had to tackle. [Figure 4.06] The area was densely populated, with its inhabitants living in wretched sanitary conditions. In October 1974, the residents claimed for converting into housing a vacant area that had been cleared out to build a parking lot. Over the following months they would carry on demanding the construction of new dwellings on the neighbourhood's available plots, and obstructing further demolitions there. The project of the Leal brigade delivered a contingent answer to the development of the local grassroots movement. As their claims for more available land and buildings evolved, so the brigade would produce and discuss the projects for the new sites. They suggested the rehabilitation and renovation of existing houses (Zone 1) and designed new housing for vacant plots (Zone 2 and 3).³¹

The projects designed by this brigade show a careful morphological response to the topography, and a clear goal to recreate, in both shape and scale, vernacular urban spaces such as streets, alleys, and courtyards. Typologically, the buildings are predominantly row houses with two floors. This option for a low-rise independent house resulted, according to the coordinator of the brigade, Sergio Fernandez, from "the factors that the residents themselves deem as important."³² It is, thus, an operation of careful urban renewal, where the architectural outcome preserves the fundamental spatial characteristics of the

31. Eventually, only the new houses designed for Zone 2 would be built.

32. Brigada Técnica Lapa, "Lapa," *Lotus International*, no. 18 (March 1978): 44.

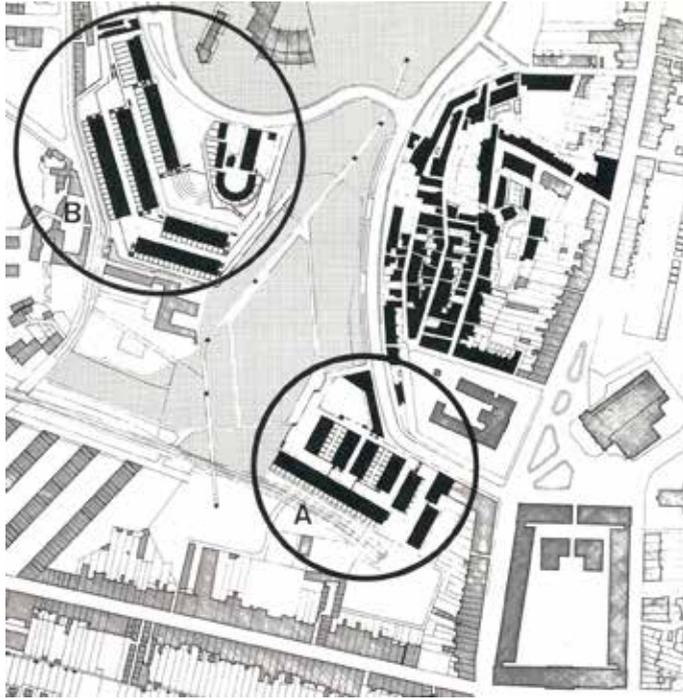


Figure 4.07. SAAL Porto - Lapa Operation, project coordinated by Alfredo Matos Ferreira. General Plan. Source: *Lotus International* 18 (March 1978), 82.

Figure 4.08. SAAL Porto - Lapa Operation, project coordinated by Alfredo Matos Ferreira. General Plan. Source: Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril - Universidade de Coimbra. Photos © Alexandre Alves Costa.

neighbourhood, as well as its social cohesion. The Leal project accommodates spaces for the collective and simultaneously, caters for individual demands for ownership. At any event, I would suggest, the architectural outcome of this brigade mitigates the tensions of the power relation between the technicians and the dwellers.

At a nearby location, the SAAL operation in Lapa faced topological challenges somewhat different to those of Leal. The area, also located in Porto's city centre, comprised an existing neighbourhood, and a vast open area spread on both sides of an adjacent valley. The Lapa brigade, coordinated by Alfredo Matos Ferreira, developed also a plan with three nuclei. [Figure 4.07] One was the rehabilitation of the existing Lapa neighbourhood and the other two consisted of new housing ensembles built on each side of the valley. Some facilities were also planned, in order to foster a better articulation of the nuclei. In this case, however, clear-cut slabs defined the new ensembles (phase A and phase B), though their distribution is also carefully responsive to the topography, either replicating it in the shape of the roofs, or mirroring it. This strategy yielded a dramatic interplay between the new buildings and the neighbouring area, as can be seen in the building facing the railway tracks to the southern part of the zone. [Figure 4.08] The members of the brigade argued that this outcome was produced by a "formula for a housing unit which could be used in any site, which would be both horizontally and vertically modular". This formula, they claimed, "would be able to create the uniformity cherished by the dwellers themselves in their desire for justice, while still accepting further variations and changes determined by experience."

The design of the housing units reveals, in fact, a surprisingly versatile solution of split level houses, which could be linked horizontally or stacked vertically through a simple, yet original system of galleries in one or both sides of the slab. [Figure 4.09] Though the originality and ingenuity of the architectural outcome of Lapa's brigade is evident in the project's plans, sections and models, it was, the brigade contends, determined by the aspirations and desires of the dwellers.

The physical and social backdrop against which both the Leal and Lapa brigades had to cast their architectural intervention was defined by the presence of working-class housing areas built in the city centre, though somewhat secluded from public sight. They weren't, however, instances of Porto's predominant proletarian housing type, the *ilhas* (islands), a type of nuclei associated with Porto's industrialization in the late nineteenth century, and the sudden expansion of the city towards east, with a rapid growth of new houses.³³ [Figure 4.10]

The proletarian *ilha* is a vernacular housing type ubiquitous

33. For more information about Porto's "ilhas" see Manuel C. Teixeira, *Habitação Popular na Cidade Oitocentista - As Ilhas do Porto*. (Lisboa: FCG/JNICT, 1996).

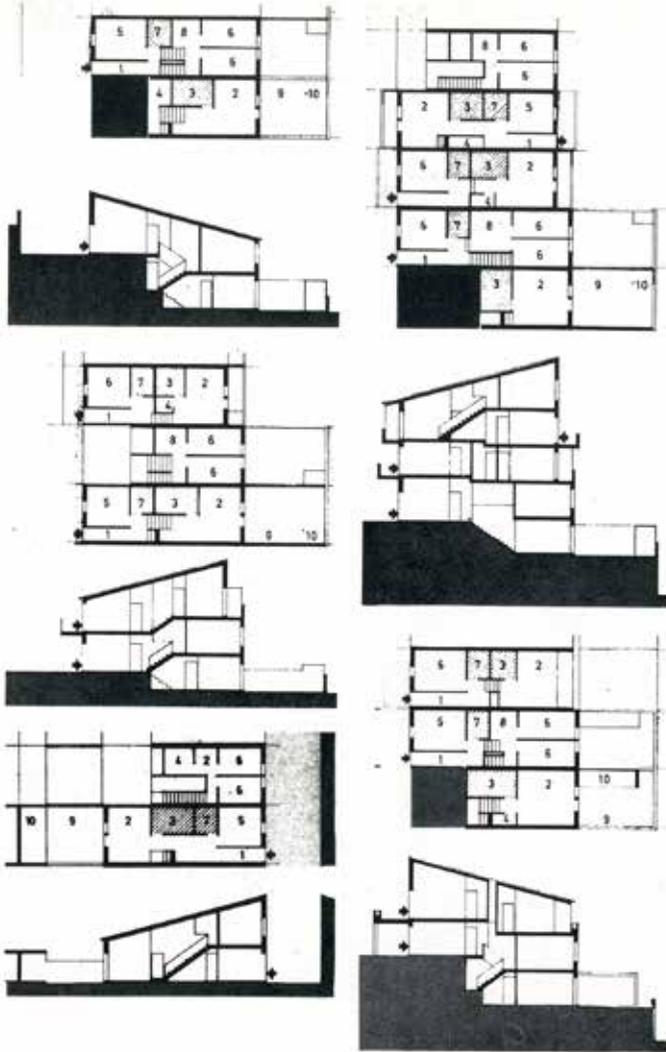


Figure 4.09. SAAL Porto - Lapa Operation, project coordinated by Alfredo Matos Ferreira. Dwelling Types. Source: *Lotus International* 18 (March 1978), 84.

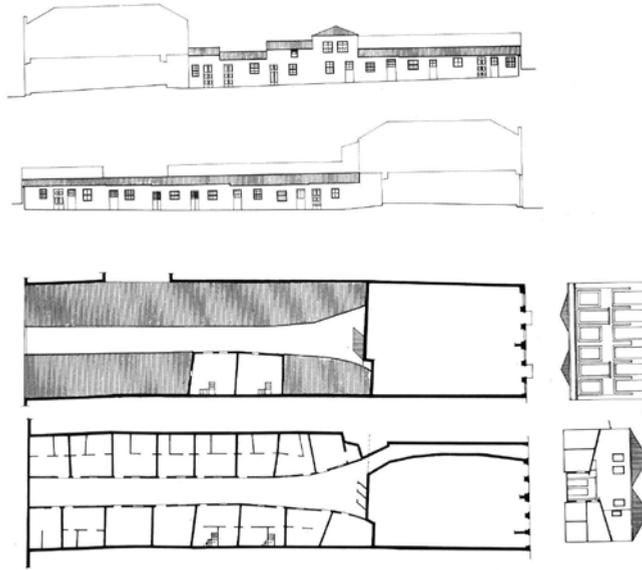


Figure 4.10. Basic morphology of the *Ilhas* (above) and *Ilha* in Rua da Alegria, Porto (below). Source: Manuel C. Teixeira, *Habitación Popular na Cidade Oitocentista - As Ilhas do Porto*. (Lisboa: FCG/JNICT, 1996), 192 (above), 195 (below).

Figure 4.11. Aspects of an *Ilha* in Porto. Source: *Lotus International* 18 (March 1978), 91.

in the city of Porto, and it is basically defined by a single or several rows of small houses with only one front, grouped at the backyard of a middle class house. The small housing units, usually with only one or two partitions, connect with a narrow open common courtyard linked to the street through a passage under the “main” house. The first *ilhas* date back to the end of the eighteenth century, but were widespread with the belated, yet rapid industrialization of Porto at the last half of the nineteenth century and the demographic growth associated with it. Due to their sociological and typo-morphological characteristics, the *ilhas* would have a leading role in Porto’s SAAL operations, as it will be discussed further ahead. [Figure 4.11]

In the 1960s, the nineteenth century industrial periphery was already integrated with the city and consequently the land value drastically increased due to real-estate speculation. Hence, the *ilhas* in the interior of the blocks were no longer “tolerated” and the Municipality of Porto approved a slum clearance process, relocating the residents of the *ilhas* in social housing complexes built on the city’s periphery. Before the revolution, the residents were enforced to accept that decision, but after 25 April 1974, they were keen in affirming their right to remain on the same neighbourhood; they asserted their “right to the place”.

The project developed by the Antas brigade utterly illustrates an operation that had to cope with this challenge. Some *ilhas* in the Antas neighbourhood survived the 1960s demolitions, and the residents living there demanded to remain in the same area, but with a betterment of living conditions. The technical brigade, coordinated by Pedro Ramalho (b.1937), surveyed the existing *ilhas* and concluded that type of building “was not only a territorial unit but also part of a rich complex of social life.”³⁴ They thus decided to preserve the rich communitarian life style triggered by the morphological qualities of the “corridor-island” type, eliminating the ghetto-character of the courtyard/corridors, though. To solve the overcrowding problem, some new units would be created in adjacent areas already cleared out. In any event, these new units were conspicuously designed following organization principles clearly inspired by the *ilhas* type. [Figure 4.12]

In both the renovation of the existing *ilhas* and in the new houses, the sense of community was increased, and the ghetto-character was avoided, through the creation of a dense network of paths, alleys, and streets. Moreover, the design of the housing units revealed also a keen determination in preserving formal resonances with the vernacular type. [Figure 4.13] The layout of the houses, however, shows an inventive structure with split-levels articulating different street levels on both sides of the house, and the possibility to accommodate growth over time. [Figure 4.14] The architectural outcome of the Antas brigade

34. Brigada Técnica Antas, “Antas,” *Lotus International*, no. 18 (March 1978): 89.

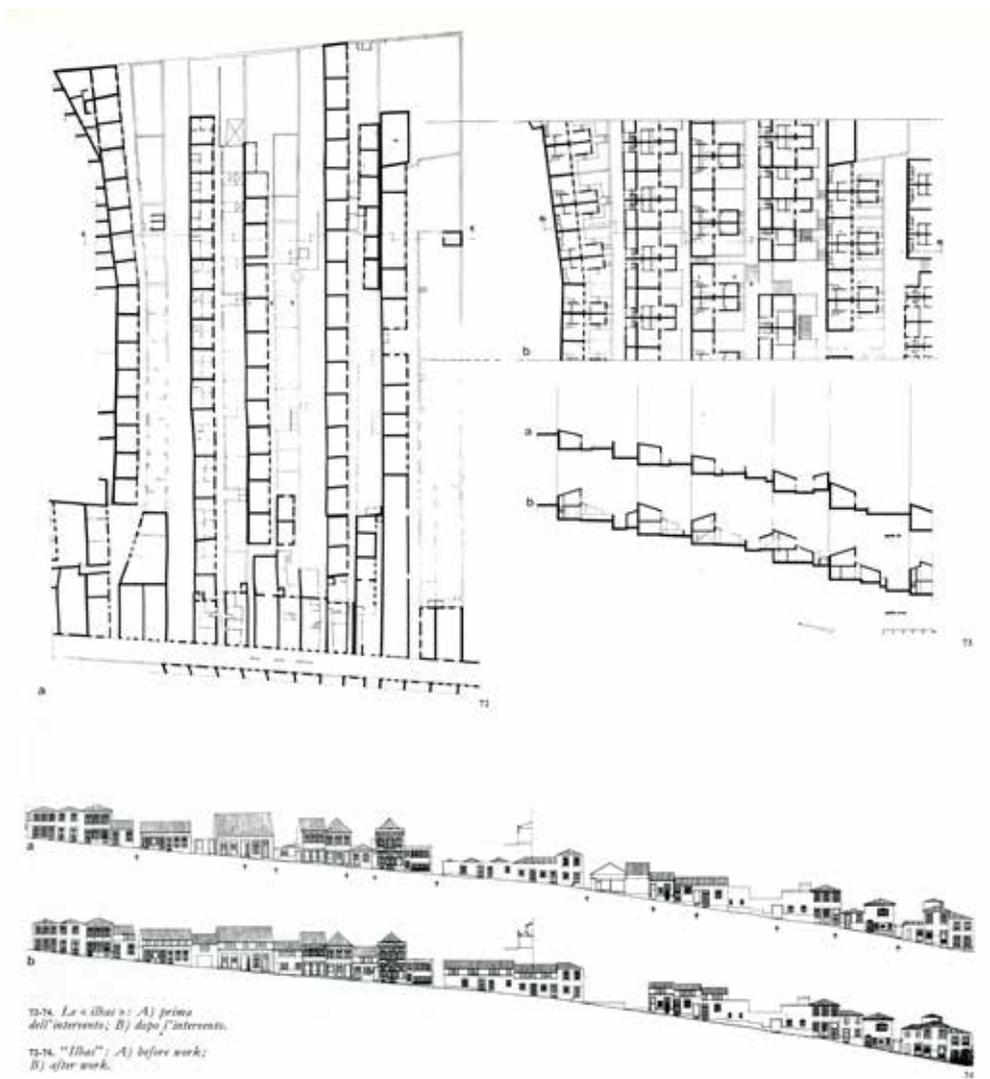


Figure 4.12. SAAL Porto - Antas Operation, project coordinated by Pedro Ramalho. Renovation of an Ilha (before and after). Source: *Lotus International* 18 (March 1978), 90.



Figure 4.13. SAAL Porto - Antas Operation, project coordinated by Pedro Ramalho. New dwellings. Source: Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril - Universidade de Coimbra. Photo © Alexandre Alves Costa.

Figure 4.14. SAAL Porto - Antas Operation, project coordinated by Pedro Ramalho. Axonometry of the new dwellings. Source: *Casabella* 416 (November 1976), 12.

shows a novel translation of vernacular references, which seemingly resonated with the fulfilment of the demands of the dwellers for an upgrading of their living conditions, preserving their social relations, though.

These succinct description of the work developed by the SAAL brigades operating in the Leal, Lapa, and Antas neighbourhoods, illustrates three instances of how architects working in SAAL operations in Porto developed solutions to cope with challenges such as severe sanitary problems, overcrowding, ghettoization, material decadence and compulsive demolitions. But it also reveals how they were engaged in highlighting intrinsic qualities of the vernacular, such as a strong community life and a central location in Porto's urban tissue. I would suggest, then, that these architects consciously used disciplinary instruments to create a contaminated landscape, a place where a pastoral vision of the qualities of the urban vernacular was negotiated with a counter-pastoral vision where the life conditions of the urban poor were exposed and tackled. This is, I would argue, the distinctive contribution that the SAAL brigades working in Porto brought forth, when compared with the other experiences nationwide. The epitome of this process is arguably represented by the S. Victor operation, which was developed by a brigade coordinated by Álvaro Siza.

4.2• A Confrontation with the Real

In Porto, in the aftermath of the April 1974 revolution, the municipality's policy of slum clearance, which prevailed hitherto, was arguably the main reason that triggered citizens engagement in public demonstrations fighting for a betterment of their living conditions. As mentioned above, over the 1960s and early 1970s, the municipality of Porto used the ill conditions in which the urban poor lived, in the city centre, to relocate them in social housing complexes controlled by the municipality, built on the outskirts of the city. Attracted with prospects of material betterment, the residents soon found out that the life conditions in those complexes was problematic for two main reasons. One of the reasons was the pervasive social control of public officers on the tenants of municipal social housing, encouraged by repressive regulations designed to act as straightjackets of individual freedom and collective expression.³⁵ The other reason was the economic impact of living far apart from the working place, which resulted in additional transportation costs, hardly tolerable for those with already meagre wages.

There was also a parallel interest, in the municipal policy of slum clearance, which was related with real estate speculation. In fact, it was considerable the number of inhabitants living in sub-standard housing at the city centre, in some of the Porto's

35. In the municipal social housing complexes the rental contract gave the Municipality an almost discretionary power that created fear and instability among the tenants. The regulations on municipal social housing were strongly based on moral principles. For example, among many other restrictions, a woman alone could not receive a man at night in her house.

most valuable properties.³⁶ The growing speculative pressure on the real estate at the city centre thus sparked a keen interest in clearing the slums to give way for the private developers, which were eager to substitute the nineteenth century single-family housing types with multi-storey buildings. If the contestation of this policy was muffled before April 1974, after the revolution it surfaced noticeably and gave reasons for large demonstrations against the municipal slum clearance policy. One of the largest and most active groups in these demonstrations were the residents of the S. Victor zone, which would soon team up with Álvaro Siza (b.1933) in an exemplary case, at all levels, of urban renewal with citizens' participation.

Álvaro Siza's Independent Archaeology

Through many decades, Portuguese architects were divided between those depending on small private commissions, and those benefitting from the patronage of the regime to design the most outstanding and representative buildings, both private and public. With the SAAL process, however, new conditions were created for a generation of young architects and architecture students, which could now be involved in designing for the mass man. Among them was Álvaro Siza, considered by Vittorio Gregotti in 1972, to be "among the ten to fifteen architects, now in their forties, who have been able to make genuine architectural statements or are still able to surprise a very blasé culture by appearing on the scene from an unexpected direction."³⁷ Siza, a disciple of Fernando Távora, would eventually become a key figure in the SAAL process in Porto.

Vittorio Gregotti's piece on Álvaro Siza was arguably the first account of Siza's work outside the network of Portuguese and Spanish architects and architectural publications.³⁸ In the early 1970s, Siza had already more than a decade of professional experience, chiefly dedicated to the design of individual houses or relatively small leisure and commercial facilities. In the late 1950s, Siza collaborated in the office of Fernando Távora, where he participated in the design of the market place presented by Távora at the CIAM Otterlo meeting. While he was still a collaborator in Távora's office, Siza was also commissioned to design two leisure facilities in his hometown, Matosinhos: the Boa Nova Teahouse (1958-63), and the Swimming pool in Quinta da Conceição (1958-65).³⁹ Soon after, he designed yet another facility on the seaside of Matosinhos, the Oceanic pool in Leça (1961-66). [Figure 4.15]

These three projects show the extent to which Siza's design approach was strongly influenced by a balance between nature and the architectural artefact. In the same issue of *Controspazio* where Gregotti published the commentary mentioned above, Nuno Portas frames Siza's work in the Portuguese context, first

36. There is no accurate data available on the number of persons living in Porto's *Ilhas* in the mid-1970s. However, according to the sociologist Virgílio Borges Pereira, through the 20th century, despite successive campaigns to eradicate the *ilhas*, the number persisted around twenty per cent of the whole population of the city. In the 1970 survey, the population of Porto was 301.655 inhabitants. Hence, following Pereira, the number of people living in Porto's *Ilhas* should be around 50.000/60.000 inhabitants. See Virgílio Borges Pereira, "Uma Imensa Espera de Concretizações... : Ilhas, Bairros e Classes Laboriosas Brevemente Perspectivados a Partir da Cidade do Porto," *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: Sociologia*, no. 13 (2003): 139–48.

37. Gregotti, "Architetture Recenti di Alvaro Siza," September 1972, 22. A version of this article is available in English in Vittorio Gregotti, "Architetture Recenti di Alvaro Siza," in *Alvaro Siza. Poetic Profession*, ed. Pierluigi Nicolini (Milano: Edizioni Electa, 1986), 182–85.

38. Gregotti's contact with Siza and his works happened in the 1968 *Pequeno Congresso de Vitoria*, an event co-organized by Spanish and Portuguese architects, namely Oriol Bohigas in the Spanish side and Nuno Portas in the Portuguese side. In this event, held from 11 to 13 October in the city of Vitória, the work of Siza was shown to the participants, and the invited lecturers were Peter Eisenman and Vittorio Gregotti. The work of Siza was introduced and contextualized by Nuno Portas. See Nuno Correia, "A Crítica Arquitectónica, o Debate Social e a Participação Portuguesa nos 'Pequenos Congressos' - 1959/1968," *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 91 (October 2010): 41–57.

39. Matosinhos is a municipality neighbouring Porto to the North, in the Atlantic seaside. In the first half of the 20th century it was a fisherman's village, which was also visited by tourists in the summer. When the harbour was built, in the 1930s, it became also important for its harbour activities. For an in-depth account of Siza's works and life in Matosinhos, see José Salgado, *Álvaro Siza em Matosinhos*, 2nd ed. (Porto: Afrontamento / Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos, 2005).



Figure 4.15. Early projects of Álvaro Siza. Quinta da Conceição Swimming pool (left); Leça da Palmeira Oceanic pool (right). Source: *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 185 (May/June 1976), 50-51.

and foremost, situating it in the context of Porto's peripheral condition. Portas argues that since the late 1950s, Siza pursues "an alternative way" both to the regime's "rural-imperial academicism" and to the shallow examples of European modernist rationalism imported via Brazil.⁴⁰ Portas contends that the two main references for Siza's alternative path are, on the one hand, the models championed by Italian journals such as *Metron*, *Casabella*, *L'Architettura* (Rogers, Albini, Ridolfi, Fiorentino, Quaroni) and, on the other hand, the work of Alvar Aalto. He further notes that Siza resisted the way of "mimetic integration" inspired by either the so-called spontaneous architecture or the erudite tradition.

If Portas rightfully asserted Siza's resistance to populist drives and to a pastoral vision of the vernacular tradition, he was, I would argue, somewhat biased with his suggestion of Siza's models. In fact, the "Italian way", championed by Zevi or Argan was a fundamental reference for Portas, but, in the case of Siza, it could hardly be compared with the influence of Alvar Aalto. Probably, I would suggest, Portas was relating Siza's architectural approach with a design responsive to what Ernest Rogers called *Le preesistenze ambientali*. Gregotti, however, seems to be more precise in his commentary, resonating Siza's approach with Robert Venturi's, in their use of a situated language. "As opposed to the conventional language of technological indifference," Gregotti explains, "in a situated language (no longer considered as a dialect, in the last decades) architecture understands physical conditions as the measure of the present."⁴¹ Gregotti highlights, however, that if in Venturi's case this situated language unfolds from a technique of intellectualizing history, in Siza's case the techniques are more strictly and traditionally disciplinary.

The last two projects featured in the 1972 issue of *Controspazio*, the Caxinas housing scheme (1970-72) and the Oliveira de Azeméis bank (1971-74) are good contributions to understand Siza's particular way to account the contingencies of the real. Gregotti calls it a "clash with the contradictions of concrete subjectivity conceived not in its intimate dimension but in the history of his relationship with the surrounding world."⁴² In the first case, in Caxinas, Siza has to negotiate his project with a situation that, in that case, was not the bucolic rolling hills of Quinta da Conceição, or the striking appeal of the rocks bathed by the Atlantic Ocean in Boa Nova and Leça. In Caxinas, a small fisherman's village and a destination for low middle class *villegiature*, Siza had to cope with the challenge of organizing a stretch of territory already squatted, as it were, by spontaneous, i.e. clandestine, constructions. Siza received from the municipality a commission to design a plan to articulate the existing clandestine constructions and to create directives for future growth. Siza literally absorbed an existing construction in his plan (a cafeteria in the L-shape building at the southern part

40. Nuno Portas, "Note Sul Significato Dell'architettura di Alvaro Siza nell'ambiente Portoghese," *Controspazio*, no. 9 (September 1972): 24–25. This article was originally written in Italian. This and the following references to this text were translated by the author.

41. Gregotti, "Architetture Recenti di Alvaro Siza," September 1972, 23.

42. *Ibid.*, 24.

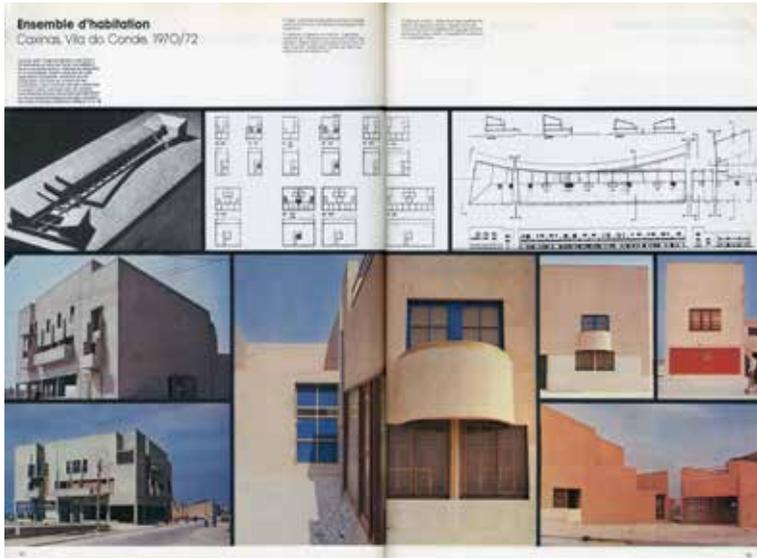


Figure 4.16. Álvaro Siza - Caxinas Housing Complex (1970-72). Source: *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 185 (May/June 1976), 52-53.

Figure 4.17. Álvaro Siza - Oliveira de Azeméis Bank Branch (1971-74). Source: *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 185 (May/June 1976), 56-57.

of the plot). [Figure 4.16] He has proposed buildings on each top of the plan's area, using a hybrid architectural language, where modernist references are mingled with traditional material and building techniques. These buildings should become references to guide the spontaneous constructions that should eventually be built in between them, using some straightforward typological rules defined by the plan.

Commenting on the Caxinas project in an interview given in 1990 to the German journal *Bauwelt*, Siza declared that when he got this commission he was forced to look around to the reality surrounding the site, and he became aware how things that were seemingly generated by a spontaneous process, came together as a unity. A unity made of "mixed things fabricated by people that were born in the countryside and now had the money to build a house by the sea." A large number of these persons were part of the large rural migration of the 1960s that escaped Portugal to search a better life abroad. Referring to this uprooted community, Siza pictures it as a group of people "who brought with them clothes from France, but that had a traditional upbringing. This 'transformation' had no good effect in their taste." However, he goes on, "that was the reality, not something on which we could show the finger and say: It does not exist, let's make something beautiful!" Then, he asserts the importance of this experience, despite the unsatisfactory outcome declaring, "this project in Caxinas had an interesting start, but then was stopped and completely altered, it was a fiasco. But I think that it was important for my future works."⁴³

In the case of the bank for the provincial town of Oliveira de Azeméis, the nature of the commission was completely different. The program was not very demanding, and the plot was located on the corner of two streets, a result of the division of the garden of an adjacent eighteenth century house. [Figure 4.17] The complex interplay of linear and curved plans, the radial organization of the layout of the building's interior, and the decrease of the volumes upwards, seemingly reveal a concatenation of whimsical design decisions. In the floors plans of the project, all these elements are integrated in an intricate web of composition lines that, however, were not designed to accomplish aesthetic perfection or follow universal rules of geometric configuration. Rather, they were noticeably generated by circumstantial elements, by shallow references such as the position of the bank's safe, or by more meaningful reasons such as giving room to avoid the obstruction of the views from the neighbouring house and to let more light getting into its garden. In the interview to *Bauwelt* Siza explains "we could discuss all sorts of clever stuff, but in reality, the shape of the building is related with the intention to avoid slaying the neighbour's house." And he goes on, "that is why you see all these 'tracés régulateurs'; they are introduced to achieve an order of these

43. Rainer Franke and Bernd Wensch, "Alvaro Siza Haus. Interview with Alvaro Siza," *Bauwelt* 81, no. 29/30 (August 10, 1990): 1472.

conflicting volumes. They are closely related to the plot and also to the constructive system.”⁴⁴

Hence, if in Caxinas the plan of the housing scheme was contingent with the existing spontaneous buildings, in Oliveira de Azeméis the sophistication of the volume and the layout of the plan were generated by prosaic and situated factors. Gregotti explains Siza’s process as a result of an “independent archaeology” where the outcome is generated by an accumulation of several layers of approaches to reality. In Siza’s architecture, Gregotti contends, “there is no isolated experimenting. Everything is always connected to adjacent features, to the sequences of events which lead to the current experience and to memories of previous experiences. Then,” Gregotti goes on, “the same process is reversed and the constructed object occupies the foreground as a modification and development of the existing context.”⁴⁵

According to Gregotti, Siza’s independent archaeology results thus from a confrontation with the real. However, by the same token, it deliberately transforms the reality in which it is materialized. Referring back to Giancarlo de Carlo’s interest in “associating architecture with the life of society,” I would argue that Siza’s architectural approach resonates with a keen interest in understanding the why of architecture, to be able to decide on the how. Then, few years after Caxinas and Oliveira de Azeméis, and in a completely different social and political context, the SAAL operation in S. Victor would present Siza with a challenging opportunity to test this approach in the design of housing for the mass man.

Urban Renewal and the Revolutionary Momentum

During the decades of the dictatorship, the regime thwarted the development of the notion of collectivity, especially if it could be somehow associated with political engagement. Then, in the aftermath of the 1974 democratic revolution, this changed swiftly and multiple political parties were created and others came out of clandestinity. The process was so pervasive that many spontaneous groups were also formed, many of them related with communities of residents tied by bounds of proximity and communion of social condition. This was the case of a group of residents of the S. Victor zone, a central area in Porto’s city centre. [Figure 4.18] Due to its proximity with the School of Fine Arts, this area had been often used for academic purposes inspired by Lixa Filgueira’s urban surveys methodology, discussed in the previous chapter. In fact, since the early 1970s groups of students had been engaged in surveys to the living conditions, both social and physical, of the *ilhas*. [Figure 4.19] In July 1974, one of these groups of students, which had made surveys and studies in the S. Victor zone in the academic year 1972-73, organized meetings with a group of

44. *Ibid.*, 1478.

45. Gregotti, “Architetture Recenti di Alvaro Siza,” September 1972, 22.

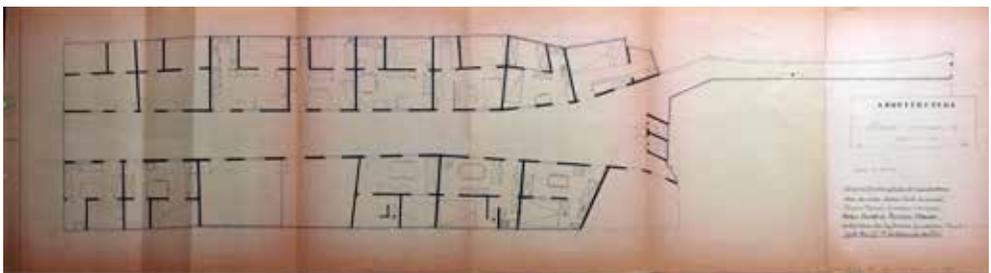


Figure 4.19. Functional Analysis of an Ilha (ESBAP students, 1971). Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photos © Nelson Mota.

local residents, tenants of the *ilhas*, searching for possibilities of betterment for their living conditions, and fighting against the marginalization and ghettoization of the working class fostered by the prevailing housing policy.

When Nuno Portas' strategy to cope with the country's housing shortage, the SAAL process, was legally created by the provisional government, in 6 August 1974, the students realized that it could provide the institutional support to develop concrete actions towards solving the housing problems in the S. Victor zone. Hence, they announced and explained the advantages of the so-called SAAL programme to the residents. The interest of the residents was immediate and, with the assistance of the students, they prepared and submitted in 16 September an application for the creation of the S. Victor SAAL operation, thus revealing a first successful achievement of the social organization of the demand for housing, a central point in Nuno Portas' project.

In the S. Victor zone, the population living in sub-standard conditions was approximately one thousand and two hundred inhabitants. Four hundred and ninety six of them, approximately forty per cent, signed the document submitted to the coordination of the SAAL program.⁴⁶ Among the reasons used to back their application they highlighted the density of the houses occupation, which becomes "an authentic can of sardines, where parents and children of all ages live together in the same room." Further, they protested against the lack of sanitary infrastructure, and the poor material condition of the houses, "dreadful and falling apart, [...] real sanctuaries for rats and bugs." However, despite their poor living conditions, the group of residents rejected being relocated to the peripheral social housing complexes. They claimed:

We are interested in living here and it is here that we want to have conditions to live as human beings that we are. We don't want to go to the periphery, where we don't know anyone, where the transportation expenses became substantial. It is thus in such terms that we wish to see houses built for those living in *ilhas* with no possible renovation.⁴⁷

This were the terms in which the residents of the S. Victor zone were fighting for their right to the city.

In the next month, the coordination of the SAAL-Norte approved the S. Victor operation and in 25 October 1974, Domingos Tavares (b. 1939) submitted to the SAAL-Norte a proposal for the creation of the S. Victor brigade. The members of the team were two architects, Domingos Tavares himself and Álvaro Siza, and four students, Adalberto Dias, Edgar Castro, Eduardo Souto de Moura and Manuela Sambade.⁴⁸ The SAAL coordination group officially approved the creation of the S. Victor brigade on 21 November 1974, though the team had started working already since 1 November. Though the students had previously a

46. According to the document sent by the group of residents, the remaining sixty per cent of the S. Victor residents that did not sign the document were children, illiterate, or they were absent.

47. Document nº 5, attached to Brigada SAAL S. Victor, "Relatório do Mês de Novembro de 1974," January 16, 1975, 26-'70 - Brigada S. Victor (Relatórios "74-'77), Álvaro Siza archive.

48. The elements of the technical brigade changed through time. The most outstanding change happened in March 1976, when the zone Presa Velha – Formiga – China was detached from the S. Victor Zone. Domingos Tavares became the leader of the brigade for the new zone, and Álvaro Siza remained as the leader of the S. Victor brigade. Together with Siza collaborated a team composed of Francisco Guedes (architect), Eduardo Souto Moura, Adalberto Dias, Manuela Sambade, Paula Cabral, and Graça Nieto (students).



Figure 4.20. Working plan of the S. Victor neighbourhood. Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photos © Nelson Mota

deep knowledge of the area, including historical and sociological surveys, further fieldwork was necessary, including topographic and photographic surveys, typological analysis, and assessment of the living conditions of the residents. To preserve the engagement of the residents and the revolutionary momentum, in their first report the team argued their strategy was based in “finding processes to speed up the start of the building process and its feasibility, thus keeping the trust of the population.”⁴⁹

With this strategy in mind, the brigade defined three phases for the development of the urban renewal of the area. [Figure 4.20] The first phase was the Senhora das Dores zone, an area that had already been partially cleared out by the municipality to build a public parking in the middle of the block. Since a large part of the site was already public property the expropriation process was faster and the building process could start sooner. [Figure 4.21] The second and third phases were the large triangular blocks on both sides of the S. Victor street. The middle of these blocks was densely occupied with *ilhas* built by the owners of the middle class houses on the perimeter of the blocks.⁵⁰ The ownership of these plots was thus fragmented, which would seemingly create a greater complexity in the expropriation process.

According to the brigade’s report, the residents regarded the SAAL process as “a support from the government to the appropriation of the high-priced properties in the city centre to preserve there their traditional habitat.” They rejected, however, the idea of involving their own work as part of the financing scheme for the operation, claiming the State should be responsible for the design of a suitable funding and managing process. Regarding the building types, the brigade reported:

Different tendencies have surfaced, also with variable persuasion, from the timidly expressed preference on building collective housing blocks (we think that in the belief that it would be able to accommodate a larger number of dwellers and it would enable a reduction of the construction prices) until the preservation of the structural organization of the *ilhas*. The existence of patios, small private or semi-private open spaces was collectively cherished as having a major significance and importance.

Hence, considering the *timid* preference for collective housing blocks and the *significance and importance* attached to preserving the vernacular tradition, the group developed a first occupation plan for the first phase, chiefly inspired by the *ilhas* typology, with 102 single-family row-houses organized in clusters in the middle of the block. [Figure 4.22] The occupation plan further indicated which buildings should be preserved, renovated, or demolished altogether.

During the next months, the brigade created a strong engagement with the residents of S. Victor, performing a role

49. Brigada SAAL S. Victor, “Relatório do Mês de Novembro de 1974.” Further references to this report were taken from the same source.

50. The S. Victor brigade estimated their plan for a total of 615 new and renovated dwellings.



Figure 4.21. S. Victor Neighbourhood. Situation plan (1974) with plots owned by the municipality rendered in light grey, and plots to be expropriated rendered in dark grey. Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photo © Nelson Mota.

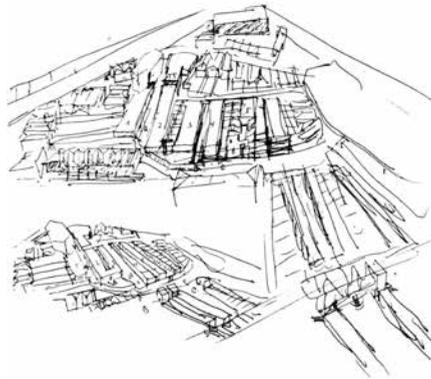


Figure 4.22. S. Victor Brigade - Preliminary plan (December 1974). Situation plan (above) and sketches by Álvaro Siza (below). Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photo © Nelson Mota (above); *Álvaro Siza. Obras y Proyectos 1954-1992*, ed. José Paulo dos Santos (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1993), 108 (below).

of mediators between the residents and the institutions, strongly driven by a commitment in empowering the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. To be sure, their role was manifold. On the one hand they strived to raise consciousness in the residents on their socio-political importance. On the other hand, they contributed to more prosaic yet essential tasks such as developing further the preliminary occupation strategy, preparing the expropriation process, giving technical assistance to the legal creation of a residents association with proper statutes – an aspect required to become part of the SAAL process – and even assisting them in the creation of a neighbourhood newsletter. To facilitate the communication process with the residents, the brigade prepared models of the intervention areas at the scale of 1:500, models of the dwellings at the scale of 1:20, and full-scale mock-ups of parts of the project.

The quality of the relation between the members of the technical brigade and the residents association was highlighted in the report of the brigade written on 3 July 1975:

The S. Victor operation is going “well.” And if that happens it is chiefly because the process has been directed by a real “progressive” residents’ association, with an excellent spirit of dedication, sense of opportunity and political value of its work, perfectly supported by the population of the neighbourhood.⁵¹

The brigade thus praised the vital importance of a fruitful relation with the residents’ association for the smooth development of their renewal plan. However, while the collaboration between the brigade and the residents was going “well”, the relations with the bureaucratic apparatus were more difficult. A fundamental part of the plan depended on transferring the ownership of the plots from a large and fragmented group of individuals to the S. Victor residents association through an expropriation process, as was defined in the legal framework of the SAAL process. This procedure, however, had not only bureaucratic overtones; it also influenced the team’s design strategy.

Designing with Contingency

One of the fundamental tasks developed by the S. Victor brigade in the first months of their activity, was paying technical assistance for the expropriation process. The definition of the phases of the plan was influenced by the immediate availability, at the Senhora das Dores area, of plots owned by the municipality and thus more easily negotiated, whereas in the blocks on both sides of the S. Victor street, where most of the *ilhas* were located, the process was deferred by the complex negotiation with the many stakeholders involved. Hence, as in the Antas SAAL operation, the plan of the brigade for the *ilhas* sector was chiefly based on the definition of renewal principles for the existing communities, improving their sanitary conditions, increasing

51. Brigada SAAL S. Victor, “Relatório da Brigada: Março, Abril, Maio, Junho,” March 7, 1975, 26-70 - Brigada S. Victor (Relatórios “74-”77), Álvaro Siza archive.

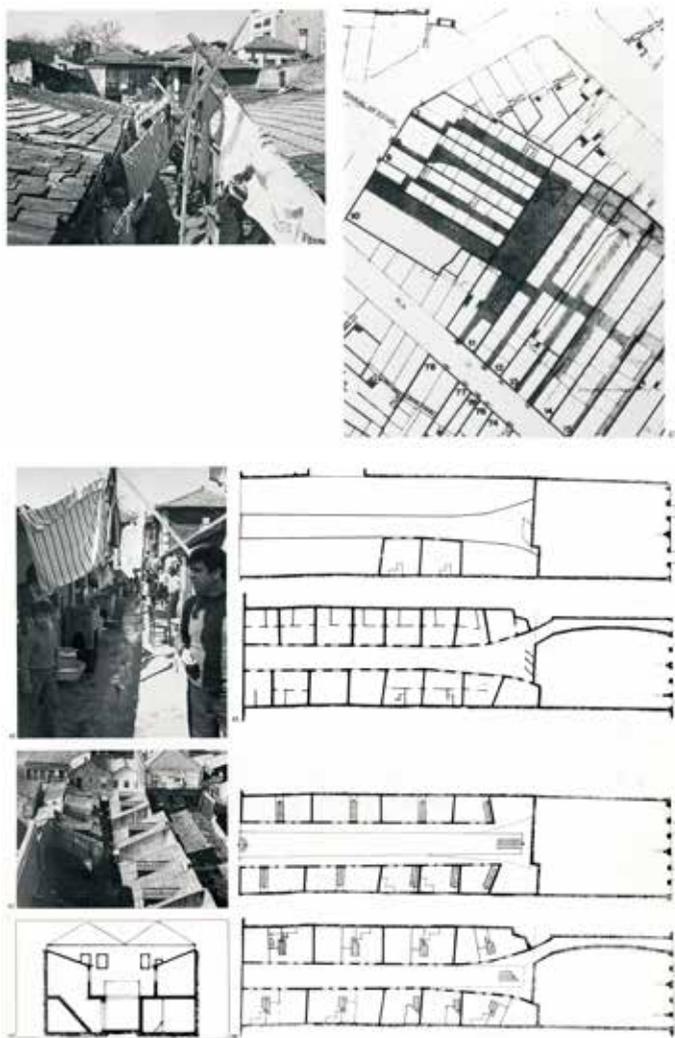


Figure 4.23. S. Victor SAAL operation. Design strategy for the renovation of an *Ilha*. Source: *Lotus International* 13 (December 1976), 90-91.

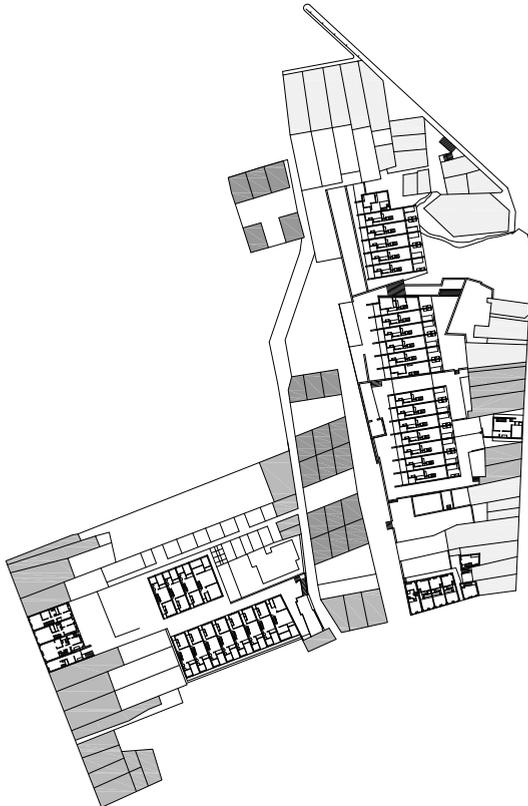
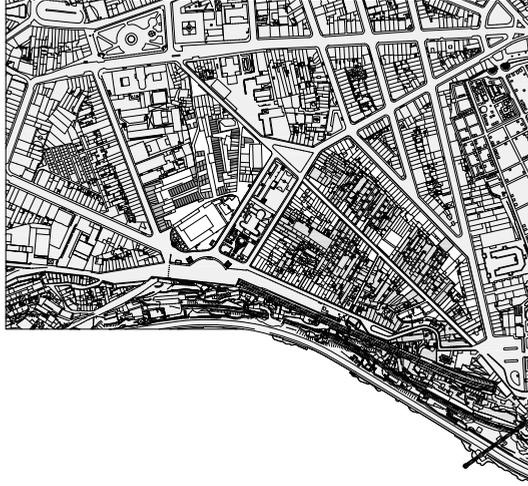


Figure 4.24. S. Victor SAAL operation. General Plan. Source: Author's drawing.

Figure 4.25. S. Victor SAAL operation. Ground floor plan of all the projects designed for the Sra das Dores sector. Source: Author's drawing.

the areas, but preserving their main spatial characteristics. They used a sample case, which had already been surveyed in 1973 by part of the group of student members of the brigade, to illustrate the possibilities to upgrade the living conditions in that sector of the plan. [Figure 4.23] The strategy was mainly based in keeping the morphology of the complex, and increasing the area of the dwellings and the number of partitions by merging dwelling units and adding one floor to the ground bounded units.

Eventually, with the contingencies of the topography and the cadastral structure, the plan evolved towards a more complex strategy. [Figure 4.24] Noticeably, in the Senhora das Dores sector the layout of the plan developed in order to accommodate different challenges brought about by an acute reading of the existing urban fabric. To be sure, the existing buildings, walls dividing the properties, and the site topography became fundamental guiding references for the definition of the area's occupation. The design strategy thus evolved into four different types of intervention. [Figure 4.25] Type A was referred to buildings on completely free land in the neighbourhood's interior areas. Buildings of type B were those erected on empty plots on the perimeter of the neighbourhood. Type C characterized reconstruction operations, using existing foundations and walls of semi-destroyed buildings. Finally, type D denoted recuperation and adaptation of inhabited buildings on the neighbourhood's perimeter belt.

In these four distinct types of intervention, it is conspicuous the extent to which they were determined by contingent factors. [Figure 4.26] In fact, the type B interventions fill in the gaps on the existing street front and are thus responsive to the immediate built context; the type C buildings, are new constructions erected using existing foundations and remnants of dilapidated buildings; and type D is a straightforward recuperation of existing buildings. Further, even the new constructions on empty areas in the interior of the block, the so-called type A interventions, were determined by an interwoven relation with the fabric of the cadastre, which created site-specific changes to the standard dwelling type. [Figure 4.27]

With these different types of intervention, comprising building new housing ensembles, filling in gaps, and renovating existing buildings, the S. Victor brigade deliberately aimed to deliver a pedagogical attitude. It would thus create a tangible repository of urban renewal approaches responsive to specific circumstances, a confrontation with the real, rather than an outcome determined by a top-down imposed plan, speculative interests, or dogmatic urban design principles.

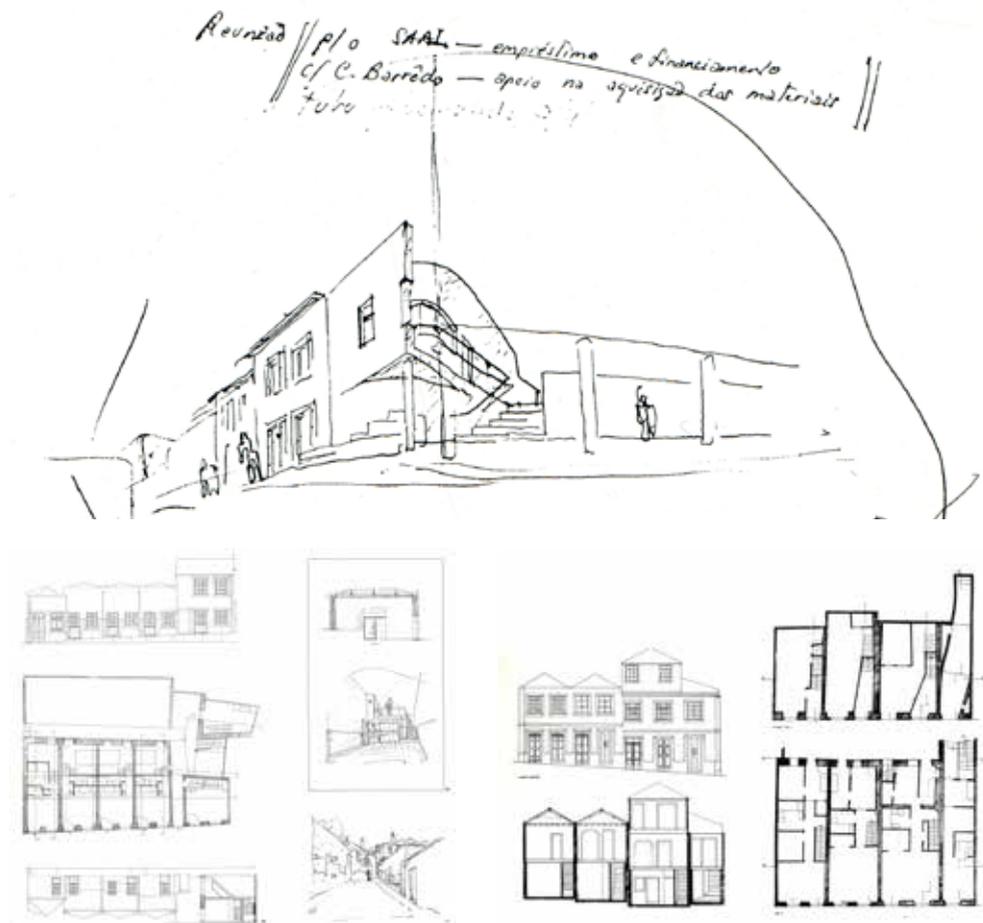


Figure 4.26. S. Victor SAAL operation. sketch of a project for a B type operation (B9) (above); project for a C type operation (C2) (bottom left); project for a D type operation (D3) (bottom right). Source: *Lotus International* 13 (December 1976), 88-90.



Figure 4.27. S. Victor SAAL operation. Project coordinated by Álvaro Siza. Elevations and Situation Plan of the type A housing complex (A1). Source: *Álvaro Siza. Obra Completa*, ed. Kenneth Frampton (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1999), 149.

L'isola proletaria come elemento base del tessuto urbano
The proletarian island as a basic element of the urban tissue

La Zona di S. Victor comprende due settori (Sanctus das Dornas e S. Victor) situati rispettivamente a nord e a sud della "Praça da Alegria", molto vicini al centro storico di Oporto.

Una volta aperta per 100 anni circa gli edifici parzialmente di Sanctus das Dornas, rimane ancora non sono edificati i lotti nei due settori S. Victor. La riforma del 1939 sostiene già la Zona di S. Victor in alcune degli edifici parziali. L'edificazione del due settori già nel 1968 è diventata a questo riduceva nelle piante del tipo.

Lo sviluppo industriale della seconda metà del Ottocento, in particolare nella zona a sud di S. Victor, ha portato al compromesso che dispone all'interno della zona una casa per alcune, anche una famiglia a uno a due piani che permettono il massimo sfruttamento del suolo. Questa tipologia fu vista in grande famiglia abitata al centro della città.

The S. Victor zone is made up of two sectors (Sanctus das Dornas and S. Victor) situated to the north and south respectively of the "Praça da Alegria", very close to the old centre of Oporto. A plan dated 1939 already shows the buildings on the perimeter of Sanctus das Dornas within the land on which S. Victor will be built in this same country. The 1939 plan already takes on the form of S. Victor and some of the previous buildings. The building of the new buildings, in 1968, was the same as that in 1939.

Individual development in the second half of the nineteenth century on the site in the East of S. Victor, brought about the thing in all the surrounding grounds with maximum exploitation of the land available. This "typical" type embodied the very essence of the city centre.

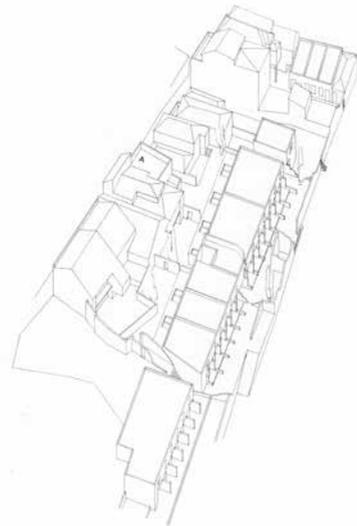


Figure 4.28. Page of *Lotus International* with Álvaro Siza's text "The proletarian island as a basic element of the urban tissue". Source: *Lotus International* 13 (December 1976), 80.

Figure 4.29. S. Victor SAAL operation. Project coordinated by Álvaro Siza. Axonometry of the type A housing complex (A1). Source: *AMC - Architecture Mouvement Continuité* 44 (March 1978), 38.

4.3•Exhibiting Painfully Beautiful Fragments

In 1976, the magazine *Lotus International* published a text written by Álvaro Siza, with an apologetic review of the *ilhas* model. [Figure 4.28] Despite the charged public opinion on the *ilhas*, Siza considered them as a model of community life. This kind of communitarianism was, however, a direct consequence of the segregation of the population living in those settlements, whose processes of inhabiting were severed from the participation and social interaction in the city's public realm. Siza acknowledged that this was a housing model that the inhabitants repudiated massively, "but to repudiate this image", he nevertheless contended, "does not necessarily mean refusal of systems of adaptation and whatever is positive in that community life."⁵² Siza thus argued that the *ilhas* should be considered "the basic element of the urban tissue." More than a mere praise on its morphological qualities, this assertion revealed a great deal of Siza's architectural research program.

The Proletarian Island as a Model of Community Life

The S. Victor's brigade layout strategy for the Sra das Dores sector, replicated the dialectical relation observed in the blocks at Porto's city centre. On the perimeter they consolidated the ring of middle-class houses enclosing the dense patchwork of *ilhas* in the interior of the block. In fact, if the buildings of type B and D were used to consolidate the continuity of the block's street front, the buildings of type A and C perform a dense occupation of the block's interior with new row-housing complexes articulated through collective spaces, served by punctual accesses with the street at the perimeter of the block. This typological approach, then, clearly resonates with the *ilhas* type, which Siza praised as a reference for the enhancement of collectivity. However, to cope with the essential problems of the model, Siza contended that an emphasis on the design of the open spaces was the Brigade's primal concern. The spatial organisation of the houses would be a secondary issue to be solved later, one that he considered easier.

In fact, the reproduction of the *ilhas* model can be seen in the strong interdependence between the collective space and the housing units in the volumes projected for the interior of the Senhora das Dores sector. The biggest volume projected for the sector (A1) can be superficially perceived as a freestanding and autonomous housing block. However, at closer inspection, one can see how it dialogues with the remnants of the existing property limits to negotiate a rich interplay between the private realm and the collective space. [Figure 4.29] Further, the back-to-back organization of the C3 buildings noticeably recuperates the vernacular type of the *ilhas*. Finally, the layout of the buildings occupying a former playground in the south-western part of the interior of the sector (A4), follows the same principles as the A1

52. Álvaro Siza, "The Proletarian 'Island' as a Basic Element of the Urban Tissue," *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 87.

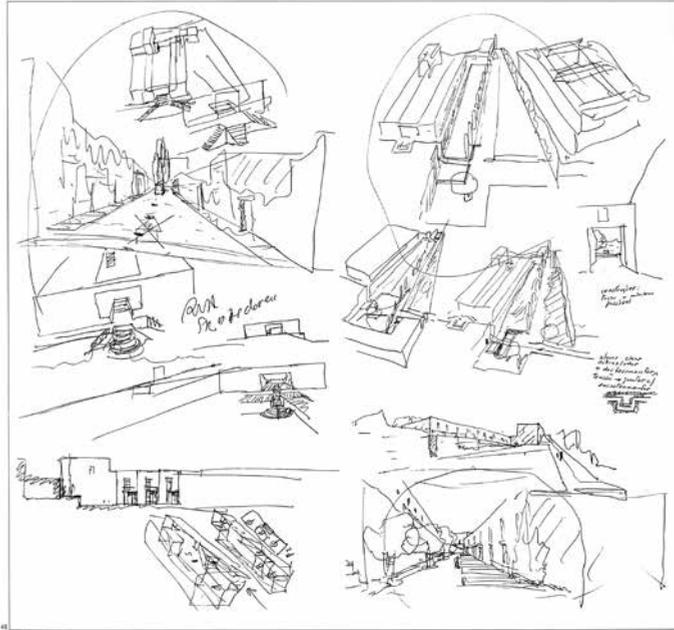


Figure 4.30. Álvaro Siza - Sketches of the A2 operation in the Senhora das Dores sector. Source: *Lotus International* 13 (December 1976), 93.

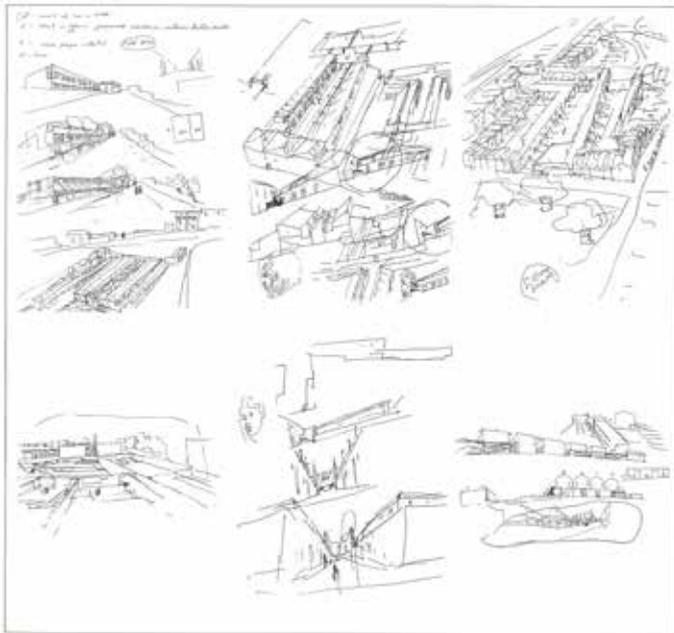


Figure 4.31. Álvaro Siza - Sketches of interventions in S. Victor's SAAL operation. Source: *Lotus International* 13 (December 1976), 92.

buildings, though this time the collective space is defined by two rows of houses facing one another, as it was also usually seen in larger *ilhas*, like those in the neighbouring S. Victor sector. [Figure 4.30]

We can thus have a better understanding of the systems of adaptation suggested in Siza's article. But there is more to it. In fact, in a reflection on the "enigmatic" title of Álvaro Siza's appraisal of the *ilhas* model, Alexandre Alves Costa contends that Siza was deliberately creating a new statute for these communities, triggered by a clear social and political agenda. Alves Costa argues "calling proletarian island to the *ilhas*, is conferring them a new sense and a new dignity." And he goes on, arguing that "the singular gives them globality: it is the group of all islands, it is the city to be built or reconstructed. Proletarian because the new city will be for the workers before it becomes a classless city."⁵³

Hence, according to Alves Costa, in post-revolutionary Portugal, the typological figure of the *ilhas* became a token of the expectations of a group of architects engaged with a disciplinary drive to foster social change. From the outset, however, these expectations had to struggle with the bureaucratic inertia and the political influence of the capitalist apparatus, nurtured during almost five decades of dictatorial regime. The development of the plan for the Senhora das Dores sector testifies to the challenges faced by the people involved in the SAAL process.

Due to the problems related with the expropriation process, which created many obstacles to the implementation of the general plan, the S. Victor brigade decided to start building in the areas where the property was already owned by the municipality. Hence, the first new dwellings were created with the renovation of three houses at the southern side of the sector (C3) and with the partial construction of the new housing block built in the interior of the sector (A1). A second version of the housing complex designed for the former playground (A4) was developed, articulating the new construction with the existing buildings and platforms. The deliberate intention to emphasize the collective space that aggregates the individual units was reflected in the creation of a wall connecting the top of each row of houses, and defining a gate of sorts. A sketch of this area made by Álvaro Siza, utterly illustrates the complex negotiation of different elements, such as the existing *ilhas*, the backyard of the middle-class houses, and the new buildings proposed in the plan. [Figure 4.31]

While the general layout of the S. Victor operation drew noticeably on the vernacular tradition, the design of the dwelling units reveals a more mixed lineage. In the C3 buildings, the brigade designed a studio type for elderly people, taking

53. "A Ilha Proletária como Elemento Base do Tecido Urbano. Algumas Considerações Sobre um Título Enigmático," *Jornal Arquitectos*, no. 204 (2002): 12.

advantage of the plot's level differences to explore a semi-duplex organization with three different platforms articulated around a service core. In the case of the blocks A1 and A4, a more standard dwelling type was designed, with particular characteristics, though. In effect, the organization of the dwelling units in block A1 shows a delicate negotiation of the project with the existing features on the plot, most of them related with the previous cadastral division. There is a standard dwelling type, with three bedrooms in two floors, which is adapted in places where the conceptual matrix intersects significant elements. On each top of the block, a special unit was also created to articulate with the neighbouring buildings.

The standard dwellings in block A1 were defined as a sequence of five modules of 3,60m by 3,60m. [Figure 4.32] On the ground floor, the first module is an open space in the collective area, solely defined by walls in the transition to the neighbouring units. The space defined by these walls is thus a transitional zone where the collective gradually penetrates into the individual. In the next module, a small porch was carved out from the volume thus adding a new transitional area, covered and leading to the entrance. Additionally, in this module there is a bedroom and the distribution to the central core. In the latter it is located the kitchen and the stairs to the upper floor. Penetrating deeper in the dwelling, the fourth module is entirely dedicated to the living room, which connects through a fully glazed wall with the fifth module, which is a partially covered patio, including laundry and storage areas. This patio opens to an alley that eventually articulates with the street. In the upper floor, the bedrooms are organized around the central core, which is dedicated to the toilet and circulation. Above the patio, a terrace was created for drying the laundry.

This organization reveals a meaningful interpretation of how the brigade conceived the domestic space for the S. Victor residents. In the *ilhas*, the dwellings had an abrupt transition from the collective space to the simple interior of the dwellings. Here, instead, there is a gradual transition between the collective realm and the core of the house, noticeably defined by architectural elements that accommodate the space for individual expression in parallel with the participation of the individual in the collective space.

In the case of the dwelling units designed for the block A4, there are only three modules, and thus the transition from the collective space to the interior of the unit is less gradual than in block A1. [Figure 4.33] On the ground floor the central module is occupied with the living room, whereas the kitchen shares the third module with a loggia, at the back of the house. On the upper floor the same scheme of block A1 is repeated, though in this case, instead of a terrace, it was introduced a balcony with a

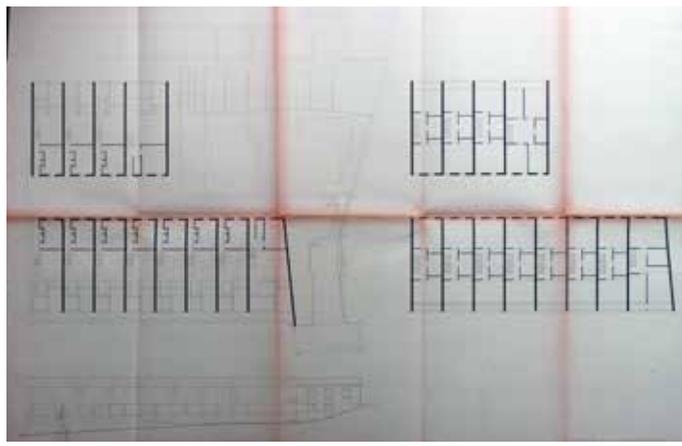


Figure 4.32. S. Victor SAAL operation. Project coordinated by Álvaro Siza. Plan of the typical unit in the A1 housing complex. Source: Author's drawing.

Figure 4.33. S. Victor SAAL operation. Project coordinated by Álvaro Siza. Ground floor and First floor of the A2 housing complex. Source: Álvaro Siza's archive. Photo © Nelson Mota.

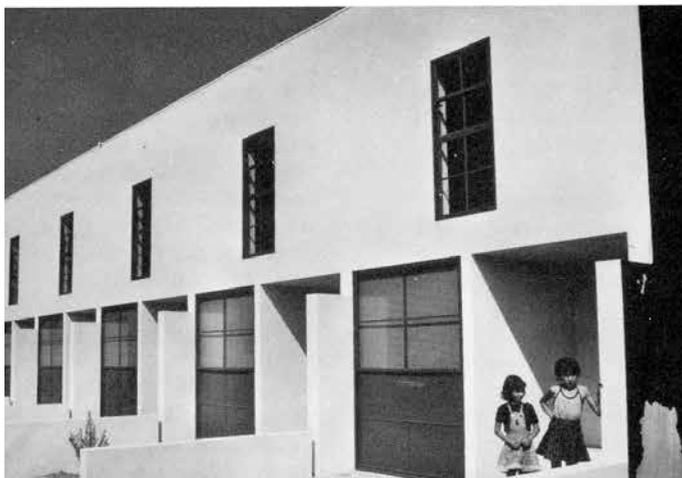


Figure 4.34. Views of the A1 housing complex in the Sra das Dores sector. Source: *AMC - Architecture Mouvement Continuité* 44 (March 1978), 38.

“fake” facade to accommodate the space for drying the laundry.

The work produced by the S. Victor brigade, reveals thus a complex negotiation between the reproduction of the vernacular tradition in the general plan, and the introduction of a new organization of the space at the scale of the dwelling unit. It praises the potential of the *ilhas* as a model of community life, accommodating, at the same time, a concept of family life that was deliberately imported from the modernist tenets of social emancipation. Further, these social and cultural aspects were further articulated with a design approach where remnants of past layers of occupation produced conspicuous interferences with the design, contaminating the new with the old. [Figure 4.34]

This negotiation is arguably a belated resonance of the disciplinary debates in the 1950s, already discussed in a previous chapter. In Portugal, it also contributed to spark an intense debate on the reconceptualization of the tenets of architectural modernism. However, according to Siza, its impact in the transformation of the built environment was merely tangential, and it was the SAAL process that produced this change. In an article published in 1986, Siza contends that, in the SAAL process,

Different reactions of difficult conciliation were born from the encounter with vernacular architecture – not the traditional, anonymous and wisely adapted to the geographical setting, but the one resulting from the violent post-war rupture, belated within us, though similarly intense, the deprivation, the revolt and the ancient desire of beauty and comfort.⁵⁴

And he goes on emphasizing how this encounter with the urban vernacular was instrumental to synchronize the Portuguese architectural debate with the European tendencies. “The sudden revelation of painfully beautiful fragments or clumsily imitated, as opposed to the grey and distant professional practice, explain the Portuguese swift embracing of European tendencies, [which had been] sparked by slower and more experienced ways.” This hasty confrontation with a circumstance that had been somewhat hidden hitherto, created in the architectural discipline, according to Siza, two parallel approaches. On the one hand, a criticism on the disciplinary heritage of modernism, considered purist and elitist, which resulted in an anxious search for a language of spontaneity, most of the times through a uncritical use of History as a repository of forms. On the other hand, a return to the roots of modern movement, obviously an endless process, which then resulted in a mere collection of inoffensive references.⁵⁵

For Siza, then, this confrontation of the discipline with the real was thus a challenging process that involved accepting contaminations. In an interview given in 8 September 1977 to the journal *AMC – Architecture Mouvement Continuité*,

54. Álvaro Siza, “O 25 de Abril e a Transformação da Cidade,” *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 18/19/20 (February 1986): 38.

55. *Ibid.*

Siza recognizes the influence of Venturi's writings to frame his architectural approach. "It is necessary not only to create relations with reality, but also with the space and materials," he contends. And he goes on, claiming:

These relations must be created between the project and what surrounds it, and also between the different parts of the project. In the interior of the project, the relations must fatally become eclectic, hybrid, because all realities external to the work must penetrate and contaminate the project.⁵⁶

He recognizes, nevertheless, that these contaminations are not always understood by the other stakeholders in the process, including the community of residents, which often regard the preservation of these references from the past as conflicting with a progressive outlook to foster social change. However, resonating with Giancarlo de Carlo's position discussed above, Siza contends that in these circumstances the role of the architect is to be able to use its expertise to avoid a populist approach, designing *for* the people. Hence, he points out "some architects think that one should give the population exactly what they want. I think that is demagogy. We know a certain number of things, we should offer this knowledge to the population."⁵⁷

It is, then, this complex negotiation between the situation and the project, between the architect's account of reality and the users' commitment with social change, which "fatally" contributed for the development of a deliberately hybrid project to the S. Victor zone.

Housing Beyond Bureaucracy

While Álvaro Siza was engaged in the SAAL operation in the S. Victor zone, he was appointed leader of another brigade, in the Bouça zone, an area adjacent to one of Porto's main thoroughfares, the Rua da Boavista. The project for this area was very different from S. Victor's. While, in the case of S. Victor and other SAAL operations in Porto, the students had been previously engaged with the residents of the area, and performed the role of mediators from the outset of the renewal process, in this case the background was somewhat different.

In February 1973 Álvaro Siza was commissioned by the FFH (*Fundo de Fomento da Habitação*, State Housing Agency) to design a social housing complex on the Bouça site, an irregular plot at the top of one of the blocks in Rua da Boavista, and neighbouring the Lapa zone, which was on the opposite side of the railway tracks adjacent to the site.⁵⁸ The municipality of Porto had already developed a preliminary project for the same site, designed by their technicians in 1963. [Figure 4.35] This project proposed different building types and a functional mix, including middle class housing and commercial facilities.

56. Álvaro Siza, "Entretien avec Alvaro Siza," *AMC - Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, no. 44 (1978): 36.

57. *Ibid.*, 37.

58. The SAAL operation for the Lapa zone was discussed above in this chapter.

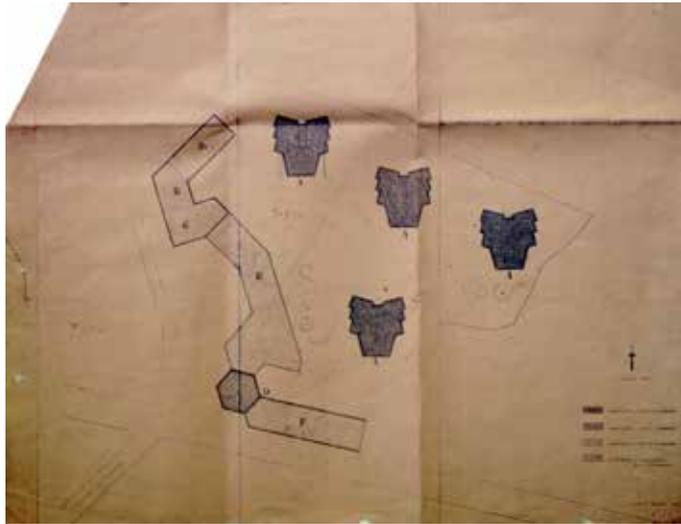


Figure 4.35. Municipality of Porto's Technical Office - Housing Complex in Rua da Boavista (1963). Source: Álvaro Siza's archive. Photo © Nelson Mota.

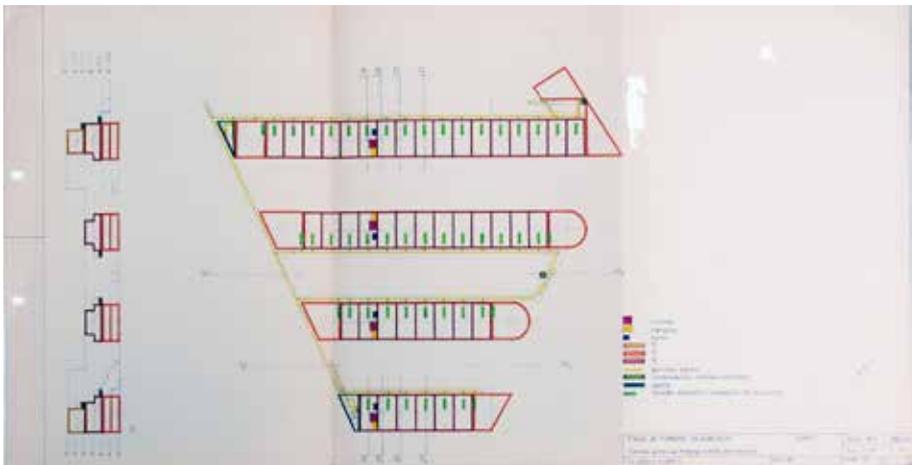
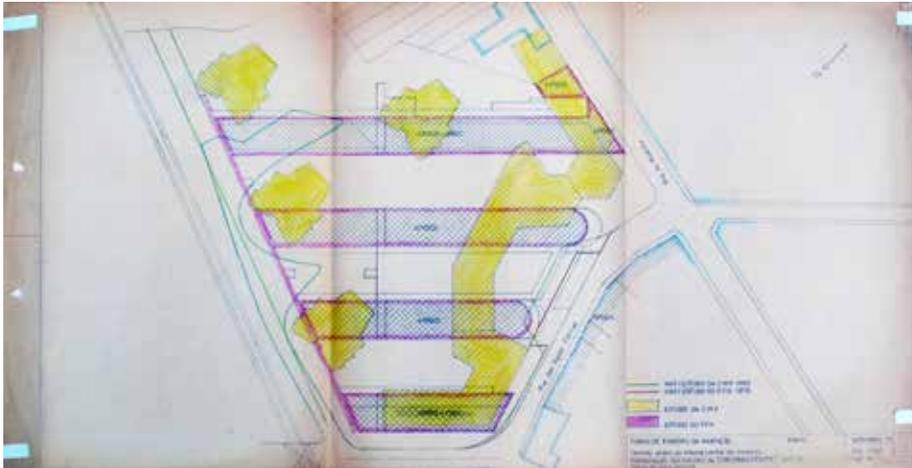


Figure 4.36. Álvaro Siza - Overlap of the 1963 project (Municipality of Porto) and the new housing complex for FFH (September 1973). Source: Álvaro Siza's archive. Photo © Nelson Mota.

Figure 4.37. Álvaro Siza - Project for a housing complex for FFH - Distribution of the housing types. Plan and section (May 1973). Source: Álvaro Siza's archive. Photo © Nelson Mota.

The footprint of the scheme shows markedly the influence of the campaign, chiefly organized by Nuno Portas, against the archetypes advocated by the rationalist movement in the interwar period.⁵⁹

The FFH services sent to Siza the preliminary brief with the requested number and categories of housing units, the area needed for commercial amenities, the site's legal constraints, and the 1963 plan.⁶⁰ In his preliminary project, however, Siza proposed a different organization for the 143 dwellings requested in the brief and, furthermore, a completely different layout for the entire complex. [Figure 4.36] The layout suggested by Siza was based on the organization of four parallel blocks positioned diagonally with the main street surrounding the site. With this layout, Siza achieved a more even relation of the blocks with the Rua da Boavista.

In Siza's report to the FFH, he wrote that he would not follow the 1963 scheme on the grounds that it was not conditioned by the "severe discipline" of social housing. He claimed the "extreme articulation of the volumes and their irregular shape" created challenges to the design of the layout for the interiors, for the detailing of the project, as well as "an impossible standardization." Further, he contended the blocks with seven floors, designed in the 1963 plan, do not meet the specific requirements of the FFH, arguing that only overlooking important technical aspects one could build them with the costs ascribed to social housing programmes.⁶¹

He then described his proposal, highlighting the importance of avoiding a rupture with the urban tissue, of adopting serialization principles, of taking advantage of the site's topography, and of developing a building and dwelling type that optimizes the budget constraints, without jeopardizing the overall quality of the construction. The scheme suggested by Siza uses a maisonette dwelling type with direct access on the ground floor and gallery access on the levels above. The blocks on both extremes of the plot have three stacked units (thus, six floors), and the two blocks in the middle, have two stacked units (four floors). The blocks are articulated by a long wall on the side of the railway, acting both as a sound and visual barrier and as a connecting device between the galleries and the ground. [Figure 4.37] The dwelling units, organized in two floors have a standard width of six meters.⁶² The proposal was approved in January 1974 and in 9 April 1974, (two weeks before the revolution) Siza received the minute for the contract to develop the execution project. Then, with all the unrest brought about by the 25 April 1974 revolution, the process was deferred until March 1975.

When Nuno Portas created the SAAL, the services of the FFH were redesigned to coordinate the process, using its bureaucratic

59. See Nuno Portas, *A Habitação Social. Proposta Para a Metodologia da Sua Arquitectura* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2004), 61–66.

60. The brief required 23 two bedroom units (92m² each), 76 three bedroom units (117m² each), 34 four bedroom units (137m² each), and 12 five bedroom units (150m² each).

61. Álvaro Siza, "Construção de Habitações de Carácter Social em Terreno Anexo ao Tribunal Central de Menores," June 6, 1973, 01-17-'70_138 - Bouça I - FFH (1973-1975), Álvaro Siza archive.

62. In Siza's proposal, the number, area, and type of dwellings was reorganized as follows: 23 two bedroom units (95m² each), 61 three bedroom units (114m² each), and 60 five bedroom units (144m² each). Siza suppressed the four bedroom type, suggesting instead a smaller five bedroom unit, which could be adapted to different family sizes.

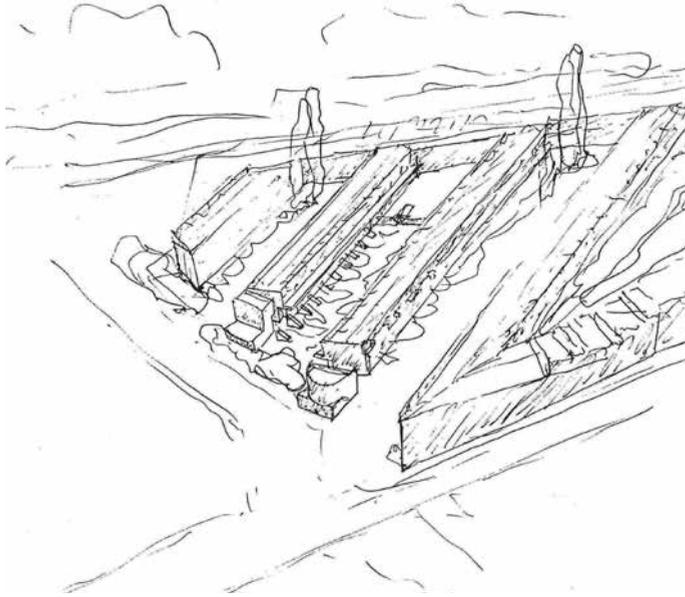


Figure 4.38. Bouça SAAL operation. Project coordinated by Álvaro Siza. Sketch of the 1975 revision. Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* no. 211 (October 1980): 48.

Figure 4.39. Bouça SAAL operation. Project coordinated by Álvaro Siza. Plan, sections and elevations of the typical dwelling units. Source: Álvaro Siza's archive. Photo © Nelson Mota.

apparatus and expertise to articulate the relations between the different stakeholders (State, Municipalities, Technical Brigades, Contractors, and Residents Associations). After the creation of the SAAL, in August 1974, groups of ill-housed communities living at the Bouça area decided to organize themselves and to start the process to create a SAAL operation. In July 1975, the Bouça residents' association was officially created and it was decided that the site previously designated by the FFH for social housing should be converted to accommodate the local residents members of the association. Siza was asked to become the leader of the Bouça SAAL brigade, and revise his project taking into account the new circumstances. In February 1976, he sent the revised version of the general plan and a study of a new dwelling type. The footprint of the scheme was mostly kept, but the height of the blocks on each extreme of the site decreased from six floors to four. [Figure 4.38] The basic dwelling type, a three-bedroom unit organized in two floors, was redesigned to fit a module of four meters wide and twelve meters long, in order to meet the financial constraints of the SAAL program. The total number of dwellings was now 158, an increase of fifteen units in relation to the previous version, despite the reduction in the volume of the construction.⁶³

The layout of the new scheme preserved the main principles of the first version, though the volumetric articulation of the four blocks with the neighbouring streets was now made through smaller volumes (for commercial facilities and an office for the residents' association), which negotiated the continuity with the street front. A parking garage was designed under a raised platform placed between the central blocks. The collective spaces between the blocks were articulated by passages pierced in the volumes, and the common access to the galleries on the second floor was still made through the long wall neighbouring the railway. On the opposite side of this gallery, each block had a flight of stairs connecting to the ground floor.

The layout of the housing units was structurally similar to S. Victor's row housing, with some dimensional differences, though. [Figure 4.39] First and foremost, in Bouça the dwellings were stacked in groups of two maisonettes. Further, in this case, the structural module was a square of four meters, somewhat more generous than in S. Victor. The typical three-bedroom unit in Bouça developed in two floors and was three modules deep (twelve meters). On the lower maisonette there was a double access from the collective courtyard. At ground level, there was a direct access to the floor where the bedrooms were organized around the central module with bathroom and internal stairs to the upper floor. On this floor, the central module is occupied by the living room. The bedroom was located next to the living room opposite to the kitchen, which was open to the living room, and a loggia that articulates the living room with the courtyard

63. This was possible due to the reduction of the area for each unit, and a larger systematization of the dwelling categories. In the revised version the bulk of units was constituted by two and three-bedroom apartments.

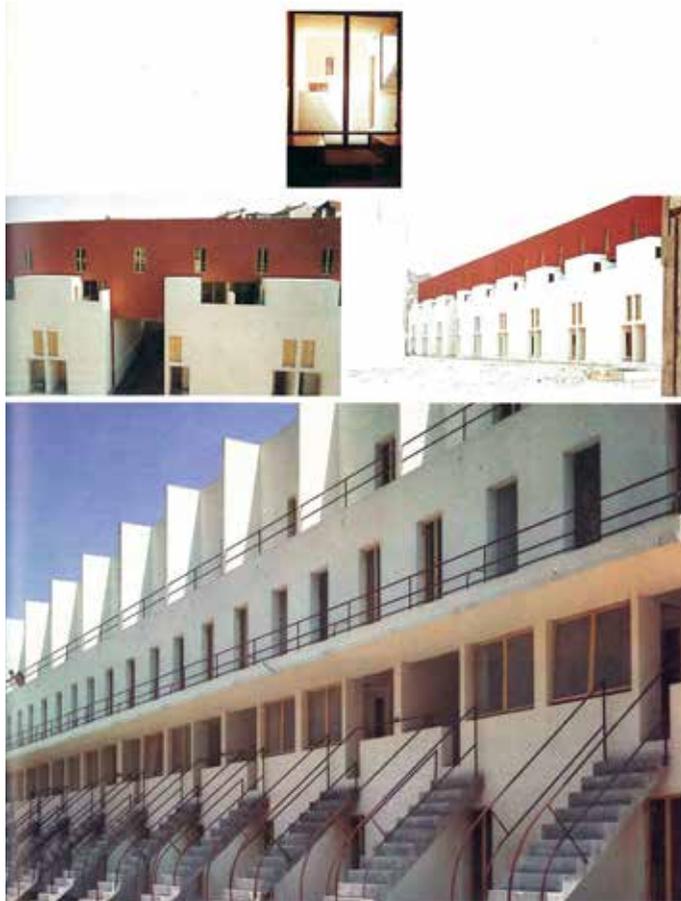


Figure 4.40. Bouça SAAL operation. Project coordinated by Álvaro Siza. Pictures of the blocks built in the first phase Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 211 (October 1980), 47.

through an external stair located on the opposite side of the ground floor entrance.

The layout of the upper maisonette is somewhat different, though with a similar structural system. In this case there is only one access, which connects with the gallery on the second floor. The transition between the gallery and the dwelling is made through a porch that shares the first module with a bedroom, which can also be used as a generic partition for indiscriminate uses. The central module is occupied by the living room that extends to the exterior with a deep loggia in the module opposite to the entrance, which is also shared with the kitchen. On the upper floor, the two bedrooms (one with balcony and the other without) occupy the peripheral modules, around the service core, with bathroom and connection to the lower floor.

In this project, as in S. Victor, there was a conspicuous attempt to create an hybrid organization of the space where the dwellings and the collective spaces negotiate the boundaries between the public and the private realms. In this case, however, the additional complexity introduced by stacking the dwellings contributed to spark the pervasive use of transitional elements, such as the protruding stairs in the lower maisonette, and the porch in the upper maisonette. [Figure 4.40] On both cases, the use of loggias to extend the living room, located in the core of the unit, to the façade further creates ambiguous spaces that create room for individual appropriation and expression.

The End of the SAAL

Nuno Portas was exonerated from his position in the government on 26 March 1975. The SAAL process, nevertheless, continued following the bases of his program for more than one year after his exoneration, though with a wide range of variations to the initial rationale of the program, as discussed above. On 26 October 1976, however, a joint dispatch signed by the Minister of Interior (Manuel da Costa Brás), and the Minister of Housing, Urbanism and Construction (Eduardo Ribeiro Pereira) concluded: “after two years of experience, [...] some SAAL brigades have clearly diverged from the spirit of the dispatch that created them, operating on the margin of the FFH and even of the municipalities, which should have been the main vehicles to the development of the process.”⁶⁴ Further, the dispatch accused the SAAL process of failing to deliver an adequate answer for the country’s housing problem, as could be testified by the growing number of clandestine constructions sprouting in the country’s main metropolitan areas, Lisbon, Porto and Algarve. The dispatch, then, clearly contended that the central role in solving the housing problem should be given to local administrations, which, in the meantime, had been democratically empowered by the new constitution.⁶⁵ It argued

64. The Ministerial dispatch was published in *Diário da República* (Official Gazette of the Republic) on 28 October 1976. It was republished in Conselho Nacional do SAAL, *Livro Branco do SAAL 1974-1976*, 1:452–454. Further references to this document were taken from the latter publication.

65. The new democratic constitution of Portugal was approved on 2 April 1976, and became effective two years after the revolution, on 25 April 1976. For the first time in Portugal, the constitution defined a democratic organization of the municipalities. The first elections for the municipalities were held on 12 December 1976.

“the new municipalities, democratically elected, legitimized by the vote, are the rightful representatives of the people in the support of their interests, where the problems of the *habitat* have a meaningful significance, because they can only be tackled in terms of community and solidarity.”

The government’s keen interest in shifting the coordination of the SAAL process to the scope of the municipalities, though seemingly underpinned by their democratic legitimacy, conceals more complex phenomena, though. On the one hand, the relation between the SAAL brigades and the population created short-circuits in the social and political system. The challenges tackled by the brigades were not only technical or disciplinary issues, but also political, and this somehow jeopardized the established power relations cherished by the political apparatus gaining momentum in the aftermath of the revolution. On the other hand, after the relative stabilization brought about by the new constitution and the first free elections in 25 April 1976, the reorganization of the pre-revolution capitalist apparatus unfolded and its influence soon infiltrated the operation of the public institutions.

According to José António Bandeirinha, experiences such as those developed by the SAAL-Porto brigades, “intensified the contradictions between a progressive approach, which implied a rupture with the establishment, and the desperate attempts, in hostile circumstances, to preserve the power, to consolidate ancestral domination and submission collusions, to perpetuate the market privileges in the urban real-estate market.”⁶⁶ The transference of the coordination of the SAAL process to the municipalities was thus instrumental to control this progressive approach, rather than to foster the community and solidarity in the habitat of the urban poor, as the government argued. In fact, a fundamental task of the municipalities in the SAAL operations was designing and building the infrastructures and public spaces in the developing areas. However, their poor engagement in performing this task was pervasive, bringing notorious problems to the operations.

Furthermore, the political boycott to the processes of expropriation, created serious problems to the implementation of the plans developed by the SAAL brigades. After October 1976, once under the responsibility of the municipalities, only those parts of the plans that had already started were actually finished. Most of the times, however, the buildings were erected with poor or no infrastructure at all, thus contributing to its *ghettoization*, and to spark a general discontent and disbelief among the residents in the SAAL process. This situation was, obviously, pleasing for the political and economical interests of those that saw the SAAL process as a menace to the traditional power relations and to the normal operations of the real estate

66. Bandeirinha, *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura no 25 de Abril de 1974*, 248.

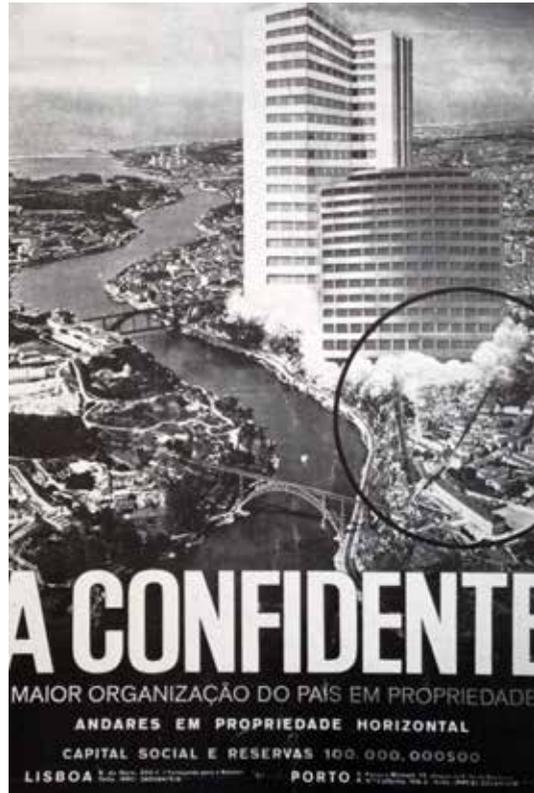


Figure 4.41. Advertisement for the real estate company “A Confidente”. The circle marks the location of S. Victor. Source: *Bürgerbeteiligung in Portugal: Porto 1974 bis 1976*, ed. Brigitte Cassirer (Berlin: Bauausstellung Berlin, 1981), 18.

Figure 4.42. The Bouça housing estate with only the first phase built. Source: *Álvaro Siza. Obra Completa*, ed. Kenneth Frampton (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1999), 153.

market. [Figure 4.41]

The S. Victor and Bouça operations testify to this. In the Bouça operation, due to problems in the expropriation of parts of the building site, the project was divided in three phases. The project for the first phase was approved by the FFH in 9 November 1976 and the construction started in early 1977.⁶⁷ The following phases were cancelled and the buildings remained incomplete for many years, without proper public infrastructure. As the wall that articulated the block was not built, the distribution galleries were incomplete and thus the access to the upper maisonettes had to be done through a provisional stair. [Figure 4.42]

In the S. Victor operation, only two buildings in the Senhora das Dores sector were eventually erected: the reconstruction of three houses in Praça da Alegria (C2), and twelve dwellings in part of the new housing block (A1) designed for the middle of the sector. [Figure 4.43] The project was thus amputated, and the municipality went even further, demolishing the walls and ruins that had been preserved as part of the project, and keenly cherished by Siza as painfully beautiful fragments of the past.

Over the last decades, there was a noticeably appropriation of the buildings, expressed in the exterior by the changes made to the openings. In the case of S. Victor, the residents closed the patio and used it to extend the internal area of the dwelling. [Figure 4.44] Regarding the case of Bouça, in the early 2000s, a housing cooperative convinced the INH (*Instituto Nacional da Habitação*, National Housing Institute, the successor of FFH) to renovate the first phase of the operation, and complete it with the missing blocks, and infrastructure. In this process, the most profound change to the original project was the introduction of underground parking, and individual storage under the platform initially intended for parking, between the central blocks. Subtle changes were also made to the layout of the dwelling units. [Figure 4.45] Now, with the scheme completed, young middle-class professionals joined the original residents and their families, living together in a privileged situation in Porto's city centre. As Siza noted, after thirty years of disruption, the residents had to "accept the interruption of the 'magnificent isolation' in which they were living, right in the city centre."⁶⁸ [Figure 4.46]

67. The first phase included parts of the two wider blocks, and contained 57 dwellings (28 two-bedroom units, and 29 three-bedroom units).

68. Álvaro Siza, "Foreword," in *Bouça Residents' Association Housing: Porto 1972-77, 2005-06*, ed. Wilfried Wang and Brigitte Fleck (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 2008), 7.

4.4• The Technician as Technician

One of the distinctive aspects in Porto's SAAL operations, as compared with Lisbon for example, was their methodological consistency and the coherence of the architectural operations developed by the different brigades. Three factors explain that consistence and coherence. First, the worse-off population of



Figure 4.43. View of the built schemes in the S. Victor SAAL operation. The C2 houses (above) and the A1 tenement (below). Source: *Bürgerbeteiligung in Portugal: Porto 1974 bis 1976*, ed. Brigitte Cassirer (Berlin: Bauausstellung Berlin, 1981), cover (above); Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril - Universidade de Coimbra. Photo © Alexandre Alves Costa (below).



Figure 4.44. Current condition of the S. Victor SAAL operation, housing scheme type A1 (2012). Source: © Nelson Mota.

Figure 4.45. Álvaro Siza and António Madureira - Bouça housing complex. Renovation of the first phase and completion of the initial scheme (2000-2006). General Plan, sections, elevation and pictures. Source: *Casabella* no. 765 (April 2008): 36-37.



Figure 4.46. Current condition of the Bouça SAAL operation (2012). Source: © Nelson Mota.

Porto living in the *ilhas*, at the city centre, had a clear idea of what they did *not* want, which was being relocated to social housing complexes on the city's periphery. Secondly, there was already a tradition of articulation between the residents of the *ilhas* and the would-be technicians, i.e. the students of Architecture at the School of Porto. Thirdly, there was a somewhat endogamous relation between the architects who coordinated Porto's SAAL brigades.⁶⁹ These factors contributed for a unique relation between the architects involved in the process, the institutional apparatus redefined by the post-revolutionary governments and the empowerment of the grassroots.

Architectural Design and Grassroots Empowerment

In the SAAL operations in Porto, the students who were already working with the ill-housed residents, doing fieldwork and surveying their living conditions, influenced the creation of the brigades. One of the coordinators of SAAL-Norte, Alexandre Alves Costa, and he himself a professor at the school of architecture, was deeply involved with the debate on pedagogic and disciplinary approaches. In 1982, some years after the SAAL operations were launched, Alves Costa would clearly summarize the importance of the architecture students at the outset of Porto's SAAL operations, as follows: "The first *nuclei* of residents interested in a SAAL operation largely coincide with those zones where students of the school of architecture (ESBAP) were developing academic work." He further notes that, "having been the first ones to publicize the [SAAL] dispatch, and deeply rooted in the zones as they were, they would eventually establish the *nuclei* of the first technical brigades, by the simple addition of one or two architects in charge." And to stress the disciplinary importance of the novel disciplinary approach fostered by the SAAL operations in Porto, Alves Costa goes on arguing that the students "had, thus, the opportunity to participate in the debates that would generate the first technical and formal options." And he continues, contending that they were thus involved in "the creation of a new methodology of design, which believes in planning, design and technology as a synthesis of a multidisciplinary activity resulting from a constant action between technician and dwellers."⁷⁰

Hence, the influence of a self-conscious disciplinary apparatus cannot be overlooked in the assessment of the architectural outcome in the participatory processes of Porto's SAAL operations. The confrontation with the real, however, would also contribute for an ambivalent account of power relations in citizen's participation in the design process. On the one hand, the architectural outcome is clearly determined and filtered by the codes of the discipline. On the other hand, the architects strived to frame their approach as the outcome of a consensus-building process, accommodating the tensions emerging from

69. In the interview given to the documentary "As Operações SAAL", Nuno Portas stresses this factor as one that contributed to the distinctiveness of the SAAL operations in Porto. "They had dinner together everyday!", Portas asserted. Cf. Dias, *As Operações SAAL*.

70. Alexandre Alves Costa, *Dissertação...* (Porto: Edições do Curso de Arquitectura da ESBAP, 1982), 111.

power relations and the conflictive negotiations stemming from it.

The problem was thus the definition of a methodological apparatus that would frame that process of transformation of the real and accommodate the aims and ambitions of the stakeholders in the participatory process, which were not necessarily coincident. In effect, for the grassroots movements, the SAAL operations were an opportunity for a swift upgrade in their living conditions, and their reference models were, in opposition to what some members of the technical brigades maintained, those of the middle class.⁷¹ For the architects, instead, it was an opportunity to pursue a disciplinary *ethos* where their expertise was called to contribute for a process of social change.

Writing in 1976, while a great deal of SAAL projects were already being built, Nuno Portas would, nevertheless, deliver a critical account on the architect's dogmatic disciplinary approach, which failed to incorporate the challenges brought about by the SAAL program. He argued the architect's "disciplinary deformation irresistibly tends to cancel the objective evolution of processes that threatened the internal logic of their design models, and their professional position, privileged in its hegemonic determination of the product and its signification."⁷² Portas highlights thus his discontent with the architect's eagerness in expressing their power through their obsolete design models.

In December 1976, *Lotus International*, published a thorough account of the S. Victor SAAL operation and, in this issue, Álvaro Siza published a manifesto of sorts with the title "The line of action of the technicians as technicians." In this text, Siza delivers his own account on the challenges brought about by SAAL's novel methodology, arguing that "the Brigade does not adopt simplistic positions, such as: learn with the people or teach them"⁷³. By rejecting these *simplistic positions*, he dismissed, therefore, both a populist and a paternalistic approach. And, on a Marxist tone, he went on arguing "the Brigade believes that its expertise and its ideas, within the concrete limits of the reconstruction of the habitat, with a dialectic relationship with the present ideas of the population it works for, will form the basis of a physical world created for and by a society that wants to be classless."⁷⁴

Álvaro Siza was thus keen arguing in favour of a disciplinary approach that should, above all, be able to pursue a qualified outcome, one that should overcome the temptation of just delivering "what people want," an approach that should, as Giancarlo de Carlo noted above, work *with* the people and not *for* the people. Siza went further, contending the Brigade should reject the idea "that the urgency of the problems could constitute a limiting factor to quality and poetry"⁷⁵. Despite the

71. In the documentary "As Operações SAAL" some residents declared that when the architects asked them which kind of house they wanted, they just replied: "One like yours!". Cf. Dias, *As Operações SAAL*.

72. Nuno Portas, "Prefazione," in *Politica e Progetto. Un'esperienza di Base in Portogallo*, by Francesco Marconi and Paula Oliveira (Milano: Feltrinelli Economica, 1977), 27.

73. Álvaro Siza, "The Line of Action of the Technicians as Technicians," *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 87.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*

pressing need to solve the housing problems of the population, Siza was keen in preserving the wholeness the design process, to avoid jeopardizing the quality of the architectural outcome. This approach, however, was prone to generate conflicts and the very many stakeholders engaged in the process seldom shared the same commitment with quality and poetry. The traditional position of the architect, allied with the elites, becomes thus challenged when there is a shift of power to the grassroots, as was the case in the SAAL process. What is the extent, then, to which the fundamental tenets of the disciplinary ethos changed with this reconfiguration of power structures in the design process?

According to Álvaro Siza, in the SAAL operations there was an urgent need to build, to confront all stakeholders in the process with a tangible outcome that would fuel the engagement of the grassroots movement on a shift towards the social organization of the demand for housing. Only then, he argued, a genuine dialogue could arise.⁷⁶ Alves Costa explained this strategy as one of “immediate advance to the project and construction in several different fronts of the same operation so that, through the assessment of what was actually built, one could introduce, in a sequential process, the necessary corrections”. And he went on stressing that he believed in this method “as the only one that allows a true participation of the future inhabitants as well as keeping their engagement facing the feasibility of their main aspiration.”⁷⁷

This strategy thus resonates with a deliberate resistance to conformity and group polarization, which, concomitantly, often resulted in conflicts. In 1983, talking about his experience in the SAAL operations, Siza recalled that “the dwellers wanted the intervention of the architect but they didn’t easily accept architecture. Their attitude was sometimes authoritarian, they denied all awareness of the architect’s problems, they imposed their way of seeing and conceiving things. The dialogue was very contentious.” However, Siza argues, “to enter the real process of participation meant to accept the conflicts and not to hide or avoid them, but on the contrary to elaborate on them. These exchanges then become very rich, although hard and often difficult.”⁷⁸

An appeal to populist forms of consensus-building, especially in contexts of political and social unrest, fosters group polarization and results, paradoxically, in a more extreme outcome than that of a negotiated process.⁷⁹ At any rate, in participatory processes, power blindness can jeopardize the stakeholder’s common endeavour to pursue social change. Dissent becomes thus instrumental, for architects and other specific intellectuals, to raise consciousness on the need for a collective engagement in a critique of the *status quo*, where the contributions of all

76. Álvaro Siza, “Architektur Und Partizipation,” in *5 Architekten Zeichnen Für Berlin*, ed. François Burkhardt (Berlin: Archibook Verlag, 1979), 118.

77. Costa, *Dissertação...*, 112.

78. Álvaro Siza and France Vanlaethem, “Pour Une Architecture Épurée et Rigoureuse. Interview with Álvaro Siza,” *ARQ: Architecture/Québec*, no. 14 (August 1983): 18.

79. For a thorough discussion of the notion of group polarization and its dangers, see Sunstein, *Why Societies Need Dissent*, 111–144.

participants in the process should be accommodated through negotiation.

Citizens' Participation and Architectural Hybridization

I would thus argue that the ideal consensual outcome created by a deliberative non-conflictual process is intrinsically impossible to achieve. Instead, a pragmatic consensus that accommodates the conflicts triggered by the interlocking relation between disciplinary autonomy and the everyday, generates an hybrid architectural outcome, both autonomous and rooted in life. The contaminated landscape and the hybridization of the architectural outcome in the projects developed by the SAAL brigades of Leal, Lapa, Antas, S. Victor and Bouça, bears witness to the vitality of the participatory process, and, I would argue, creates a synthesis of all vital impulses into a work that is rooted in the life of a collective entity. Dissent and the negotiation of power relations, as inherent components of successful participatory processes, contribute to this. Indeed, following Álvaro Siza, “a participatory process moves within conflicts, tensions, convulsions, engagement, jolts, halts; it comprises mistakes and also its critique; it accumulates experience; it tends to globality.”⁸⁰ It is, I would argue, a process that accepts contaminations, transforming these into constituents of a synthesis between disciplinary autonomy and reality.

Siza's manifesto published in *Lotus International*, mentioned above, emphasizes this balance between disciplinary autonomy and a critical assessment of social conditions. In the project for the S. Victor neighbourhood this “dual” approach is also present. On the one hand the architect preserves his autonomy by using the architectural project as a tool to translate the users' demands. On the other hand, the outcome of his work is the result of a critical assessment of what Henri Lefebvre called “everydayness.”⁸¹ Hence, the rationality and anonymity associated with the modernist principles inherited from the Enlightenment values was mingled with the avant-garde's desire to bridge the gap between art and life. From this dialectic, resulted a negotiated outcome where needs and desire could be reconciled, as Henri Lefebvre argued. In fact, according to Siza himself, what interests him in the construction of a city “is the capacity of transformation, something quite like the growth of a human being, who from his birth has certain characteristics and a sufficient autonomy, a basic structure that can integrate or resist the changes in life. This doesn't signify a loss of identity, though.”⁸²

Siza's approach in the SAAL operations reveals a detachment from both authoritarian and paternalistic positions. With this detachment, he delivers an architecture that stands between the anonymity of the everyday and the avant-garde's conflation of

80. Siza, “O 25 de Abril e a Transformação da Cidade,” 39.

81. Henri Lefebvre, “The Everyday and Everydayness,” trans. Christine Levich, *Yale French Studies*, no. 73 (January 1, 1987): 7–11.

82. Álvaro Siza, “Comment Parvenir à La Sérénité. Interview with Laurent Beaudouin,” *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 278 (December 1991): 64.

art and life. Or, as he put it, “the architectural creation is born out of an emotion, the emotion caused by a moment and a place. The project and the construction, demand from the authors to free themselves from that emotion, on a progressive detachment – transmitting it as a whole and hidden. From then on, the emotion belongs to the other(s).”⁸³

This detachment resonates with Brecht’s notion of *Verfremdung* (estrangement) as noted by José António Bandeirinha, and becomes thus instrumental in supporting a position of resistance to a populist approach where the aspirations of the users would unconditionally define the architect’s performance.⁸⁴ The architect uses it as a tool for the translation of the users’ aspirations and thus, as Bloch observed in Brecht’s plays, “the actor speaks this [both highly polished and plain] language as if he were reciting someone else’s words.”⁸⁵

Siza’s project for S. Victor represents, I would suggest, an architectural approach that challenges dogmatic preconceptions and resists populism. The creative force that Siza finds in blurred hierarchies and reciprocities, challenges established definitions of modernism, postmodernism, avant-garde, autonomy, participation, or populism. Siza’s architectural approach, then, dwells on a liminal *locus*. Rather than a tool to claim architecture’s autonomy, this position’s ambiguity and ambivalence entails an embedded condition of thirdness that stems from a process of negotiation, in which the architectural project occupies a pivotal position as an instrument of mediation between binary polarities.

83. Álvaro Siza, *Textos 01 - Álvaro Siza*, ed. Carlos Campos Morais (Porto: Livraria Civilização Editora, 2009), 109. This text was originally published in 1992. Translation by the author.

84. José António Bandeirinha, “‘Verfremdung’ vs. ‘Mimicry’. The SAAL and Some of Its Reflections in the Current Day,” in *Let’s Talk About Houses: Between North and South*, ed. Delfim Sardo (Lisboa: Athena, 2010), 59–79.

85. Ernst Bloch, “‘Entfremdung, Verfremdung’: Alienation, Estrangement,” trans. Anne Halley and Darko Suvin, *The Drama Review: TDR* 15, no. 1 (October 1, 1970): 124.

5• The Necessity for Ruins Activating Collective Memory in IBA- Berlin's Altbau Section

In 1961, the German architect and art historian Paul Zucker argued that ruins were an aesthetic hybrid. “Devastated by time or wilful destruction, incomplete as they are”, Zucker argued, “they represent a combination of man-made forms and organic nature.” He went on asserting “the emotional impact of ruins is ambiguous: we cannot say whether they belong aesthetically in the realm of art or in the realm of nature.”¹ And he went further defining three basic aesthetic attitudes concerning the history of the ruin in figurative art. The first was the romanticizing of the ruin, the second was the ruin as an archaeological documentation of the past, and the third was the ruin as a vehicle for a factual revival of the past.²

Zucker highlighted how, from the fifteenth century on, the interest in understanding the present by rediscovering history triggered an intellectual and emotional appraisal of the ruins as a link with the past, which would deeply influence literary and pictorial creations. In painting, for example, many works of the famous seventeenth century French classicist painter Nicolas Poussin, who spent most of his life living in Rome, are impregnated with depictions of ruins, which often resonate with the decline of a former status-quo, i.e. the paganism of the Roman empire, superseded by a new age that was emerging, Christianity. For Poussin, ruins were thus instrumental to convey a religious and political message, more than an actual or verisimilar setting, as can be seen in his 1633 depiction of the Nativity scene of the adoration of the shepherds. [Figure 5.01] One century later, the emergence of Romanticism would foster the interest in ruins to an extent than had never been seen before. This time, however,

1. Paul Zucker, “Ruins. An Aesthetic Hybrid,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 20, no. 2 (December 1961): 119.

2. *Ibid.*, 120.



Figure 5.01. Nicolas Poussin - The Adoration of the Shepherds (about 1633-4). Source: The National Gallery, London.

Figure 5.02. The *Hameau de la Reine* (the hamlet of Marie Antoinette in Versailles). Richard Mique and Hubert Robert, 1783. Source: © Nelson Mota, 2013.

ruins were championed as “picturesque” elements that would be thoroughly used for their romantic qualities and their abstract representation of an imaginary world. In eighteenth century gardening and landscaping, for example, this was taken to such an extent that fake ruins were created when genuine ones did not exist, as was the case of many English, French and German parks. The hamlet of Marie Antoinette on the park of Versailles epitomizes the extent to which the charm of decay became a pervasive token of the “lacrimose sentimentality” of the eighteenth century.³ [Figure 5.02]

Yet, ruins were also used as a more factual support to document the past. In fact, an excellent conflation of both factual and emotional representations of ruins can be seen in Piranesi’s famous etchings of Rome, made in the eighteenth century. In his *Antichita Romanae* (Roman Antiquities) Piranesi goes beyond a mere archaeological representation of Roman ruins and shows also everyday scenes, where those fragments of the past were “conquered” by both humans and nature. The influence of Piranesi in architecture culture is well documented, and contributed to increase the architect’s pleasure of ruins. For example, in the nineteenth century, mapping the ruins of the Roman Empire became a routine activity for the architects who received the Prix de Rome. Another architectural institution, the so-called *Grand Tour*, an initiatic journey to discover the cradle of Western civilization on the Mediterranean basin, contributed also to foster the architect’s attraction with the derelict. When the young Charles-Edouard Jeanneret (b.1888) visited the Acropolis in Athens in 1911 on a stop in his *Voyage d’Orient*, the ruins of the Parthenon caused such an impression to him that, according to William Curtis, “he revisited the site every day for three weeks, sketching and photographing, even comparing the temple to a machine.”⁴ The famous picture of Charles-Edouard standing next to a dismantled Doric column testifies to this passionate relation between architects and ruins. [Figure 5.03]

Paul Zucker’s 1961 text brought about the seminal importance of the ruin for the development of aesthetic attitudes in European modern art history. Two decades after, the American geographer John Brinckerhoff Jackson did the same for the North American landscape. In his essay “The Necessity for Ruins”, published in 1980, J.B. Jackson highlighted the instrumental role of the ruin as a vehicle to create an association with the past, which went beyond the artefact’s aesthetical value or interest.⁵ Exemplifying with the Smithsonian’s decision to buy the armchair of Archie Bunker, the character of the famous sitcom *All in the Family*, Jackson contended that in the Americans’ relation with the past “the association seems to be not with our politically historical past, but with a kind of private vernacular past - what we cherish are mementos of a bygone daily existence without a definite date.”⁶

3. Ibid., 125,127.

4. William J. R. Curtis, “The Classical Ideas of Le Corbusier,” *The Architectural Review* 230, no. 1376 (October 2011): 32.

5. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “The Necessity for Ruins,” in *The Necessity for Ruins, and Other Topics* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 89–102.

6. Ibid., 89.

Jackson went further considering the ruin as a collective monument for its power to remind. For Jackson, however, differently from monumental art, the ruin as a collective monument operates a link with a different past, “not the past which history books describe, but a vernacular past, a golden age where there are no dates or names, simply a sense of the way it *used to be*, history as the chronicle of everyday existence.”⁷

Jackson thus emphasized the necessity of ruins as an embodiment of an interval of neglect and discontinuity. He thought of this interval as an incentive for restoration, for a return to origins, thus enabling the creation of a new order to supersede the old order. Concomitantly, he criticized historical re-enactments for their unreality and their obliteration of historical guilt, hence, he contended, events where “history ceases to exist.”⁸

Jackson’s notion of collective monument resonates, I would suggest, with Aldo Rossi’s disciplinary interpretation of Maurice Halbwachs’ concept of “collective memory.”⁹ In his famous *L’Architettura della città* (The Architecture of the City), Rossi contends “the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the *locus* of the collective memory.”¹⁰ Hence, Rossi suggests, in architectural operations, an archaeology of the real plays an instrumental role in activating this collective memory. To be sure, in the introduction to the first American edition of *The Architecture of the City*, he notes, “we may look at modern cities without enthusiasm, but if we could only see with the eye of the archaeologist of Mycenae, we would find behind the facades and fragments of architecture the figures of the oldest heroes of our culture.”¹¹

7. *Ibid.*, 94–95. Emphasis original.

8. *Ibid.*, 102.

9. Halbwachs coined the term *mémoire collective* (collective memory) in 1925. The term would eventually gain currency with the posthumously publication, in 1950, of his book *La Mémoire Collective*. For a translation of this work into English see Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A Coser (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

10. Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, Oppositions Books (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1984), 130 Emphasis original. The importance of Rossi’s book for the disciplinary debate in the 1970s and 1980s will be discussed further ahead in this chapter.

11. *Ibid.*, 19.

Against an intellectual backdrop defined by the necessity for ruins, in this chapter I will explore the possibility of activating collective memory through an architectural operation supported by a critical reading of reality ‘as found’. Álvaro Siza’s projects designed for the *Internationalen Bauausstellung Berlin* (International Building Exhibition Berlin, IBA Berlin) will be examined as a token of this approach, and examined against the background of the debate on the presence of the past in architectural operations.

In the first section of the chapter, I will explore the development of the notion of ruin as a powerful metaphor for architectural operations supported by a poetical account of the “as found” as opposed to a nostalgic or ironical account of the presence of the past. Siza’s participation in a sequence of influential events held in the summer/autumn of 1976 will be discussed and contrasted with other influential contributions by people such as Aldo Rossi, the Smithsons and Oswald Mathias Ungers. In the next section, the context in which the IBA Berlin unfolded



Figure 5.03. Le Corbusier at the Acropolis, September 1911. Source: © FLC-ADAGP.

Figure 5.04. 1980 Venice Biennale. 1st International Architecture Exhibition, *The Presence of the Past*. View of the Strada Novissima installation. Source: *Domus* no. 610 (October 1980): 10,15.

will be analysed, with a particular focus on an account of the paradigm shift in urban renewal policies developed in Berlin's Kreuzberg district. The contribution of people such as Hardt-Walther Hämer and initiatives such as the event *Strategien für Kreuzberg* will be discussed to frame the physical and social context in which Siza's projects were situated. In the third section, I will bring forth an account on one of IBA Berlin's seminal operations, the Fraenkelufer competition, launched in 1979. The importance of this operation as a benchmark for the *Bauausstellung's* urban renewal policy will be highlighted and Siza's entry for the competition will be examined and contrasted with the winning scheme, designed by Hinrich and Inken Baller. The fourth section of this chapter will be focused on another project designed by Siza for the IBA Berlin, in 1980, the scheme for Kreuzberg's block 121. The design process, from competition through completion, will be analysed to unveil the extent to which a complex negotiation of continuity and rupture guided the development of Siza's architectural operation and his particular approach to citizens' participation in design decision-making processes. In the next section, a detailed account on the reception of Siza's project for the corner building in block 121, commonly known as *Bonjour Tristesse*, will be brought about to further discuss the intertwined relation between norms, standards, disciplinary dogmas, and contingency. In the last section, I will bring together Georg Simmel's concept of "the objectivity of the stranger" and Chantal Mouffe's notion of agonism (struggle against adversaries), to conclude emphasizing the creative potential of conflicts in architectural operations with citizens' participation, and its instrumental role in delivering a critical negotiation of the presence of the past.

5.1•Siza and the Architecture of the City

The first Venice Architecture Biennale in 1980 is often credited as the onset of a reflexive account on the contentious relation between past and present as the kernel for the conceptualization of architectural postmodernism. However, in the twenty façades of the *Strada Novissima*, arguably the most successful event of the 1980 biennale, that contentious relation was tackled in different manners thus showing the plurality of positions that were at stake. [Figure 5.04] As Léa-Catherine Szacka notes, in Venice there were three different tendencies: those promoting the past within the present, those who sought a timeless architecture where neither past nor present were underlined, and those who championed an ironical conflation of the past and the present.¹² Szacka further argues the two most relevant tendencies were those resonating with historicism and communication, or in other words, those that dealt with the past within the present either in a nostalgic manner or in an ironical fashion. And she goes on contending these two tendencies would eventually

12. According to Szacka, Paolo Portoghesi, Robert Stern, Vicent Scully or even Philip Johnson championed the first tendency. The second was supported by Aldo Rossi and Massimo Scolari, and the third advocated by Hans Hollein, Venturi/Scott Brown, Rem Koolhaas and Charles Jencks. See Léa-Catherine Szacka, "Historicism versus Communication: The Basic Debate of the 1980 Biennale," *Architectural Design* 81, no. 5 (October 2011): 100.

influence the development of the radical pluralism that defined the architectural production over the last four decades.

In effect, should we consider only the Anglo-Saxon context, first and foremost Britain and the United States, this hypothesis could gain currency. At any rate, figures such as Robert Stern, Vincent Scully, Philip Johnson, and the Prince Charles' campaigners (nostalgic tendency) or Venturi/Scott Brown, Rem Koolhaas, and Charles Jencks (ironical tendency) cannot be overlooked in any historical account of the disciplinary developments from the late 1970s on. The problem, however, is that Szacka's account echoes a post-war historiography biased by the predominance of the English-speaking world in the disciplinary debate. In effect, though she reports the presence of the poetic tendency, which emphasized timelessness, she rules out its seminal contribution for the development of a postmodern architectural approach, which went beyond the anti-modern drive of historicism and communication. Hence, the outstanding impact and influence in central and southern Europe of Aldo Rossi's dialectical relation between past and present embodied in his vision of the architecture of the city, has been utterly overlooked by canonical accounts of architectural postmodernism.¹³ Further, I would argue, the influential contribution for the transformation of the disciplinary discourse and practice triggered by major events such as the International Housing Exhibition Berlin 1984/87 (*Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1984/87*, hereafter IBA Berlin), or major figures, such as Oswald Matthias Ungers, Álvaro Siza, Vittorio Gregotti, or Rafael Moneo, to name but a few, has also been downplayed as part and parcel of a rhetoric of postmodernism seen more as a reaction to the tenets of modernism rather than contributions for their reconceptualization.

In this chapter, I will thus attempt to bring about an instance of the so-called poetic tendency, to emphasize the possibility of addressing the nexus between past and present through a disciplinary approach that goes beyond communication and historicism, or, in other words, that outplays irony or nostalgia as components of architectural operations. The case of the projects designed at the turn of the 1980s by Álvaro Siza for the IBA Berlin will thus support this goal. They will be used to discuss the extent to which an archaeology of the real can be activated as a research method to deliver an outcome that enhances reflexivity in the interweaved relation between the architect *qua* expert, the individual, and the city, through an approach where conflicts are favoured to the detriment of populist consensus.

From Collage to Surprise

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the beginning of the summer of 1976, one of that period's most important architecture magazines, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, featured a thematic

13. Rossi's influential book *L'Architettura della città* (The Architecture of the City), originally written in Italian in 1966, was translated into Spanish in 1971, into German in 1973, and into Portuguese in 1977. The first English translation appeared only in 1982.

issue dedicated to Portuguese architecture. Among the works and authors discussed in that issue, Álvaro Siza was definitely the central figure. Bernard Huet, the editor-in-chief of the magazine, stated that Siza “is certainly one of the great architects of the new European generation.” Huet went on contending “in its intimate and extremely modest *oeuvre*, he tries to cope closely with the hindrance of Portuguese scarcity of economic means, without giving up on a sophisticated culture and a spatial poetic that no photography can account.”¹⁴ Together with showing Siza’s projects for the SAAL Process, the Portuguese architect was also the subject of two laudatory articles from well-known international architects and critics, Vittorio Gregotti and Oriol Bohigas. In fact, these articles were translations into French of pieces previously published, respectively, in the Italian magazine *Controspazio* in September 1972, and in the Spanish magazine *Arquitecturas Bis*, in March 1976.¹⁵

In his 1972 review of Siza’s work, already discussed in the previous chapter, Gregotti pointed out the architect’s ability to mingle memory with invention. He claimed that, in Siza’s works, “everything is always connected to adjacent features, to the sequences of events which lead to the current experience and to memories of previous experiences.” Then, Gregotti went on, “the same process is reversed and the constructed object occupies the foreground as a modification and development of the existing context.”¹⁶

Likewise, Bohigas, in his article, highlights Siza’s unique design approach (perhaps, he notes, only compared with Le Corbusier’s) as regards the conflation of functional and aesthetic aspects. He argued that

Siza’s architecture is above all a formal programme which starts by accepting the vocabulary of rationalism, organised and critically transformed through a process in some ways similar to the broad change brought about by Mannerism: respectful of the immediate tradition which begins with a useful codification but equally critical and disruptive in its new practices which include techniques ranging from collage to surprise, and syntactic distortions which become the main features.¹⁷

At any rate, I would argue that what surfaces from Gregotti’s and Bohigas’ critical assessment of Siza’s design method is his ability to develop a timeless architectural operation that makes no compromise to the transient mores of the *zeitgeist*. Further, this operation circumvents traditional binary oppositions such as memory against invention, aesthetics versus function. Moreover, Siza’s work offered a poetic alternative to escape the rising influence of tendencies to address the presence of the past in architectural operations based either on an historicist and nostalgic fashion or on an ironical manner driven by a compulsion to see architecture as a communication device.

14. Bernard Huet, “La Passion d’Alvaro Siza,” *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui*, no. 185 (1976): 42.

15. Vittorio Gregotti, “Architetture Recenti Di Alvaro Siza,” *Controspazio*, no. 9 (September 1972): 22–24; Oriol Bohigas, “Alvaro Siza Vieira,” *Arquitecturas Bis*, no. 12 (March 1976).

16. Originally published in the journal *Controspazio*, no. 9 (September 1972). Translated into English in Vittorio Gregotti, “Architetture Recenti Di Alvaro Siza,” in *Alvaro Siza. Poetic Profession*, ed. Pierluigi Nicolini (Milano: Edizioni Electa, 1986), 187.

17. Originally published in the journal *Arquitecturas Bis*, no. 12 (March 1976). Translated into English in Oriol Bohigas, “Alvaro Siza Vieira,” in *Alvaro Siza. Poetic Profession*, ed. Pierluigi Nicolini (Milano: Edizioni Electa, 1986), 183.

Poetics Beyond Historicism and Communication

To build up the background against which Álvaro Siza's projects for IBA Berlin came about, three events held in the summer/autumn of 1976 will be succinctly examined. The first one is the exhibition *Europa-America, Architetture urbane alternative suburbane* (Europa-America, Urban architecture suburban alternative), which was held from 31 July until 10 October as part of the Visual Arts and Architecture section of the 1976 Venice Biennale. [Figure 5.05] The theme of the exhibition, curated by Vittorio Gregotti, testifies to the topicality of the confrontation between the past (Europe) as inextricably linked with urban architecture and the present (America) illustrated by suburban alternatives.¹⁸ In Rossi's pavilion, he exhibited his now famous panel *La città analoga* (The Analogous City), which in his own words was a tribute to the autonomous nature of urban and architectural artifacts. [Figure 5.06] This autonomy, however, was not time sensitive but charged with aspects related with memory and place, or as Rossi put it, "a memory confined to a territory."¹⁹ Further, the analogous city was also an optimistic manifesto on the timeless and yet contingent character of architectural operations. "Between past and present, reality and imagination," Rossi argued, "the analogous city is perhaps simply the city to be designed day by day, tackling problems and overcoming them, with a reasonable certainty that things will ultimately be better."²⁰ The analogous city would thus be created through continuous confrontations and associations between fragments that generated meaningful spatial constructions.

Next to Rossi's pavilion, Siza exhibited a collection of drawings that, I would suggest, resonates with the tenets of Rossi's Analogous City.²¹ [Figure 5.07] While Rossi blended in one panel multiple territories and fragments of memory, Siza juxtaposed a collection of fragments of his design process, emphasizing the contingent character determined by the *locus*. These fragments were sketches of some of his most recent projects that, much in the same vein of Rossi's Analogous City, illustrated the inalienable contribution of memory and territory for the construction of urban artifacts. "In beginning a study," Siza wrote in the exhibition's catalogue, "we are faced with contradictory objectives that create tensions in a concrete reality that has very deep roots, made of overlapping layers, transformations, regenerations, facing a set of experiences and personal or external preliminary information, confronting models, concerns, and arguments." And he went on arguing, "I believe that in this complex network of facts and 'projects', one can find a matrix, as it were, of *almost everything* that determines the 'project'."²² Siza thus emphasized the vital concatenation of contingency and timelessness that informs his reading of reality, and how it becomes instrumental for his design process. In other words, the "as found" creates the framework for invention.

18. The exhibition *Europa/America. Architetture urbane alternative suburbane*, part of the Visual Arts and Architecture sector of the 1976 Venice Biennale, was held from 31 July until 10 October 1976, and showed the work of 26 architects distributed in two sections, Europa and America. In the Europa section were showed the works of Carlo Aymonino, AUA (Atelier d'Urbanism et de d'Architecture), Giancarlo de Carlo, Herman Hertzberger, Hans Hollein, Lucien Kroll, Martorell/Bohigas/Mackay, Aldo Rossi, Álvaro Siza, Alison and Peter Smithson, James Stirling, Taller de Arquitectura – Ricardo Boffil, Oswald Mathias Ungers, and Aldo van Eyck. The America section showed the work of Raimund Abraham, Emilio Ambasz, Peter Eisenman, John Hejduk, Craig Edward Hodgetts, Richard Meier, Charles Moore, Cesar Pelli, Robert Stern, Stanley Tigerman, Venturi/Rauch/Scott Brown.

19. Aldo Rossi, "Aldo Rossi," in *Europa/America. Architetture Urbane Alternative Suburbane*, ed. Franco Raggi (Venezia: Edizioni "La Biennale di Venezia," 1978), 50–55.

20. Aldo Rossi, "The Analogous City: Panel," *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 8.

21. In the Europa/America exhibition, Siza's pavilion was right next to Rossi's. This was reported by Álvaro Siza himself in an interview given to me on 24 May 2012.

22. Álvaro Siza, "Alvaro Siza," in *Europa/America. Architetture Urbane Alternative Suburbane*, ed. Franco Raggi (Venezia: Edizioni "La Biennale di Venezia," 1978), 56. Original emphasis. Translated from Italian into English by the author.

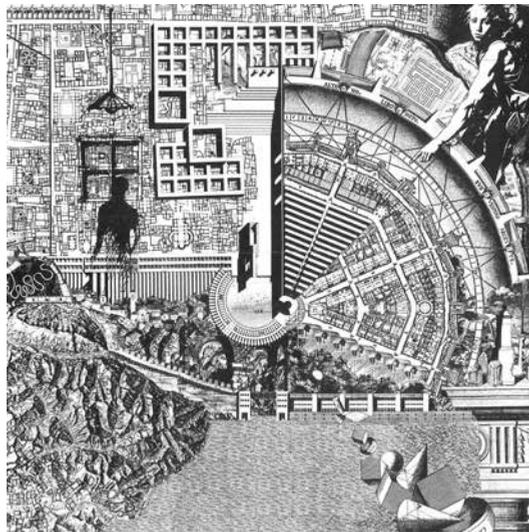
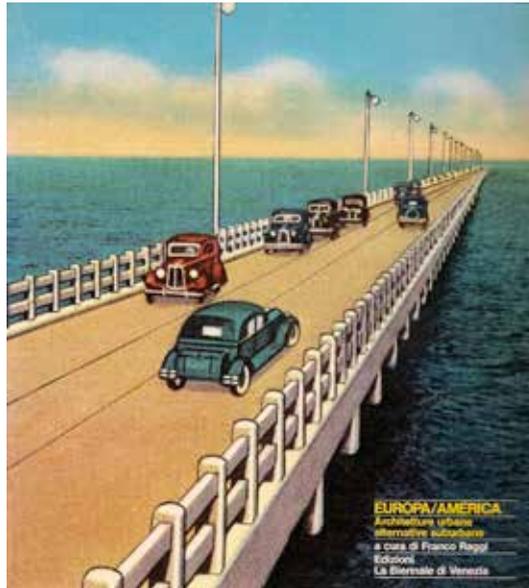


Figure 5.05. Cover of the book *Europa/America*. ed. Franco Raggi (Venezia: Edizioni "La Biennale di Venezia," 1978).

Figure 5.06. Aldo Rossi, Eraldo Consolascio, Bruno Reichlin and Fabio Reinhart - "La città analoga" (1975). Source: *Lotus International* 13 (December 1976), 4.



Figure 5.07. Álvaro Siza - Sketches for a project in Porto (above) and for a project in Vila do Conde (below), as presented at the exhibition "Europa-America, Centro storico-suburbio", 1976 Venice Biennale. Source: *Europa/America*, ed. Franco Raggi (Venezia: Edizioni "La Biennale di Venezia," 1978), 58-59.



Figure 5.08. Oswald Mathias Ungers - Project for Tiergarten-viertel, Berlin (1973) presented at the exhibition "Europa-America, Centro storico-suburbio", 1976 Venice Biennale. Source: *Europa/America*, ed. Franco Raggi (Venezia: Edizioni "La Biennale di Venezia," 1978), 84.

Figure 5.09. Alison Smithson - Adalbergstrasse, Kreuzberg, Berlin (1975). Source: Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, *The Charged Void: Architecture* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2001), 392.

The “as found”: Contingency and Timelessness

Rossi’s and Siza’s contributions for the Europa/America exhibition show an alternative approach to the nostalgic and ironic models of dealing with the presence of the past. They were not alone in this tendency, though. Confirming the relevance of the poetic and timeless approach, the contribution of Oswald Mathias Ungers and the Smithsons would further emphasize the importance of an archaeological approach to reality to construct a dialectical relation with the “as found”.

“The impetus for the project,” Ungers wrote in the exhibition’s catalogue, “usually stems from an on-going dialogue with the environment as found, the acceptance of specific economic, social and historical conditions.” And he went on explaining his design process, asserting “the project develops through a process of continuous experiments, attempts to settle and adapt new elements to a complex reality, already formed and often altogether banal.” Hence, for Ungers, as well as for Rossi and Siza, the vital importance of the circumstance should not be overlooked. To be sure, he contended, “the project is generally determined by the specific operation of building, from the need to integrate the new building into the existing context and above all the will to ‘intensify’ a place.”²³ Furthermore, drawing on the notion of “genius loci” Ungers keenly argued in favour of an architecture that deals with the real, with the existing circumstance, and operates in it, transforming it through a process of rationalization, something that could be seen, for example, in his project for Berlin’s Tiergartenviertel, designed in 1973. [Figure 5.08]

The poetic quality of the place was also a central aspect in Alison and Peter Smithson’s contribution for the Europa/America exhibition. They argued the phenomenon of mass-tourism created a progressive erosion of the qualities of the places such as Lascaux, the Coliseum, or the Parthenon. To reverse this process, the Smithsons argued, “we must extend to every place our appreciation for what it is, to recognize and promote the quality of a place, whatever it may be, for the use of the population and the large number of people who want to ‘enjoy’ this quality.”²⁴ In their section of the exhibition, they showed pictures of fragments of Greek temples, ruins of classical architecture. A notable aspect of the pictures shown was its focus on details instead of a general depiction of the monument. To be sure, this resonated with their interest in ruins as carriers of the qualities inherent to buildings, its actual materials, the processes of fabrication and its concrete means of assembly. In their text published in the general catalogue of the 1976 Venice Biennale, they emphasized the pleasure of ruins as one that can create a sense of ordering from its sticks and stones. “In Greek and Roman buildings in ruin,” they wrote, “the exposure to neat

23. Oswald Mathias Ungers, “Oswald Mathias Ungers,” in *Europa/America. Architetture Urbane Alternative Suburbane*, ed. Franco Raggi (Venezia: Edizioni “La Biennale di Venezia,” 1978), 78. This text was an extract of a lecture delivered by Ungers at Harvard University on 25 March 1976. Translated from Italian into English by the author.

24. Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “Alison e Peter Smithson,” in *Europa/America. Architetture Urbane Alternative Suburbane*, ed. Franco Raggi (Venezia: Edizioni “La Biennale di Venezia,” 1978), 64. Translated from Italian into English by the author.

holes and slots for cramps and dowels adds understanding to the sense of security, of permeating order that we get from the buildings when whole.”²⁵ Hence, for the Smithsons as for J.B. Jackson, ruins could be seen as a collective monument for its power to remind and exert influence to the creation of a new order. The Smithsons went further emphasizing the timeless character of ruins creating a parallel with an architectural operation. “A building under assembly is a ruin in reverse,” they contended. And they went on asserting “At certain phases of a building’s construction the anticipatory pleasures of ruins are made manifest: these pleasures are only enjoyed by those who are part of the process of assembly, and even by them rarely.”²⁶

The Smithsons saw Berlin as a particularly appropriate case to address the poetic quality of the place. In effect, their interest in “sticks and stones” manifested in the 1976 Venice Biennale had been already revealed in the previous year through the sketches and the considerations produced by Alison Smithson at the 1975 IDZ symposium.²⁷ [Figure 5.09] In Alison Smithson’s reflection on her work produced for that seminar, published in December 1976 in the Italian journal *Lotus International* with the title “Architecture as Found / Language of Architecture at Kreuzberg”, she contends that, when working on existing buildings, her attitude goes beyond the “sweet solution” that was known in English as “context thinking”, where a building should be considered as part of a whole spatial context. In an enigmatic tone, Alison Smithson argues that instead of searching for the local language or hidden possibilities, she favours an archaeological approach to the existing buildings, which will eventually reveal “that secret language we’re searching for.” She thus claims “one should subordinate oneself to what we find: architecture ‘as found’ is our philosophy.”²⁸

Alison Smithson thus emphasizes the instrumental importance of an archaeology of the ordinary for the development of architectural operations. To be sure, Alison Smithson observed that when she visited Berlin for the first time, in the late 1950s, she saw a city full of voids, a raised city, toothless jaws, as it were. Almost two decades after, she observed “the new buildings sprung up on them all overnight like so many new teeth.” “Now we felt,” she contends, “that it was tragic that new teeth should be packed into an old jaw.”²⁹ With this metaphor Alison Smithson seems to revalidate the Smithsons design strategy in their submission for the Hauptstadt Berlin competition in 1957-58. [Figure 5.10] In their project, the couple, teamed up with Peter Sigmund, proposed a pedestrian deck structured as a distorted grid hovering over Berlin’s baroque urban structure, which was preserved. New buildings were attached to the pedestrian deck, whereas the buildings that survived the World War II bombings were kept, articulating the old and the new urban structure.

25. Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “Alison & Peter Smithson,” in *La Biennale Di Venezia. Section of Visual Arts and Architecture - General Catalogue*, ed. Barbara Radice and Franco Raggi, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Venice: Edizioni “La Biennale di Venezia,” 1976), 247.

26. Ibid.

27. The *International Design Zentrum* (IDZ), directed by François Burkhardt, was financially supported by Berlin’s Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen (SenBauWohn) and aimed at articulating design proposals with the city’s urban design policy. Eventually, the IDZ would become an essential forum to define the framework that created the IBA. For a detailed account of the IDZ and its contribution for the debate on urban renewal in Berlin in the late 1970s, see Davide Cutolo, “L’altra IBA. L’Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1984/1987 e Il Behutsame Stadterneuerung di Kreuzberg” (PhD Dissertation, Politecnico di Torino - Politecnico di Milano, 2012), 76–81.

28. Alison Smithson, “Architecture as Found / Language of Architecture at Kreuzberg,” *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 44.

29. Ibid.



Figure 5.10. Alison and Peter Smithson with Peter Sigmond - Hauptstadt Berlin competition (1957-1958). Source: Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10, 1953-1981. In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005), 77.

Figure 5.11. Stills from the documentary *I Seminario Inter-nacional de Arquitectura en Compostela*, directed by Lorenzo Soler for Colexio de Arquitectos de Galiza (1976). From above left, clockwise: Aldo Rossi, Josef Paul Kleihues, Oswald Mathias Ungers, and James Stirling.

According to Peter Smithson, “the pattern of the new city centre is moulded around its existing features. There is no attempt to reproduce historic spaces in which to embalm the remaining old buildings. They are instead revalidated by a special counter-geometry.”³⁰ In 1975, Alison Smithson reformulates the same strategy, at the smaller scale of the city block, though. She suggests an “as found” approach that would eventually create a connection between the old system and the new. That approach is based on a double metaphor: that of the Roman viaduct, filling in the voids, and the partial restoration of existing constructions with a language inspired by the building’s wooden construction frame. She thus contends that:

We go backwards in time and simply dismantle. Going right back to the ruined state, keeping within the brackets of the viaduct, we achieve a twin purpose; we recall the language of the history of architecture [...] and at the same time we rediscover the secret language of Kreuzberg, a language which contains Renaissance elements. The ruin may be as fully achieved as the construction.³¹

This architectural idiom, profoundly metaphorical, utterly illustrates a strategy of “constructing ruins” as a way to negotiate the relation between the new and the old. It explores the fragmentary character of post World War II Berlin through a dialectical process where the new layers added to the city deliberately expose the remnants of the past, as pieces of an incomplete puzzle. This debate on the delicate relation between the old and the new would pervade the architectural debate over the last half of the 1970s.

The “City of Parts”: Fragments and Ruins

Rossi, Siza, Ungers, and the Smithsons, together with most of the other participants in the Europa/America exhibition were gathered for a conference on 1 August 1976, in the *Palazzo del Cinema* at the Lido of Venice. Curiously enough, many among them would travel in the following month to the Spanish city of Santiago de Compostela. In effect, at the onset of the autumn of 1976, Santiago de Compostela was the stage where a group of prominent European architects of that time gathered to discuss the entwined relation between architecture and the historic city in the *I Seminario Internacional de Arquitectura en Compostela* (SIAC, 1st Compostela International Architecture Seminar). [Figure 5.11] Aldo Rossi, who was the director of the seminar, invited to deliver lectures figures such as James Stirling, Carlo Aymonino, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Álvaro Siza, Peter Eisenman, and Josep Paul Kleihues. Interestingly, all of the above, except Kleihues, had participated in the Europa/America exhibition and in the debate mentioned earlier. Rossi’s influential book *The Architecture of the City*, originally written in Italian in 1966 and in the meantime translated into Spanish and German, set the backdrop against which the debates at the seminar ensued.

30. Quoted in Max Risselada and Dirk Van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10, 1953–1981. In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005), 76.

31. Smithson, “Architecture as Found / Language of Architecture at Kreuzberg,” 46.

In an interview given to the Spanish newspaper *El País* on 10 October 1976, the last day of the seminar, Rossi synthesized his theory of the architecture of the city for the readership of the newspaper. The architecture of the city, he argued, is one where the operations of the project are strictly related to the analytical study of the urban fabric, the typologies, the rationalist and realist tendencies in architecture. To support these studies, he went on, the confrontation with history is part and parcel of a conscious evaluation of reality, of the present.³² In effect, the setup of the seminar in Santiago resonated with this and the lectures were meant to reinforce it. Álvaro Siza, for example, delivered a lecture with an analytical account of Atlantic cities as a contribution for a general debate on interventions in historic centres. Ungers, delivered a more general address focused on design methods, emphasizing the role of the discipline in its reading of reality.

In Rossi's interview to *El País*, he thus emphasised the importance of the past as the kernel for a meaningful disciplinary approach to the transformation of the present. He highlighted that, in the aftermath of the WWII, the political resonances of architecture were buried under the ruins of the cities destroyed by the conflict. From then on, architecture became again either technique or art, in any case, an instrument. Hence, following Antonio Gramsci, Rossi qualified the architect *qua* intellectual as one who should be conscious on the use of technique rather than merely cognisant of technique per se. This conscious use of technique was thus fundamental for the architect to operate within the freedom permitted by the *city of parts*, a notion Rossi developed in his *The Architecture of the City*. The city of parts, Rossi further clarified in his introduction to the Portuguese translation of his book, "is seen as a whole constituted of many pieces complete in themselves, and the distinctive characteristics of each city, and thus also of the urban aesthetic, is the dynamic that is created between its different areas and elements and among its parts."³³

The creative potential of the confrontation between fragments of the city would pervade the debate in yet another event, which was also held in that frantic summer/autumn of 1976: The Berlin's Internationales Design Zentrum (IDZ) symposium *Stadtstruktur-Stadtgestalt* (Urban Structure – The form of the City).

The Architect as a Detective

Álvaro Siza, Oswald Mathias Ungers, and Peter Smithson were invited to participate in the IDZ symposium. The other architects invited were Gottfried Böhm and Vittorio Gregotti. They received an assignment to develop an urban plan for the area of Der Landwehrkanal, in the southern part of Berlin's

32. Aldo Rossi, "Proyecto y Ciudad Histórica. Entrevista con Aldo Rossi," *El País*, October 10, 1976.

33. This extract, in English, was taken from Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 174. Rossi's introduction to the Portuguese translation of *L'architettura della città* is dated from 1971, though the book was only published in 1977.

Tiergarten district. This challenge was a perfect opportunity to make sense of the debates held over the last year, from the 1975 IDZ symposium, through Venice until Santiago de Compostela.

If a common principle has to be found in the proposals developed by the five architects, I would argue it is the creation of a deliberate dialectic between the new and the old. [Figure 5.12] In Gottfried Böhm's proposal the valorisation of the qualities of the Berlin block was emphasized by the creation of a street through its interior. Gregotti's scheme shows an acknowledgement of the typological characteristics of the place. His proposal, however, used a "foreign" language to single out the new layer added to the city against the background of the fragmented territory. In Peter Smithson's proposal he suggests the creation of open greenways and highlights the isolation of buildings and the derelicts of the past. His idea of "infill house" is used to accentuate the incompleteness of Berlin's urban fabric. Ungers, in the same vein as Gregotti, stresses the importance of the area's urban morphology as the kernel for his proposal. In the case of the German architect, however, this reading of the "as found" is used to articulate the fragments, and establish a new order. Finally, the scheme developed by Siza shows a noticeable interest in raising consciousness on the public character of the courtyards through an exhibition of the fragmentary character of Berlin's post war urban fabric. For Siza, the interplay between the old and the new became instrumental for an architectural operation engaged in fostering participation in the public realm.³⁴

To be sure, in one of the first sketches drawn by Siza at the symposium, he scribbled: "the architect is nothing else than a detective (or a fan of puzzles)."³⁵ [Figure 5.13] In other drawings in the same series, Siza wrote: "Demolish nothing: Transform", and referring to some buildings that were remnants of a demolished block: "One should feel that they shouldn't be there. Fragments of a gratuitous transformation. History, too."³⁶ [Figure 5.14] Though apparently vague, this sequence of reflections conveys an architectural approach that, I would argue, resonates with Rossi's idea of acknowledging the creative potential of operating within the *city of parts*. Further, it bears the fundamental tenets of Siza's methodological approach in the projects designed by him for Berlin from the late 1970s through the mid-1980s: a deliberate exhibition of the fragmentary nature of the city as part and parcel of its material and ontological renewal.

At any rate, there is probably no better place to exhibit fragments than post-war Berlin. The ubiquitous presence of voids created in the city's nineteenth century urban fabric, produced either by war bombardments or speculative demolitions, shaped the perfect scenario for a fan of puzzles. But it also fuelled a growing anxiety in dealing with the presence of the past in contemporary

34. For an account of the projects developed by the five architects invited to the 1976 IDZ symposium, see Martina Düttmann, "Analyse Und Kommentar," in *5 Architekten Zeichnen Für Berlin*, ed. François Burkhardt (Berlin: Archibook Verlag, 1979), 42–45.

35. The original text, written in Portuguese reads as follows: 'O arqto não é mais do que um detective (ou um amator de puzzles)'. See François Burkhardt, ed., *5 Architekten Zeichnen Für Berlin* (Berlin: Archibook Verlag, 1979), 34.

36. In Portuguese reads as follows: "Devese sentir que eles não deviam estar lá. Fragmentos de uma transformação gratuita. História, também." Ibid., 35.

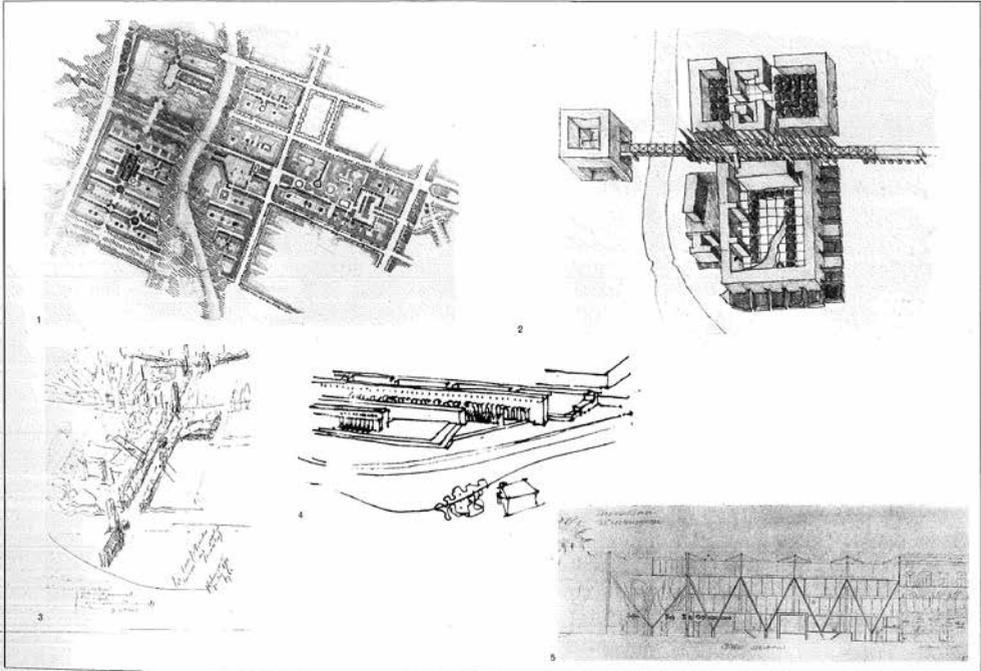


Figure 5.12. Urban Structure - Image of the City, 1976. Preliminary drawings for the renewal of Berlin-Neukölln, second IDZ planning week, October 1976. 1- Gottfried Böhm; 2- Oswald Mathias Ungers; 3- Álvaro Siza; 4- Vittorio Gregotti; 5- Peter Smithson. Source: *Lotus International* 13 (December 1976), 55.

cities. In fact, in 1975, one year before Siza's participation in *Stadtstruktur-Stadtgestalt*, the IDZ organized the symposium *Berlin – Alt und Neu* (Berlin – New and Old), which had the suggestive subtitle of *Zur integration moderner Architektur in Altbaustrukturen* (The integration of modern architecture with old structures).³⁷

A thorough account of this event would eventually be published in the December 1976 issue of the influential Italian journal *Lotus International*. In this issue Helmut Engel reflected on the challenges to Berlin's urban identity brought about by urban renewal processes, highlighting the importance of the façade for the homogeneity of Berlin's image and urban structure. [Figure 5.15] Since the World War II, he argued, the city's compactness and unity, which in 1930 Werner Hegemann called *Das steinerne Berlin*, was successively broken down.³⁸ Engel further contended that Berlin's plan and urban layout are historical evidence created by the mutual dependence of architectural and urban patterns, which contributes to guide and orientate the city dweller. He thus suggested that the architecture of the new buildings has sufficient room for formal liberty, provided that it preserves the fundamental qualities that regulate the formal whole and its plasticity. It should be, then, a perfectly bounded creative liberty, which Engel called "a new art of building in the city, in which the façade might perhaps become an independent formal undertaking."³⁹

The importance of the façade for the definition of a formal whole, as emphasized by Engel, was at that time also acknowledged by many of the actors participating in, or debating on, Berlin's urban renewal. In effect, Álvaro Siza's design approach to the assignment of the 1976 IDZ symposium resonates with Alison Smithson's architectural idiom, mentioned earlier. In a sketch depicting a solution to the typical problem of filling a gap on the perimeter of the block, Siza explored a solution where the new building was designed as if it was a ruin. [Figure 5.16] The design for the façade towards the Derfflingerstraße connected the neighbouring buildings on both sides but was abruptly interrupted at the centre of the plot. These sketches show Siza's relentless attempt to bring about the fragmentary character of the new façade either by just breaking its continuous plan or emphasizing further the interruption and stressing the discontinuity by inserting a new building in between with its plan rotated in relation to the street. The formal composition of the façade, however, conspicuously uses the same arrangement of solids and voids seen in the neighbouring buildings. This strategy further contributes to accentuate the anonymity of the new construction, as if it was a ruin of something that had been there forever. Siza himself confirmed this deliberate pursuit of an approach that challenges the conventional notion of time. On another sketch of the same building, he jotted the note: "as

37. Heinrich Klotz coordinated this symposium, and the participants were architects and critics such as Gottfried Böhm, Vittorio Gregotti, Charles Moore, Alison Smithson, Oswald M. Ungers, André Corboz, Christian Norberg-Schulz, Paolo Portoghesi, Helmut Engel. For more information on this event, see "Berlin - Alt Und Neu. 3. Symposium des IDZ Berlin," *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 25–55.

38. Helmut Engel, "Urban Renewal and Historic Structure of the City," *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 30.

39. *Ibid.*, 31.

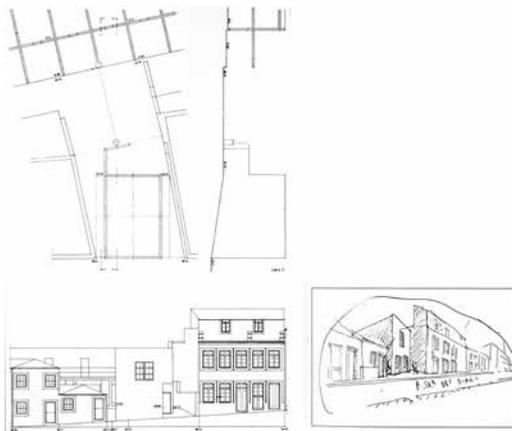


Figure 5.16. Álvaro Siza - Sketch of the design process for the 1976 IDZ-Berlin symposium: Façade for a building in the Derfflingerstraße. Source: François Burkhardt, ed., *5 Architekten Zeichnen Für Berlin* (Berlin: Archibook Verlag, 1979), 39.

Figure 5.17. Álvaro Siza - Drawings and sketch of a project for a building in São Victor SAAL operation, Porto, 1975. Source: *AMC - Architecture Mouvement Continuité*, 44 (March 1978), 36-37.

fragments [...] of other interventions (ruins). We aim to invert the usual schemes; leave as ruins the new constructions.”⁴⁰

This approach, however, is not envisioned as a mere gratuitous and whimsical formal language. The emphasis on the exhibition of the fragmentary character of the façade becomes also instrumental to open the courtyard of the Berlin block to the street. The charged character of Berlin’s infamous *mietskaserne* kept them hidden from the public realm, its inhabitants being in a kind of voluntary imprisonment.⁴¹ Siza’s approach thus sought to recuperate and integrate the courtyard into the public realm. The voids left out both on the perimeter and in the interior of the block by the destruction of buildings (with bombs or wrecking balls), became now an opportunity to open it, and foster its participation in the civic life.

At that time Siza pursued the same architectural operation in his projects for the SAAL process in Porto, first and foremost in the S. Victor operation, discussed in the previous chapter. In some of the projects designed for S. Victor one can observe Siza’s keen interest in emphasizing the discontinuity on the street façade, to create a clear connection between the public realm and the interior of the block, which had been segregated hitherto. [Figure 5.17] As mentioned earlier, in his text *A Ilha proletária como elemento base do tecido urbano* (The proletarian ‘island’ as a basic element of the urban tissue) Siza argued the *ilhas* should be used as a reference for a global urban strategy for Porto’s urban renewal. Curiously enough, this text was published in the same issue of *Lotus International* that discussed the conclusions of the IDZ symposia of 1975 and 1976.⁴² This then highlights the resonances between Siza’s work in Porto and his first ideas for Berlin. Moreover, it frames Siza’s approach in a broader debate, in the mid-1970s, which was characterized by a keen pursuit of a disciplinary framework to cope with the challenge of assimilating the past into the present. This pursuit would be famously epitomized in the theme of the first Venice Architecture Biennale in 1980, *The Presence of the Past*, curated by Paolo Portoghesi.⁴³

5.2• Urban Renewal in the Shadow of the Wall

In the early 1980s, Berlin would become a central locus for the debate sparked by the first Venice Architectural Biennale, which brought about an intense discussion on the presence of the past in architectural operations. However, the city’s *intelligentsia* in general and the architectural *milieu* in particular had been already engaged in discussing the troublesome dialectic between Berlin’s past and present since the early 1970s. In fact, the two IDZ symposia discussed above were part of a reconstruction process of Berlin’s identity as a German metropolis and an

40. In Portuguese reads as follows: “... como fragmentos (...) de outras intervenções (ruínas). Pensamos inverter os esquemas usados; deixar como ruínas as construções novas”. “Berlin - Alt Und Neu. 3. Symposium des IDZ Berlin,” 39.

41. In 1930, Werner Hegemann (1881-1936) traces back the origins of Berlin’s *mietskasernen* deeming Frederick II of Prussia (1712-86) as their father and all its pernicious consequences. Werner Hegemann, *Das Steinernen Berlin ; Geschichte Der Grössten Mietskasernenstadt Der Welt. 1930, Bauwelt Fundamente 3* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1963).

42. Álvaro Siza, “The Proletarian ‘Island’ as a Basic Element of the Urban Tissue,” *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 80–93.

43. For an account of the importance of the first Venice Architecture Biennale in the architecture culture of the 1980s, see Szacka, “Historicism versus Communication: The Basic Debate of the 1980 Biennale.”

European city, triggered by the Quadripartite Agreement of 1972, which “determined Berlin’s identity not only at a local scale, but also at a global one; it established the city as a microcosm of cold-war politics.”⁴⁴ In the post World War II, the city lost most of its material and immaterial assets: It was no longer a capital, a good part of its building stock had disappeared, it had lost its centre and it was losing population. To invert this process, in the aftermath of the Quadripartite Agreement, proposals were made to repeat a receipt that had yielded successful results in the past: an international building exhibition.⁴⁵

The Inner City as a Place to Live

In 1973, Berlin’s senator Hans Christian Müller, drawing on the general frustration with the outcome of a competition for the Landwehrkanal-Tiergarten area, suggested the idea of organizing a building exhibition as a way to bring quality and the integration of socio-historical context into the city’s spatial planning. It was thus necessary, he argued, to create an event with global impact to foster the city’s internal process of regeneration. Architecture and urban planning were seemingly recognized as privileged agents to perform this task. Müller contended, however, that this endeavour should involve not only politicians and experts, but also a broader group of agents that were engaged in the phenomena of the city’s everyday dynamic, i.e., it should take reality into account.⁴⁶

In Berlin, public consciousness on this issue grew noticeably in 1977 with a series of articles published in the newspaper *Berliner Morgenpost*, under the title *Modelle für eine Stadt* (Models for a city). The publisher Wolf Jobst Siedler (1926-2013) and the architect Josep Paul Kleihues (1933-2004) were the main organizers of this campaign, championing a thorough housing programme as a catalyst for the re-emergence of Berlin’s identity through the construction of a cohesive architectural image. But the programme was envisioned as something beyond a material achievement; it should become a global cultural event *per se*. Hence, Siedler and Kleihues argued that an international group of architects should be invited to expand the range of contributions to the debate on the models for the city. This debate, however, sparked concurrent reactions on whether it should be focused on a theoretical level or on a more productive approach. According to Wallis Miller, “some accepted the task of provoking theoretical discussions of architectural problems in order to create the objects of the exhibition and left the task of building housing to the city; others turned their attention to the production of housing, to which specific tenant demands were integral.”⁴⁷

It was the recently appointed Berlin *Bausenator*, Harry Ristock, who, from 1975 on embraced politically this challenge

44. Wallis Miller, “IBA’s ‘Models for a City’: Housing and the Image of Cold-War Berlin,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 46, no. 4 (May 1, 1993): 204. The Quadripartite Agreement was a protocol signed on 3 June 1972, by the foreign ministers of France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States. This Agreement clarified some ambiguities in the relation between the occupying forces, granted improved transit to and from West Berlin, and eased travel restrictions for visitors to East Germany. Consequently, it also contributed to render clearer the two poles, East and West.

45. In the twentieth century only, three big building exhibitions were held in Berlin: *Die Allgemeine Städtebau-Ausstellung Berlin* (The Greater Berlin City Planning Exhibition) in 1910; *Die Wohnung Unserer Zeit* (apartment of our time) exhibition of 1931; and West Berlin’s *Internationale Bauausstellung* (Interbau) of 1957. The latter was arguably the most well known of them all, especially taking into account that by then Berlin was already a divided city and thus the exhibition’s goals were deeply intertwined with a political agenda. This is thoroughly explored in Francesca Rogier, “The Monumentality of Rhetoric: The Will to Rebuild in Postwar Berlin,” in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (The MIT Press, 2001), 165–89.

46. Rudolf Schilling, “Behutsame Stadterneuerung,” in *Stadt Im Kopf: Hardt-Walther: Hämer*, ed. Manfred Sack (Berlin: Jovis, 2002), 192.

47. Miller, “IBA’s ‘Models for a City,’” 207.

and brought it forward to the city's Senate for discussion. In Ristock's agenda there were three outspoken goals: To wipe-off the motorway Tiergarten/Kreuzberg, an heritage of the 1960s technocratic planning inspired by the model of the functional city; to invert the drainage of population to the suburbs; and to create an international event to attract money and people to Berlin.⁴⁸ With Rostock's commitment and the political and financial support of the federal government, the Senate of Berlin passed unanimously the law 7/1352, which created the IBA-Berlin on 7 December 1978.

The three main points in Ristock's agenda, referred above, conspicuously avoided mentioning a pressing problem in late 1970s Berlin, that of social unrest, utterly illustrated by the pervasive squatting movement, and the spatial discrimination of three main social groups, which lived almost unrelated: Old (often poor) Berliners; young (often alternative) Germans; Turkish (often big) families.⁴⁹ In the law that established the IBA-Berlin, however, these issues were not forgotten. In fact, the creation of two sections, IBA-Neubau and IBA-Altbau, reveals a conscious attempt to judiciously divide IBA's focus between a search for a critical reconstruction of Berlin's urban models to revive its formal identity, chiefly inspired by the typology of the perimeter block (Neubau), and a careful urban renewal of the city's ill-preserved nineteenth century housing stock to mitigate the growing social unrest (Altbau).

IBA's motto was "the inner city as a place to live." The two sections clearly discriminated their strategic goals, which resonated with different problems faced by the city's administration in areas with distinct material and social characteristics. Hence, the Neubau section was expected to contribute solutions for areas that were part of the *antebellum* city centre, which had been heavily destroyed by bombing. The selected demonstration areas were Southern Friedrichstadt, Southern Tiergarten, and Prager Platz, to which Tegel Harbour was added as a more peripheral area. These were all areas where the built stock was noticeably exceeded by open space. The demonstration areas chosen for the Altbau section were located in the nineteenth century residential district of Kreuzberg, divided in two neighbourhoods: Luisenstadt and Kreuzberg SO 36, which were then on the eastern border of West Berlin, next to the Berlin wall. These areas were less affected by war bombing, but deeply transformed by demolitions allegedly sparked by sanitary reasons and also by a strategy that envisioned a thorough transformation of the city's baroque urban structure in favour of a technocratic modernist, car-oriented approach. [Figure 5.18] Many buildings on the perimeter of the block were, however, standing still, with little or no conservation, though. They were the survivors of the destructive drive of Berlin's post-war planning strategy, the *Straßenschlachtungen* (street slaughter) as

48. Ristock, a member of the SPD (German Social Democratic Party), wrote to the German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, his fellow party member, asking financial support for the programme. In his letter, Ristock contextualized historically his plea, highlighting the success of similar events in the past, both in Germany and elsewhere, but he was especially keen in stressing its importance to Berlin. He stressed the benefits of the psychological effect of urban renewal in the image of Berlin as part of Germany. Cf. Letter from Harry Ristock to Helmut Schmidt; reproduced in Schilling, "Behutsame Stadterneuerung," 193.

49. Ibid., 204. For an illustration of the relation between the IBA and the community of Turkish *gastarbeiter* (guest workers), see Esra Akcan, "A Building with Many Speakers: Turkish 'Guest Workers' and Alvaro Siza's Bonjour Tristesse Housing for IBA-Berlin," in *The Migrant's Time: Rethinking Art History and Diaspora*, ed. Saloni Mathur (Clark Art Institute, 2011), 91–114.

the theorist and publicist Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm named it.⁵⁰ [Figure 5.19]

Berlin's unique condition at the end of the 1970s was chiefly influenced by geopolitics, as mentioned earlier. Some of the pervasive aspects of this condition were transgression and conflicts. At any rate, if Berlin as a whole was a tangible representation of the Cold War politics, in the Kreuzberg district these aspects gained a paroxysmal dimension.

Kreuzberg: Berlin's Berlin.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, graffiti painted on the walls and banners hang on the façade of dilapidated buildings in Berlin's district of Kreuzberg showed conspicuous tokens of transgression. A widespread squatting movement surfaced challenging the hegemonic practices embodied in the welfare state urban renewal policies sponsored by the city's government. After the destruction caused by Allied bombs during WWII, Berlin's nineteenth century urban fabric was ruthlessly disappearing with the help of bulldozers and wrecking balls at the service of a mix of real estate interests and the city's Senate technocratic planning policies. The social consequences of this urban renewal approach, supported by a simplistic interpretation of the tenets of the functional city, became more noticeable in the 1970s. In effect, the combination of Cold War politics, grassroots empowerment triggered by the late 1960s protest movements, and the global economic depression caused by the 1973 oil crisis, contributed for the growth of social unrest and the emergence of counterculture movements keenly engaged in challenging the planning policies of the city's administration.

In Berlin, there was, thus, a confrontation between the city's welfare state planning policies that advocated the demolition of the remnants of the old urban fabric to create anew a more functional structure and modernize the housing stock, and grassroots movements interested in renovating the existent urban fabric and preserve its mixed and heterogeneous character. This confrontation would yield a tragic outcome for the 18-year-old Klaus-Jürgen Rattay. On 22 September 1981 Rattay died hit by a bus after being pushed to the middle of the Potsdamer Strasse by the Police who tried to dissolve a demonstration where Rattay and other two hundred activists were protesting against the eviction of squatters from the Kreuzberg district. [Figure 5.20]

This dreadful event testifies to the underlying tension embedded in Berlin's urban renewal policies, at the turn of the 1980s, between reconstruction and renovation, epitomized by IBA's well known Janus face, with its two sections, *Neubau* and *Altbau*. [Figure 5.21] For its specific physical and human geography, Kreuzberg became a fertile ground for this battle

50. Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, *Strassenschlachtung: Geschichte, Abriss Und Gebrochenes Weiterleben Der Admiralstrasse (Kreuzberger Hefte)* (Nishen, 1984). To epitomize the failure of the 1950s planning, Hoffmann-Axthelm showed examples of its destructive character in cases such as the Neue Kreuzberg Zentrum (NKZ), built in the period 1969-74.



Figure 5.18. Project for a three-levels motorway junction at the Oranienplatz according to the “Flächennutzungsplan” (Zoning Plan) of 1965. Source: Manfred Sack, ed., *Stadt Im Kopf: Hardt-Walther Hämer* (Berlin: Jovis, 2002), 189.

Figure 5.19. Demolition in block 118. Source: Manfred Sack, ed., *Stadt Im Kopf: Hardt-Walther Hämer* (Berlin: Jovis, 2002), 169. © Archiv Hämer.



Figure 5.20. Klaus-Jürgen Rattay lying on the floor after being hit by a bus. Still from the documentary "Häuser, Hass und Straßenkampf - Die Revolte der Westberliner Hausbesetzer", directed by Eckart Lottmann for the Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg television network (2006).

Figure 5.21. Deutsche Bundespost Berlin - Postage stamp with the building designed by Eisenman/Robertson and the IBA Berlin logo. Produced in 1987.

against the obliteration of the past. In the *antebellum* German capital, this district was part of the city centre. However, after the physical division of the city with the Berlin Wall in 1961, its peripheral condition became more tangible: Kreuzberg was now the eastern part of West Berlin. In the late 1970s, the destructive character of Berlin's "street slaughter" contributed to make the Kreuzberg district a socially deprived area with a percentage of immigrants almost triple compared to that of the whole Berlin.⁵¹ Next to accommodating guest workers, Kreuzberg was also a safe haven for counter-culture movements and the so-called "temporary visitors" of the German-speaking world.⁵²

Kreuzberg was thus Berlin's melting pot, also known as 'Punk Town' or 'Turkish Town'.⁵³ The particular mind-set of Kreuzberg's inhabitants from the late 1970s through the 1980s was strikingly illustrated by Jane Kramer, an American journalist writing for the magazine *New Yorker*. In 1988, Kramer reported how the residents of Kreuzberg's eastern part had progressively created a particular identity: "People in Kreuzberg make their own arrangements. They call their neighbourhood Berlin's Berlin." And she went further reporting, "they inhabit the most freewheeling and anarchic quarter of a city not noted for conformity to begin with, and many of them consider themselves outsiders to bourgeois life."⁵⁴

At any rate, the identity of Kreuzberg was chiefly transformed by the erection of the Berlin wall in 1961. As Carla MacDougall notes, "among Kreuzberg's pre-wall population, residents of the southeastern corner lost access to not only the former city center, but also the closest recreation area." She asserted further that "residents witnessed the transformation of their neighbourhood almost overnight into an outlying corner of West Berlin, cut off from the commercial advantages of its pre-1961 location."⁵⁵ The social impact of these transformations was further complemented with the pervasive impact of the late 1960s protest movement and the early 1970s economical austerity triggered by the oil crisis. To be sure, through the 1970s Kreuzberg's demographics changed with the growth of the community of Turkish guest workers and the emergence of alternative youth movements rooted in New Left activism. Housing shortage and Berlin's special geopolitical condition contributed to the increasing demand for low-rent housing. Eventually, the concatenation of these factors led to the growing popularity of movements that challenged the city's urban renewal policy. In this context, fostered by grassroots empowerment, emerged alternative housing practices such as self-help, autonomy, and self-organization, which contributed to widespread squatting practices in Kreuzberg.

Strategies for Kreuzberg

The grassroots initiative *Strategien für Kreuzberg* (Strategies

51. For an account of the relation between German immigration politics and the urban renewal of Kreuzberg, see Esra Akcan, "Immigration, Participation and IBA '84/87," in *25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung in Berlin 1987. Ein Höhepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus*, ed. Harald Bodenschatz, Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, and Wolfgang Sonne (Sulgen: Niggli Verlag, 2012), 57–74.

52. For a thorough account of the background against which the IBA operated in the Kreuzberg district, see Cutolo, "L'altra IBA," 107–175.

53. Schilling, "Behutsame Stadterneuerung," 186–191.

54. Jane Kramer, "Letter From Europe," *The New Yorker*, November 28, 1988.

55. Carla MacDougall, "In the Shadow of the Wall. Urban Space and Everyday Life in Kreuzberg," in *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday: Subversive Politics in Europe from 1957 to the Present*, ed. Timothy Brown and Lorena Anton (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 161.

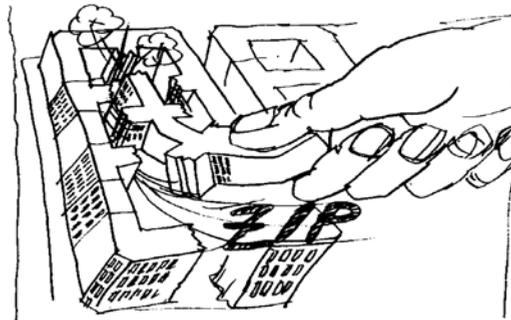


Figure 5.22. Cover of the book with the documentation of the initiative “Strategien für Kreuzberg”. Source: Der Senator für BWV, *Strategien für Kreuzberg* (Berlin: Senator für BWV, 1978).

Figure 5.23. An illustration showing a critical view on the principles of the ZIP (*Programm für Zukunftsinvestitionen*, Program for future investments). Source: *Arch + 37* (April 1978), 71.

for Kreuzberg), developed in the spring of 1977, became an important moment in the search for a consolidation of Kreuzberg's specific identity. [Figure 5.22] The organizers of the event, Klaus Duntze and Gerd Wartenberg, members of Kreuzberg's evangelical community, aimed to show an alternative to the city's technocratic urban renewal policy, which was epitomized by the Kottbusser Tor *Sanierungsgebiet* (Redevelopment Area). Duntze, an evangelical pastor, had already attempted to challenge the city's urban renewal policy in 1975, suggesting the development of projects inspired by the motto *Revitalisierung von Stadtquartieren* (Revitalization of urban neighbourhoods). Though the 1975 initiative did not succeed in its intent, Duntze insisted and in 1977 came up with the *Strategien*, an initiative that, curiously enough, was supported by the government's *Zukunftsinvestitionsprogramm* (ZIP, West Germany's Investment Program). [Figure 5.23]

The basic premise of the *Strategien* was to have a "fresh start" where the infamous technocratic *Sanierungsprogramme* (redevelopment programs) should give way to a new urban renewal paradigm, the *Stadtreparatur* (city repair). As opposed to the technocratic approach, they envisioned city planning as social planning, sidestepping regulatory approaches and heightening "the critical self-consciousness of citizens."⁵⁶ The participation of the residents in urban renewal was a chief concern of the *Strategien*, a fundamental aspect to involve a community of new residents that had recently arrived to the area, filling in the void left by the locals that decided to flee the area running away from the neighbourhood's growing material dilapidation. In effect, in the end of the 1970s, Berlin's Kreuzberg district was an "arrival city", where one third of the forty thousand inhabitants of the area were foreign guest workers.⁵⁷ With the *Strategien*, Duntze and his partners in the project strived to invert the lack of public interest and investment triggered by this demographic change. The goals of the *Strategien* went beyond a mere spatial reorganization of the area. In fact, as Duntze asserted, "we don't want to just elaborate plans and programs [...] but the outline of ideas focused on objectives and the motivation of the players to participate in their achievement."⁵⁸

One of the most tangible results of the *Strategien* was the creation of the group *Verein SO 36*, a public assembly created with the goal of acting as an interlocutor between the city's administration, investors, owners, and the area's residents. Residents' participation was encouraged and seen as an essential component for an urban renewal process driven by a respect for the various social, economical and cultural backgrounds of the population living in the area. As Carla MacDougall notes, the *Strategien* aimed to "show that revitalizing the infrastructure of inner-city districts could be achieved by respecting and strengthening the existing social and physical composition of

56. Klaus Duntze, "Experiment Der Selbsterneuerung Oder Feigenblatt? Zur Ausschreibung 'Strategien Für Kreuzberg' Interview Mit Klaus Duntze," *Arch+*, no. 34 (June 1, 1977): 18.

57. For an account of Kreuzberg as an "arrival city" and its transformation from the late 1970s on, see Doug Saunders, *Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History Is Reshaping Our World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010), 241–52.

58. Duntze, "Experiment Der Selbsterneuerung Oder Feigenblatt?," 21.

the neighbourhood rather than at its expense.”⁵⁹ In the open competitions launched by the *Strategien*, the brief explicitly stated that everyone could contribute regardless of their expertise. Citizens’ participation became thus an important component of the residents’ struggle to counter the city’s government urban renewal policies.

Discussing in 1978 the “third stage” of the *Strategien*, Duntze acknowledged, however, “the apparent consensus on the objectives, combined with the *Strategien*, turns out to be extremely fragile, because always formulated in the abstract.” And he went on asserting “this becomes clear if you take one of the demands, which all parties have agreed in the competition: “Careful renovation planning of the district without expulsion of the indigenous population.”⁶⁰ In effect, the reduction and displacement of the local residents testified bluntly to this lack of consonance between the goals and the results of the grassroots initiative.

Duntze considered raising consciousness on Kreuzberg’s history an important strategy to invert this process, to strengthen collective memory and to intensify citizens’ participation. To be sure, already in 1977 Duntze contended it was important to acknowledge the “presence of a past that is for us far from over.”⁶¹ In effect, the presence of the past became a chief concern in the shockwaves of the *Strategien*. In 1978, Duntze advocated the creation of a museum of the district, which should go beyond mere nostalgia for the past, and also act as a community centre for social, cultural and political activities. Duntze sought the creation of the *Kreuzberg Museum für Stadtentwicklung und Sozialgeschichte* (Kreuzberg Museum for urban development and social history), were, he contended, “the releasing of this banished and suppressed past could have an unbelievably emancipating effect for the self-confidence of this ‘last corner’ of Berlin!”⁶²

The influence of the *Strategien* for the design of the IBA-Berlin program cannot be overlooked. Duntze’s initiative created a background against which IBA’s Altbau section would attempt to engage local residents in being part and parcel of the district’s urban renewal. Furthermore, the basic tenets of the *Strategien* would play an important role in the decision to invite Hardt-Walther Hämer as director of IBA-Altbau.

IBA Between Old and New

From the outset the IBA-Neubau and the IBA-Altbau had different strategies and goals. Likewise, the director of each section had also a distinct profile. Joseph Paul Kleihues, a professor at the Dortmund University and the former curator of the *Modelle für eine Stadt* section in the pages of the *Berliner*

59. MacDougall, “In the Shadow of the Wall. Urban Space and Everyday Life in Kreuzberg,” 165.

60. Klaus Duntze, “Berlin SO 36: Die „Dritte Runde“ Neues von Den STRATEGIEN FÜR KREUZBERG,” *Arch+*, no. 40/41 (November 1, 1978): 8.

61. Duntze, “Experiment Der Selbsterneuerung Oder Feigenblatt?,” 16.

62. Duntze, “Berlin SO 36: Die „Dritte Runde“ Neues von Den STRATEGIEN FÜR KREUZBERG,” 12.

Morgenpost, was chosen for the Neubau section. Hardt-Walther Hämer, a professor at the TU Berlin and social activist with a successful record in urban renewal, was selected for the Altbau section. Both directors were responsible for the management, coordination, strategic, and methodological approach in their areas. And these were also quite different.

In an interview given to the magazine *Architectural Review* in 1984, Kleihues explained the delicate balance between new and old embedded in his reconstruction principles. “It is not easy to define the planning aims, primarily because we are not concerned with planning a new city, but with observing certain still extant historical features.” And he went further asserting, “on the other hand, we are not, of course, aiming to build an imitation of a bygone age. The one would be as impossible as the other. I have already indicated what our guideline is - the ground plan, the urban space and the visual image of the city.”⁶³ In a text written in *Lotus International*, also in 1984, Kleihues summed up it declaring “the memory of the city plan and its controlling function over the layout of urban is now the starting point and also the first premise for ‘reconstruction’.”⁶⁴

Kleihues was, in effect, militantly engaged in bringing back the perimeter block as the primal typological reference for the reconstruction of Berlin, thus challenging the hitherto prevailing tenets of the functional city. His reconstruction program deliberately operated within an area that excluded both a nostalgic appraisal of the signs of the past, and a technocratic belief in newness. He argued “these reasoned programs are in contrast with excesses that are not merely sentimental but even increasingly reactionary, not even sparing us a leap into medieval idylls, while the seduction of the alternative prompts the transformation of the great boulevards into park areas.”⁶⁵ Hence, eschewing reactionary and progressive drives, I would argue Kleihues pursued a conservative attitude where, as Wallis Miller put it, “was nonetheless clear that this view of the past was not based on a faithfulness to prewar ground plans, but on a use of the forms of the prewar past as a kit of parts.”

In the same interview given to *The Architectural Review*, Kleihues contended that IBA’s two sections shared the same interest in making the inner city a better place to live. He also recognized that there were different situations, which required different methods and approaches, though he believed, “no matter what we do, we must not shy away from criticizing past habits and methods; we need massive criticism of what has been neglected and all the indifference and harshness of urban planning and architecture in both areas.”⁶⁶

Hämer’s approach in the Altbau section was, nevertheless, somewhat distinct from that of Kleihues. Hämer had been

63. Josef Paul Kleihues, “Josef Paul Kleihues Interviewed by Lore Ditzen,” *The Architectural Review* 176, no. 1051 (September 1984): 42.

64. Josef Paul Kleihues, “The IBA Influence. Other Berlinese Projects,” *Lotus International*, The IBA Influence, no. 41 (1984): 18.

65. Ibid.

66. Kleihues, “Josef Paul Kleihues Interviewed by Lore Ditzen,” 43.

engaged with a so-called careful urban renewal strategy since the mid-1970s, succeeding in demonstrating the social and economic advantages of renewal as opposed to processes based on demolition and construction anew.

Curiously enough, both directors invited architects conspicuously dissimilar to contribute proposals for their sections. Kleihues invited well known, international and leading figures of the discipline such as Rob Krier, Aldo Rossi, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Vittorio Gregotti, OMA (Koolhaas, Zenghelis and Sauerbruch), Peter Eisenman, Raimund Abraham, John Hejduk, Herman Hertzberger, Hans Kollhoff, and Arata Isozaki. Hämer, conversely, opted to invite less known architects, mainly local or from the neighbouring, German speaking countries.⁶⁷ The only exception to this rule was the Portuguese architect Álvaro Siza, who was probably invited by Hämer because of his previous and highly celebrated experiences with citizen's participation in housing design, which had already been showed in Berlin in the 1976 IDZ symposium, discussed earlier. The concurrence of Siza and Hämer in Berlin at the turn of the 1980s would eventually produce one of the most notable operations developed under the auspices of IBA Berlin, which will be further examined in a following section of this chapter. Before that, and in order to shed some light on the background against which this operation ensued, Hardt-Waltherr Hämer's engagement with Berlin's urban renewal policies will be addressed with more detail.

Hardt-Waltherr Hämer and the Modernization of Berlin

As discussed above, from the 1960s through the 1970s, a technocratic urban planning strategy inspired by the mechanist tropes of the functional city, deemed for demolition a great deal of Berlin's housing stock that had survived WWII bombings. This massive operation of material dilapidation also carried with it social effects, such as shattering established communities, jeopardizing a balanced mix of social strata, and menacing the city's formal identity. One of the main arguments in favour of demolition was that it was cheaper than building anew. To prove this argument false, Hämer developed an in-depth research on the cost of modernizing existing buildings. His study, *Kosteanalyse der Modellmodernisierung von Altbauten* (Cost analysis of the model modernization of old buildings), was presented in 1976 and championed programs of maintenance and rehabilitation as alternatives to the 1960s clearance of worn-out buildings with large-scale demolitions. With his study, Hämer alerted to the beneficial social impact of renovation, thus arguing that it was technically, economically, and socially feasible and beneficial.⁶⁸ The publication of his study created large impact in Berlin's public opinion, which resulted in outspoken criticism on Berlin's Senate waste of money with *flächensanierung* (urban renewal through new buildings).

67. Among many others that designed renovations to existing buildings, the new buildings in the Altbau section were designed by Dieter Frowein & Gerhard Spangenberg, Wilhelm Holzbauer, Hinrich & Inken Baller, Peter Stürzebecher & Kjell Nylund & Christof Puttfarcken, Otto Steidle, and Álvaro Siza.

68. In his study, Hämer sought for strategies of improved approaches to urban renewal, which should avoid cost factors mainly related with two aspects: the eviction of residents (due to intrusive surveys to the building's structure that demanded the residents to leave their house, or even permanent eviction due to demolition); and the erroneous use of similar standards, managerial and financial schemes in renewal as in new construction (such as housing standards, building loans or construction contracts).

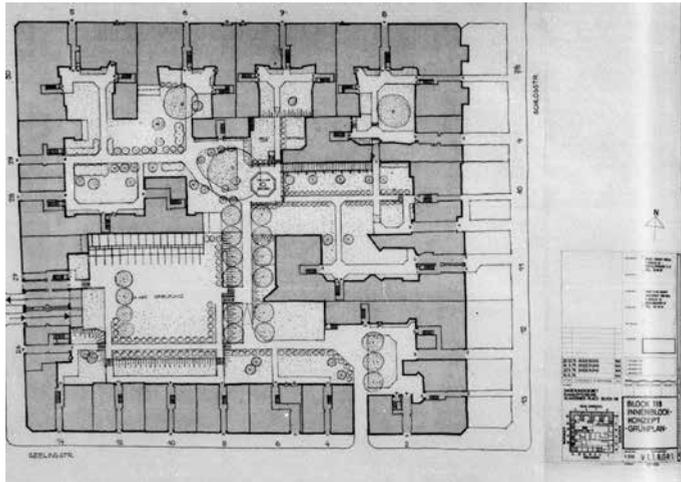


Figure 5.24. Hardt-Waltherr Hämer and Marie-Brigitte Hämer-Buro – General plan of Block 118, Berlin-Charlottenburg (1974-1980). Source: Manfred Sack, ed., *Stadt Im Kopf: Hardt-Waltherr Hämer* (Berlin: Jovis, 2002), 166.

Therefore, to assess the extent to which the study could be confirmed by actual building practices, the city's Senate commissioned Hämer with the renewal of Block 118, an entire urban block located in Berlin's Charlottenburg *Bezirke* (district). [Figure 5.24] Curiously enough, – or maybe not - the developer of the project (*Neue Heimat*, at that time the biggest housing corporation in West Germany) was not looking forward to the success of Hämer's project, creating several conflicts with the architect. It was clear that this new approach was not resonant with the interests of the real-estate lobby.⁶⁹ Hämer, however, mobilized residents and social activists to protest against them and eventually succeeded in finishing the *behutsame Stadterneuerung* (careful urban renewal) of Block 118 for a cost of only 64% of the usual practice of demolition and reconstruction.⁷⁰ With the help of the residents and activists, Hämer thus proved that old building modernization was economically rational and it avoided a substantial increase in the value of the rents paid by the residents. This thus encouraged their maintenance in the same building, preserving the community's social cohesion. His mediatory skills were instrumental to include residents in the design process and to use dialogue as a means to solve conflicts. Hämer conflated expertise and participatory procedures thus reversing the usual structure of power relations between citizens, bureaucrats, politicians and the real-estate lobby.

5.3• Voids Bridging Gaps

From the outset, one of IBA-Berlin's biggest challenges was lack of time. On the one hand, the consequences of the relentless dilapidation of the housing stock called for a rapid intervention to invert the process and to mitigate the growing social unrest triggered by it. On the other hand, the clock was ticking for the *Bauausstellung* to produce a tangible outcome by 1984, the year initially set for the conclusion of its activity. However, if IBA's goals were relatively clear, the negotiations with all the stakeholders involved in the process were more complicated. There were many vacant plots in Berlin's urban fabric, but the real estate was dispersed by many landowners, big and small, private and public. Further, even though the city's senate was fully committed with the IBA-Berlin, the bureaucratic apparatus instilled a complex set of rules, regulations and processes that hindered a swift development of building operations, first and foremost the development of social housing complexes. In this context, filling in the voids, both actual and symbolic, of Berlin's urban fabric became a massive challenge for all the stakeholders involved in the process.

Fraenkelufer: a Benchmark for Urban Renewal

One of the most pressing issues brought up in the development of

69. More information about this process can be read in Jürgen Rosemann, "Forschungsbezogene Praxis Und Praxisorientierte Forschung," in *Stadt Im Kopf: Hardt-Waltherr Hämer*, ed. Manfred Sack (Berlin: Jovis, 2002), 165.

70. In his strategy of careful urban renewal, Hämer used new methods such as non-intrusive assessment of the quality of the wooden structure through endoscopy, stocktaking of the construction materials, and planning methods responsive to each particular situation.

IBA-Berlin's strategy was the immediate availability of buildings to be renovated and plots where new housing complexes could be built. An exception to this was a vast property in the Fraenkelufer area, a part of Kreuzberg's Luisenstadt neighbourhood, on the north side of the Landwehrkanal. [Figure 5.25] A large part of the area located in the blocks 70 and 89 was owned by GSW, a governmental real-estate company. A significant part of the block was vacant, waiting for the construction of the projects included in the redevelopment plan for the area, which envisioned a complete destruction of the antebellum urban fabric and a new road passing through the middle of block 70. [Figure 5.26] This plan epitomized everything the IBA was fighting against and it was thus a chief opportunity to apply the premises announced as the kernel of its approach to urban renewal.

Located at the western part of Kreuzberg, the blocks on the Fraenkelufer occupied a special position in the area defined for the intervention of IBA-Berlin. They mediated the core of the IBA-Neubau area, the Südliche Friedrichstadt, and the area chosen for the *Strategien*, in Kreuzberg's SO 36 neighborhood. Furthermore, though it was launched as part of the Altbau section, due to the characteristics of the block, the main goal of the operation was to build new housing complexes, typically a responsibility of the Neubau section. All these factors contributed to select the Fraenkelufer process as an experiment to test the *Bauausstellung's* approach.

One of the first challenges was the selection of the designers and the definition of the proposals' assessment process. It was then decided the IBA would organize and coordinate an architectural competition where four teams should be invited to present proposals for the area. The initial brief for the competition was defined in cooperation between IBA-Berlin, GSW, and the political forces represented in the district council. It was decided that two teams should be invited by IBA and the district council should suggest the other two. The former thus invited Álvaro Siza from Portugal and Heinrich Baller from Berlin, and the latter invited two teams from Berlin already involved in projects of the same nature, Günter Hahn and Urbanke-Winterhof. The projects developed by the four teams should then be submitted for the appreciation of a jury composed with representatives of all the stakeholders involved in the process, including the residents. After launching the competition in early October 1979, the assessment process would be developed in two phases: an intermediate reviewing session, after which the teams could reformulate the project and eventually present the revised version in early December to the jury of experts and residents, who would then decide on the winning entry.

The announcement of the competition stated the importance of the Fraenkelufer as "an area of mediation rich in conflicts

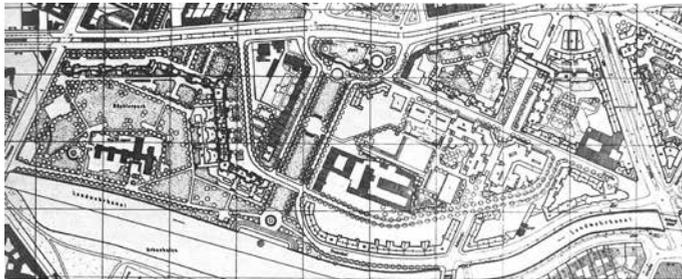


Figure 5.25. Aerial view of the Fraenkelufer (along the Landwehrkanal) with the long firewall of the Elisabeth Hof, before de IBA-Altbau competition. Source: *Arch + 66* (December 1982), 42.

Figure 5.26. Plan for the Fraenkelufer area showing a street passing through the middle of the blocks. Source: *Arch + 66* (December 1982), 43.

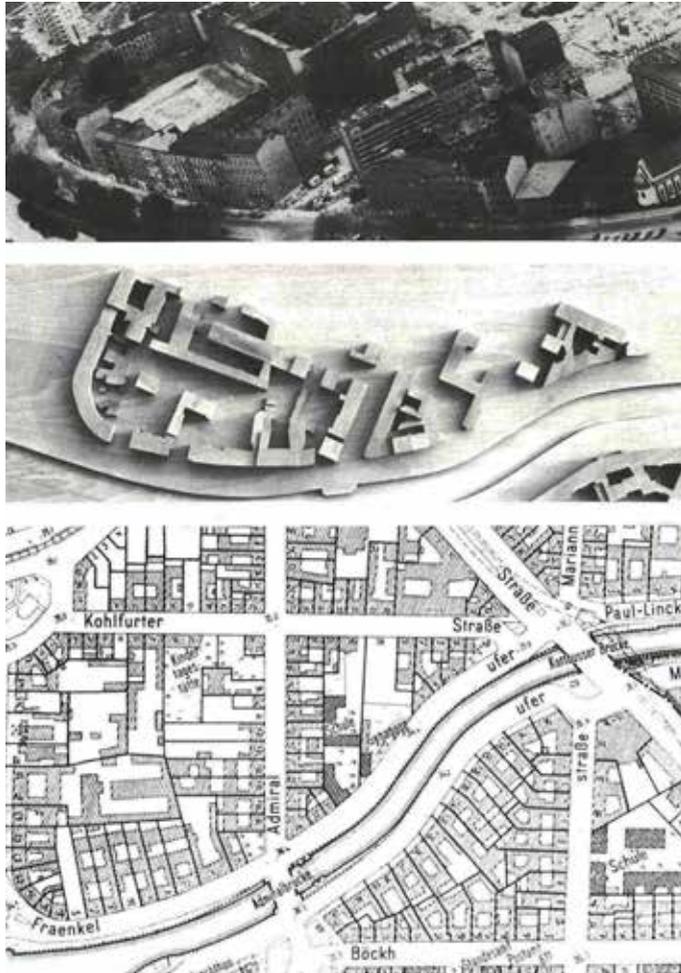


Figure 5.27. Transformation of the Fraenkelufer area. Aerial view of the existing situation at the time of the 1979 IBA-Altbau competition (above); View of the model with Álvaro Siza's project (middle); Plan with the original property division (below). Source: *Lotus International* 32 (1981/III), 51.

between new big scale developments [...] and the zone directed to an uplifting requalification.” Further, it emphasized the need to redefine the paradigm for “a new dwelling and building in relation to the existing architectural structures.”⁷¹ The case of the massive *brandmauer* (fire wall) in the middle of block 70 was given as an excellent opportunity to develop this new paradigm.

Siza’s Analogous City

As opposed to the projects designed by the other three teams, Siza’s project for the Fraenkelufer conspicuously disallowed the suggestion of the competition’s brief to use the *brandmauer* as the anchor for the new housing complex. In effect, Siza’s project seemingly resonated with the same principles that framed his contribution, three years earlier, for the IDZ symposium. [Figure 5.27] His project for the Fraenkelufer emphasizes the fragmentary nature of the city, in the same vein as he did before in SAAL’s São Victor operation and in his 1976 IDZ proposal for the Derfflingerstraße. At any rate, the Fraenkelufer site was a good illustration of the evolution of Berlin’s urban fabric from the late nineteenth century through the late 1970s.⁷² Until the Second World War, buildings with two faces, as it were, filled the blocks. One face, along the street, accommodated a continuous perimeter of middle class housing, whose façade consistently presented a tripartite composition and a relatively regular morphology. The other face or, rather, the other faces, as they were many, were turned into the interior of the block, the result of speculative operations to increase the built area with housing for the working class. Patios were carved out from the blocks to ventilate and illuminate the dwellings thus providing the minimum sanitary conditions for living. In the bourgeois face of the block, passages were created to connect the street with the courtyard dwellings. With the World War II destruction and further demolitions, the morphology of these blocks was completely altered. The courtyard was almost completely cleared out and the perimeter of the block showed several gaps.

[Figure 5.28]

In Siza’s proposal for the Fraenkelufer, he deliberately avoids a reconstruction (critical or otherwise) of the nineteenth century block. Rather, he highlights the fragmentary nature of the urban fabric created by consecutive layers of historical events that he brings forth, rendering visible the scars of the past. The block’s courtyard on the western part of Fraenkelufer had been almost completely cleared out and on its façade facing the Landwehrkanal there were three empty plots. Siza took advantage of these characteristics to create a group of four buildings. These buildings, designed as homage to Berlin’s architecture and its architects, were arranged according to a geometrical framework defined by the existing property cadastre.⁷³ [Figure 5.29] Three of these buildings were located in

71. These quotes were taken from the competition’s press-release, and reproduced from Cutolo, “L’altra IBA,” 138.

72. For a thorough account, lavishly illustrated and documented, on the evolution of Berlin’s tenement block see Johann Friedrich Geist and Klaus Kürvers, *Das Berliner Mietshaus 1862-1945* (München: Prestel, 1984).

73. In his sketches for the Fraenkelufer project, Siza ‘dedicates’ the buildings to Scharoun, Mendelshon, Schinkel, the Bauhaus, etc. See Álvaro Siza, *City Sketches / Stadtskizzen / Desenhos Urbanos*, ed. Brigitte Fleck, 1st ed. (Birkhäuser, 1994), 54–55.

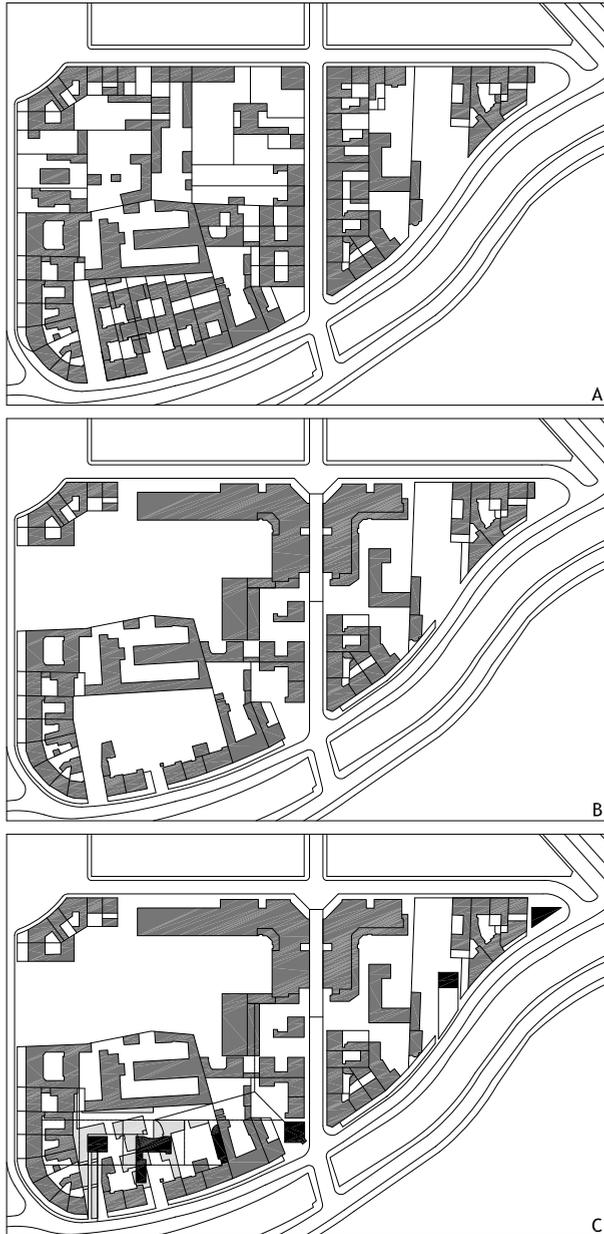


Figure 5.28. Álvaro Siza – IBA-Altbau Fraenkelufer competition, 1979; A – Site before World War II; B- Site before the competition; C- Site with Siza's proposal (drawn over the footprint of the former land division and occupation). Source: author's drawing.

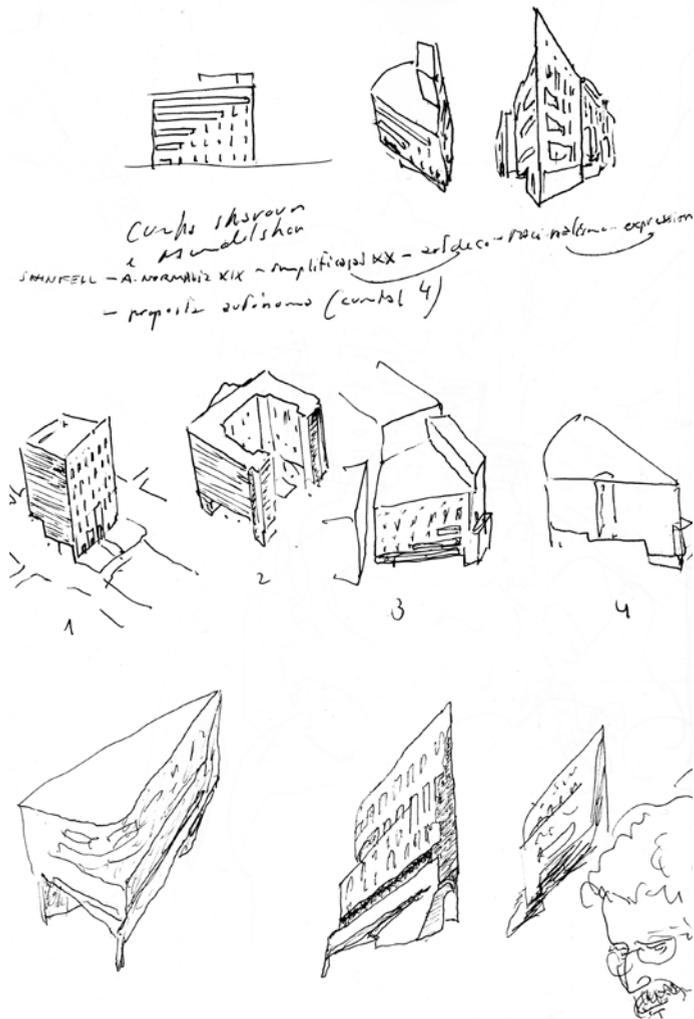


Figure 5.29. Álvaro Siza – Sketches for IBA-Altbau Fraenkelufer competition, 1979. Buildings in homage to Berlin and its architects. Source: *Alvaro Siza, City Sketches / Stadtskizzen / Desenhos Urbanos*, ed. Brigitte Fleck, 1st ed. (Birkhäuser, 1994), 54.

the interior of the courtyard and the fourth at the corner with the Admiralstraße. Moreover, each of these buildings was designed according to a particular vernacular type of Berlin: Typical bourgeois block (A), L-Shaped block (B), wall-building (C), and corner-building (D). [Figure 5.30] The buildings A and B take advantage of the gaps on the block's perimeter to emerge at the background, lurking behind the street façade. [Figure 5.31] Though detached from the street façade, these buildings resonate with the nineteenth century bourgeois block, either in its simpler version (A) or with an additional wing, perpendicular to the main façade (B), penetrating in the courtyard and including the typical corner partition, the *berliner zimmer*. The building C uses another typical characteristic of Berlin's built landscape, the *brandmauer* (firewall, a blind façade), to develop its particular layout. The plan of the building is stretched against and along the neighbouring *brandmauer*, defining a narrow and long construction, which partially reconstitutes the floor plan of Berlin's *mietskasernen*. In the design of building D, Siza delivers a carefully placed corner building, which articulates the odd geometry of the block, with a rigorous cubic form.⁷⁴

Design as Archaeology

In Siza's project for the Fraenkelufer, the interplay between past and present was not only detectable in the buildings; it was also on the ground. In effect, in the courtyard of the block at the eastern side of the Fraenkelufer, he kept on the surface of the plot the memory of the recent past, through lines that partially replicated the footprint of the destroyed or demolished buildings. The conspicuous conflict of geometries between these lines and the new buildings, utterly expresses Siza's drive to create anew with a deep consciousness of the past, and a shrewd reading of reality. [Figure 5.32] At any rate, as Pierluigi Nicolin notes, in the Fraenkelufer project, "the terrain becomes a sort of archaeological plane where one walks on tip-toe, partially enlightened by that geometry imprinted on it like a watermark."⁷⁵

This approach, in effect, resonates with a deliberate attempt to acknowledge the immanent tensions of Berlin's urban morphology, echoing Rossi's notion of the "city of parts", a concept epitomized in Ungers's 1977 formulation of Berlin as an archipelago city. In effect, as Pier Vittorio Aureli suggests, since the mid-1960s, Ungers had emphasized the dialectical tension between the extant and the new, showing "the constitutive formal tension of city form: the dialectic between irreducible formal and spatial autonomy of each part and the possibility of conceiving the different parts as one coherent structure, as a *city part*."⁷⁶ In this context, both in Siza's design decision-making process as in Ungers', a dialectical relation between the new and the "as found" surfaces as an essential element in their formal operations. In effect, as Aureli notes, this was clearly

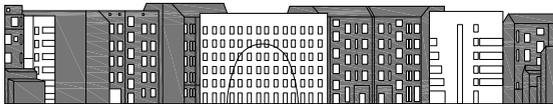
74. In the neighbouring block, at the eastern part of the Fraenkelufer, two other buildings were proposed, repeating some of the strategies discussed above. Hence, the building E follows the same approach of building A and the building F, in the corner with Kohlfurterstraße, resonates with the strategy of building D, though in this case, using a triangular shape.

75. Pierluigi Nicolin, "Alvaro Siza: Three Projects for Kreuzberg. Fraenkelufer-Kottbusserstasse-Schlesisches Tor," *Lotus International*, no. 32 (1981): 45.

76. Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2011), 190. Original emphasis. For more information about Ungers' formulation of Berlin as an archipelago city, see Lara Schrijver, "The Archipelago City: Piecing Together Collectivities," *OASE*, no. 71 (November 2006): 18–36.



A



B

Figure 5.30. Álvaro Siza – IBA-Altbau Fraenkelufer competition, 1979. Site plan (In white the new buildings). Source: *Domus* 685 (July/August 1987), 70.

Figure 5.31. Álvaro Siza – IBA-Altbau Fraenkelufer competition, 1979; A – Elevation Fraenkelufer; B - Elevation inner courtyard. Source: author's drawing.

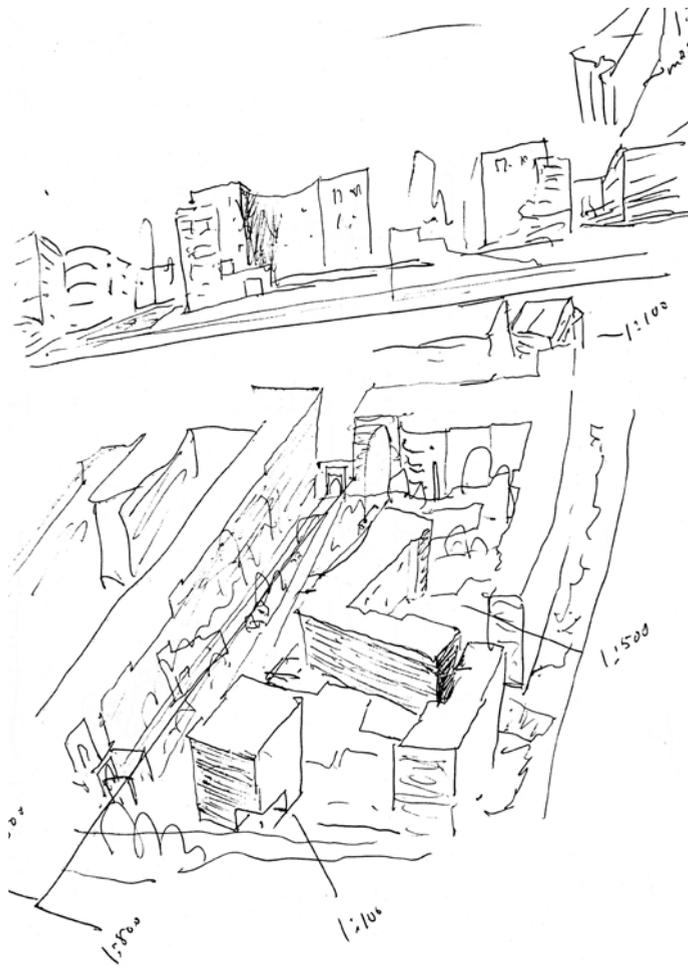


Figure 5.32. Álvaro Siza – Sketch for IBA-Altbau Fraenkelufer competition, 1979. Aerial view with lines of the footprint of the demolished buildings. Source: Alvaro Siza, *City Sketches / Stadtskizzen / Desenhos Urbanos*, ed. Brigitte Fleck, 1st ed. (Birkhäuser, 1994), 51.



Figure 5.33. Hinrich and Inken Baller - The Fraenkelufer project (1979-1984). Perspective sketch, Corner building, view of the courtyard (above). Site plan (below) Source: *Domus* 685 (July/August 1987), 71 (above); *DASH - Housing Exhibitions*, 9 (2013), 150 (below).

expressed in two projects designed by Ungers for Berlin: the 1973 Tiergarten Viertel and the 1974 competition entry for IV Ring, Berlin-Lichterfelde. In these projects, Aureli argues, “the as found conditions of the site are accepted and even assumed to be the guiding principle of the city, yet they are framed and organized by an abstract form.”⁷⁷

Similarly, I would thus suggest, in Siza’s Fraenkelufer project surfaces an urban renewal approach whose formal operations were chiefly determined by a dialectical relation between the new and the “as found”. On the one hand, Siza rejects the simple *tabula rasa* attitude, which obliterates the marks of the past. On the other hand, he resists following a mere morphological continuity with the existing built landscape. His approach is, rather, one that dialectically negotiates the present with the past. Resonating with the Smithsons 1959 entry for the Hauptstadt Berlin competition, or with Ungers’s 1973 project for Berlin’s Tiergartenviertel, in the Fraenkelufer project Siza invents a counter-geometry to revalidate the baroque urban structure, which he recuperates and exhibits as archaeological findings.

Populism and Citizen’s Participation

In the final stage of the competition process, the jury decided to declare as winner the proposal presented by the studio of Hinrich and Inken Baller. [Figure 5.33] The Ballers opted to fill in the gaps on the perimeter of the block and take advantage of the cleared out courtyard to create a garden. Following the suggestion of the competition’s brief, the Ballers designed a building set against the massive *brandmauer*. However, the Ballers’ somewhat conventional morphological approach contrasts with their keen commitment with an expressionist and distinct material and formal characterization of the buildings. Where Siza’s buildings showed a clear-cut volumetric definition and façade composition, the Ballers’ delivered a spectacular interplay of forms and materials.

The decision of the jury met with some reserves from members of the local council, who considered the proposal could not meet the standards defined by Berlin’s social housing policy. This opposition was ruled out after further discussion between the authors, the authorities and GSW, and the project was eventually built and received with great enthusiasm by the public and the press. In effect, for a critic writing in the Italian journal *Domus*, the selection of the project designed by the Ballers, instead of Siza’s was seen as a populist decision.⁷⁸

In any event, the Fraenkelufer process created a benchmark for further processes developed by the IBA-Altbau. The format of the competition, with two moments of participated assessment of the proposal submitted by the teams invited by IBA and the

77. Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*, 210.

78. Wilhelm Beerheim, “IBA Berlino: Un Bilancio Di Sette Anni Di Lavoro,” *Domus*, no. 685 (August 1987): 70.

local council, proved to be an operative strategy to negotiate the interests of all the stakeholders involved in the process. Further, the discussion around the resonance between the Ballers' project and the current social housing norms and standards showed the extent to which a new paradigm could be pursued with an approach that challenged established managerial dogmas and prescriptive codification. In effect, the Fraenkelufer's project met the expectations formulated by Hans Müller, Berlin's *Senatsbaudirektor*, who emphasized the importance of the Fraenkelufer project to demonstrate the possibility of building exemplary solutions for living at the center of the city, thus highlighting the *Bauausstellung's* contribution to challenge existing norms and procedures that hindered the quality of the built outcome produced hitherto.⁷⁹

Hämer's careful urban renewal principles clearly supported citizens' participation in the design decision-making process. However, as discussed above, both his and IBA-Altbau's focus was more directed to the renovation of existing structures rather than sponsoring the construction of new buildings. Renovation was, in fact, the fundamental task advanced in the section directed by Hämer, whereas the latter was the main focus of the section directed by Kleihues. For obvious reasons, the involvement of the residents in the renovation of the buildings where they lived was accepted and perceived as a fundamental aspect of the careful urban renewal approach. In the construction of new buildings, the benefits of citizens' participation were not that evident. In effect, in the IBA-Neubau section, Kleihues ruled out participation from the design decision-making process.⁸⁰

With the Fraenkelufer project, however, Hämer proved also the relevance of citizens' participation in decision-making process as part and parcel of the development of new housing complexes, conveying a tangible instance of the possibility to combine a qualified outcome with the participation of non-experts in the process. With this experience, the IBA-Altbau section was now prepared to apply the same principles and strategies in other locations in the Kreuzberg district.

79. Müller's declaration is part of the minutes of the 7 November 1979 meeting of Berlin's *Ausschuß für Bau- und Wohnungswesen* (Housing and Building committee), quoted in Cutolo, "L'altra IBA," 146.

80. For an account of the reasons for Kleihues distrust in users' contribution to the design process, see Akean, "Immigration, Participation and IBA '84/87," 64–65.

5.4• Building a Paroxysm of Reality

In the summer of 1980, some months after the decision on the winning project for the Fraenkelufer area was made, the IBA-Altbau section launched the competition for block 121, located in the SO 36 area next to the Schelisches Tor. In effect, this area had been the centre of the focus of the 1977 *Strategien für Kreuzberg*, discussed earlier, and the characteristics of the block created an opportunity to develop a project that mingled renovation of existing structures and new constructions for housing and amenities. As opposed to the case of the Fraenkelufer,

in Block 121 the land ownership was dispersed and owned by private developers and real estate companies. The IBA-Altbau administration decided, nevertheless to reproduce the same process developed before for the blocks in the Luisenstadt. In this case, however, the outcome would be significantly different from the Fraenkelufer experience.

Stitching Fragments

Similarly to what happen in Fraenkelufer, IBA-Berlin and the representatives of the district council selected the architects invited to develop a preliminary proposal for Block 121. The architects indicated by IBA were Álvaro Siza, and Ulli Böhme, a former student of Hämer from Berlin.⁸¹ The architects indicated by the local council were Volker Theissen from Berlin and the PSA Group/Gottfried Böhm, from Aachen. The former had been engaged in the *Strategien* and was active developing projects and studies for the area. The four teams were asked to focus on the northern part of the block, along the Schlesisches Straße, and to comply with the concepts of *Mischzone* (Mixed Zone) and *Blockkonzepte* (Block Concept). These concepts were part and parcel of Hämer's twelve principles of careful urban renewal, which resonated essentially with considering the whole block as the backdrop against which the design should accommodate the interplay of housing with other functions (e.g. day care centre, club for senior residents, neighbourhood meeting place, library, or open collective spaces).⁸²

The outcome of the first stage of the competition revealed that all teams concurred in similar approaches at the scale of the block, though with different solutions. [Figure 5.34] There was a common tendency to emphasize the capacity of the block's interior to become the core of the local community, one of the central aspects of Hämer's theory for emphasizing the social benefits of urban renewal. The proposals of PSA Group and Volker Theissen clearly defined the core's boundaries, either through buildings (Theissen), or a spatial device (a pergola/arcade, in the case of PSA group). Ulli Böhme articulated the interior of the block with an intricate system of spaces and paths that took advantage of the gates at the perimeter of the block to connect the surrounding streets through its interior. Siza's proposal was more contained, using the open spaces as an extension of the existing buildings, with exception to a wide central space connected with the gap in Falckensteinstraße 6.

Regarding the definition of the block's boundary, there was an overall tendency to preserve the existing discontinuities, in different ways, though. This strategy worked twofold: on the one hand, it emphasized the connection between the street and the interior of the block, and on the other hand it preserved the gaps as instances of the fragmentary nature of Berlin's recent

81. According to Davide Cutolo, the invitation of Siza was fully supported by the *Senatsbaudirektor*, Hans Müller, who praised Siza's contribution to the 1976 IDZ symposium as one that brought forth "essential points for reflection". Cf. Cutolo, "L'altra IBA," 164–165.

82. For an English translation of Hämer's urban renewal principles, see Hardt Walther Hämer, "Twelve Principles of Careful Urban Renewal in Berlin-Kreuzberg," *Domus*, no. 685 (August 1987): 79.



Figure 5.34. IBA-Altbau Schelesisches Straße competition, 1980 – Proposals First Phase; A - Ulli Böhme; B - PSA Group/Gottfried Böhm; C - Volker Theissen; D - Álvaro Siza. Source: author's drawing.

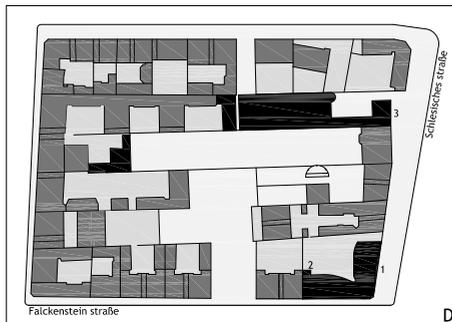
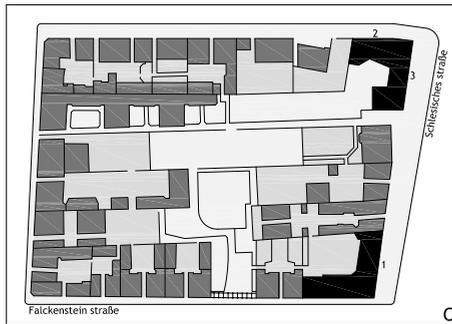
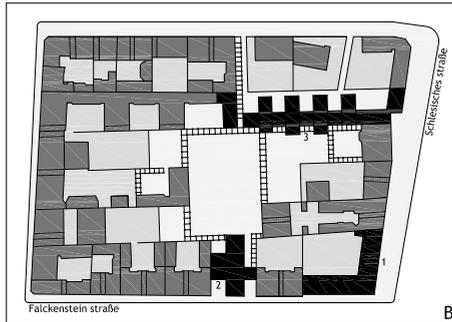
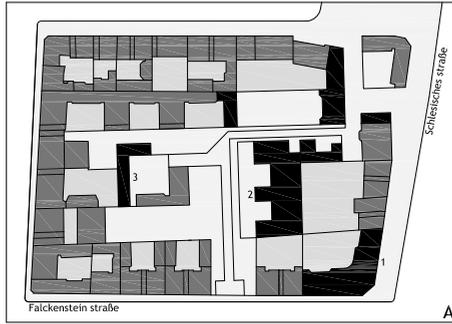


Figure 5.35. IBA-Altbau Schelesisches Straße competition, 1980 – Proposals Second Phase; A - Ulli Böhme; B - PSA Group/Gottfried Böhm; C - Volker Theissen; D - Álvaro Siza. Source: author's drawing.

past. Both in Siza's and Theissen's proposals, existing gaps (in Falckensteinstraße 6 and Schlesisches straße 3) were simply kept as voids on the street façade. In the proposal presented by PSA Group, they attempted to articulate new buildings on the block's perimeter with those already existing. In this case, the transition between the street and the interior of the block was always filtered through the use of gates and arcades. In Ulli Böhme's scheme, the boundary of the block was thought of as a continuous membrane, permeable, though. An arcade closed the gap in Falckensteinstraße 6, and created a continuous permeable surface, which, together with the gates in the existing buildings, were connected to a network of pedestrian paths, virtually articulating the whole interior of the block. At the corner of Falckensteinstraße with Schlesisches straße, in the last stage of the competition process, all participants proposed a corner building with commercial spaces on the ground floor and housing on the floors above.⁸³ [Figure 5.35]

Siza's project would be eventually declared the winner of the competition in November 1980. [Figure 5.36] His project for the block (and all the other competitors, for that matter) resonated with Hämer's careful urban renewal principles, particularly his keen interest in rehabilitating the courtyards as devices to nurture collective appropriation and strengthen communitarian bonds, as well as the preservation and further development of the block's functional mix. In effect, other stakeholders involved in the process, such as groups of local residents, and especially the local squatters' movements had also supported these principles.

Continuity and Rupture

Siza's design approach was not consensual, though. The decision to award Siza with the first place did not hinder some members of the jury of highlighting the project's critical aspects, first and foremost its detachment from the district's typical architectural features. In the *Obergutachtersitzung* (Experts Meeting) held on 4 November 1980, a member of the Jury, Herr Recknagel, contended "Siza's form does not fit the form of Kreuzberg." Hardt-Waltherr Hämer, the director of IBA-Altbau and also a member of jury, reacted to this observation arguing otherwise. Siza's proposal, the latter contended, was a highly qualified answer to the Kreuzberg's *Eckfragen* (corner issue), and argued one could not go back to an *ausdruckslose* (expressionless) approach.⁸⁴ Yet, the verdict of the jury, which also included members of SO 36's dwellers associations, considered that some aspects of Siza's proposal should be revised. For example, the members of the jury considered the solution for the elderly people's club presented by PSA group more interesting. On the one hand, they argued, this solution created a less exposed entrance to the interior of the block, and on the other hand, that amenity would be located on the more urban, yet quiet,

83. In the preliminary discussion of the competition proposals, the scheme designed by Ulli Böhme kept the existing shops in Schlesisches straße 7 and the new building was thus predominantly facing Falckensteinstraße.

84. Cf. Gutachterverfahren "Mischzone" (Bereich Schlesische Straße 1-8), "Ergebnisprotokoll Der Obergutachteritzung," November 4, 1980, 4-5, Alvaro Siza archive.

Falckensteinstraße, instead of a secluded building in the block's interior. The jury also considered that, for reasons related with noise pollution, the day care should be located in such a way as to preserve the quietness in the interior of the block.

Over the following years Siza would eventually develop further the three main buildings included in his proposal for Kreuzberg's block 121: The corner building, the elderly people's club and the day-care centre. After the discussions that ensued the jury's decision, and further meetings with the stakeholders involved in the process, Siza eventually revised the scheme, developing diverse alternatives to accommodate and negotiate some of the suggestions and constraints made by the stakeholders in the design decision-making process. Siza developed two different versions of both the project for the day-care centre, and the project for the elderly people's club. The design process for the corner building was even more complex, with four different versions.

Blurred Boundaries

In the project presented by Siza at the competition stage, the elderly people's club was included in the corner building. However, as soon as the negotiations with the housing corporation responsible for the development of the project ensued, it became clear that amenity could not be included in the residential building.⁸⁵ After testing some possibilities, finally it was decided to locate the facility on the vacant plot at Falckensteinstraße 6. In effect, following the jury's critical reviews and further definition of the project's brief, Siza had already proposed a partial occupation of that plot with a program to accommodate a fictional youth centre, which seemingly resonated with the suggestion made by the jury of the competition on the advantages of the PSA group's proposal for that plot. [Figure 5.37] Siza's project for the youth club, with three floors, deliberately challenged the block's geometry. In effect, though some of the principles of Böhm's project could be seen in Siza's proposal, the latter conspicuously highlights the fragmented character of the block rotating the building in relation to the alignment of the street façade. To be sure, this design strategy had already some precedents in Siza's recent projects, such as those developed for São Victor, in Porto, and for Berlin's Derfflingerstraße, as discussed above. Hence, when in 1982 Siza developed the preliminary version of the elderly people's club for the vacant plot at Falckensteinstraße 6, he preserved the same rationale used for the design of the fictional youth club. [Figure 5.38] Furthermore, when the definitive project was commissioned one year after, those principles prevailed in the revised proposal, thus showing their importance to Siza's design strategy, mediating the transition between the street and the interior of the block and emphasizing the fragmentary character of the block.

85. According to Peter Brinkert, the main problem was the funding process. Whereas there were funds immediately available to finance the construction of the residential building, the elderly people's club could only be financed at a latter stage. For more information about this process, see Peter Brinkert, "En Block," in *Idee, Prozess, Ergebnis: Die Reparatur Und Rekonstruktion Der Stadt*, ed. Josef Paul Kleihues and Hardt-Walther Hämer (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), 143.

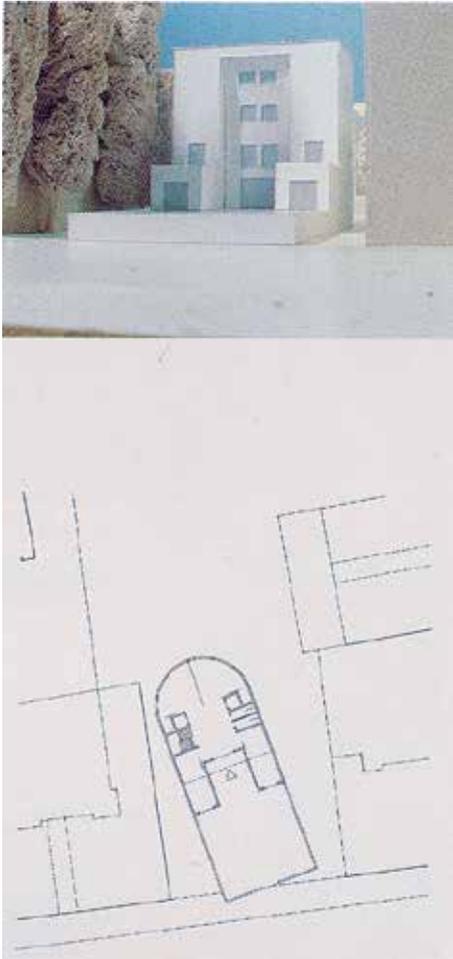


Figure 5.37. (left) Álvaro Siza - Project for a fictional Youth club at Falckensteinstraße 6, (1981). Source: Internationale Bauausstellung GmbH, *Idee, Prozess, Ergebnis*, ed. Josef Paul Kleihues and Hardt-Waltherr Hämer (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), 145.

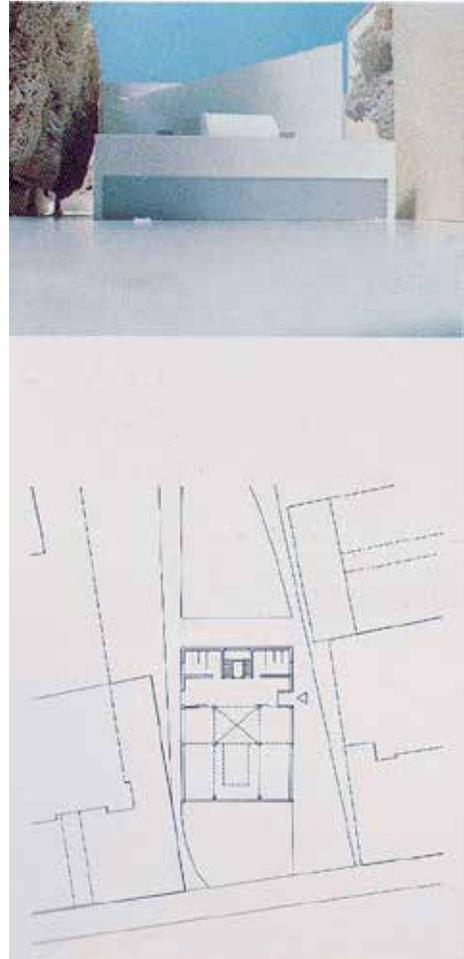


Figure 5.38. (right) Álvaro Siza - Project for an elderly people's club at Falckensteinstraße 6, (1983). Source: Internationale Bauausstellung GmbH, *Idee, Prozess, Ergebnis*, ed. Josef Paul Kleihues and Hardt-Waltherr Hämer (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), 145.

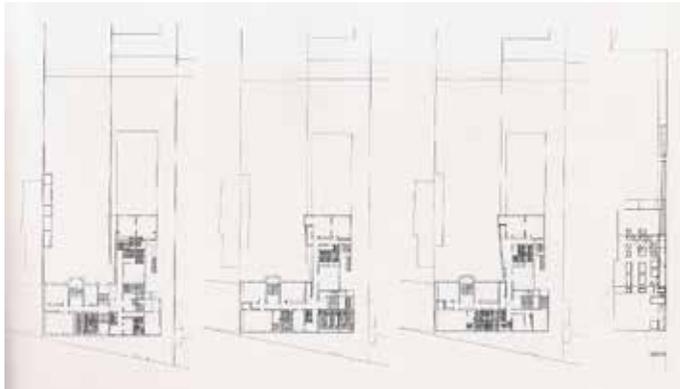


Figure 5.39. Álvaro Siza - Project for daycare centre and library at Schlesisches straÙe, (1980). Source: Internationale Bau-ausstellung GmbH, *Idee, Prozess, Ergebnis*, ed. Josef Paul Kleihues and Hardt-Waltherr Hämer (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), 142.

Figure 5.40. Álvaro Siza - Project for daycare centre at Schlesisches straÙe, (1984). Source: Inter-nationale Bauausstellung GmbH, *Idee, Prozess, Ergebnis*, ed. Josef Paul Kleihues and Hardt-Waltherr Hämer (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), 143.

Next to the housing building and the elderly people's club, the brief of the 1980 competition included a library and a day-care centre (*Kita* in German). In Siza's initial proposal the library was accommodated in the former school building at the Schlesisches straÙe, and the *Kita* was planned for the adjacent lot, which was vacant. The first version of the *Kita* project stretched through the whole plot, with two floors. [Figure 5.39] In the meantime, this proposal was rejected for reasons ranging from land ownership to building regulations. Eventually, in 1983, IBA's administration decided that the library would not be built and the building of the former school became available to accommodate partially the *Kita*. Siza thus revised his project and designed a new proposal that, in effect, resonated with some of the principles he used in the design of the elderly people's club.⁸⁶ The new solution for the *Kita* project shows a deliberate intention to keep a gap on the façade and to deflect the direction of the street front, following the alignment of the neighbouring building of the former school. [Figure 5.40]

As can be inferred from above, the design of the projects for the elderly people's club and the *Kita* were laboriously negotiated through time. The outcome shows the persistence of Siza's keen interest in emphasizing the fragmentary character of the block while, at the same time, responding to the contingencies of the successive demands and conditions imposed by the stakeholders involved in the process.

While the design decision-making process that generated the project for the two amenities discussed above was intensely debated, the project for the corner block was the most problematic process. Though Siza's scheme for Kreuzberg's block 121 apparently kept the same basic footprint of the corner block through the different evolutions, there were many incidents in its design that are meaningful, and deserve further examination as instances of the possibility to negotiate conflicts in design decision-making processes.

Compromise and Conflict

Siza's winning scheme for Block 121 was based on a strategy to accentuate the porosity of the block, taking advantage of the fragmentation of its perimeter. He brought about a conspicuous dialectic between the new and the old in the layout of the new constructions and in the emphasis on opening the courtyard as support for the development of social interaction between the dwellers and the community at large. [Figure 5.41] This strategy was utterly expressed in the project for the housing block at the corner of the Schlesisches straÙe with the FalckensteinstraÙe.

The three plots at that corner were owned by a private developer, Schulz KG, who had previously commissioned the office of

86. The discussion of the new proposal with the stakeholders involved in the process was intense and painful. According to Peter Brinkert, there were 89 meetings before the project was approved. See *Ibid.*, 144.

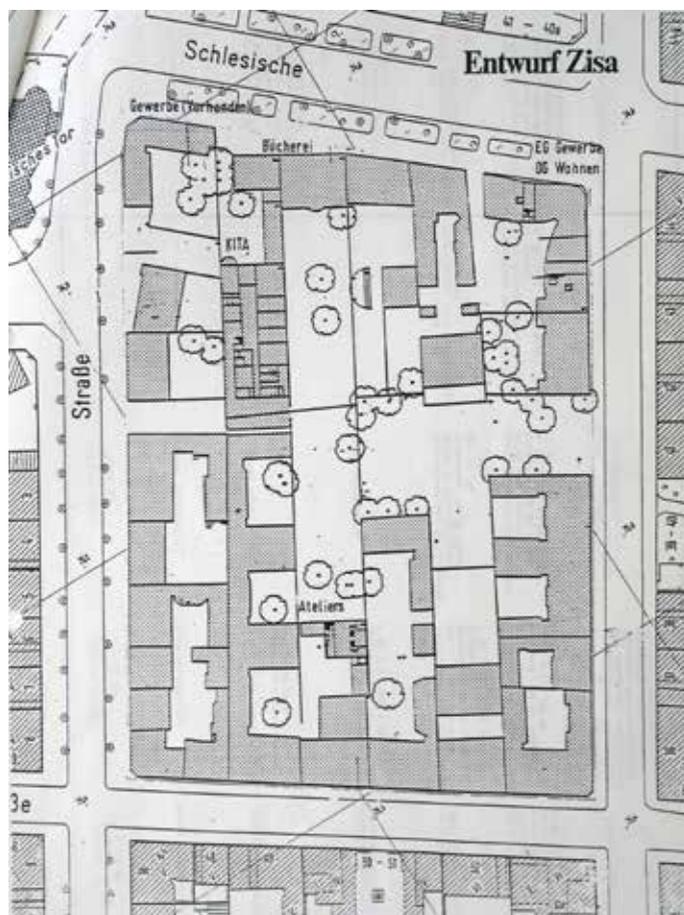


Figure 5.41. Álvaro Siza - General plan of the intervention in Kreuzberg's Block 121. Competition stage (1980). Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

Ewald-Graf-Neumann with the project for a housing building with thirty-five apartments on that location. After a first decision to approve the project in 1979, the district's council eventually rejected it for undisclosed reasons.⁸⁷ With the outcome of the competition, that project was replaced by Siza's corner building, which would eventually become one of the most well know images of Berlin's *Bauausstellung*, next to the Ballers project for the Fraenkelufer.

The corner building changed many times through the period from the first design delivered for the competition until the final version of the project, as can be seen in the evolution of the ground floor and the typical plan's layout, as well as in the correlated changes in the building's street façade. [Figure 5.42] The first version of the building's typical floor, presented at the competition stage, showed Siza's keen interest in catering for the community of Turkish immigrants. [Figure 5.43] In effect, each floor had only four dwelling units with a generous area – 260m² in the corner unit - designed to accommodate big families. The circulation was secured by two cores each one with two elevators and a common stairwell. The layout of the plan designed by Siza deliberately challenged the so-called ten percent law, which was a norm passed by Berlin's Senate according to which only one tenth of residential units could be rented to foreigners. As Esra Akcan suggests, though this law was justified as an attempt to trigger the “integration” of foreign workers, it revealed instead a conspicuous form of social control of the immigrant community.⁸⁸ The generosity of Siza's preliminary plan was heavily criticized by the owner of the plot, Schulz KG, arguing the twenty dwelling units thus created were clearly insufficient to meet the constraints defined by Berlin's social housing policy. This was confirmed by a cost analysis made by the *Wohnungsbaukreditanstalt* (WBK, the public institution for social housing credit), who concluded the construction of the project implied an excessive cost that would deem it unsuitable to receive public funding.⁸⁹

In the light of this report and the comments made by the members of the jury of the competition, Siza developed a revised proposal. [Figure 5.44] In the revised version of the project, the layout of the building's typical floor showed three big apartments (envisioned to accommodate larger Turkish families) and three smaller ones. There were three vertical circulation cores, each of which serving two dwellings per floor. The building preserved the functional mix proposed at the competition stage, including the integration of the elderly people's club in two floors, next to the shops facing the Falckensteinstraße. Furthermore, Siza suggested also the preservation of the corner shops “as found” in the site, which resonated both with increasing the functional mix of the building but also preserving a relevant part of the district's collective memory.

87. Cf. Cutolo, “L'altra IBA,” 163–164.

88. Akcan, “Immigration, Participation and IBA '84/87,” 59.

89. See Cutolo, “L'altra IBA,” 169.

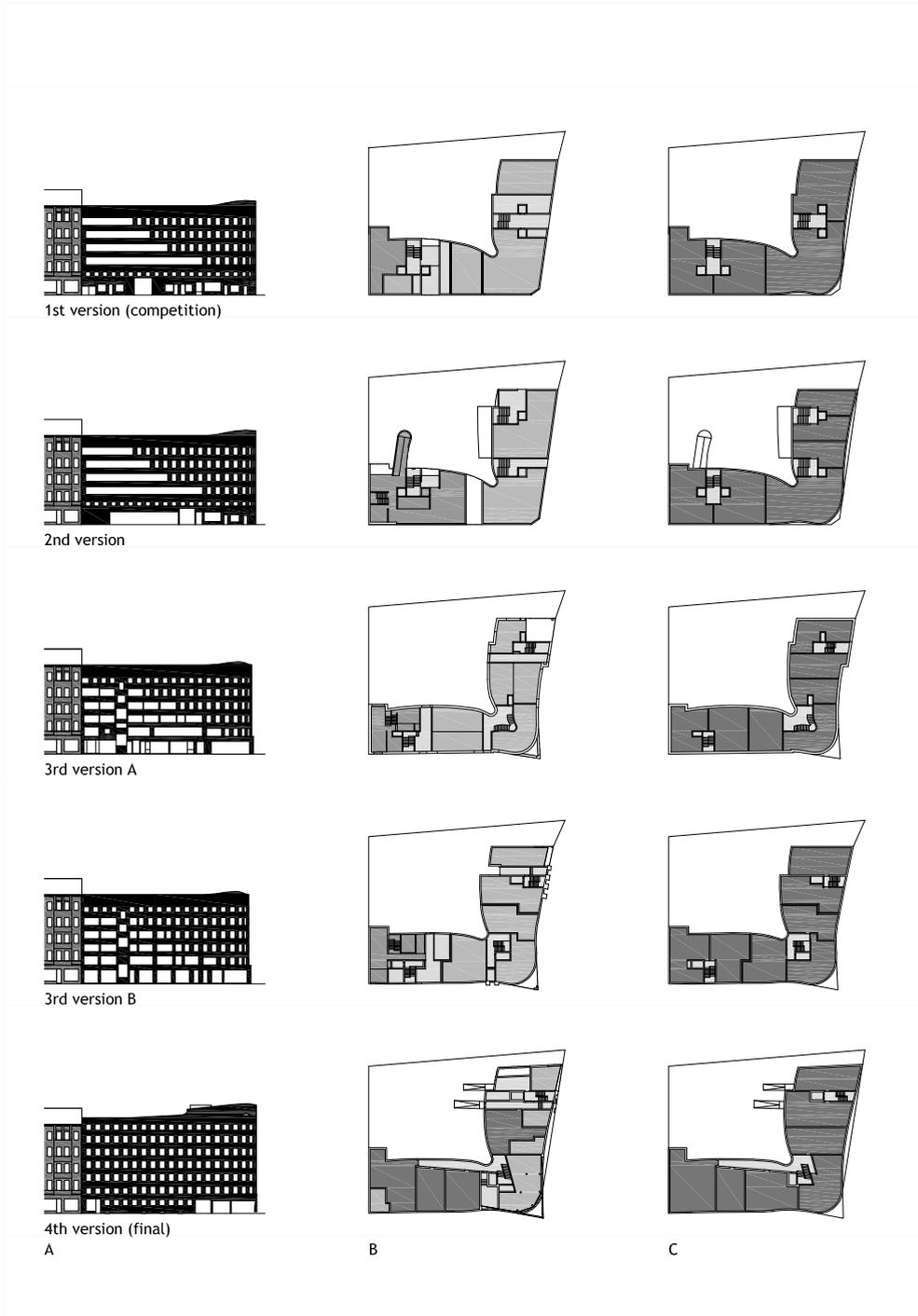


Figure 5.42. Álvaro Siza - Housing block in Schelesisches Straße, 1980-84; A - Elevation Falckenstein Straße; B - Ground Floor Plan; C - Typical Floor Plan. Source: author's drawing.

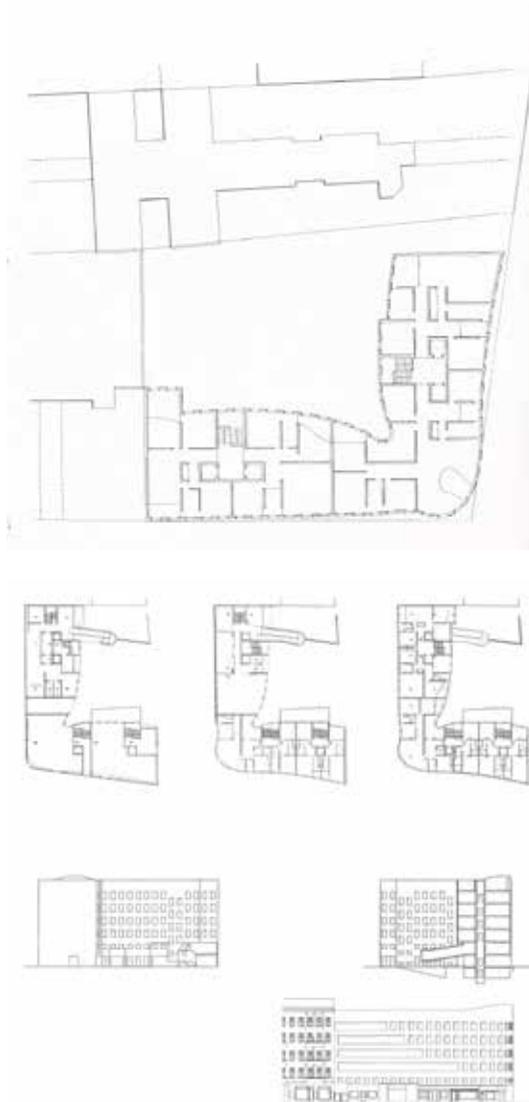


Figure 5.43. Álvaro Siza - Typical layout of the competition project for the housing block in Schelesisches Straße. (1980). Source: Internationale Bauausstellung GmbH, *Idee, Prozess, Ergebnis*, ed. Josef Paul Kleihues and Hardt-Waltherr Hämer (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), 141.

Figure 5.44. Álvaro Siza - Plans, sections and elevation of the second version of the project for the housing block in Schelesisches Straße. Source: *Lotus International* 32 (1981/III), 48.

To be sure, from the outset of the process, the situation “as found” was a fundamental aspect to Siza’s proposal for the corner building. At the time the competition was launched, the corner was fully occupied with shops, mostly rented by members of the Turkish community. [Figure 5.45] Preserving the shops became thus an important goal for Siza; he kept the existing shops on the ground floor and built five floors of housing on top of them. Furthermore, this design decision further resonated with the urban renewal principles advocated by Hämer, which included avoiding demolitions and preserving the block’s functional mix.

This design strategy was not new for Siza, though. In fact, he had previously used a similar strategy in the 1970 project for Caxinas, mentioned earlier. [Figure 5.46] In Caxinas, Siza combined a new construction with an existing clandestine restaurant, mingling both through an architectural operation that revealed Siza’s capacity to conflate design with the contingent nature of the “as found”.

The decision to preserve the existing shops implied a structural solution that would allow the construction of the new building above them. This design decision met with several criticisms and was eventually dismissed due to the technical problems it implied. Hence, a third version of the project was developed, with a thorough revision of the ground floor plan, where new spaces were provided to accommodate the existing shops. [Figure 5.47] Further, to accommodate the demand to reduce the average price per dwelling, the layout of the typical floor plan was redesigned and the number of dwellings per floor increased to seven. These were smaller units, still served by three circulation cores (with a special layout at the corner of the building to distribute to three dwellings). In terms of the plan layout, the third version of the project kept basically the same characteristics of the previous version, with only minor changes in the shape of the apartments and circulation cores.

However, the changes introduced by Siza in the third revision of the plan were not enough to meet the demands of the client. Schulz KG requested an increase in the number of dwelling units, allegedly in order to cope with the building costs of Siza’s project, and to comply with Berlin’s standards for social housing. With the assistance of his local contact architect, Peter Brinkert, Siza thus produced yet another version of the typical floor plan’s layout, aiming at accommodating the demands of the client while preserving the fundamental aspects of his architectural operation.⁹⁰ [Figure 5.48]

In the fourth version of the project, the ceiling height of the floors was reduced and one additional floor was introduced. Four additional dwellings were also created on the ground floor, in the space left vacant by the elderly people’s club, which in the

90. Peter Brinkert performed an important role in the development of the corner building’s construction plan. In effect, to accelerate the process and to meet the local norms and specifications, the client commissioned the office of Ewald-Graf-Neumann with the redesign of Siza’s plan under Brinkert’s supervision. For more information about this, see *Ibid.*, 172. See also Brinkert, “En Block.”



Álvaro Siza, gruppo di abitazioni a Caxinas, 1970; blocco sud, al piano terreno il caffè anteriormente costruito.

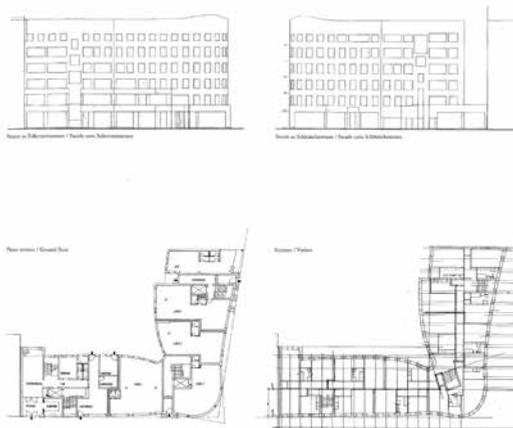


Figure 5.45. Shops at the corner of Falckensteinstrasse and Schelesisches Straße (1980). Photo: © Hen's March.

Figure 5.46. Álvaro Siza - Caxinas project under construction, built over an existing cafe located at the ground-floor. Source: *Controspazio* 9 (September 1972), 24.

Figure 5.47. Álvaro Siza with Uli Böhme - Plans and elevations of the third version of the project for the housing block in Schelesisches Straße (1981). Source: *Lotus International* 41 (1984/1), 53.



typical floor



ground floor

0 10

Figure 5.48. Álvaro Siza with Peter Brinkert - Ground floor plan and Typical floor of the final version of the project for the housing block in Schelesisches Straße (1982). In darker grey the retail areas and in lighter grey the collective circulation and amenities. Source: Author's drawing.

meantime moved to a dedicated building at the Falckensteinstraße 6, as mentioned above. The total number of dwellings in this version was now forty-six, an amount much higher than the twenty dwelling units of Siza's preliminary proposal, but also significantly higher than the thirty-five units of Schultz KG's initial project designed by Ewald-Graf-Neumann in 1979. The average size of the apartments was noticeably reduced and the combination of the units showed the prevalence of small units: three one-bedroom apartments, three two-bedroom apartments, and only one three-bedroom apartment.

One of the most striking aspects of the new layout is the circulation system, where a hybrid combination of portico and gallery flats was used to reduce the circulation cores from three to two. Another noticeable aspect, specially taking into consideration the nature of the commission, is the complete absence of a standard dwelling unit. All the seven apartments have a distinct layout and the floor plan shows no systematization whatsoever. Instead, the layout is chiefly determined as a contingent solution of the conditions determined by the shape of the building, the composition of the façade and the odd distribution system.

Despite the average dwelling size reduction and the complex articulation of the partitions in order to cope with the conditions mentioned above, Siza included in all apartments a winter garden. This feature compensates for the absence of balconies, which were always overruled by Siza over the building's design process. The winter garden performs also a role in enhancing individual expression. In effect, the specific position of the winter garden in the dwelling unit and its functional ambiguity introduces a layer of flexibility that caters for the residents' customization of the layout. This aspect, according to Esra Akcan, can be seen as the outcome of Siza's engagement with citizens' participation in the design decision-making process.⁹¹ As Akcan highlights, the winter garden stands as a non-identifiable space that can be converted into very many different uses, such as an additional kitchen, an additional bedroom, or a space for religious practice. [Figure 5.49]

The position of the winter garden varies according to its location in the building. Whereas in the apartments facing the Falckensteinstraße, they are at the street side, in the apartments facing the Schlesisches Straße the winter garden is at the courtyard side. In any case, though, the winter garden shows an inconspicuous presence on the façade, as is the case of the distribution gallery, for that matter. This aspect thus reveals the importance given by Siza to the façade of this building as the regulatory element to the whole composition.

91. Akcan, "A Building with Many Speakers," 106–107.



Figure 5.49. Alteration made by a Turkish immigrant resident of the winter garden into a kitchen in the housing block in Schelesisches Straße. Source: Esra Akcan, "Immigration, Participation and IBA '84/87," in *25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung in Berlin 1987*, ed. Harald Bodenschatz, Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, and Wolfgang Sonne (Sulgen: Niggli Verlag, 2012), 70.

Radicalising the Membrane

As can be seen from the description above, the development of the project successively demanded compromises and a complex negotiation of the requests claimed by all stakeholders involved in the design decision-making process. As intrusive as this changes were, however, the design of the façade paradoxically evolved from a more intricate collage of elements in the first version to a repetitive sequence of solids and voids in the final version. Though there are financial aspects that influenced this outcome, there is also more to it. In the first three versions of the façade, Siza keenly kept the eave of the new construction high aligned with the neighbouring building. He consciously created, however, a dialectic relation with the latter through the use of *fenêtres en longueur* next to it, morphed progressively from top to bottom into a more standard type of opening. This approach, I would argue, resonates in this side of the building with the *alt und neu* dialectic, which was also manifest in the determination to keep the *schlitz* (gap) on the Schlesisches straße. In the final version, the new floor added interrupted the continuity between the eave height of the new building and the neighbouring one. This important element in Siza's dialectical relation between rupture and continuity was now seemingly jeopardized. However, over the backdrop of the uniform façade with a repetitive sequence of windows, Siza included several elements conspicuously determined in creating tangible continuities (e.g. with the neighbouring buildings) or in bringing about a sort of archaeology of the design process.

On the Falckensteinstraße, the façade thus includes elements such as fragments of a cornice aligned with the eave of the neighbouring building and a section of the façade built in brick.⁹² [Figure 5.50] On the Schlesisches straße, the cantilevered porch at the corner, together with a detached gateway in front of the access to the circulation core, and a portico that bridges the gap to the adjacent building, emphasize tangible continuities. Moreover, the undulated eave, which was present since the first version, became more expressive and asymmetrical in the last version, emphasizing the curved corner and hiding the installations on the roof for the elevator shaft. These elements, though seemingly appearing as contaminations to the pure grey undulating membrane, become instead paroxysms of reality. [Figure 5.51] According to Brigitte Fleck, the “radicalism” of Siza's design decisions should be seen as a consequence of the project's troublesome process. “The more that Siza, as a foreign architect, was kept out of the technocratic procedure of the project's realization, the more the overall project was denied him,” she contends, “the more radical became his built position, for he did not want to paper over the conflicting influences that had left their mark on the design.”⁹³

92. Siza initially intended to use brick in the façade of the building. However, the client dismissed it on the grounds that it was not possible for reasons related with its cost.

93. Brigitte Fleck, *Alvaro Siza* (London: E & FN Spon, 1995), 79.

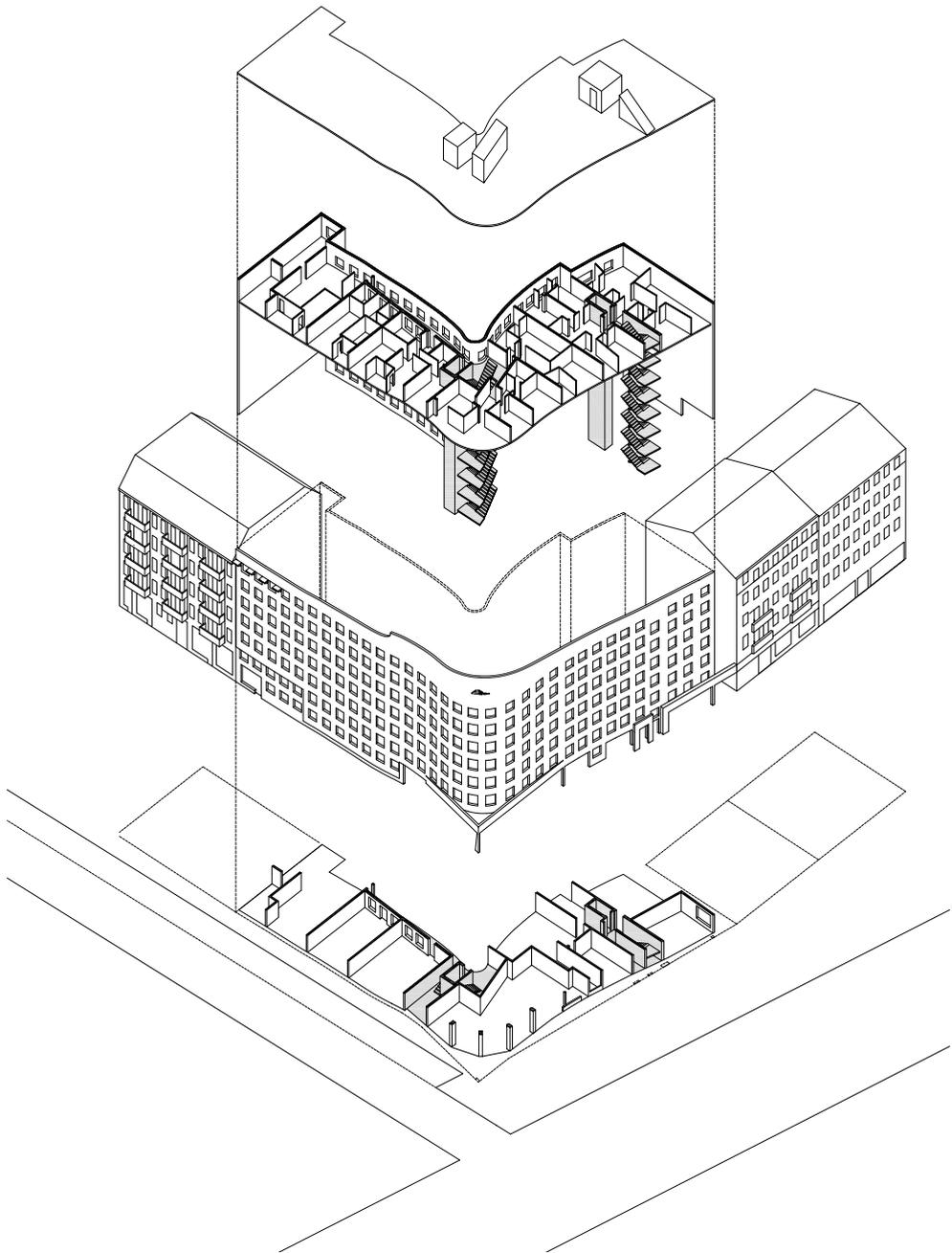


Figure 5.50. Axonometric representation of the final version of the project for the housing block in Schelesisches Straße. The collective circulation is highlighted in grey. Source: Original drawing by M. Meschiari and J. Rustad Torklep.



Figure 5.51. Álvaro Siza – Sketches for the housing block in Schelesisches Straße. October 1981. Connection of the new construction with the adjacent old building. Source: *Alvaro Siza, City Sketches / Stadtskizzen / Desenhos Urbanos*, ed. Brigitte Fleck, 1st ed. (Birkhäuser, 1994), 75.

Siza himself, describes the contribution of the many incidents in the design decision-making process in a very bold fashion, that deserves to be quoted at length:

The project reflects the hard discipline of economics. There are no balconies (which is criticized), there is no marble (which in Portugal is not expensive), there is not even the brick with which this building was originally to be built; many things are missing. This, in my eyes, is not a deficiency, to the contrary. Anyone who comes to terms with the hard laws of economy will be compelled to create authentic architecture and not just some isolated piece of extravagant work. For me the reduction of this project's quality is not, in a certain sense, a reduction. What makes a design distinctive is its capacity to take into account all these difficult conditions and to transform them into the basis of realization. This process of basing the design on the special conditions was not entirely successful in this project, as I see it. For one reason: because the rules of the game were not clearly defined at the beginning of the process. There is a total disjunction between the competitions of the Bauausstellung GmbH and the hard reality of implementation. Had I known these rules of the game from the start, I would have been able to do many things much better, and the rejection of many elements of the façade would have had a better effect on the definition of the form. And the form could have been a different one.⁹⁴

Siza's declaration emphasizes, I would argue, the seminal role played by contingency in his architectural operation in Berlin. However, there are many aspects of this approach that result from the architect's idiosyncratic perception of reality and the importance of enhancing collective memory as part and parcel of civic participation in the public space.

5.5•Slipping Memory Through Fragments

Some of the most outstanding features in Siza's building on block 121 were its rounded shape at the corner, and a gap (a *schlitz*, in German) to the neighboring building on the Schlesisches straÙe 6. From the outset of the process, these features and some other aspects of Siza's design approach were not consensual, though. In fact, in the Experts Meeting held on 4 November 1980, members of the district council considered the whole project should avoid exposed connections to the interior of the block, thus preserving the courtyard as a collective space instead of a public space. This comment brought about some conflicts in the design decision-making process. Siza contested this remark, which was opposed to his drive to emphasize the fragmentary character of Berlin's urban fabric and articulate the courtyards as an extension of the public space. This strategy would become noticeable in the projects for the elderly people's club and the *Kita*, as discussed above. Nevertheless, this conflict surfaced strikingly in the development of the project for the corner building.

94. Quoted in *ibid.*, 85.

The Schlitz

The *schlitz* (slit) between Siza's project and the neighbouring building on Schlesisches straÙe 6, resonated with his keen commitment in highlighting the dialectic between the old and the new, and to accentuate the political character of the open courtyard. [Figure 5.52]. However, the *schlitz* sparked protests from a wide range of stakeholders and external observers of the process. The neighbourhood's consulting committee, for example, contested it vehemently in a document sent to Hämer on 14 February 1981. They argued the *schlitz* was neither aesthetically nor functionally desirable, and that it created vulnerability in controlling the access to the courtyard. Furthermore, they added, it was a waste of the buildable area available on the street side.⁹⁵ Once again, Hämer came to Siza's rescue. In his reply to the letter, he first pointed out that the committee's remark collided with the decisions made by the jury of the competition, and then he underlined their criticism conflicted with the kernel of Siza's design principles. Hämer emphasized the importance of the *schlitz* to foster the relation between the street and the courtyard, so that a "glimpse" of the block's interior could be seen from the Schlesisches straÙe.⁹⁶ [Figure 5.53]

The criticism on the *schlitz* would, nevertheless, ensue. In effect, in an article published in the March 1981 issue of the trade journal *Berliner Bauwirtschaft*, Volker Theissen, an architect from Berlin who had also submitted a project for the Block 121 competition, echoed the neighbourhood commission's condemnation of the slit.⁹⁷ This was, he argued, "a completely new design feature in the urban space, from which one can assume that it has so far found little use only because of its absurdity."⁹⁸ Further, some days later, on 20 March, another commentator resonated with Theissen's critics on Siza's project in an article published in the *Berliner Stimme*, the official newspaper of the Berlin's section of SPD (the German social democratic party). Leo Dronkers, the writer of the article, repeated most of Theissen's criticism and went even further denouncing Siza's estrangement of Berlin. "Mr. Siza does not live in West Berlin, but in Portugal," Dronkers contended. And he went on claiming "it is therefore questionable his familiarity with Schlesisches Tor's circumstances. His contacts with colleagues and especially with residents in the project's area are crucially thwarted by German language that he barely speaks or understands."⁹⁹

These episodes expose the nature of the conflict that surfaced in the design decision-making process for the corner building at Kreuzberg's corner block. Siza's design strategy was seen as estranged from the context of Kreuzberg, detached from reality, a rupture in the character of the site. However, though Siza stubbornly kept the *schlitz* from the initial sketch through the

95. Cf. Wolfgang Kreutzer and Lothar Kerpa, "Beschlußempfehlung Aus Dem Ausschuß Für Die Beratung von Bebauungsplänen," February 26, 1981, Álvaro Siza archive.

96. Letter from Hardt Waltherr Hämer to Bezirksverordneten des Bezirks Kreuzberg, "Beschlußempfehlung Aus Dem Ausschuß Für Die Beratung von Bebauungsplänen Zur Planung in Block 121," June 3, 1981, Álvaro Siza archive.

97. Volker Theissen, "Mit Der IBA Am Schlesischen Tor," *Berliner Bauwirtschaft*, no. 6 (February 3, 1981): 110–12.

98. *Ibid.*, 112.

99. Leo Dronkers, "Gute Gründe Für Kurze Leine. IBA 1981 - Fremde Federn, Termin-Affront Und Fragwürdiger Wettbewerb," *Berliner Stimme*, March 20, 1981. Originally written in German. Translation into English by the author.

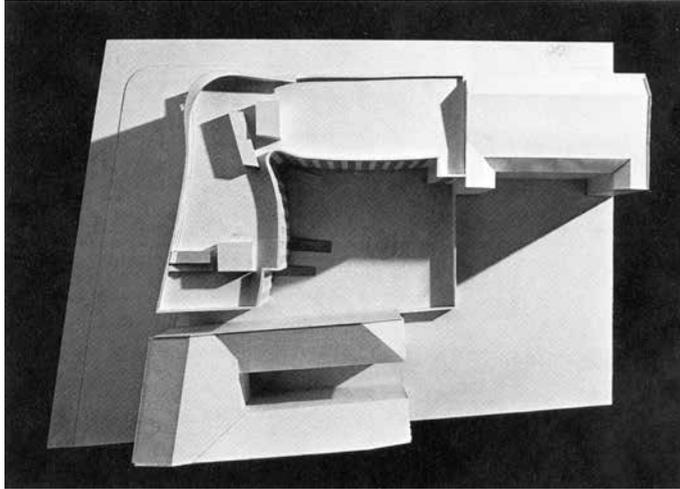


Figure 5.52. Álvaro Siza with Peter Brinkert - View of the model of the last version of the project for the housing block in Schelesisches Straße (1981). Source: *Lotus International* 41 (1984/1), 56. Photo: © Giovanni Chiaramonte.

Figure 5.53. Álvaro Siza with Peter Brinkert - View of the *Schlitz* from the courtyard of the housing block in Schelesisches Straße. Source: *Lotus International* 41 (1984/1), 58. Photo: © Giovanni Chiaramonte.

building's completion, the project for the corner block would suffer many transformations over the design and building process. These changes, however, underline the essential role played in Siza's design process by a critical assessment of the presence of the past in architectural operations.

Bonjour Tristesse and the Decadence of Details

Despite all the critical reviews and successive revisions mentioned earlier, Siza's project ensued, eventually meeting the budgetary constraints defined by Berlin's social housing policies. However, in June 1983, when the construction was coming close to completion, criticism on the project burgeoned once more. Writing for *der Architekt*, the journal of the BDA (*Bundes Deutscher Architekten*, The Association of German Architects), Olaf Schmidt, a specialist in construction and administrative fundamentals of project planning, contended Siza's corner building in the Kreuzberg's block 121 was an example of what he called *Verfall des Details*, the decadence of details. In his article titled "Regulations and standards as determinants of Architecture", among several other criticisms, Schmidt deplored the *schlitz* as a violation of the planning norm DIN 18005 (a norm on urban noise reduction), and thus this design feature could be seen as an epitome of that decadence.¹⁰⁰ Schmidt's fiercest critique was nevertheless directed to another "decadent detail", the floating pillar hanging from a cantilevered portico at the corner of the building's ground floor. [Figure 5.54]

Schmidt derogatorily suggested that, immediately after completion, Siza's building "should be listed as a monument for its perverse symbolism: the hanging pillar." And he further contended that "ridiculous detail", should be seen as an example of how the avant-garde despises the standards produced by a civilized society. Referring to an alleged violation of the public space with this element, he argued, "the ease with which the principles of the democratic rule of law are violated here deserves to be asserted as a scandal."¹⁰¹

According to Siza, however, what Schmidt called decadent details was nothing more than the consequences of design decisions strongly determined by the situation. Regarding the remarks on the hanging column, for example, in an interview given in October 1983 Siza declined seeing it as a provocation, but a contingent outcome driven by reasons that were both aesthetical and functional. On the one hand he felt the need to create a porch at the corner of the building as an extension of the adjacent bar and shop. On the other hand, the angled shape of the porch would act as a counter-form to the building's curvilinear profile. Then, when the digging for the porch pillar's foundations began, pipes were discovered underneath it, which eventually inhibited the construction of the support. Siza considered,

100. Olaf Schmidt, "Vorschriften Und Normen Als Determinanten Für Architektur," *Der Architekt*, no. 6 (June 1983): 326. Originally written in German. Translation into English by the author.

101. *Ibid.*, 325.

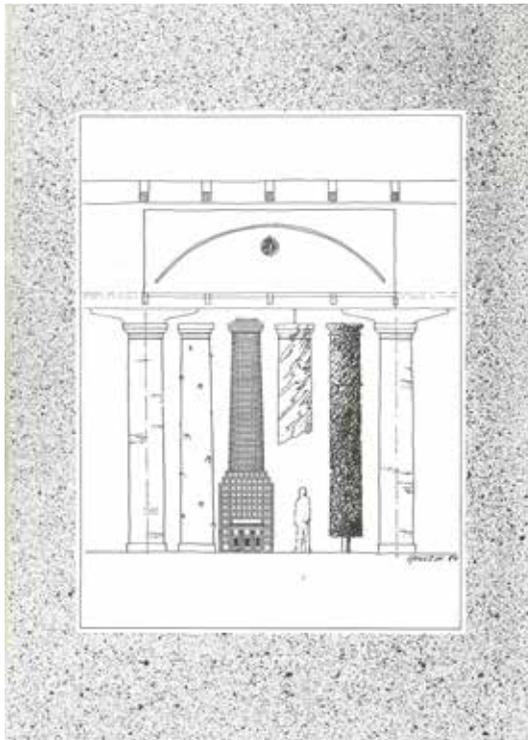
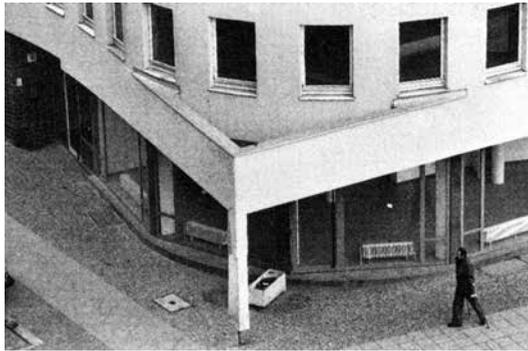


Figure 5.54. Álvaro Siza with Peter Brinkert - View of the *Hanging Pillar* at the corner of the housing block in Schelesisches Straße. Source: *Lotus International* 41 (1984/1), 60. Photo: © Giovanni Chiamonte.

Figure 5.55. Hans Hollein - Drawing of his contribution for a façade in *Strada Novissima*, 1980 Venice Biennale. Source: *Arch + 63* (July 1982), 90.

however, that element important to define the angle and thus, he held, “instead of a make-shift solution, the pillar was suspended in a noticeable manner.”¹⁰²

Notwithstanding Siza’s straightforward explanation of the reasons for the hanging pillar, I would nevertheless argue the explanation downplays an ironical account of the circumstances in which the development of the project unfolded. In any event, the resonance of Siza’s hanging column with Hans Hollein’s façade in the 1980 Venice Biennale’s *Strada Novissima* is too obvious to dismiss. [Figure 5.55] Hollein’s conflation of reality “as found” with an ironical interpretation of the tectonics of the column succeeded, as Léa-Catherine Szacka points out, “to be both critical of an easy historicism and in keeping with the immediate context.”¹⁰³ In effect, avoiding the rule that the columns should not be used as part of the façade, Hollein did in fact use them, though combined with four artificial ones. Among these, the “double coding” of Hollein’s façade was utterly expressed in the suspended column, which, as Szacka contends, “pushed irony to its culmination by being hung in space, supporting nothing at all. This proved a crucial point of functionalism – it worked as the entrance.”¹⁰⁴

Reality Beyond Transgression

Next to the criticism on the floating column, the *schlitz* and on other details of Siza’s design, the whole composition of the façade was also severely criticised. Schmidt, for example, echoed earlier critics and argued the façade was dull and monotonous, failing to relate with the “delicate details” typical of Kreuzberg’s buildings. Then, in the summer of 1983, when the scaffolding used to paint the building was removed, it revealed a graffiti painted on the curved parapet at the corner of the building, which read “Bonjour Tristesse”. [Figure 5.56]

This transgressive act seemingly voiced the discontent on Siza’s project subversive approach to the articulation with Kreuzberg’s vernacular tradition. Whether the reference to François Sagan’s 1954 novel or Otto Preminger’s 1958 movie was deliberate or not, it remains to be clarified. In fact, the authorship of the graffiti remains undefined. On the one hand, it could have been the transference of the disciplinary criticism discussed above from the press to the walls of the building. On the other hand, it could also be seen as yet another cultural manifestation of Kreuzberg’s counter culture movements that used graffiti as the most conspicuous instrument to express their resistance against the status quo. [Figure 5.57] At any rate, as discussed earlier, Siza’s building catered more for the migrant workers and the elderly living in the neighbourhood than for the alternative groups of urban squatters to which the young Klaus-Jürgen Rattay belonged.¹⁰⁵

102. Álvaro Siza and Brigitte Cassirer, “Entretien Avec Álvaro Siza,” *AMC - Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, no. 2 (October 1983): 19–20.

103. Szacka, “Historicism versus Communication: The Basic Debate of the 1980 Biennale,” 100.

104. *Ibid.*

105. For an account of how the Turkish community participated in the design decision-making process of Siza’s building, see Akcan, “A Building with Many Speakers.”



Figure 5.56. Álvaro Siza with Peter Brinkert - View of the housing block in Schelesisches Straße, immediately after completion (1983). Source: *AMC 2* (October 1983), 58. Photo: © Helmut Kolbach.

Figure 5.57. Video stills from the documentary "Häuser, Hass und Straßenkampf - Die Revolte der Westberliner Hausbesetzer", directed by Eckart Lottmann for the Rundfunk Berlin Brandenburg television network (2006). The everyday of Kreuzberg's alternative community.

To be sure, however, in either case one can hardly relate this action with a counter cultural approach, but rather with a mainstream attitude. In fact the criticism on the estrangement of Siza's building, implied in the graffiti, resonated with very many instances already mentioned above, as well as others widespread in popular media. In effect, even in the national news magazine, *Der Spiegel*, the building was derogatorily considered. In a article where he delivered a strong critique on IBA's ambitions and accomplishments, the editor of the magazine, Karl-Heinz von Krüger, declared the simplification of Siza's Kreuzberg façade, contributed to make the building "downright stigmatized - with painted slogans such as 'Bonjour tristesse', 'Hochsicherheitstrakt für Rentner' (high security area for elderly) and 'Grau wohnen, ekelhaft sterben' (Grey living, disgusting death)."¹⁰⁶

This account of the criticisms on Siza's corner building in Kreuzberg's Block 121, from the competition through completion, seemingly portrays a unanimous negative reception. The case is otherwise, though. As it was mentioned above, the director of IBA-Altbau, Hardt-Waltherr Hämer, backed Siza's design decisions from the outset of the process. Furthermore, the building now known in the architectural milieu as "Bonjour Tristesse" received also praise in international trade journals, such as the *Lotus International* edited by Pierluigi Nicolin, *AMC – Architecture, Movement Continuité*, edited by Jacques Lucan, or *The Architectural Review*, edited by Peter Davey, to name but a few influential titles. [Figure 5.58]

In *Lotus International*, where a picture of a detail of Siza's building was featured on the cover of the magazine, the piece reads: "Siza reveals the will to measure up to the architecture of the city. [...] The development of the design and its construction recount [...] a personal and intriguing interpretation of one of the multiple facets of Berlin."¹⁰⁷ In *AMC*, Laurent Beaudouin and Christine Rousselot contended that in Berlin there is still a breach between reality and the projects developed for the IBA. They argued, though, "Siza is fundamentally on the side of reality." They acknowledged, nevertheless, Siza's provocative approach to tackle the problems of the city. "We want an architectural performance, Siza designs a grey wall, pierced with identical openings; we want to consolidate the city, conceal the fire walls, close the blocks, and he talks about the beauty of the city as it is."¹⁰⁸ For *The Architectural Review*, Doug Clelland described Siza's project as "a careful attempt to knit together the existing fabric and make a contemporary formal gesture to the importance of a cross roads in the texture of the nineteenth century city." And then he highlighted the critical aspects of the building's relation with its circumstance. "In knitting, the new work succeeds well; in formality, it lacks the presence and assurance of the decayed nineteenth century block across the

106. Karl-Heinz Von Krüger, "Die Arrckitucktn Sünnd Tautal Pfarrucktn," *Der Spiegel*, October 9, 1984, 224. Originally written in German. Translation into English by the author.

107. Pierluigi Nicolin, "Bonjour Tristesse. Story of a Project," *Lotus International*, no. 41 (1984): 50–61.

108. Laurent Beaudouin and Christine Rousselot, "Un Immeuble d'Angle à Berlin," *AMC - Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, no. 2 (October 1983): 16–20.

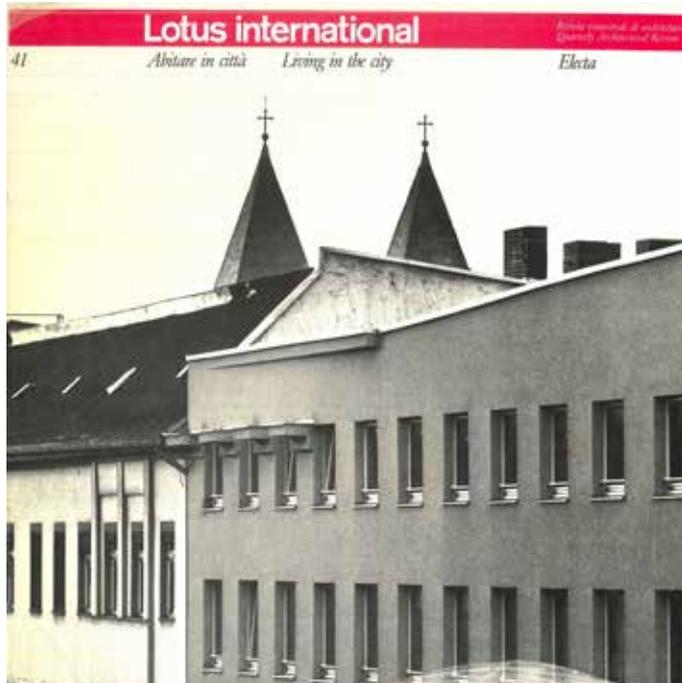


Figure 5.58. Cover of *Lotus International* 41 (1984/1), 58. Photo: © G. Chiaramonte.

street”. Clelland stressed the paradoxical character of the project arguing “this fundamental formal weakness is emphasized by the scraped, thin appearance of the new building compared to the old work. Only where it immediately abuts adjacent buildings does it carry any traces of recognition of the detailed complexity of composition of the nineteenth century facades.”¹⁰⁹

The reviews discussed above show a conspicuous difference in the critical assessment on Siza’s building. Kreuzberg’s urban renewal commission, local architects, building experts and popular media seem to agree on the displacement of Siza’s project from the context of Berlin. The international trade media, inversely, acclaimed Siza’s ability to articulate his project with the city’s genetic code, as it were. What is it, thus, that creates this divergence? To what extent Siza’s condition as a foreigner contributes to stress this contrasting assessment? Further, how conflicts and contingencies in the design decision-making process have contributed to the built outcome? A possible answer for these questions can be formulated, I would suggest, framing Siza’s assessment of reality as one chiefly determined by the architect’s condition as a stranger.

Over the troublesome development of the project, the stakeholders involved in the process challenged Siza’s initial design principles. According to Siza, there were times when he thought the best option was to withdraw from the process. “The entire time, as soon as the competition was over and the negotiations for construction had begun, I was thinking: will I let it go or not? The problems were that bad...” But he goes on asserting, “there is one thing about which there can be no doubt: making a reality out of architecture always means negotiation, compromise and conflict.”¹¹⁰

Siza’s acknowledgement of the inescapable presence of conflicts in design decision-making processes testifies to his critical reading of reality as the kernel of his architectural operations. Furthermore, for Siza, there is also a creative potential in conflicts. In order to avoid detachment from reality, Siza contends, “what I try to do is to allow all problems, the entire difficult fabric of problems and conflicts to flow into the project, insofar as I understand them and can find them.” However, his condition as a stranger in Berlin brings additional challenges. In the Schlesisches straÙe corner building, he asserted, “it is more difficult to discover them - because of the distance, the language problem, etc. But all problems, all conflicts, all contradictory objectives in respect to the solution of a problem, all this I try to take into account. And then, he thus concludes, “I come to the conclusion that the attempt to provide a more comprehensive response to reality ultimately becomes a provocation - perhaps because the majority of the answers are, under certain circumstances, far from reality.”¹¹¹ This paradoxical situation,

109. Doug Clelland, ed., “Block 121: SO 36,” *The Architectural Review* 176, no. 1051 (September 1984): 40–41.

110. Álvaro Siza quoted in Fleck, *Alvaro Siza*, 79.

111. *Ibid.*

I would argue, needs to be taken into account to understand the diverse and often divergent accounts on Siza's projects for Kreuzberg, both in the disciplinary milieu, and in the opinion of the man on the street. It singles out, furthermore, Siza's ability to understand reality beyond the real and simultaneously avoiding transgressive approaches merely triggered by a shallow motivation to create differences. In effect, divergent readings of this aspect inform many of the critical reviews on Siza's work in Berlin.

5.6•The Pleasure of Ruins

As early as 1981, the director of the Italian journal *Lotus International*, Pierluigi Nicolin, highlighted Siza's sensibility to read the ethos of the city, its architectural language. He praised his "attention to the primary, pre-linguistic elements of urban construction", which were clearly demonstrated in his projects for Berlin.¹¹² In 1987, Peter Testa explored a different point of view. He emphasized Siza's ability to dwell between the postmodern polarity of rootless eclecticism or recurrent appeals to order and origins. Testa argued that in Siza's Berlin projects he accomplishes a unity of the discontinuous, rejecting both sham reconstructions and autonomous self-sufficiency.¹¹³ Some years after the completion of Siza's commissions for Berlin, Wilfried Wang retrospectively pointed out how the projects for Fraenkelufer and Schesisches Tor were ahead of its time, showing through the reflective melancholy of old and new *brandmauern*, the city's *Unzulänglichkeiten* thus causing an unbearable feeling of guilt.¹¹⁴ These accounts testify to the problem of coming to terms with an architectural operation that challenges the canonical tenets of urban renewal. They further highlight, I would argue, the ambivalence in Siza's design decision-making process, which is nurtured by a critical negotiation of objectivity and contingency.

112. Nicolin, "Alvaro Siza: Three Projects for Kreuzberg.," 1981.

113. Peter Testa, "Unity of the Discontinuous: Alvaro Siza's Berlin Works," *Assemblage*, no. 2 (February 1, 1987): 47–61.

114. Siza, *City Sketches / Stadtskizzen / Desenhos Urbanos*. The German word 'Unzulänglichkeiten' is roughly translated into English as shortcomings, inadequacies or imperfections.

115. Georg Simmel, "The Stranger," in *On Individuality and Social Forms*, ed. and trans. Donald N. Levine (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), 75.

116. Kenneth Frampton, "Towards an Agonistic Architecture," *Domus*, no. 972 (September 2013): 1–8.

The Objectivity of the Stranger

In effect, coming from a very different cultural background, Siza was indeed a stranger in Cold War Berlin. Though this condition inevitably hinders familiarity with local customs, rules and norms, it also fosters something that in 1908 Georg Simmel called "the objectivity of the stranger". "Because he is not bound by roots to the particular constituents and partisan dispositions of the group," Simmel argues, "he confronts all of these with a distinctly 'objective' attitude, an attitude that does not signify mere detachment and nonparticipation."¹¹⁵

This attitude resonates, I would argue, with what Kenneth Frampton recently called "An Agonistic Architecture."¹¹⁶ Drawing on Chantal Mouffe's notion of agonism (struggle

between adversaries) as an alternative to antagonism (struggle between enemies) in challenging the hegemonic order, Frampton elaborates on the hypothesis of finding a liberative promise for the future “in an agonistic architecture of the periphery as opposed to the subtle nonjudgemental conformism of ruling taste emanating from the centre.” This counter-hegemonic “otherness”, Frampton further contends, becomes effective and instrumental in architectural operations where the architect is a stranger to the context. “What has been unique of recent times,” Frampton argues, “is the exceptionally refined sensibility and rigour that has invariably been applied to the regional and, at times, aboriginal situation, so that one has the uncanny sense that the outcome could not have been more practically and poetically achieved if it had been handled by locally rooted architects rather than outsiders.”¹¹⁷

As discussed above, it was this sensibility, rigor and poetic nature that many observers recognized in Siza’s “Bonjour Tristesse.” I would suggest, further, it was Siza’s condition as a stranger that triggered his agonistic approach regarding rules and norms, and its inherent acceptance of conflicts as part and parcel of the design decision-making process. In effect, in the interview mentioned earlier, Siza reacts to Olaf Schmidt’s article contending, “the author of this critique considers norms as a static whole. I think, on the contrary, one of the aspects of architectural advancement is supported by a transgression of norms.” And he goes on claiming that norms “are codified at a certain moment and justified by a particular stage in the development of techniques, comfort, durability, economy, and so on. Confronted with this codification there is the need, which nobody can deny, of architectural transformation. This conflict should be embedded in the project.”¹¹⁸

I thus contend Siza’s keen engagement with the conflictive nature embedded in reality contributes to foster the political aspects of the design decision-making process, avoiding the shortcomings of populist consensus, or of an exodus from participation in the public sphere. In effect, as Chantal Mouffe argues in her *Agonistics*, “too much emphasis on consensus, together with aversion towards confrontations, leads to apathy and to disaffection with political participation.”¹¹⁹ Siza’s “objectivity of the stranger” contributes to foster a reading of reality that transgresses disciplinary dogmas and conventional norms, thus emphasizing, through the role played by affects and passionate attachments, the creation of a collective and political identity. Hence, in Álvaro Siza’s *Bonjour Tristesse* both remoteness and nearness contribute for the creation of a space of debate and dissent where tensions and conflicts can be accommodated rather than precluded altogether. Further, the creation of this political space is enabled by a reading of the real that acknowledges the instrumental role of memory as an essential component for the

117. *Ibid.*, 7.

118. Siza and Cassirer, “Entretien Avec Álvaro Siza,” 19.

119. Chantal Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically* (London and New York: Verso Books, 2013), 7.

development of political participation. Instead of an uncritical acknowledgement of the zeitgeist, it was the timelessness embedded in the ruins that chiefly contributed to inform Siza architectural operation in Berlin.

The Presence of the Past

This architectural approach is utterly epitomised by an anecdote narrated by Siza himself. While walking through the construction sites of the IBA-Neubau sector, Siza declared, “I saw a building that appeared to me like a shell, with a detail copied from my idea. I said to myself, ‘someone there has copied the form of the building.’ But it was an empty building that was supposed to be pulled down, a ruin.” And he went on reporting, “I went up closer in order to convince myself. I was never able to dismiss completely my doubts about whether I had copied that form.” This episode thus illustrates the vital role of reality “as found” in Siza’s design process. He asserts, “many other things in Berlin have inspired my plan like this form there.” Furthermore, he recognizes, “from the formal point of view I am convinced that I was greatly influenced by things that I saw in Berlin, conscious and intentionally as well as in an unconscious way that I discovered only afterwards.”¹²⁰

This thus brings about the problematic manipulation of memory as an instrument to foster a fetishization of the past, as could be seen, for example, in some of the architectural operations showcased in the *Strada Novissima*. In effect, in his *Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre evokes that “where destruction has not been complete, ‘renovation’ becomes the order of the day, or imitation, or replication, or neo-this or neo-that.” And he goes on contending, “in any case, what has been annihilated in the early frenzy of growth now becomes an object of adoration. And former objects of utility now pass for rare and precious works of art.”¹²¹ Hence, to what extent the façade of the “Bonjour Tristesse”, for example, can be seen as an instance of what Henri Lefebvre called a ‘pure’ visual space, a mere modular form of bourgeoisified space?

120. Quoted in Fleck, *Alvaro Siza*, 82.

121. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 1st ed. (Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), 360. In the same section of *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre takes the expression ‘to fetishize the façade’ from Georges Gromort’s *Architecture et sculpture en France*, written between 1923-25, to contend that the ‘pure visual space’ created by architects “too often imitates or caricatures the discourse of power, and that it suffers from delusion that ‘objective’ knowledge of ‘reality’ can be attained by means of graphic representations.”

I would contend in Siza’s case the past was not accounted as a rare and precious work of art, rather as an instrument to enable collective consciousness and political participation. To be sure, Siza’s unconscious attraction for that doomed-for-demolition building highlights the immanent instrumentality of the real in his design decision-making process, where ruins and memory are premium material. Hence, instead of a nostalgic or ironical interpretation of reality, the kernel of Siza’s architectural invention is an archaeological reading of the city. The anecdote mentioned above further suggests that the “Bonjour Tristesse” building should be seen as an exhibition of the archaeological value of the urban space, whose typological elements he acknowledges

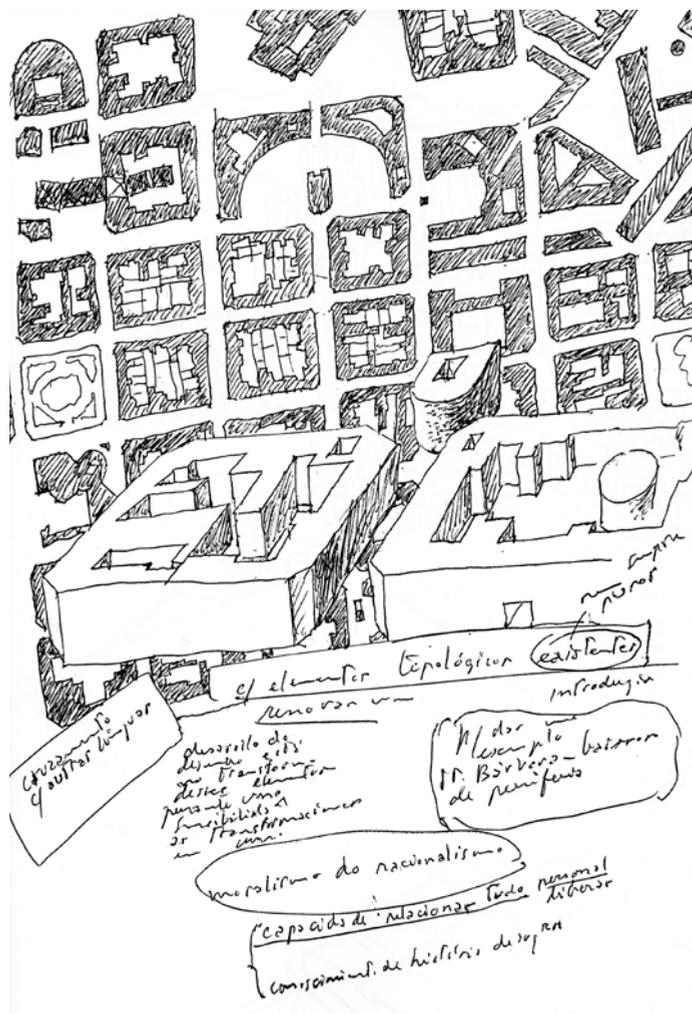


Figure 5.59. Álvaro Siza - Sketch dated from April 1982 showing Berlin's existing typological elements. Source: Alvaro Siza, *City Sketches / Stadtskizzen / Desenhos Urbanos*, ed. Brigitte Fleck, 1st ed. (Birkhäuser, 1994), 77.

in his drawings and design approach. [Figure 5.59] Moreover, I would suggest, following Gramsci and Rossi, Siza consciously used the disciplinary expertise and techniques to operate within the city of parts, between the fragments and derelicts of the past, to foster identity and collective consciousness on the value of Kreuzberg's urban space. At any rate, I would argue, his critical assessment of reality, even if one fragmented and shattered, fostered a conspicuous use of ruins to bring forth a deliberate confrontation between the present and the past.

Interestingly, Siza, himself bluntly recognizes the instrumental value of ruins as a proxy for creating a link with the memory and identity of the city. "I don't have an endless or sick love for ruins," he claims. And he goes on declaring "it is true, however, that in many places they are the only things that remain from the identity of the place. These ruins are the material with which I must work."¹²² Now, can we thus argue that Siza's pleasure of ruins and his persistent attempt to highlight the fragmentary character of reality resonates with a fetishization of those annihilated remnants of the past, as Lefebvre argued?

For Siza, ruins are simply an instrument to bridge the gap between past and present, *Alt und Neu*. Beyond a nostalgic or ironic account of the past, Siza's projects for Kreuzberg are embodied with his critical assessment of incompleteness as a vital part of the city's material culture. Furthermore, Siza himself emphasizes the instrumentality of a confrontation between past and present, thus shunning away from a mere fetishist approach to those (im)material relics of the past. In Berlin, Siza argued, "we are forced to slip our projects between the new fragments and the old fragments, which are never complete, which can never be reduced to a unity, but that exist as parallel realities."¹²³ He thus highlights the operative value of the "as found" for the design process. Differently from a lover of puzzles, then, Siza does not try to fix the pieces in a seemingly logical manner. Rather, he leaves gaps in the urban jigsaw, fragments where the memory of the city slips through.

122. Siza and Cassirer, "Entretien Avec Álvaro Siza," 18.

123. *Ibid.*

6• Modernity and Ambivalence Crossbreeding Identities in The Hague's Urban Renewal

In the 1970s, the routine of using citizens' participation in design decision-making processes increased in Western Europe with the emergence of urban renewal as an alternative to the housing policies employed hitherto. The societal transformations that, from the late 1960s on, challenged the power relations established by welfare state policies, fostered strategies of grassroots empowerment that would underpin the growing acceptance of participatory methods, as can be seen from the cases examined in the previous chapters. A common token of the new urban renewal policies was challenging the post-war emphasis on central planning, standardization, and serial mass housing production. Instead, these new policies championed a more situated approach, attempting to re-connect housing policies with its social significance beyond a mere productive and regulatory approach, thus overcoming conflicting relations between the welfare state policies and individual expression. Consequently, the relation between the planner/designer and the citizen/user became more entangled, and triggered a reconceptualization of the role of the architect in design decision-making processes.

After two decades of centralized reconstruction strategies in the post-war period, the welfare state project of social upgrading turned into more situated urban renewal processes. From the outset, this shift deeply affected the design disciplines, emphasizing the importance of processes of communication related with the social production of space. In these processes, the dialectic between author/producer and receiver/consumer became a central focus of the disciplinary debate, especially

regarding housing issues. John F. C. Turner's 1972 essay *Housing as a Verb* is a good case in point.¹ Turner contended that housing should be understood as a verb and not as a noun, an activity rather than a commodity. "If housing is treated as a verbal entity", Turner argued, "as a means to human ends, as an activity rather than as a manufactured and packaged product, decision-making power must, of necessity, remain in the hands of the users themselves." And he went on claiming for "a model which conceives housing as an activity in which the users – as a matter of economic, social, and psychological common sense – are the principal actors."²

Turner's empowerment of the user would be deeply influential in the design disciplines and even in the policies of organisations such as the United Nations agency for Human Settlements. In the same period, the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre also contributed for a shift in the disciplinary approach to housing and urban design. With his famous trialectic of social spaces, *espace perçu*, *espace conçu*, *espace vécu* (perceived space, conceived space, lived space), Lefebvre contributed to refocus the attention of architects and urban planners in the reception of their work, in the "lived space". In his *The Production of Space*, published in 1974, he gave the so-called "user" a prominent place in the social production of space. Lefebvre resonated lived space with the notion of "representational spaces", which is, he claimed, "space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'". "This is", Lefebvre points out, "the dominated - and hence passively experienced - space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate."³

Both Turner and Lefebvre seemingly emphasize the role of the so-called "user" as the main actor in the social production of space. Disciplinary codes and bureaucratic standards are pervasively discarded and challenged at the same time that spontaneous change and appropriation are cherished and stimulated. This phenomenon, however, was not exclusive to the design disciplines. It resonates with a broad debate that pervaded society at large, fuelled by the shockwaves of the protest movement that unfolded in the late 1960s. The growing importance of the role of the "user" in urban and architectural design debates resonates, in effect, with a concomitant interest on reception aesthetics in literary history and criticism.

To be sure, according to Peter Uwe Hohendahl, in the 1960s there was a shift on narrative studies from the role of the producer to the reader's experience. He explains "the discovery [...] of the role of the reader was apparently generated, even forced by structural changes in the modern novel." He highlights, however, the importance of this *discovery*. "When the author removes the formerly guaranteed message from the novel and

1. John Turner, "Housing as a Verb," in *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*, ed. John F. C. Turner and Robert Fichter (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1972), 148–75.

2. *Ibid.*, 154.

3. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 1st ed. (Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), 39. Original emphasis. Though Lefebvre gives equal importance to all "spatialities", Edward Soja argues that Lefebvre "gives special attention and particular relevance to spaces of representation, to *lived space as a strategic location* from which to encompass, understand, and potentially transform all spaces simultaneously." See Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, 1st ed. (Wiley-Blackwell, 1996), 68.

compels the reader first and foremost to construct the meaning of the content,” Hohendahl asserts, “then the author-reader relationship and the relationship between the narrator’s role and the reader’s role in the text become problematical.”⁴

I would thus suggest this interest in the reader’s construction of meaning resonates with Turner’s and Lefebvre’s empowerment of the user and the prominence of the *espace vécu* as *the* social construction of space par excellence. However, though the relation between author and readers could also be transferred to the relation between architect/urban planner and users/citizens, there is a specific aspect in the design disciplines, the design decision-making process, which contrasts with literary methods and that was disregarded, or belittled by both Turner and Lefebvre.

Both authors, and, for that matter, a great deal of their followers, focused on post-occupancy phenomena (Lefebvre’s “lived space”), or just ignored the design process altogether (Turner was known for his anarchist positions and for his praise on non-planning). I would thus argue this approach overlooked the productive exchange between designer/expert and user/consumer in the design decision-making process. Using a theoretical framework borrowed from reception aesthetics, I will further contend that the intercourse between architect/urban planner and users/citizens should go beyond a mere discussion of the aftermath of the design process, and focus also on the *espace conçu* (conceived space) as an essential component for the social construction of space.

However, the specific aspects of the design process call for a reconceptualization of the tenets of reception aesthetics as they were developed for literary methods. At any rate, in the design disciplines, especially in processes with citizens’ participation in design decision-making processes, aesthetic communication between author and addressee is part and parcel of the process. What is thus the role of the design disciplines in the social production of space? To what extent citizens’ participation can help in bringing together designers and users? And, in urban design and architecture, how can communication processes between production and reception foster the creation of meaningful outcomes? Finally, what was the extent to which architectural expertise contributed to bridge the gap between the universal visual order of the architecture sponsored by the welfare state and the subjectivity of populism?

The scope of these questions is broad and they can hardly be answered straightforwardly. They suggest, however, that there is an important nexus between the design disciplines, communication processes, and representational spaces. To contribute possible answers for these questions, in this chapter

4. Peter Uwe Hohendahl, “Introduction to Reception Aesthetics,” trans. Marc Silberman, *New German Critique*, no. 10 (January 1, 1977): 37. For a synthetic account of reception aesthetics in literary theory, see also Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd Edition (Wiley-Blackwell, 1996), 64–78.

I will discuss the interwoven relation between production and reception in Alvaro Siza's approach to design decision-making with citizens' participation, examining the development of the process for the plan of the *deelgebied 5* and the dwelling's layout in the *Punt* and *Komma* housing complex, developed from 1984 until 1988 as part of the urban renewal of the Schilderswijk district, in the Dutch city of The Hague.

In the first section of the chapter I will discuss the background against which the disciplinary debate tackled the late 1960s challenge on power relations and how this influenced the conceptualization of the role of the architect. A special focus will be given to the resonances of citizens' participation with the emergence of populist architecture as a counter proposal to the architecture of the welfare state. The idea of open work, as defined by Umberto Eco, will then be discussed as a strategy of aesthetic communication that attempts to reconcile the author with the addressee. The first section ends with an account on the relations between the expert and the user, exploring Zygmunt Bauman's idea of the liberating role of the expert as an agent to reconcile modernity's appeal to rule and order against ambivalence and contingency. In the second section of the chapter, I will examine the background against which Siza's projects unfolded, discussing the evolution of urban renewal policies in The Hague, from the technocratic approach of the 1950s and 1960s until the mid-1980s reconceptualization of urban renewal as a cultural activity, championed by Adri Duivesteyn, the influential The Hague's alderman for urban renewal in the 1980s. Then, in the third section Álvaro Siza's contribution for the urban renewal of the Schilderswijk district will be examined in detail with an emphasis on the design decision-making processes of *deelgebied 5*'s plan and *Punt en Komma* dwellings' layout. The fundamental aspects of Siza's plan for the neighbourhood will then be presented and the contribution of citizens' participation in the process discussed. In the fourth section, I will emphasize the relevance of the Spatial Development Laboratory (*Ruimtelijk Ontwikkelings Laboratorium*, ROL) as a novel method to involve residents in housing design decision-making processes. The importance of the ROL in accommodating the social and cultural differences of *Punt en Komma*'s future residents will then be discussed and conceptually framed as a medium for a process of communication between the architect as encoder-producer and the user as decoder-receiver. In the fifth section of the chapter, the housing complexes designed by Siza for the Schilderswijk district will be further examined to highlight the use of signs and markers in his architectural operation as a strategy to produce meaningful aesthetic communication. The discussion will be focused on Siza's deliberate use of ambiguity and ambivalence as an instrument to negotiate difference and identity. Finally, the concluding section will highlight the ambivalent character of Siza's approach to design decision-

making processes, and emphasize its contribution to deliver a possibility of reconciliation between the normative character of the architecture of the welfare state and the subjectivity championed by the populist movement, through an architectural approach that praises the residual rather than the emergent.

6.1 • Architecture and Reception Aesthetics

In his *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, Terry Eagleton roughly describes the history of modern literary theory as a process in three stages. First, there was a preoccupation with the author in Romanticism and nineteenth century literature. This was followed by New Criticism's exclusive concern with the text. Finally, with reception aesthetics, the attention was shifted to the reader.⁵ Eagleton thus suggests a straightforward process of disciplinary transition from the focus on the producer, then to the product, and finally to the consumer. Notwithstanding the blunt simplification in Eagleton's periodization, I would nevertheless argue a shift of focus from producer to product and then to consumer similarly unfolded in the historiography of design disciplines in the century stretching from the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the 1970s. Moreover, I would contend this shift in the historiographical interest resonates with a concurrent development in design decision-making processes, chiefly illustrated by disciplinary approaches focused in catering for the people, striving to enhance the idea of open work and questioning the social relevance of expertise.

Welfare State Architecture and Populism

In the 1970s, the design disciplines were part and parcel of a social, cultural and economical shift that produced a sound change of housing policies in the western democracies ruled hitherto by the tenets of the welfare state. The consequences for the whole disciplinary approach were conspicuous. As Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre noted in their essay "In the name of the people", published in 1976 in the Dutch magazine *Forum*, populist architecture emerged in the 1960s as a reaction to the Welfare State architecture, its alleged demand to conform with standards and norms, and its normative codification of a universal visual order.⁶

They identified different groups of players in this debate. Firstly, they examined the work and writings of authors such as Gordon Cullen, Douglas Haskell, Tom Wolfe, Reyner Banham or Venturi & Scott-Brown, who embodied a tendency to reconcile architecture with popular taste, the need to embrace popular culture, the commercial vernacular and mass consumption in architectural design. Then, they shifted their focus to a group of young apostate professional and student architects and

5. Eagleton, *Literary Theory*, 64. In this book Eagleton writes a shrewd account of reception aesthetics in literary theory. Next to the members of the Konstanz school, Eagleton mentions the importance of the contributions to reception aesthetics of the work of Roland Barthes and Stanley Fish. For a more sociological account on reception aesthetics, specially in the German context, see Hohendahl, "Introduction to Reception Aesthetics."

6. Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, "In the Name of the People. The Development of the Contemporary Populist Movement in Architecture," *Forum XXV*, no. 3 (February 1976). This essay was originally written in 1972 and firstly published in German in the journal *Bauwelt* (January 1975). A new version was published more recently, in Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, "In the Name of the People; The Populist Movement in Architecture," in *What People Want. Populism in Architecture and Design*, ed. Michael Shamiyeh (Basel: Birkhauser, 2005), 288–305. To preserve a synchronic relation with the context in which the essay was originally written, in this article I will refer to the version published in *Forum*, in 1976.

planners whose interest was focused on the housing conditions of the urban poor. Among them, the work and writings of John Turner and Herbert Gans were noteworthy. Then, the apex of the populist architecture was epitomized by the emergence of advocate planning as a strategy to avoid the infiltration of alien values in popular culture. As a common feature, however, all these groups assumed the role of the designer as one that “oppressed the user by dictating the shape of his environment and by denying him the right to free self expression.”⁷

The article of Tzonis and Lefaivre succeeds in highlighting the tensions surfacing in the design disciplines from the 1960s on, which deeply affected the conceptual framing of the social role of the architect. With the emergence of the populist movement, they argued “the emphasis passed from an ideal of ‘order’ and ‘expertise’ to one of ‘freedom’ and ‘pluralism’.”⁸ One of the shortcomings of the article, however, is its monolithic account of both the so-called Welfare State and the populist architecture.⁹ The earlier is pictured as elitist, technocratic and universalist while the latter is seen as subjective, arbitrary and fit for purpose.

For Tzonis and Lefaivre, the populist movement accounted the designers as a class of experts severed from the values of the user, who were placed in a position of dependence. To overcome this, populism struggled to create a classless design decision-making. However, as they pointed out, this was but an illusory freedom to the dependent classes, which was grounded only on the fetishistic quality of the design object, thus failing to acknowledge the structure of domination and dependencies behind it. “While [Welfare State] architects saw the designed environment as a well ordered regiment,” they further argued, “populists envisaged it as a well serviced supermarket.”¹⁰ This was thus the paradox of the populist movement. While driven by an approach of liberation for the user, it fell prey to the phenomenon of possession thus succeeding “with what the Welfare State would have considered as its ultimate goal: the integration into the economic system of all groups of society and the expansion of consumption.”¹¹

The Poetics of the Open Work

The notion of open form gained currency in the late 1950s architectural debate and illustrates an early attempt to cope with the challenge of negotiating the relation between the designer and the user, and to contribute an alternative to the traditional approach of the welfare state architecture.¹² In the 1960s, open form and open architecture became instrumental as a vehicle for a critique of mass housing architecture as championed by the welfare state.¹³ Tzonis and Lefaivre, however, were also critical about the notion of “open” or “indeterminate” architecture. Without referring to specific examples, they argued this was a

7. Tzonis and Lefaivre, “In the Name of the People,” February 1976, 28.

8. Ibid.

9. In the version of the essay published in 2005, Tzonis and Lefaivre changed the notion of “welfare state architecture” for the more canonical “functionalism” and “international style”.

10. Tzonis and Lefaivre, “In the Name of the People,” February 1976, 29.

11. Ibid., 31.

12. One of the most notable protagonists in this debate was Oskar Hansen. Together with Zofia Hansen, he had addressed the idea of open architecture already in the 1959 CIAM Otterlo meeting. See Oscar Newman, ed., *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, Documents of Modern Architecture 1 (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961), 190–91. See also Oskar Hansen, “La Forme Ouverte dans l’Architecture - l’Art du Grand Nombre,” *Le Carré Bleu*, no. 1 (1961): 4–7.

13. The Dutch architect N. John Habraken played an important role in this debate with his *De Draggers en de Mensen, het einde van de massawoningbouw* (Supports and the People, the end of mass housing) published in 1961 in Dutch. For a thorough account of John Habraken’s influence on housing design see Koos Bosma, Dorine van Hoogstraten, and Martijn Vos, *Housing for the Millions: John Habraken and the SAR (1960-2000)* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2000).

makeshift combination of the interests of the architect and those of the users. They contended the “compromise between the idea of universally applicable set of architectural norms and of the idea of user sovereignty proved impossible for these two tendencies were irreducible contradictions.”¹⁴ Drawing a line between the dominion of the architect and that of the user was neither practical nor rational, they argued. Tzonis and Lefaivre quickly dismissed the possibility of the open form design approach as an alternative to the welfare state architecture. Rather, as discussed above, they chose to focus on a group of young designers and planners who have broken away from the orthodoxy of the profession and have been working towards the creation of a fundamental social change, turning their attention to the housing conditions of the urban poor. This decision was, in fact, instrumental for the creation of a polarity between the role of the architect operating within the realm of the welfare state and that working under the banner of the populist movement. Further, it proved operative to denounce the paradox of the latter, as discussed above. However, by leaving aside the open architecture approach, Tzonis and Lefaivre overlooked its potential as a strategy for an aesthetic communication unhindered by the Manichean account of the role of the architect as either a dictator of, or a slave to, the needs of the user.

Umberto Eco’s 1962 *Opera Aperta* (Open Work) contributed a seminal discussion on the potential of the open work that, I would argue, echoes the appeals for a reconceptualization of the architectural object as an open architecture, mentioned earlier.¹⁵ Among the essays collected in *Open Work*, “The poetics of the Open Work” could be singled out as a major contribution to discuss the role of the individual addressee in the reception of the work of art.¹⁶ In this essay, Eco highlights the notion of open work as a rejection of definite messages thus emphasizing the initiative of the individual addressee in giving aesthetic validity to a work of art introducing his particular perspective.¹⁷ However, Eco brings about a subtle yet meaningful variation to the concept of openness, defining a work of art as a closed form and open product. Closed in its uniqueness and wholeness and open in its susceptibility to be interpreted in infinite forms while preserving its specificity. He concludes, then, “every reception of a work of art is both an *interpretation* and a *performance* of it, because in every reception the work takes on a fresh perspective for itself.” For Eco the reception of the work of art is an act of freedom and, as such, an imposition of a single sense at the very outset of the receptive process should be prevented. Hence, he champions suggestiveness as “a deliberate move to ‘open’ the work to the free response of the addressee.” And he goes on contending “an artistic work that suggests is also one that can be performed with the full emotional and imaginative resources of the interpreter.”¹⁸

14. Tzonis and Lefaivre, “In the Name of the People,” February 1976, 8.

15. The first edition of *Opera Aperta* was published in Italian in 1962. The book was translated (with additional chapters) into English in 1989. See Umberto Eco, *The Open Work*, trans. Anna Cancogni (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989).

16. According to Umberto Eco’s introductory note to *The Open Work*, this essay was originally written in 1958. A translation into English by Bruce Merry firstly appeared in 1984. See Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Indiana University Press, 1984).

17. Umberto Eco, “The Poetics of the Open Work,” in *The Open Work*, trans. Bruce Merry (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989), 4.

18. *Ibid.*, 9.

Suggestiveness thus embodies a certain amount of ambiguity and ambivalence, which become important qualities to challenge dogmatic directional centres.¹⁹ Eco then defines as “works in movement” a sub-group of open works where the collaboration of the addressee in making the work of art is vital, because they are structurally unplanned or physically incomplete, such as Calder’s mobiles or Mallarme’s *Livre*. Moreover, Eco suggests incorporating indeterminacy as part of the poetics of the open work, resonating thus with the multiple polarity of the scientific spirit of that time, chiefly inspired by Einstein’s spatiotemporal conception. “As in the Einsteinian universe,” Eco argues, “in the ‘work in movement’ we may well deny that there is a single prescribed point of view.”²⁰ For Eco, however, the poetics of the open work does not resonate with chaos in the work’s internal relations. “What it does imply,” he contends, “is an organizing rule which governs these relations.” Then, he concludes, “we can say that the ‘work in movement’ is the possibility of numerous different personal interventions, but it is not an amorphous invitation to indiscriminate participation.”²¹ Umberto Eco’s notion of “work in movement” epitomizes, then, the ambivalence of an organizing rule that accommodates individual expression. In other words, that notion resonates with a negotiation of power between the author and the addressee that is vital for the development of the work itself.

I would argue, then, the shades of grey cast by this ambivalent approach contribute to overcome the shortcomings of the binary polarity between welfare state architecture and the populist movement as discussed by Tzonis and Lefaivre in their article examined earlier. Further, Eco’s notion of work in movement provides a conceptual framework to discuss the interplay between architectural expertise and citizens’ participation in design decision-making processes. In this context, it contributes an operative tool to examine the extent to which the designer *qua* author and the user *qua* addressee can negotiate sovereignty in the design process, without falling prey to the perils of authoritarianism or populism.

The Power of Expertise

The ambivalence in Eco’s poetics of the open work suggests a possibility to enable a reconciliation of the conflicting relation between order and chaos, authority and individual expression, project and contingency. These relations are inherent in design processes with citizens’ participation and thus vital to discuss the role of the architect and architectural expertise in those processes. Ambivalence and contingency are also, nonetheless, sources of anxiety, discomfort and tension, menacing everydayness. In this context, architectural expertise can be seen as instrumental in coping with these perils. Zigmunt Bauman, in his *Modernity and Ambivalence*, published in 1993, delivers

19. Eco identifies these qualities in Brecht’s plays, sparked by its technique of *verfremdung* (defamiliarization), where “it is no longer the morbid ambiguousness of a half-perceived infinitude or an anguish-laden mystery, but the specific concreteness of an ambiguity in social intercourse, a conflict of unresolved problems taxing the ingenuity of playwright, actors, and audience alike.” Hence, in Brecht’s plays, Eco argues, “a solution is seen as desirable and is actually anticipated, but it must come from the collective enterprise of the audience.” See *Ibid.*, 11.

20. *Ibid.*, 19.

21. *Ibid.*

an influential contribution to understand the entwined relation between ambivalence, contingency and the role of the expert in the project of modernity. Bauman argues that in modernity's battle of order against chaos in worldly affairs, its project of a rational-universal world would know of no contingency and no ambivalence.²² And he goes on stating,

The residents of the house of modernity had been continuously trained to feel at home under conditions of necessity and to feel unhappy at the face of contingency; contingency, they had been told, was that state of discomfort and anxiety from which one needed to escape by making oneself into a binding norm and thus doing away with difference.²³

Bauman contends, however, that the project of modernity failed to eradicate ambivalence and contingency. Rather, he argued nowadays ambivalence moved from the public to the private sphere. This process thus becomes essential to discuss the role of the architect in design processes with citizens' participation. In effect, according to Bauman, with modernity's drive to transfer ambivalence from the public to the private realm, the role of expertise in this process is one of mediation between the social and the personal. To overcome the anxiety caused on the individual by ambivalence, the expert becomes one on whom we could truly trust, "one that combined the person's capacity to understand with the power of science to make the right decisions."²⁴ The importance of the expert, Bauman claims, is not so much related with his or hers actual qualities or skills but how they are perceived by the recipients of the services. "The expert is, so to speak, a condensation of the diffuse need of trustworthy - because supra-individual - sanction of individuality." And he goes on pointing out that

As an interpreter and mediator, the expert spans the otherwise distant worlds of the objective and the subjective. He bridges the gap between guarantees of being in the right (which can only be social) and making the choices that one wants (which can only be personal). In the ambivalence of his skills he is, so to speak, resonant with the ambivalent condition of his client.²⁵

Hence, writing in the early 1990s, Bauman brings about a fundamental reconceptualization of the expert as someone that performs a liberating role, thus contributing with a new framework for a reassessment of the 1970s and 1980s experiences with citizens' participation in design processes. In effect, the presence of the expert in these processes socializes personal ambitions and in the way, conforms to a political drive towards the creation of consensus. According to Bauman, "expertise promises the individuals means and abilities to escape uncertainty and ambivalence and thus to control their own life-world. It presents the dependency on the experts as the liberation of the individual; heteronomy as autonomy."²⁶

22. In his *Architecture Depends*, Jeremy Till delivers an insightful account on how Bauman's notions of ambivalence and contingency constitute a productive theoretical framework to discuss architecture's disciplinary autonomy. See Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009).

23. Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, New Ed (Polity Press, 1993), 233.

24. *Ibid.*, 199.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, 223.

I would argue, however, Bauman's assertion of the expert as a vehicle for the socialization of personal ambitions has one fundamental shortcoming. It is chiefly focused on the role of the expert as an instrumental medium for individual escapism, failing to fully recognize its emancipatory potential. In order to explore the latter, I will examine the intercourse between designer and user in the design decision-making process of the plan for the *deelgebied 5* and the project of the *Punt en Komma* housing complex, which were part of the urban renewal of the Schilderswijk district in the Dutch city of The Hague.

6.2•Memory and Invention

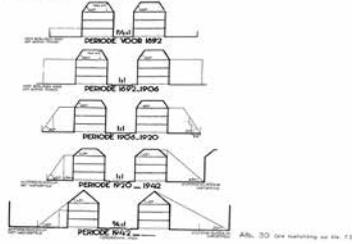
In the Netherlands, a country with deep-rooted planning traditions, the pioneering processes of a new approach to urban renewal were developed in Rotterdam and Amsterdam in the 1970s. Soon, The Hague followed and eventually developed what was declared “the boldest post-war urban renewal project,” the new Oranjeplein in the Schilderswijk district.²⁷ This operation testifies to a changing paradigm in state sponsored housing policies and paved the way for the institutionalization of citizens' participation as part and parcel of the bureaucratic approach to urban renewal. However, as discussed earlier, this bureaucratic instrumentalization of citizens' participation resonated often with a populist approach to accommodate people's demands and mitigate social conflicts. In the renewal of the Schilderswijk's *deelgebied 5* (neighbourhood area 5), this process was countered by a disciplinary approach that epitomizes a drive to resist the populist appeal and counter a technocratic account of the relation between author and addressee.

From Grey to Green

In the last half of the nineteenth century the city of The Hague increased its population from 72,500 to 200,000 inhabitants due to a steady expanding industrialization. This rapid growth, sparked by an influx of rural migrants, resulted in an uncontrolled urban sprawl mainly determined by real-estate speculative interests, which developed over time a very consistent and pervasive strategy to accommodate as many people as possible in the least space possible. This led to the emergence of social and public health problems, mainly affecting the dwellers in those “arrival cities”, the working class. To come to terms with this situation, which affected other industrialized cities in The Netherlands, the Dutch government created in 1901 the Housing Act, which would start its implementation in 1902. With the Housing Act, the government revealed an interest on, and the strategic importance of, working class housing. In order to promote a more efficient application of the law, the central government empowered the municipalities to supervise and implement it. [Figure 6.01]

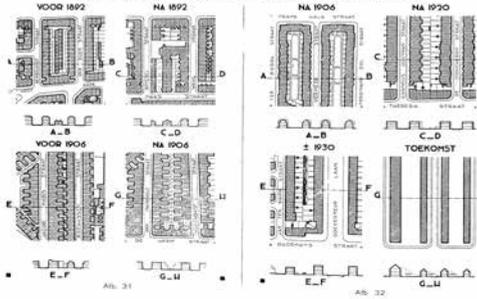
27. The Hague Public Relations Department, “The Boldest Post-War Urban Renewal Project Completed” (Municipality of The Hague, April 1983), *De Punt en de Komma - 106 woningen in Deelgebied 5* - Folder 1, Álvaro Siza archive.

MOGELIJKE BEBOUWINGSPROFIELEN VOLGENS DE GELDENDE BOUWVERORDENINGEN VAN 's-GRAVENHAGE



Abt. 30 Over hetzelfde zie Abt. 15.

ENIGE VOORBEELDEN UIT DE HAAGSE BOUWPRACTIJK



Abt. 31

Abt. 32



Figure 6.01. Historical overview of the impact of building codes on the streets and in depth profiles of the buildings. Source: Victor Freijser, ed., *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag* (Zwolle:Waanders Uitgevers, 1991), 74.

Figure 6.02. Plan of The Hague (1899). The Schilderswijk area, in the southern part of the plan, remains partially undeveloped. Source: Victor Freijser, ed., *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag*.

The Schilderswijk district was created in the second half of the nineteenth century as a result of a speculative development to accommodate the flux of rural migration to The Hague. [Figure 6.02] Most of the original houses in the Schilderswijk district had been built before the Housing Act, which deeply contributed to define some of the neighbourhood's most notable characteristics. The houses were small and crowded, and the area was a densely populated melting pot of people arriving from different parts of the country. Consequently, the street was the only social space. All these factors, then, fostered a strong social cohesion and an inescapable social control.

Over the 1950s, there was an intense building campaign in The Hague, which gave the city the title of “*de bouwput van Europa*” (Europe's construction site). It was expected the city would grow in that decade from 450,000 to 600,000 inhabitants, thus becoming a full-fledged metropolis.²⁸ Next to the population growth, a boost in the number of vehicular circulation in the city was also noticeable. To accommodate these transformations, in 1957 the city government presented the *Haagse Ontwerpstructuurplan* (The Hague's Masterplan) and the city's Office for Reconstruction and Urban Development (*Dienst van de Wederopbouw en de Stadsontwikkeling*) published the brochure *Den Haag, snel groeiende stad* (The Hague, rapidly growing city). Beyond redefining the limits of the city, this process implied also a renewal of the city centre's urban fabric to make it resonant with the idea of The Hague as a business centre. [Figure 6.03] The Schilderswijk district was part of the renewal ring around the city's historic centre. With the 1957 masterplan, the city's government envisioned a social upgrading of the Schilderswijk's area, which should be supported by a clean-up operation in the old working class neighbourhood. The images published in *Den Haag, snel groeiende stad*, illustrate clearly how that operation was envisioned, swiftly replacing the nineteenth century urban fabric by a new one, inspired by the tenets of the functionalist city.

Triggered by the goals of the 1957 masterplan, the municipality developed an extensive operation of expropriation and land acquisition in the urban renewal areas. Detailed zone plans were made as soon as contiguous land allowed the design of a large-scale operation. This was the case of the area on the surroundings of the Oranjeplein, in the Schilderswijk. In this area, the 1957 masterplan's strategy would be further materialized with the development of the plan “*Van Gris naar Groen*” (from Grey to Green), designed by Van der Hoff and presented in 1966. [Figure 6.04] In this plan, an epitome of what Tzonis and Lefaivre considered the architecture of the welfare state, the incompatibility between the existing situation and the new project could hardly be more emphatically demonstrated than in the drawings that illustrate it. [Figure 6.05]

28. Michelle Provoost, “De grezen van de metropol. Den Haag in de Jaren 1950-1970,” in *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag: plannen en processen in de Haagse stedenbouw, 1890-1990*, ed. Victor Freijser (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1991), 143.

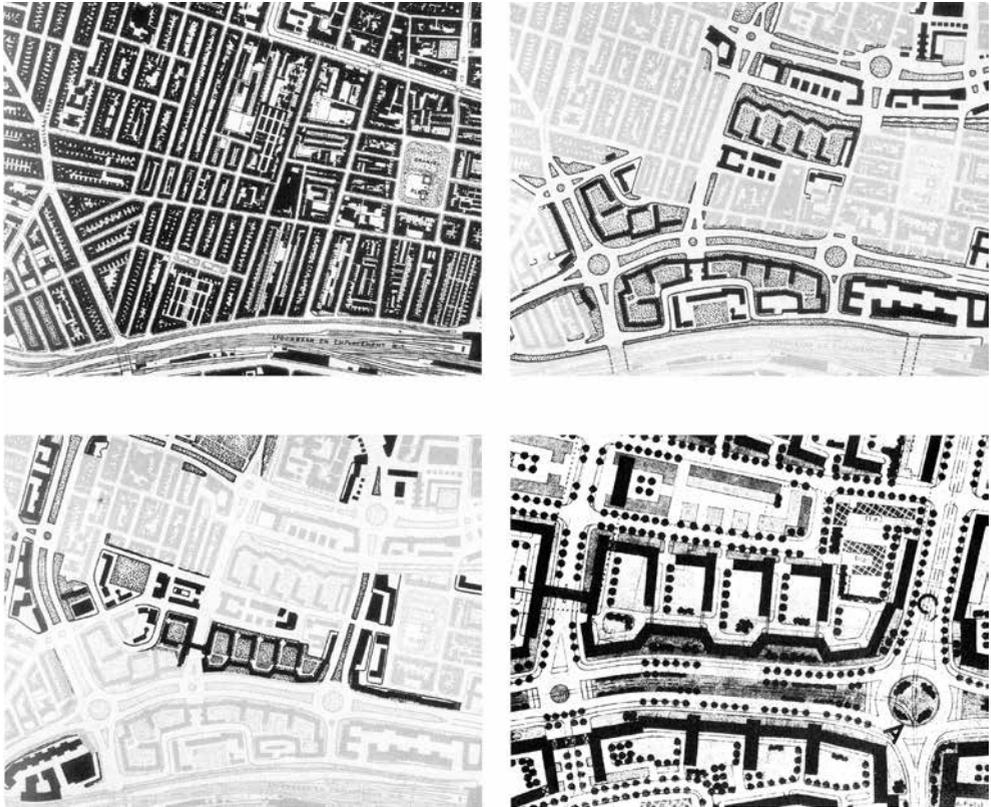


Figure 6.03. Urban renewal of the Schilderswijk neighbourhood according to the *Structuurplan "Den Haag, snel groeiende stad"*. Above, from left to right: Existing situation; first implementation phase. Below, from left to right: second implementation phase; a detail of the further development of the plan. Source: Victor Freijser, ed., *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag*, 165.

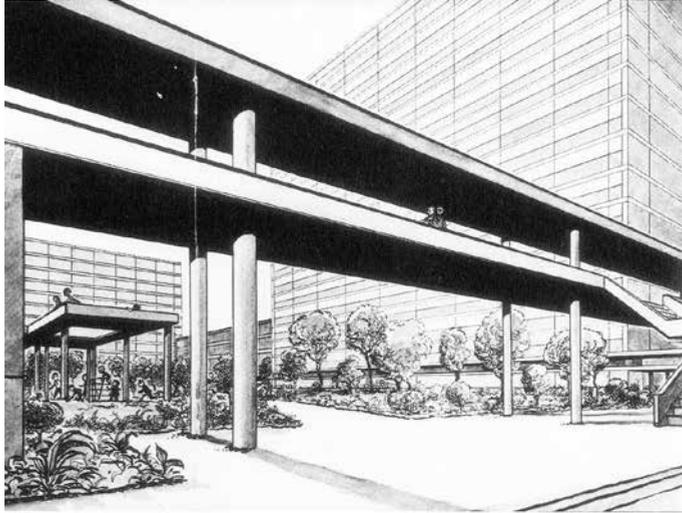


Figure 6.04. Perspectives of the plan "Van Gris naar Groen". Source: Victor Freijser, ed., *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag*, 166.

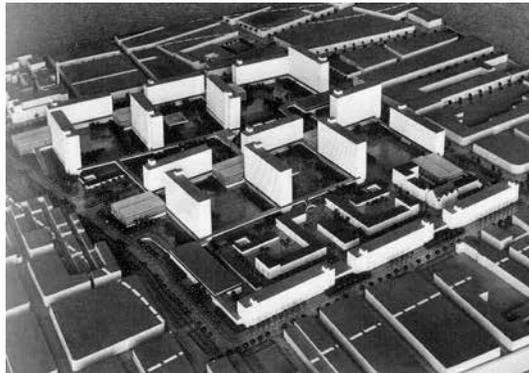
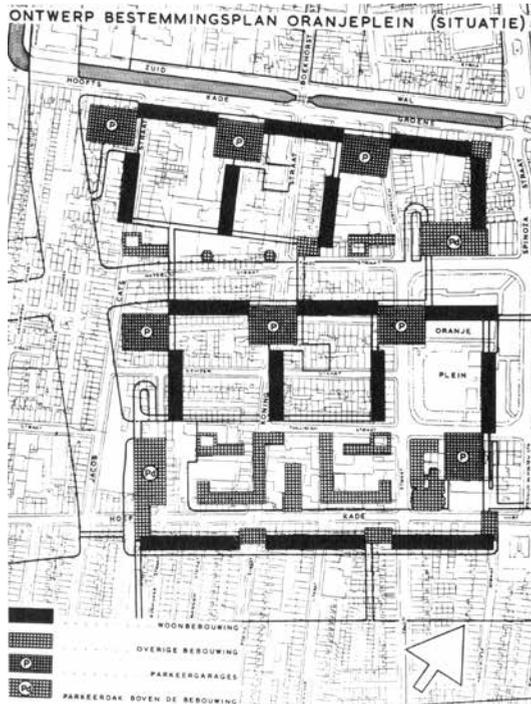


Figure 6.05. General plan and model of the plan “Van Gris naar Groen”. Source: Victor Freijser, ed., *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag*, 166, 217. Photo: © Dienst Ruimtelijke en Economische Ontwikkeling (REO) van de Gemeente Den Haag.

Further, the plan implied also important social changes. The luxury flats and the generous areas dedicated to vehicular circulation and parking were intended to avoid the departure of the middle class from the city centre, which was seen as a threat to implement the vision of The Hague as a cosmopolitan business centre. The number of dwellings created with the new plan duplicated the existing housing stock, though with completely new morphological and typological approaches. The plan generated many protests by the local residents, first and foremost because the new scheme would shatter the area's social network. The plan's principles were contested because they failed to accommodate the neighbourhood's residents, most of whom could not afford the expected raise in the rental costs for the luxury flats.

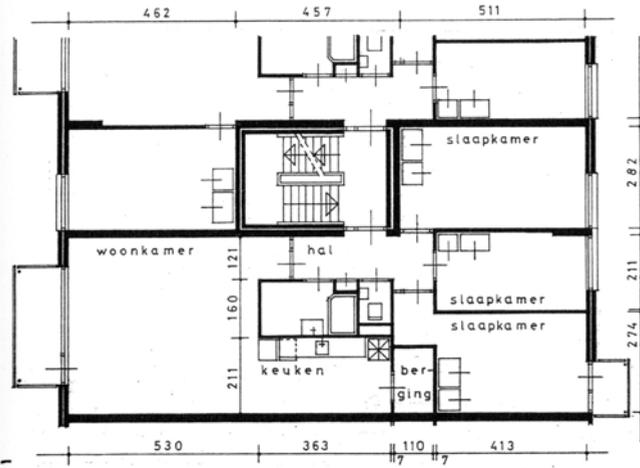
Planning and Social Cohesion

In the early 1970s, a new social consciousness triggered by widespread protest movements, influenced a shift in the urban policies of The Hague's city council. In 1970, the new alderman for urban development, W.H.A. Nuy cancelled the *Van Gris naar Groen* plan and put an end to the pervasive demolition policy of G. Hijlkema, his predecessor in the job. To demonstrate his engagement with a different approach to urban renewal, the new alderman launched the construction of the 444, a social housing complex to be built in the Schikderswijk district. [Figure 6.06] As Richard Kleinegris points out, this new social consciousness of the politicians emerged in a period where scarcity of energy, environmental pollution, economic recession and housing affordability were major issues that led people to the streets.²⁹ Instead of a policy supported by centralized decisions, the new approach sought to promote political clarity, transparency and participation, opening the debate to the broad public and creating platforms where conflicts could give way to consensus. Naturally, this influenced spatial planning. Hence, in 1974, a new masterplan for the Schilderswijk district was designed, embodying a change of paradigm in urban policies. [Figure 6.07]

Instead of the large-scale technocratic urban renewal of the previous decades, the new approach was supported by a renovation of existing structures, specially taking into account the accommodation of the economically weaker sector of the society. However, though the plan was relatively vague, it nevertheless created some disruptive consequences to the existing urban fabric, driven by the will to rearticulate the relation between the public and the private sphere, introducing new urban axis (perpendicular to the district's long streets) and creating a more efficient circulation network. Notwithstanding its noble goals, the new plan failed to produce any significant contribution to invert the district's growing dilapidation, and eventually residents' protests were again seen on the streets.

29. Richard Kleinegris, "Democratisering van de stedenbouw. Den Haag in de Jaren 1970-1980," in *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag: plannen en processen in de Haagse stedenbouw, 1890-1990*, ed. Victor Freijser (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1991), 189.

Definitieve verkaveling Oranjeplein. Portiek-stagebouw met merendeels drie bouwlagen. Totaal aantal woning 397. Parkeren op straat.



Definitieve woningplattegrond vierkammersvoering op verdieping.



Figure 6.06. Urban renewal of the Oranjeplein - Plan "de 444". Layout of a typical dwelling (above) and model of the housing complex showed at the public presentation of the plan in 1973 (below). Source: Victor Freijser, ed., *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag*, 166, 219. Photo: © Sijthoff-pers.

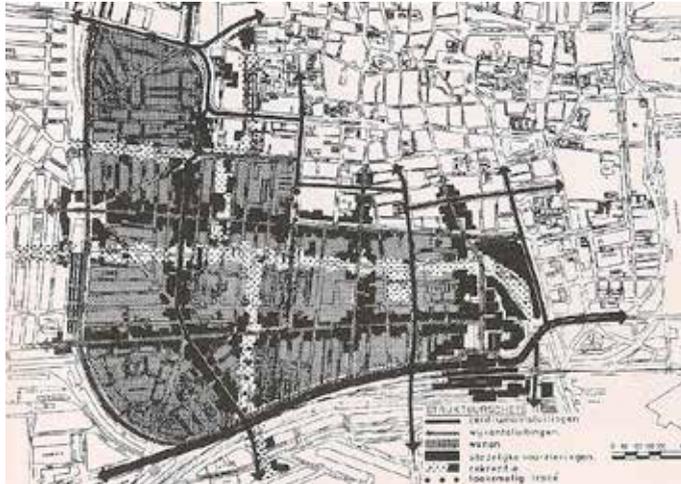


Figure 6.07. Design principles of the *Structuurschets Schilderswijk 1974* (above). Demonstration of the residents in the Schilderswijk (below). Source: Victor Freijser, ed., *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag*, 193 (above); *Haagse Courant* 10-04-1976 (below).

After the 1974 municipal elections, The Hague's urban renewal policy would noticeably change with the contribution of two new members of the city council, elected by the Labour party, Joop ten Velden and Adri Duivestijn. In 1975, Ten Velden and Duivestijn produced a memorandum with the title *Stadsvernieuwing in Den Haag* (Urban Renewal in The Hague), criticizing the technocratic character of the city's urban renewal policies developed hitherto. They argued it was necessary an administrative reorganization, led by an alderman specifically dedicated to the city's urban renewal, with a department focused on defining strategies and designing projects to specific problem-areas. In a demonstration held on 12 April 1976, the Schilderswijk's residents voiced once again their protest against an urban renewal policy that failed to produce housing with good quality. Some months after, in November 1976, the city council approved the *Nota stadsvernieuwing Den Haag* (The Hague's Urban Renewal Act). [Figure 6.08] Following some of the principles advocated by Ten Velden and Duivestijn, the document recognized, that urban renewal is more than improving housing and spatial structures, asserting "urban renewal is also and above all improving the conditions of people living in districts and neighbourhoods, seen not only in terms of material and technical deprivation but also in social and cultural terms."³⁰ One of the most important aspects of the memorandum was the definition of "priority-areas", whose problems should be tackled urgently. In these areas, the buildings were to be acquired or expropriated by the municipality, and a social program for the residents should be drawn to cope with the shortcomings of the relocation process.

The good intentions of the document yielded little fruits, though. In effect, J. Hardon, since 1976 the successor of W.H.A. Nuy as The Hague's alderman for urban development, failed to produce actual change. Nevertheless, following the designation in 1976 of the Schilderswijk district as a "priority-area", in 1979 an important document, the *Structuurschets Schilderswijk* (Structural Framework Schilderswijk), was created after a long period of preparation that gathered technicians, residents, and other stakeholders discussing and deciding on the district's urban renewal. [Figure 6.09] The framework highlighted three fundamental principles. Firstly, preserving the function of the Schilderswijk as a residential area for the lower income population was asserted as a starting point to avoid the shortcomings of gentrification. Secondly, it aimed at counteracting the decline of the housing stock by improving its quality and the relationship of housing with other functions including traffic, industry, and services. Finally, the framework defined that demolitions should only be carried out to abolish unacceptable housing conditions through new constructions that should be designed to accommodate the current population. Next to these principles, the framework also advocated the

30. Quoted in *ibid.*, 197.

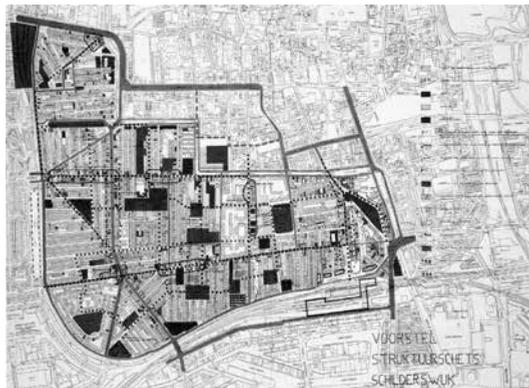


Figure 6.08. Joop ten Velden (standing) and Adri Duivesteijn (seated) - An ironical illustration of their motto "Action to the word". Source: Victor Freijser, ed., *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag*, 211. Photo: © Hendrikse-Valk.

Figure 6.09. *Tweede Structuurschets Schilderswijk* (1979). Source: Victor Freijser, ed., *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag*, 200.

creation of several neighborhood parks and local amenities, which should contribute to create spaces for social interaction at the scale of vicinity communities. However, both the 1979 *Structuurschets*, as well as its 1974 predecessor, failed to create a spatial definition of its principles. As Richard Kleinegris points out, in either case, the most noticeable aspect was a keen interest in breaking the existing street pattern inherited from the nineteenth century urbanization.³¹

After an intense participation in the debates on The Hague's urban renewal, in 1980 Adri Duivesteijn was appointed The Hague's *wethouder voor ruimtelijke ordening en stadsvernieuwing* (alderman for Spatial Planning and Urban Renewal). This young politician (he was 30 years old in 1980) had finally an opportunity to implement his 1975 urban renewal agenda and break the long impasse in the city's regeneration in general and in the Schilderswijk's in particular.

To be sure, through the two decades of uncertainty and failed urban renewal policies, a relentless process of dilapidation of the Schilderswijk neighbourhood took over and a great deal of its residents moved to other parts of the city. Different streams of foreign migrant influx substituted them, thus creating a progressive loss of mutual contact and social control. Through the 1970s, the houses left vacant by the older residents were mainly occupied by migrant workers from southern Europe, Turkey and Morocco, and by Surinamese who fled the former Dutch colony after its independence in 1975. This sudden change in the demographics of the neighbourhood contributed for a noticeable transformation in its social relations. As Liesbeth Alferink notes, "because of the different languages and cultures mutual contacts were limited. Because there was no understanding of each way of life, there was less social control."³²

Hence, though the district kept its pre-WWII character as a melting pot of newly arrived working class residents, the fundamental change was that, now, there was also a cultural mix, which seemingly hindered the blossoming of spontaneous social interaction. Moreover, to cope with the rental costs, the houses of the newly arrived migrants were overcrowded. From the mid-1970s through the early 1980s, this conjuncture created a process of fragmentation of social cohesion in the Schilderswijk, and fostered social unrest. The Italian architecture critic Umberto Barbieri described how the conditions of the neighbourhood became a pressing issue to the local authorities. He noted, "diverse languages and cultures were thus intermingled in Schilderswijk". And he went on arguing that this "turned it into a typical metropolitan slum that was not a credit to the Dutch Calvinist, social-democratic and reformist culture and to its orderly context of The Hague as an urban nucleus".³³

31. *Ibid.*, 201.

32. "Liesbeth Alferink, Projectleider Stadsvernieuwing," in Dorien Boasson, ed., *Visie Op de Stad. Alvaro Siza in de Schilderswijk, Den Haag* (Den Haag: Uitgave Projektorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing 's-Gravenhage, 1988), 19. Original in Dutch. This and other chapters of the same book referenced further, were translated into English by the author.

33. Umberto Barbieri, "Alvaro Siza Vieira. Due Isolati Residenziali, L'Aia," *Domus*, no. 705 (May 1989): 31.

Housing Beyond Standards

When Duivesteijn became an alderman, the Schilderswijk district was stigmatized with crime and vandalism. He thus decided to pursue a different approach to urban renewal, which should be more focused on social relations than on spatial management. Following the principles of his and Ten Velden's 1975 memorandum on urban renewal, he thus created the POS (*Projectorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing*, Project Organization for Urban Renewal) with a branch dedicated to the Schilderswijk district, the *Projectgroep Schilderswijk-Centrum*.³⁴ Duivesteijn argued that a new understanding of urban renewal should surface, overcoming the practices of the past, which were merely concerned with a blind housing production, mostly driven by numbers and rules than by quality and people.³⁵ He was deeply committed in involving the residents in the process. [Figure 6.10] A former student of Andragogy³⁶, Duivesteijn pursued answers to questions such as: "What do these people want and why, what moves them, how do they want to live and then also dwell: how can this be achieved?" He had a strong opposition to the prevailing Dutch culture of planning using standards, asserting, "everything is getting even more standard, is being built for everyone, so actually for anyone". And he went further highlighting the negative effects of that prescriptive planning culture, contending, "urban renewal must have an impetus for a blossoming of society, not a pesticide!"

34. This organization was integrated in a broader programme, "*Bouwen voor de buurt*" (Building for the neighbourhood), designed by the Dutch government and aimed at creating a connection between the social and the physical aspects of urban renewal. For a synthetic account of urban renewal policies in the Netherlands, see Edward Hulsbergen and Paul Stouten, "Urban Renewal and Regeneration in the Netherlands Integration Lost or Subordinate?," *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action* 5, no. 3 (2001): 325–37.

35. Adri Duivesteijn, "Stadsvernieuwing: Een Nieuw Begrip," in *Visie Op de Stad. Álvaro Siza in de Schilderswijk, Den Haag*, ed. Dorien Boasson (Den Haag: Uitgave Projektorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing 's-Gravenhage, 1988), 5–7. The following references to Duivesteijn's account on urban renewal processes and Álvaro Siza's project for the Schilderswijk district were taken from this source, except when explicitly noted.

36. Andragogy (from the Greek word for man, *andros*) refers to teaching strategies for adults, as opposed to pedagogy, teaching strategies for children, *paidos* in Greek).

37. Duivesteijn visited Porto with his fellow party member Jaap Huurman. He was already familiar with the work of Álvaro Siza, through Joop Bolster, an architect from The Hague.

38. Letter from Adri Duivesteijn to Álvaro Siza, May 24, 1984, De Punt en de Komma - 106 woningen in Deelgebied 5 - Folder 1, Álvaro Siza archive.

Soon, with Duivesteijn's impulse, the urban renewal process in The Hague became more noticeable. The outcome of the work developed by POS was now visible in several areas of the city. However, Duivesteijn was not happy only with production. He sought also a real commitment and involvement of the neighbourhood's residents in the urban renewal process, a real engagement of the citizens in the planning and design of the district's renewal. It was in this context that, in 1984, Duivesteijn travelled to Portugal to participate in the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the democratic revolution, and in this trip, he decided to schedule an appointment with Álvaro Siza.³⁷ After talking to the Portuguese architect and visiting his works in Porto, "both the man and his work appealed to us tremendously", Duivesteijn declared. "We were excited with his projects, his analytical and exploratory attitude, his ability to work with residents and their demands, with community based environments, and then finding the proper architectural elaboration." It was thus clear the resonance between Duivesteijn's idea of a social engaged urban renewal process and Siza's work and disciplinary approach. Eventually, on 24 May 1984, Duivesteijn sent a letter to Siza, inviting him to develop the plan for the urban renewal of Schilderswijk's *deelgebied 5*, further declaring that "the residents show a great interest on your ideas."³⁸ Siza accepted the invitation and arrived to The Hague



Figure 6.10. Adri Duivesteijn distributing “De Schilders-wijker”, the local media used for criticizing the municipality’s urban renewal policy. Source: Victor Freijser, ed., *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag*, 194. Photo: © Sijthoff-pers.

Figure 6.11. Álvaro Siza and Carlos Castanheira (seated on the sofa at the left) visiting a house of residents in the Schilderswijk. Source: Dorien Boasson, ed., *Visie Op de Stad*. (Den Haag: Uitgave Projektorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing ’s-Gravenhage, 1988), 33.

in July 1984.

Urban Renewal in *deelgebied 5*

From 10 to 12 July 1984 Siza participated in a series of meetings with the stakeholders of the *deelgebied 5* urban renewal process and visited the site. [Figure 6.11] At that time, the urban renewal of the Schilderswijk was developing, with new housing complexes being built across the district. Notwithstanding the renewal process was already in motion, Siza could still see and experience the nineteenth century urban fabric and how it generated a particular spatial system and atmosphere. In fact, in the early 1980s, the urban morphology of the district was still characterized by a very dense fabric of long streets delimited by continuous façades, chiefly made out of the speculative housing type developed in the late nineteenth century. [Figure 6.12] This experience would eventually be influential for Siza's revision of the existing plan for the area designed by the city's urban design department.

In effect, before Siza's arrival, the city's *dienst Stadsontwikkeling* (DSO, Service for Urban Design) had already designed three versions of the plan for the *deelgebied 5*. [Figure 6.13] In these versions, the existing buildings in the area were doomed for demolition. Moreover, the nineteenth century urban fabric would be dismantled with the amalgamation of the narrow blocks and the introduction of streets perpendicular to the original predominant direction. In the first version of the plan, the most outstanding transformation affected the morphology of the blocks, which were now mainly defined as perimeter blocks with shared courtyards. Typological variations were introduced in two blocks with the inclusion of row housing combined with apartment buildings. In the second version of the plan, a generous open space was introduced, which clearly attempted to create a more balanced relation between the built area and the public open spaces, almost inexistent in the old urban fabric. In a third version of the plan, the surface of the big square was divided in two and redistributed along the area. Though smaller, in this version more blocks and more open spaces were created, thus contributing to an even more dramatic change of the old street profile. Further, the row houses, which had been included in the last two versions of the plan, disappeared; the typological diversity of the plan was thus reduced to a minimum.

The development of the DSO's plan for the *deelgebied 5* showed a keen interest in bringing forth an alternative to the planning approach inspired by the tenets of the functional city, epitomized by the *Van Gris naar Groen* plan, mentioned above. Instead of a blunt break with the nineteenth century urban fabric, the DSO plan attempted to articulate the new buildings proposed with the morphological characteristics of the neighbourhood. However,

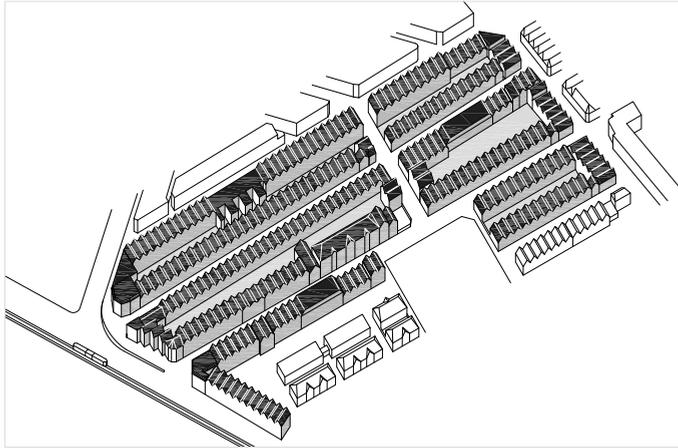


Figure 6.12. Axonometric view of the existing situation of the deelgebied 5 in the late 1970s (above). Rembrandtstraat, as an example of the endless streets of the Schilderswijk neighbourhood (below). Source: Author's drawing (above); Den Haag Fotoarchief Gemeentewerken (below).

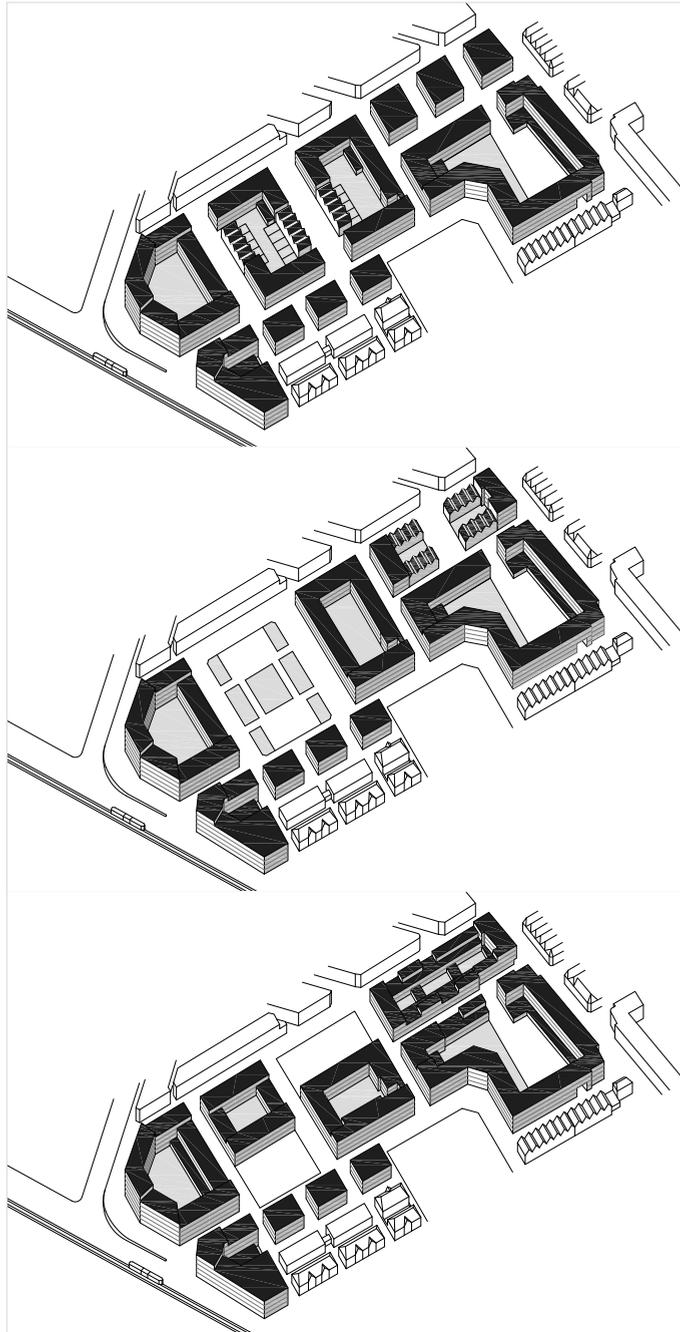


Figure 6.13. Den Haag DSO, (Service for Urban Design) - Re-development Plan Rochussenstraat e.o. (deelgebied 5) - Three versions of the plan (1984). Source: Author's drawing.

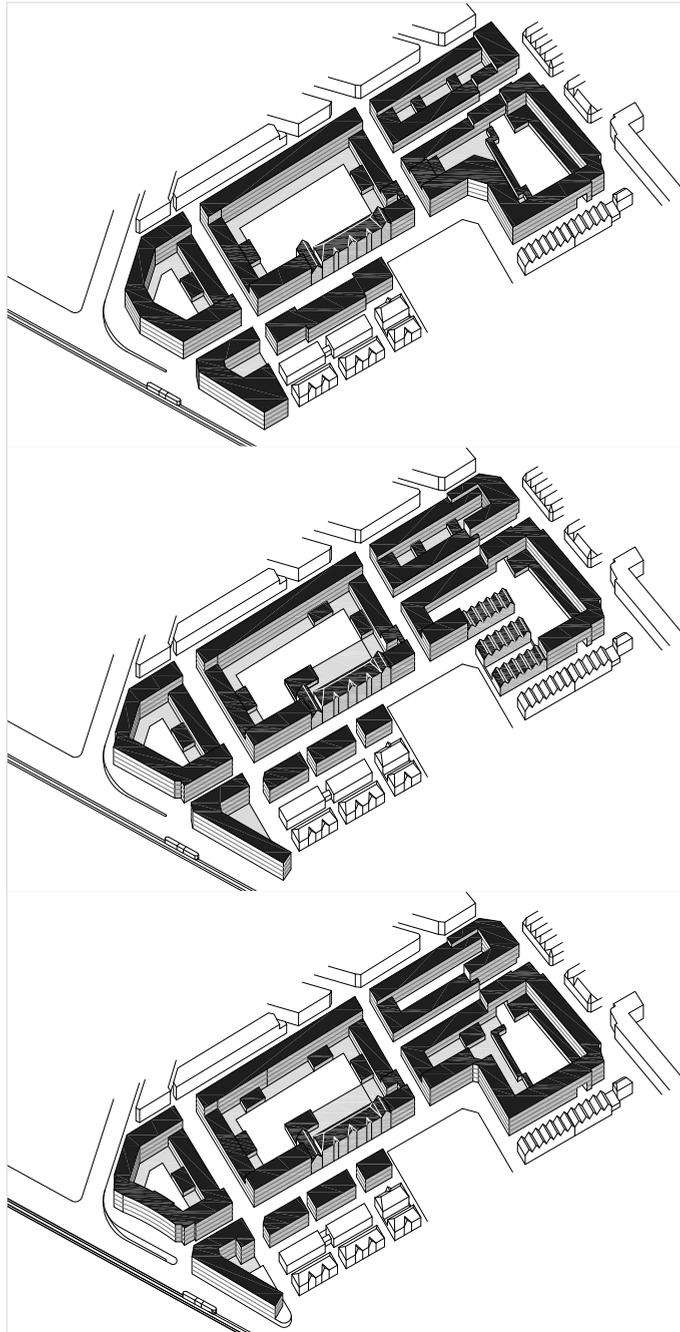


Figure 6.14. Álvaro Siza with Carlos Castanheira - Re-develept Plan Rochussentraat e.o. (deelgebied 5) - Three versions of the plan (1984-1985). Source: Author's drawing.

the typological approach resonated with the premises of the 1979 *Structuurschets Schilderswijk*, thus deliberately challenging the nature of the existing open spaces, first and foremost the character of the street. In any event, the new open spaces introduced in the plan suggested the prevalence of a concern with circulation, hygiene and ventilation in the design of the new blocks, which went as far as to propose the demolition of all buildings in the plan's area and their replacement with new housing complexes, including new dwelling types. Hence, though with a different morphological approach, in the DSO's plan there were still many aspects of the 1960s technocratic approach to urban renewal, thus failing to cope with Adri Duivesteijn's commitment with overcoming the technocratic practices of the past. When Siza took over the development of the plan, he strived to overcome the tendency to erase the remnants of the past and, instead, use them as catalysts for his architectural operation.

6.3•Participation and Collectivity

Siza's architectural approach was triggered by his keen interest in emphasizing the importance of collective memory, as bluntly demonstrated through his rejection of the *tabula rasa* approach in projects such as the S. Victor SAAL process and the IBA-Berlin, for example. Hence, when he was commissioned with the revision of *deelgebied 5's* plan, he strived to make sense of the need for social and physical betterment with an approach that aimed at preserving the area's spatial qualities. In Siza's design approach, one of the fundamental contributions to achieve that goal was an engagement with the neighbourhood and with its residents that went beyond a mere bureaucratic approach. Siza's approach, however, contrasted with the methods used hitherto by the other designers involved in design decision-making in the neighbourhood.

Resisting Obliteration

According to Liesbeth Alferink, when Siza arrived in The Hague in July 1984, the local technicians, residents and policy makers were somewhat sceptical about his ability and commitment to collaborate with them in finding a solution for the area. Nevertheless, as soon as he started his first explorations in the district, their worries disappeared. "For the first time in years", Alferink comments, "I met an architect who gave importance to home visits. A dozen home visits to people from diverse cultures, both in the old and in the new buildings, gave Siza an insight on what people really thought and aimed." And she added, "his genuine interest in the neighbourhood and its residents broke the ice."³⁹ Siza saw the residents as his interlocutors, instead of the municipality or the housing corporation. The press spoke of witchcraft, Alferink notes. Hence, Siza's novel attitude

39. "Liesbeth Alferink, Projectleider Stadsvernieuwing," in Boasson, *Visie Op de Stad*, 16.

towards the residents convinced not only the media but also the stakeholders of the Schilderswijk's plan of the benefits brought about by his collaboration in the district's urban renewal.

Siza's concept of participatory processes, however, did not fall prey to an uncritical accommodation of the stakeholders' wishes. This would soon become evident in his first revision of the DSO's plan for the *deelgebied 5*, which was fundamentally nurtured by a sensibility to the Schilderswijk's urban morphology. In effect, the plan highlighted the importance of the street profile to define the area's character and atmosphere, underpinning a link with its foundations and history. Siza was thus critical about some options of the DSO's plan for the *deelgebied 5*, specially the pervasive demolitions planned and the disregard for the morphological characteristics of the existing urban fabric. Siza resisted the obliteration of the traces of the past and criticized this typical token of a technocratic approach to urban renewal, arguing, "I do not believe one should break down everything just because you think that you can create something better." And he went on arguing that "it is important to have references, the old is also the support for what you create anew. If we want to deliver something with high quality, we cannot start from the zero." Moreover, he went further contending, "if we tear down everything, we throw away the physical identification of the district's soul."⁴⁰ Hence, Siza revised the plan in order to preserve as much buildings as possible, thus emphasizing the importance of establishing a dialectical relation with reality "as found". [Figure 6.14]

Collective Memory

In the Jacob Marisstraat, for example, Siza revised the plan so that the buildings could preserve the vernacular street profile and atmosphere. [Figure 6.15] Moreover, Siza suggested that some existing houses and the school, in the Van Ravesteinstraat, should be also preserved. These decisions faced some resistance and tensions, though. Problems related with traffic and parking, with maintenance of old buildings and even with the preservation of the school became important discussion topics. Regarding the school, for example, the residents had already accepted its relocation in a new building outside the *deelgebied 5*. According to Dorien Boasson, however, Siza considered absurd the decision to demolish a building with good quality, especially because there was room for its rehabilitation. In this case, with the arguments of all sides confronted, the participants finally agreed with Siza's suggestion, and the school building was integrated in the plan. The existing houses were nevertheless object of further technical examination and deemed unsuitable for preservation. Ironically, then, after two decades resisting demolition, the working class houses of the *deelgebied 5* could not resist further and would have to be demolished. [Figure 6.16]

40. "Alvaro Siza, Architect," in *ibid.*, 25.

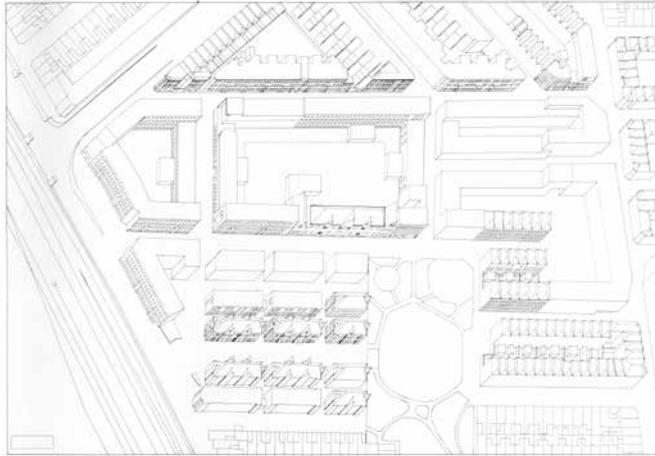


Figure 6.15. Álvaro Siza with Carlos Castanheira - Axonometry of the plan for deelbegied 5 (1984-1985) (above); Street musicians in de Jacob Marisstraat seen from the Hoefkade (1968) (below). Source: Dorien Boasson, ed., *Visie Op de Stad*, 44 (above); Haagse Beeld-bank. Photo: © Hans de Bakker (below).

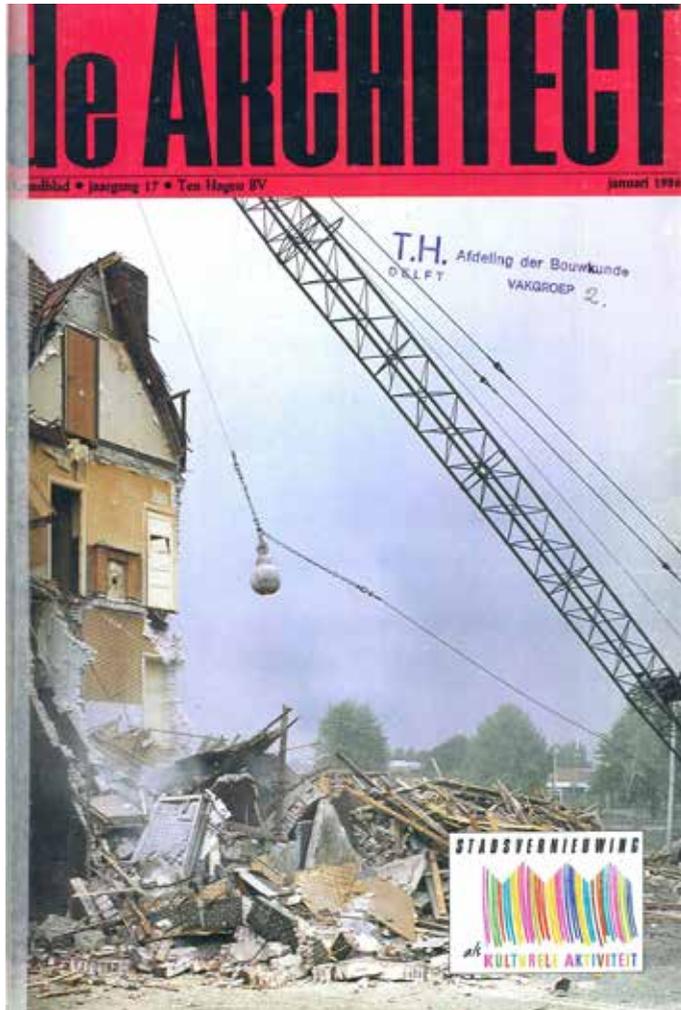


Figure 6.16. Cover of the journal *de Architect* (January 1986) dedicated to the urban renewal in The Hague.

In effect, in the final revision of the *deelgebied 5* plan, the only material reminiscence of the past was the school building. There were, however, many other elements that resisted the pervasive destruction that was typical of the technocratic approach to urban renewal. For example, the nineteenth century's long street facade, stretching in repetitive sequences of similar windows and entry porches, was recaptured and reinvigorated in Siza's plan. Moreover, a careful analysis to the plan's guidelines reveals further attempts to preserve the neighbourhood's collective memory. The guidelines clearly expressed, for example, the use of brick as the main material for the new constructions, thus preserving one of the most tangible links with local material culture. In effect, in the plan's "Indications to Designers", Siza suggests "an architecture of brick, structuring the surrounding space, composed of plain surfaces, characterized by the regular rhythms of openings."

Furthermore, Siza's praise on the repetitive character of Dutch late nineteenth and early twentieth century workers' housing, was emphasized with his deliberate interest in encouraging monotony. At any event, as Siza had it, "the plan avoids permanent variations; rather a certain 'monotony', preparing for and including episodes of design 'without limits'."⁴¹ Hence, this deliberate sameness, Siza argued, should only be challenged by distinctive features such as the *Haagse Portiek* access system, and by corner situations, both of them also deeply rooted in the local culture.

Rehabilitating the *Haagse Portiek*

The case of the discussion on his proposal for the use of the *Haagse Portiek* typology testifies to Siza's commitment with enhancing collective memory as an essential component of urban renewal. [Figure 6.17] In effect, the access system known as *Haagse Portiek* was strongly associated with the Dutch dwelling culture and with its particular form of negotiating the transition between the public and the private realms. The *Haagse Portiek*, was used in housing blocks where dwellings on different floors could have an individual and direct access from an open landing on the first floor. Its first appearance was noted in The Hague in the late nineteenth century, and it remained commonly used until the WWII. Though Siza was fully aware of the historical meaning of that typological feature, he nevertheless suggested recuperating this access system to accommodate the residents' aspiration to have an independent connection with the public space. [Figure 6.18] Curiously enough, they first reacted negatively on the grounds that it was associated with an old housing type, and they expected something that resonated with modernity. The other stakeholders in the process followed in the same vein. To be sure, the residents, the developer, and even some technicians involved in the process, had a preconception

41. Álvaro Siza, "Plan of Zone 5 of Schilderswijk Centrum," 1985, De Punt en de Komma - 106 woningen in Deelgebied 5 - Folder 1, Alvaro Siza Archive. A summary of the plan's report can be read, in Italian, in Álvaro Siza, "Il Piano per la Zona 5: Direttive e Suggestimenti," *Casabella*, no. 538 (September 1987): 9.

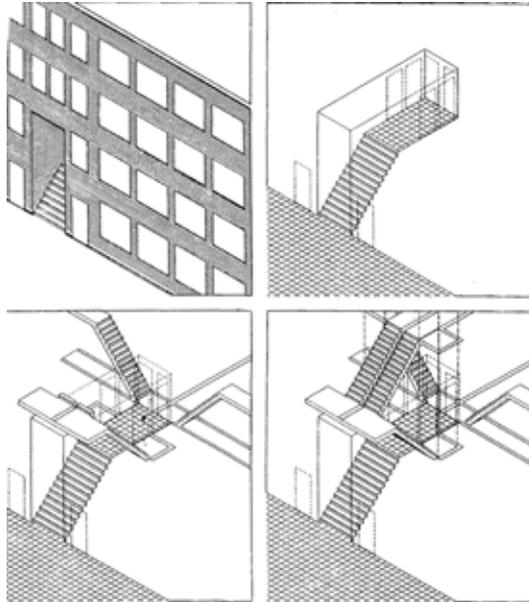
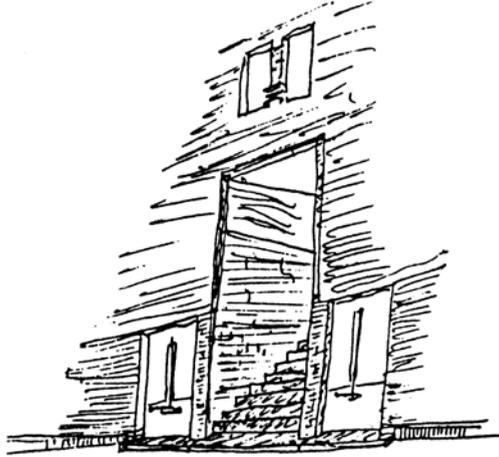


Figure 6.17. Álvaro Siza - Sketch of the Haags Portiek (above); final version for the adaptation of the Haagse Portiek system in the *deelgebied 5* plan (below). Source: Álvaro Siza, *City Sketches / Stadtskizzen / Desenhos Urbanos*, ed. Brigitte Fleck, 1st ed. (Birkhäuser, 1994), 54 (above); *Domus* 705 (May 1989), 30 (below).



Figure 6.18. Frans Halsstraat seen from the Jacob Marisstraat. Source: Haagse Beeldbank. Photo: © Dienst voor de Stadsontwikkeling.

on preserving existing buildings and vernacular references. It was seen as a reactionary attitude, an old-fashioned approach, and a conservative outlook.⁴² Siza, however, considered this attitude as constructed by mere prejudice and not by an informed account on the qualities and challenges of the system. He then decided to deconstruct this unfounded opposition. “I explained in detail how [with this system] people could have their own front door and how they could control the access to the building”.⁴³ Siza further clarified the reasoning behind the typological choice of the *Haagse Portiek*:

I realized that the traditional “portico”-type responded very well to the requirements and wishes of the representatives of the local community, and also to a whole series of insecurity problems that existed in the area. People were very reluctant to accept collective accesses - galleries of vertical accesses - so I thought the best thing will be that every dwelling should have its own, and this typology allows it.⁴⁴

Eventually Siza managed to engage the residents in his argument showing the advantages of that access system. Then, when the project’s client - the housing corporation - contested the use of the *Haagse Portiek* on grounds that it created security problems, the residents themselves joined forces with Siza to pass the solution through.

The discussion on the *Haagse Portiek* thus illustrates the ambivalence of Siza’s design decision-making process, dwelling on the threshold that separates populism and autonomy, or in other words, between designing *what* people want or designing *for* the people. At any rate, however, the evolution of the design decisions on the *deelgebied 5*’s plan, illustrates Siza’s resistance to the effacement of collective memory. Further, it shows the concomitant use of local culture as part and parcel of a design strategy aimed at overcoming uprootedness. This architectural approach resonates, I would suggest, with a position where the expert performs a mediatory role between the social and the personal, as Bauman argued in *Modernity and Ambivalence*. However, it goes beyond performing a mere liberating role, socializing individual expectations and anxieties. In fact, on the one hand the will to order of the welfare state urban renewal policy is countered by design decisions that accommodate contingency and tensions. Yet, on the other hand, the design decision-making process is chiefly determined by a disciplinary approach to the project that is more than a mere translation or mediation of individual needs. Hence, I would suggest, in the development of the *deelgebied 5* plan, Siza overcomes the binary polarity between a technocratic well-ordered regiment and a populist well-serviced supermarket, brought forth by Tzonis and Lefaivre. This ambivalence would be further explored in the design decision-making process of the dwelling’s layout.

42. This was reported to me by Álvaro Siza in an interview given on 24 May 2012. Siza was keen in bridging the gap between tradition and modernity and argued that he was critical on those who thought habits could simply be changed by decree or project.

43. “Álvaro Siza, Architect,” in Boasson, *Visie Op de Stad*, 25.

44. Álvaro Siza, quoted in Barbieri, “Álvaro Siza Vieira. Due Isolati Residenziali, L’Aia,” 31.

6.4• Design and Meaningful Communication

Though, as discussed above, a group of residents had actively participated in the debate on *deelgebied 5*'s plan principles, their engagement became more conspicuous in the design decisions related with *Punt en Komma* dwellings' layout. An important contribution for this, I would argue, should be credited to the use of a Spatial Development Laboratory (*Ruimtelijk Ontwikkelings Laboratorium*, ROL) in the design process.

ROL(e) Playing Games

The history of the use of the ROL in design decision-making processes is inextricably linked with the paradigm shift in urban renewal programmes in the Netherlands. Following the shortcomings of the welfare state architecture in the late 1960s, the Dutch governmental and municipal authorities decided to involve the population in the debate on housing. Inspired by this new approach to housing policies, in the early 1970s a group of architects decided to plan an exhibition of the new housing estates to be built in Amsterdam, showing full-scale mock-ups of the "houses of the future."⁴⁵ This exhibition was meant to become the background against which a permanent debate on housing would ensue. Though the exhibition was never implemented, Amsterdam's municipal office for housing took advantage of the idea of creating a system to build quickly and inexpensively full-scale models of the apartments designed for their new social housing estates.

The system was based on plywood modular components with chipboard frame. The modular system used components varying in series of 10 cm from the 10x10x10cm basic unit to the 60x40x20cm main unit. The system was assembled with plastic pipes inserted into the holes opened up on the top and bottom of the wooden modules. [Figure 6.19] The models built with this system could integrate window frames and doors, as well as furniture and household appliances to create a more realistic experience of the tested dwelling unit, and thus receive a thoughtful feedback on its properties. At a time of intense and vivid social engagement in challenging the power relations established by the welfare state, with a special focus in urban renewal policies ensuing, the ROL became a success among the institutional stakeholders interested in housing issues.

In effect, according to Cort Ross Dinesen, the capacity of Dutch democracy to integrate protest movements into political life should be credited as a major component of ROL's success.⁴⁶ To be sure, soon most of the major cities in The Netherlands would have their own ROL and use it to involve the residents in the design decision-making process. At any rate, the models

45. Max Risselada and Henk Engel, respectively emeritus professor and associate professor at the Faculty of Architecture at Delft University of Technology, in a conversation with the author held in October 2013, claimed this initiative was lead by Ernst Laddé, then an assistant professor in the chair of Jo van den Broek at the same faculty.

46. Cort Ross Dinesen, "Boliglaboratorier I Holland," *Arkitekten* 1982, no. 15 (1982): 306. Original in Danish. Translated into English by the author.

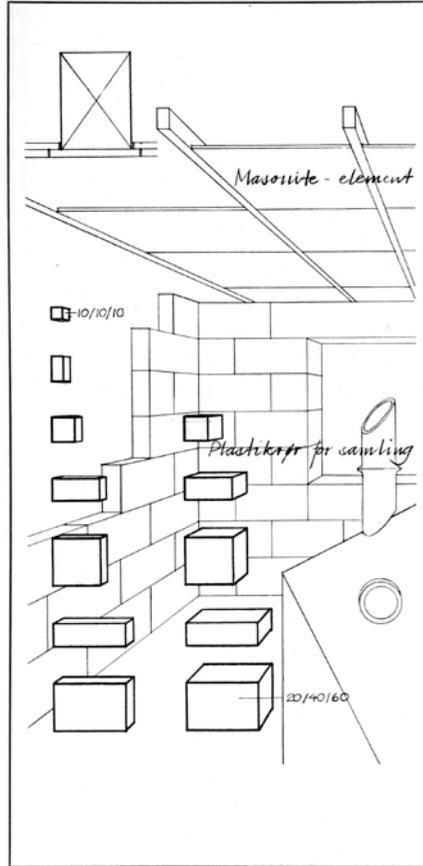


Figure 6.19. Schematic diagram of the elements for building housing models at the ROL. Source: *Arkitekten* 15 (1982), 307.

Figure 6.20. Image from the booklet 'Bewoners in het Ontwerpteam' (Residents in the design team) published by Amsterdam's Municipal Housing Department. Source: *Arkitekten* 15 (1982), 306.

built in the ROLs, Dinesen contends, served two purposes: as a simulation of the dwelling and as a method of communication with users.⁴⁷ Using this system, the architect's design becomes more tangible and thus enhances residents' feedback grounded on a concrete spatial experience, with an open attitude where everybody can express their outlook and opinion on the layout of the dwellings, and contribute to fine-tune the design. [Figure 6.20] The importance of this experiment was such that a ROL was built in the Faculty of Architecture at Delft University of Technology to be used as a pedagogical tool for students' experiments on housing design. Traditional disciplinary tools, such as drawings and scaled models, were thus complemented with a system that provided students and non-professionals with the possibility of having a three dimensional experience of the dwelling. [Figure 6.21]

Building a Home

Following the lead of Amsterdam, the department of urban renewal at The Hague's municipality also created a ROL which eventually was used to discuss and develop the layout of the dwellings for the *Punt en Komma* complex. On 24 January 1985, Siza and several technicians involved in the project travelled to the ROL to meet with the group *Bouwen in 5*, an association of residents in Schilderswijk's *deelgebied 5*. The goal of the working day at the ROL was to assess the qualities and problems of a floor plan for a housing complex located at the Rembrandtstraat, elsewhere in the Schilderswijk district, developed by the same client, the housing corporation 's-Gravenhage.

In the meeting's introduction, Siza highlighted the need to understand the way people live as the basis for a research aimed at improving it. He further noted the absence of foreign residents in the meeting, and stressed the importance of receiving contributions from all the different groups of residents from the *deelgebied 5*. In fact, according to Siza, "the aim is to develop a plan that can be suitable for both Dutch and foreign residents."⁴⁸ Many critiques and suggestions were made after experiencing the mock-up of the dwelling. The accessibility to the kitchen, the rigidity of the partitions, the mix of sleeping and living areas, and the area and structure of the distribution zones were the most noticed remarks. [Figure 6.22] After the working session at the ROL, the participants made a summary of requirements, to be taken into account by Siza in the development of the project. Then, using his own critical assessment of the residents' review on the unit tested at the ROL workshop, Siza developed a layout proposal for the *Punt en Komma* dwellings. [Figure 6.23] There were conspicuous changes to the initial layout tested at the ROL, first and foremost the introduction of a clear distribution area and a better differentiation between the public zone (kitchen and living room) and the private zone (bedrooms and toilet).

47. Ibid., 307.

48. "Verslag van de Werkdag in Het R.O.L. Op 24 Januari 1985," January 24, 1985, De Punt e Komma, Alvaro Siza Archive. Original in Dutch, translated into English by the author.

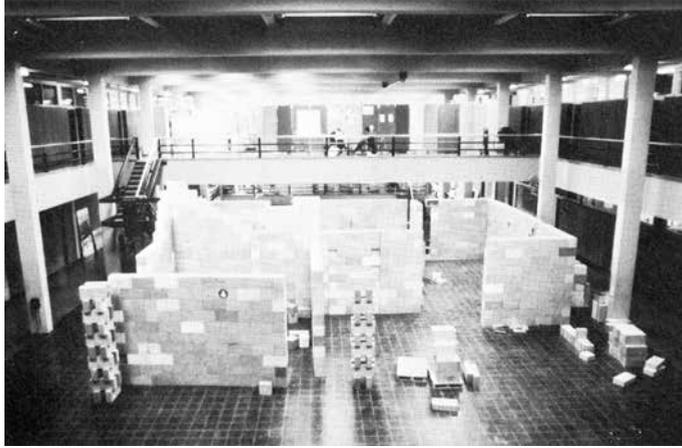
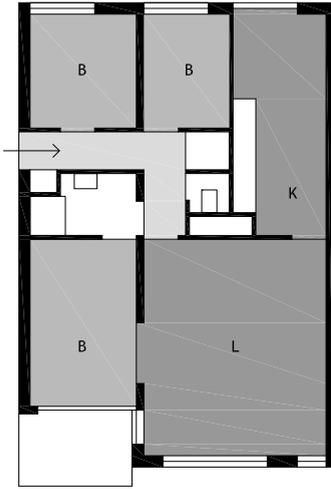
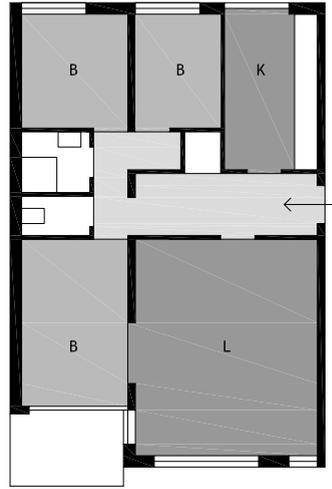


Figure 6.21. View of the ROL installed in the Faculty of Architecture at Delft University of Technology. Source: *Arkitekten* 15 (1982), 308.

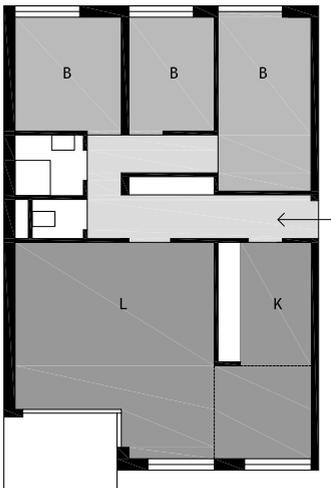
Figure 6.22. Siza in conversation with participants in the first workshop at the ROL on 24 January 1985. Source: Gemeentelijke Dienst (SO|GZ), *Herindelingsplan Rochussenstraat e.o.*, May 1985, 29.



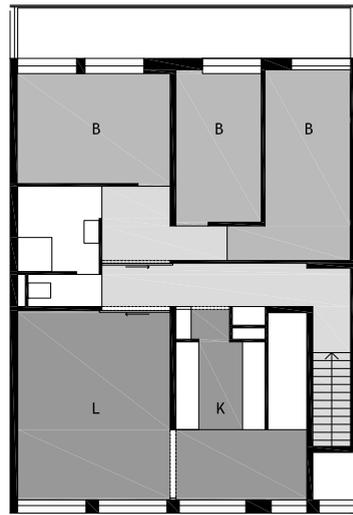
1st version



2nd version



3rd version



4th version



Figure 6.23. Evolution of the dwelling plan after the ROL workshop; 1st version: Plan developed for the '444' housing complex; 2nd and 3rd versions: Initial versions of the plan for the *Punt en Komma* buildings as developed by Álvaro Siza and the participants in the ROL workshop; 4th version: third floor of the final layout. Source: author's drawing.

Hence, the layout showed on the street side a larger living room with a semi-open kitchen next to it; the bedrooms were placed on the courtyard side of the building. These two sectors were articulated by a system of double distribution in U shape, divided by a closet, and connecting all partitions.

Activating Participation

In a preliminary proposal for the project's development, written in March 1985, the group *Bouwen in 5* issued a list of principles they accounted essential for a smooth relation between the different stakeholders.⁴⁹ Among these principles, the issue of the communication between the architect and the residents was also addressed. They suggested "the architects should, as far as possible, use spatial methods of representation: isometrics, perspective drawings, models, photomontages and so on."⁵⁰ In effect, on 22 April 1985, the same group, together with other associations of *deelgebied 5* residents, distributed a document with the title *Bewonersparticipatie: Nu en in de toekomst* (Residents' participation: Now and in the future), where they presented several requirements for an effective and fruitful participation of the residents in the design decision-making process. Among these requirements, the ROL workshops were considered an important component of a design process aimed at "building a home and not just a house."⁵¹

Hence, over the following months several working days were organized at the ROL to discuss the floor plan of the dwellings. On 11 July 1985, a working day with eleven Turkish residents was held at the ROL housed in TU Delft's Faculty of Architecture.⁵² In his introduction to the meeting, Jacques Poot, the residents' expert, emphasized the importance of having the foreign residents involved in the process, as they represented approximately half of the population living in the *deelgebied 5*. However, as Siza had remarked some months earlier, Poot similarly contended that it "must be kept in mind that the houses should be suitable for all populations, and not specifically for foreign residents."⁵³ After the working day at the ROL, the report of the assessment made by the Turkish residents underlined their good acceptance of the dwelling layout, specially the flexibility of the plan, and the clear separation between living and sleeping areas, as well as their position in the building: the living room on the street side and the bedrooms on the courtyard side. [Figure 6.24] The surface area of some partitions was criticized as well as the location of the kitchen and bathroom appliances. Interestingly, the author of the report noted it was remarkable the detailed reactions on the plan made by the Turkish residents. Even though it was completely new to them, they showed interest as if it was their own home, the report stated. The importance of having a full-scale model instead of drawings was seen as instrumental, and the conclusion was thus clear and prosaic:

49. From the spring of 1985 on, two teams were created to follow the development of the project. One was focused on the organizational part of the process and the other in the actual design process. In the latter, next to the architects and the representatives of the housing corporation, were also included the future residents, supported by members of the residents group *Bouwen in 5*, and aided by an external expert.

50. *Bouwen in 5*, "Voorlopig Voorstel Voor de Werkwijze Tijdens de Bouwplanontwikkeling," March 1985, De Punt e Komma, Alvaro Siza Archive. Original in Dutch, translated into English by the author.

51. *Bouwen in 5*, *Bewonersoverleg deelgebied 5*, and *Opbouwwerk 5*, "Bewonersparticipatie. Nu En in de Toekomst," April 22, 1985, De Punt e Komma, Alvaro Siza Archive. Original in Dutch, translated into English by the author.

52. According to the report of this working day, the representatives of the Turkish community were all male.

53. "Verslag van de Werkdag in Het R.O.L. van de TH-Delft Met Turkse Bewoners," July 4, 1985, De Punt e Komma, Alvaro Siza Archive. Original in Dutch, translated into English by the author.

“working in this way is therefore very valuable.”

Accommodating Heterogeneity

On 6 September 1985 the members of the project’s *bouwteam* (construction team) visited The Hague’s municipal ROL, in Scheveningen, and changed on the spot some parts of the model of *Punt en Komma*’s typical ground floor dwelling, which had been discussed in the *bouwteam*’s meeting held on the previous day. On the next day, 7 September, the neighbourhood office *de Hoefeiser* (The Horseshoe) organized a visit to the ROL with residents of the *deelgebied 5* to experience and discuss the full-scale mock-up of the dwelling. About thirty residents were present, among which half were foreigners, all male, mostly of Turkish origin. This was a fundamental test to check the extent to which Siza’s initial goal of designing a dwelling able to accommodate different cultural backgrounds had been successfully accomplished or not.

There was a broad appraisal on the general layout of the dwelling but the participants in the workshop made also critical remarks. The group of foreign residents suggested the living room and the entrance hallway should be bigger. The sliding door to the master bedroom was criticized and they proposed the toilet should be placed closer to the entrance and distant from the living room. The review of the group of Dutch residents mentioned mostly the same, except the criticism on the sliding door to the master bedroom. The critique on the position of the balconies was also unanimous. Both groups agreed that it would be better to have the balcony next to the living room or next to the kitchen/dinning room, facing the street. Siza agreed to review the plan in order to enlarge the living room and the entrance hallway but argued the position of the balconies facing the courtyard side was a better solution, on grounds of having more privacy, less noise, odours, and nuisances and offering the possibility to dry the laundry and even prepare food.⁵⁴ Eventually, whenever structurally possible and conceptually plausible, the final layout of the dwellings accommodated most of the feedback of the residents.

At any rate, the ROL workshops thus proved to be a successful venture fostering the involvement of the residents in the design process and their engagement with the district’s urban renewal. The work session at the ROL held on 7 September 1985 can be seen as a good example of this. This session was filmed and a short video commented in Dutch, Turkish and Moroccan was exhibited at local coffee houses and at the neighbourhood’s office *de Hoefeiser*. [Figure 6.25] Hence, even those who had not participated in the ROL workshop, all the foreign women, for example, could be informed about the development of the process. According to Dorien Boasson, “this way of working gave residents the opportunity to think actively about the plan,

54. “Verslag van de Excursie Naar Het R.O.L. Te Scheveningen Op 7 September 1985 Georganiseerd Vanuit Buurtwinkel ‘de Hoefeiser’ Voor Bewoners Uit Deelgebied 5.” September 7, 1985, De Punt e Komma, Alvaro Siza Archive. Original in Dutch, translated into English by the author.



Figure 6.25. Video stills of the excursion to the ROL with the residents of deelgebied 5 on 7 September 1985. Source: Adapted from Ruimtelijk Ontwikkelings Laboratorium (ROL), *Excursie bewoners Schilderswijk naar het ROL*, VHS, 1986 (Haags Gemeentearchief).

and to make reasoned changes to it.” Further, she argues, with this initiative “the involvement in the construction plan has significantly increased.”⁵⁵

In fact, as mentioned above, the final version of the dwelling’s layout designed by Siza, would be noticeably based on the decisions made in the ROL workshop with the participants. An important development was the introduction of sliding doors to allow several possibilities of spatial articulation between the kitchen, the living room and the hallway. This flexibility was instrumental in creating a layout that could accommodate the different lifestyles, and the diverse cultural, religious and even ethnic background of the future users. [Figure 6.26] To be sure, Siza contended that he struggled to avoid a culture-specific solution in the design of the dwellings, as that would increase the latent ethnic tension. The Schilderswijk, Siza claimed, “is a very interesting, fascinating milieu. But there are here and there signs of racism. It’s just difficult that all these people blend together so suddenly. It takes time to emerge from it a great community. Hence, conflicts are inevitable.”⁵⁶ Siza identifies in this potential conflictive setting a major disciplinary challenge: How to design houses that are suitable for families with such different cultural backgrounds and diverse lifestyles? From his experience with participatory meetings in the Schilderswijk, Siza reports:

When I talked with the Dutch, they said: ‘Muslims are terrible, they hang curtains on the windows’. And one thinks about that, and then you hear: ‘Dutch families are terrible, they have such small bathrooms, and facing directly to the hall; we want large bathrooms in the bedroom area’. For them it is (a religious) tradition, to withdraw for washing. The whole point was to design apartments where all of them could meet these requirements. This led to lengthy discussions with stakeholders; [...] We ended up with innovative dwellings; well, not innovative, but the special thing about them is that there is a double distribution, which can be divided by sliding doors, and give greater privacy from the bedroom area to the living room.⁵⁷

Later, in an interview given to Ruud Ridderhof in 1994, Siza pointed out his design strategy to tackle the problem of accommodating cultural heterogeneity. In *Punt en Komma* “we had expressly tried not to build special homes (for that was one of the ideas: to build special homes for Muslims).”⁵⁸ However, Siza understood this discrimination would fail to produce social cohesion. “It was a very bad idea; the houses had to be the same, we had to find a house that satisfied everyone,” he declared. This strategy proved fruitful. “Ultimately,” Siza explains, “the consequence was that the elements added to the interior – such as the extra central space with sliding doors – were very well accepted by Dutch families.”

The contribution of the working sessions at the ROL workshops for this successful outcome cannot be overlooked. It illustrates

55. Boasson, *Visie Op de Stad*, 36. In their reflection on the process the community workers Ad Fousert and Frans van der Vaart and the residents’ expert Jacques Poot, noted that the meetings between Siza and the residents (both the Dutch and the so-called foreigners) to decide on the dwelling plan were a success. According to them, the residents felt that they could have room for self-determination in the decisions concerned with the dwellings they would eventually inhabit. See “Ad Fousert, Frans van der Vaart – opbouwwerkers; Jacques Poot – bewonersdeskundige,” in *ibid.*, 31–32.

56. Rainer Franke and Bernd Wensch, “Alvaro Siza Haus. Interview with Alvaro Siza,” *Bauwelt* 81, no. 29/30 (August 10, 1990): 1490. Original in German, translated into English by the author.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Ruud Ridderhof, “‘You Cannot Impose an Imaginary History on the City’.” Interview with Alvaro Siza,” in *Detachment and Involvement. Work of Alvaro Siza for the Schilderswijk Area, The Hague*, ed. Ruud Ridderhof (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1994), 40–41. The following quotes in this section were taken from the same interview.



Figure 6.26. Pictures of the living room of a dwelling in *Punt en Komma*, showing the connection with the kitchen left open and closed. Source: Jeanet Kullberg, *De punt komma in de Haagse Schilderswijk*, Rotterdam: Stuurgroep Experimenten Volkshuisvesting, 1993, 20-21.

a possibility to use specific instruments of the architecture discipline to deliver an outcome that negotiates aesthetic principles, technical constraints, political agendas, and cultural idiosyncrasies. It circumvents the shortcomings of a process of communication where the stakeholders fail to convey a meaningful message.

6.5• Crossbreeding Difference and Identity

In the two buildings designed by Siza for the area facing the railway tracks, commonly known as *Punt en Komma*, he never pursued a balance between difference and identity, between standards and distinctiveness. As in the plan, in these buildings, named after the shape of their footprint, Siza introduced a new building type that was nevertheless deeply rooted in the vernacular tradition. He defined a strict boundary between public and private thus recapturing the street as a space for social intercourse. The design of the buildings was chiefly determined by a negotiation of order and standards with contingency and individuality. As this ambivalence pervades the project, it also contributes to enhance its suggestiveness, or as Umberto Eco contended, the possibility to be performed by the users with full emotional engagement and imaginative resources.

Collectiveness and Individual Expression

In the discussion on the design decision-making process for the development of the *Punt en Komma* dwelling's layout, Siza's deliberate drive to accommodate heterogeneity succeeds in resisting the exhibition of gratuitous differences. This approach, in effect, was pervasive in all phases and components of the project. To be sure, a closer examination of the design development of the *Punt en Komma* complex testifies to this.

As discussed earlier, in the initial phase of the *deelgebied 5* plan's development, the DSO project emphasized the prominence of the corner between Vailantlaan and Parallelweg with a hexagonal polyhedron that stood up above the average height of the other volumes projected for the area. In Siza's further revisions of the plan, the height of the blocks facing the main streets (the corner between Vailantlaan and Parallelweg, Jacob Marisstraat, and Van Ravensteinstraat⁵⁹) was levelled out to four floors. This was the maximum height possible using the *Haagse Portiek* access system. Exceptions were created only in the volumes situated between the main streets, along the original location of the Rochussenstraat, where the volume was reduced to three or two floors height. Another exception to the continuity of the blocks was created in the area next to the nineteenth century housing known as *Het Fort*. In this case, the plan showed a noticeable intent to follow the morphological

59. The current name of the Ravensteinstraat is Suze Robertsonstraat.

pattern of the existing structure. [Figure 6.27]

This levelling out of the buildings' height was part and parcel of Siza's commitment with the preservation of the street as an essential device to preserve the neighbourhood's identity. This did not mean complete normalization, though. In effect, even at the scale of the plan, the volumes showed a noticeable attempt to be responsive with the situation. This was utterly expressed in the design solution for the intersection between Vailantlaan and Parallelweg, where the corners of the buildings were meticulously shaped to emphasize the transitions between the different sides. In effect, the so-called "corner issue" was a key aspect of the development of the project.

Continuities, Ruptures and Glimpses of Monumentality

After the approval of the plan and the negotiation of the dwelling layout, the hexagonal volume, known as *Punt*, was the first project to be further developed. Curiously enough, one of the most noticeable features in the initial development of the project was the opening of the corner at the intersection of Vailantlaan with Parallelweg. On the one hand, this design decision emphasizes the conflictive nature of the horizontal linking of standard dwelling units in an irregular volume. On the other hand, it invites a participation of the public realm into the courtyard, as Siza had keenly pursued in Berlin. In this case, however, the ground floor at the corner of the building was occupied by a shop, which further contributed to highlight the exceptional character of that situation. The design of this part of the building suffered many changes through the development of the project, some of them triggered by criticism coming from other stakeholders in the process. In effect, the housing corporation and the DSO technicians criticized the open corner on grounds that it exposed the block's courtyard to noise coming from the nearby railway track. Siza thus developed different possibilities to accommodate this criticism, connecting the ends of the blocks at the corner through a wall stretching their entire height and varying from expressionist curves to straightforward intersection of plans. [Figure 6.28]

After developing the *Punt*'s project, Siza was also commissioned with the project for the triangular volume next to it, in the corner between the Van Ravesteinstraat and Parallelweg. This building would become known as *Komma*, after the shape of its footprint. In the final version of Siza's plan it was noticeable the strategy of articulating this building with the *Punt* and thus define a gate to the neighbourhood through the Van Ravesteinstraat. On the opposite side of the Parallelweg, the height of the volume was reduced to relate with the volumetric characteristics of the historic housing complex *Het Fort*. At the end of the volume facing Parallelweg, the singularity of the ground floor was

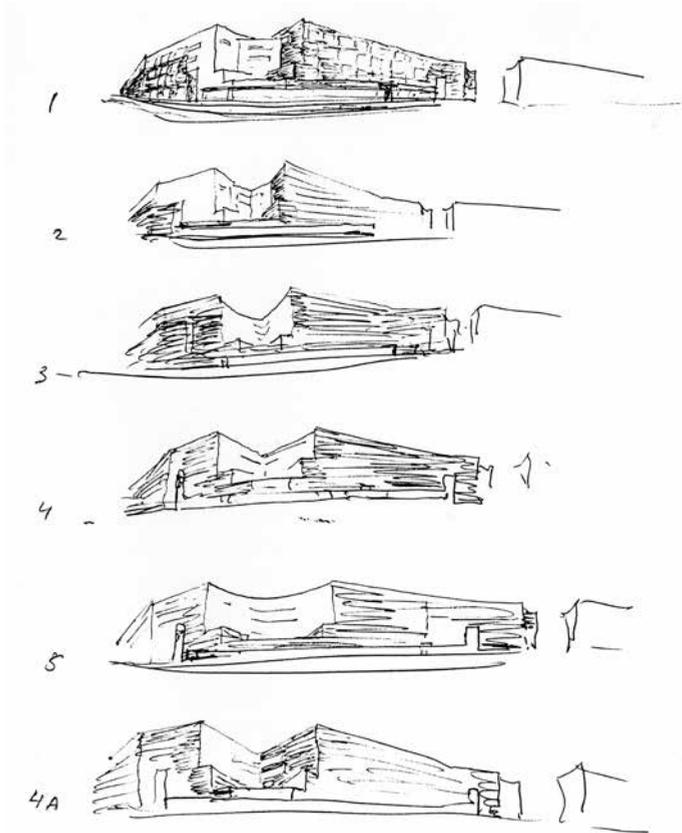


Figure 6.27. Álvaro Siza with Carlos Castanheira - Model of the plan for the deelgebied 5 (1984-1985). Source: Dorien Boasson, ed., *Visie Op de Stad*, 42.

Figure 6.28. Álvaro Siza - Sketch of different solution for the corner of *Punt* (December 1985). Source: Alvaro Siza, *City Sketches / Stadtskizzen / Desenhos Urbanos*, ed. Brigitte Fleck, 97.



Figure 6.29. Top end of *Komma* with the *Het Fort* in the background. Source: *Domus* no. 705 (May 1989): 25. Photo: © Gabriele Basilico.

Figure 6.30. View of *Punt en Komma* with the Van Ravesteinstraat in the middle. The “gate” to the neighbourhood, accentuated through facades of natural stone. Source: *de Architect* no. 12/88 (december 1988): 41. Photo: © Peter de Ruig.

emphasized both in terms of function, with a shop, and in its sheer geometrical shape. [Figure 6.29] In this case, once more, the development of the design process reveals Siza's drive to deliver a meaningful communication of a responsive account of the situation. To be sure, the definition of the volumes, as well as the materialization of the façades of both buildings, the *Punt* and the *Komma*, was meticulously designed to suggest continuities, ruptures and glimpses of monumentality such as the "gate" to the Van Ravesteinstraat. The latter was suggested through the conspicuous use of a different material, stone cladding, and a formal operation that articulates the geometry of both buildings. [Figure 6.30]

While the pervasive use of brick suggests continuity, the differences in its colour and bond were used to highlight differences. As discussed above, *Punt* and *Komma*'s façade facing the new street perpendicular to the Jacob Marisstraat and Van Ravesteinstraat, with two floors high, was lower than the rest of the complex. [Figure 6.31] The dwelling types used on this side of the buildings were also different. As an alternative to the apartment type used as standard, on this side Siza designed maisonettes with direct access from the street. This difference was further emphasized with a singular characterization of the façade, both in terms of colour as well as in its morphological definition. The design of the façade portrays, in effect, Siza's attempt to negotiate continuity with difference, standardization with identity. On the one hand, Siza designed the façades of *Punt* and *Komma* facing the main streets using a standard window frame, which contributed to accentuate continuity. This continuity was broken regularly with the *Haagse Portiek* and with the special treatment given to corner situations. At closer inspection, however, the "certain monotony" sought for by Siza was further challenged with a varied composition of the openings on the area of the façade next to the *Haagse Portiek*. [Figure 6.32]

Though Siza introduced many elements that challenged the continuity of the street façade, he keenly insisted in avoiding protruding elements. In effect, though the residents insisted in having balconies on the street side, Siza always resisted introducing them, which he saw as an alien feature in the neighbourhood. As an alternative, Siza designed loggias and balconies on the courtyard side. In effect, as opposed to the "flatness" of the street façade, the composition of the courtyard façade revealed a playful sequence of protruding and set back elements. [Figure 6.33] Whereas on the street side, the living room and kitchen operate as devices of social control of the public space, on the courtyard side, the balconies and terraces foster the creation of a sense of collectivity, and give room to claim personal ownership. Hence, on the street façade the balance between continuity and difference is produced by the formal

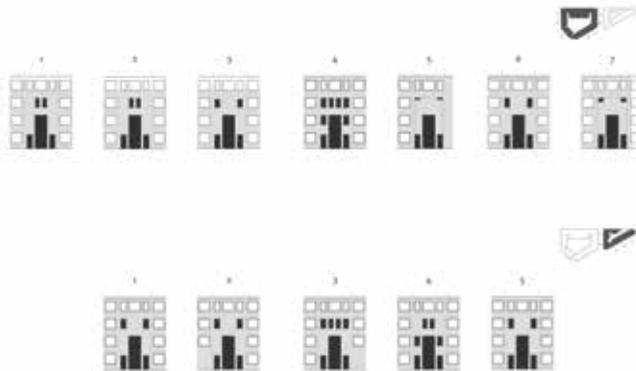


Figure 6.31. View of the corner of the Jacob Marisstraat with the new street connection with the Van Ravesteinstraat. Photo: © Nelson Mota, 2012.

Figure 6.32. The variations in the access porticos of the *Punt* (above) and the *Komma* (below). Source: Drawing by Bart van der Zalm and Wing Yung, supervised by Nelson Mota.

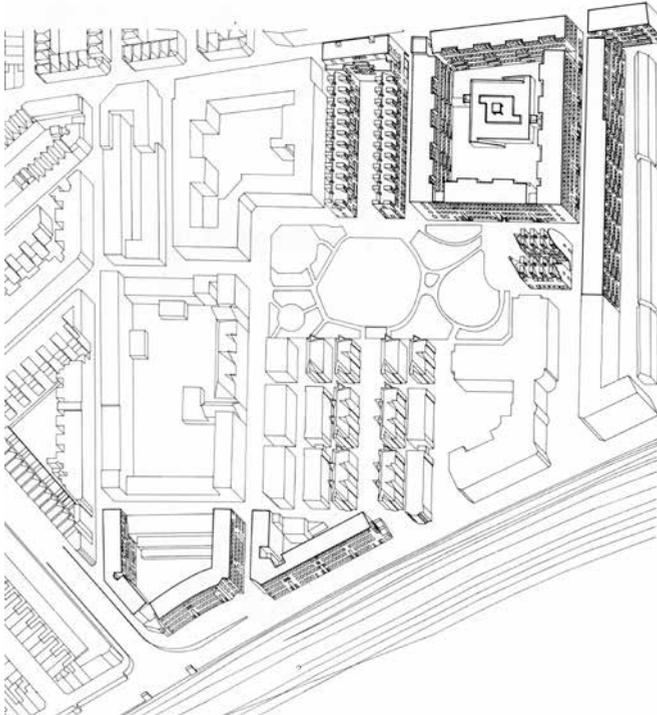


Figure 6.33. The courtyard of the *Punt*.
Photo: © Nelson Mota, 2012.

Figure 6.34. Axonometric view of the first and second phases of Álvaro Siza's interventions in the Schilderswijk. Source: Ruud Ridderhof, ed., *Detachment and Involvement*. (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1994), 12-13.

operation developed by the architect, while on the courtyard façade, the design suggests a framework to accommodate individual expression.

Repetition, Variation and Mimesis

The construction of the 106 dwellings in the *Punt* and *Komma* housing complex was complete in 1988. The plan and the buildings designed by Siza delivered an important contribute to support Adri Duivesteijn's agenda of urban renewal as a cultural activity.⁶⁰ As a follow up to that project, Siza received another commission to build a housing complex with 238 dwellings in the Schilderswijk neighbourhood. The site for the new project was located north of the *Punt* and *Komma* complex, between the Jacob van Campenplein and the Hoefkade. [Figure 6.34] The new scheme was organized in four *nuclei*, all with different typological characteristics. On the western part of the site Siza designed two blocks of row housing facing Jan Steenstraat and Doedijnstraat. On the northern side of the block of row houses, facing the Hoefkade, a busy commercial street, the project included a mix-use block, four stories high, with commercial areas on the ground floor. At the centre of the area, between Doedijnstraat and Jacob Catsstraat, there was a large perimeter block with apartments distributed in four floors. On the eastern part of the site, the project included a long slab also four floors height, and stretched along the Jacob Catsstraat with a smaller wing facing the Hoefkade. Finally, a small nucleus of eight row houses was designed for the space mediating the Jacob van Campenplein and the Jacob Catsstraat. [Figure 6.35] In this new operation there were many features imported from the project of the *Punt* and *Komma* complex. However, there were also some conspicuous differences.

60. For further accounts on Duivesteijn's project *Stadsvernieuwing als Cultureel Activiteit* (Urban Renewal as Cultural Activity), see Andries van Wijngaarden and Bert Strötbaum, "Uit de Praktijk van de Haagse Stadsvernieuwing. Een Reactie Op de Culturele Revolutie van Adri Duivesteijn," *De Architect* 17, no. 03/86 (March 1986): 23–27; Cees Zwinkels, "Wethouder Adri Duivesteijn Op Zoek Naar Het Buurtkarakteristieke," *De Architect* 17, no. 01/86 (January 1986): 28–33; Hans van Dijk, Rob de Graaf, and Adri Duivesteijn, "'De Architecten Die Wij Zoeken Volgen Geen Stromingen Na: Zij Vertegenwoordigen Zelf Een Opvatting'. Een Vraaggesprek Met Adri Duivesteijn," *Archis*, no. 5–88 (May 1988): 8–11.

61. In an interview given to Ruud Ridderhof in 1994, Siza asserts that "during the project for the Doedijnstraat I never heard of any residents' meetings. They had disappeared; they no longer existed. [...] There was no longer a dialogue." The interview can be seen in Ridderhof, "'You Cannot Impose an Imaginary History on the City'. Interview with Alvaro Siza."

The outcome of the *Punt en Komma* project was strongly determined by the participation of residents in the design decision-making process. In this new process, however, citizens' participation virtually disappeared.⁶¹ Many of the principles developed for the earlier project were nevertheless transported to the new one. The blocks built along the Jacob Catsstraat utterly emphasize Siza's interest in reinvigorating the character of the streets observed in the neighbourhood's *antebellum* urban fabric. [Figure 6.36] Furthermore, the *Haagse Portiek* was used again in most of the blocks included in the new housing complex, thus determining four floors as the prevalent height of the buildings. There were some changes in the demographics of the area. The future residents of the new development were predominately from Turkish or Moroccan origin or descent. The layout of *Punt* and *Komma*'s typical dwelling was nevertheless reproduced, preserving the fundamental division between the daytime area (living room and kitchen) and the sleeping area, articulated by the widely praised double circulation system. [Figure 6.37]



Figure 6.35. Álvaro Siza - general plan for the Doedijnstraat e.o. housing complex, December 1989. Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

Figure 6.36. Block A between Hoefkade to the north, and Jacob Catsstraat, to the west. Source: Álvaro Siza and Marc Dubois, *Álvaro Siza: Inside the City* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1998), 67. Photos: © Lorenzo Mussi.



Figure 6.37. Typical dwelling layout in the perimeter block. Source: Ruud Ridderhof, ed., *Detachment and Involvement*, (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1994), 19.

In the apartment blocks, the fundamental features in the composition of the façades remained. Hence, on the street façade long stretches of the same window frame define a uniform sequence of repetitive elements only broken with the rhythmic introduction of the *Haagse Portiek*. In this case, however, the conspicuous differentiation strategies used in the *Punt en Komma* complex were considerably reduced. In effect, the mix of colours, brick bonds, corner solutions and compositional variations of the common accesses was flattened out in the apartment buildings. Nevertheless, this was seemingly compensated by the variations introduced by the two groups of row houses. On the one hand, Siza's design for this building type shows an attempt to reproduce vernacular references, championing banality as an expression of engagement with the neighbourhood's material culture. On the other hand, the end gables of the row housing blocks, facing the Jacob van Campenplein, were deliberately manipulated and even distorted to convey signs and markers aiming at relating the new construction with the Dutch vernacular tradition. [Figure 6.38]

A similar ambivalent approach was pursued in a smaller project designed by Siza for another location in the Schilderswijk district. In the complex of two houses and two shops built at the Van der Vennestraat, Siza shows an outspoken expression of his design bravura conflating two architectural languages that lived hitherto detached. [Figure 6.39] In effect, Siza brings together idiomatic expressions of the two major Dutch contributions for architectural modernism, namely the expressionism of the Amsterdam school and the functionalism of the *Nieuwe Bouwen*. However, as Umberto Barbieri noted, "he has adopted his own 'personal' idiom. His is a poetics which is unaffected by the site and by the architectural tradition in Holland, both of which are interpreted and mediated within a typically 'Sizian' world of signs and images."⁶² In any case, while Barbieri stressed the didactic character of Siza's work, another critic interpreted the project's blunt exhibition of ambiguity as an ironic commentary on Dutch housing.⁶³

The ambivalence and ambiguity of Siza's architectural operations in The Hague are further stressed by an architectural approach that simultaneously deploys tokens of engagement and estrangement. The typological engagement with the Dutch vernacular tradition is boldly suggested with the use of brickwork, the *Haagse Portiek*, and even with the ironical use of the gables in the Jacob van Campenplein. In other situations, however, Siza deliberately challenges the meaningfulness of these signs and images introducing foreign typological elements such as the arcade, and an alien material such as the stone cladding. [Figure 6.40] This interplay between familiarity and strangeness thus becomes a token of Siza's use of expertise to deliver an ambivalent approach. This approach thus challenges Bauman's idea of the expert as a vehicle for the socialisation

62. Umberto Barbieri, "Alvaro Siza. Edificio per Abitazioni con Negocio e Bar, L'Aia," *Domus*, no. 696 (August 1988): 30.

63. Cees Zwinkels, "Alvaro Siza Geeft Ironisch Commentaar Op Nederlandse Woningbouw," *De Architect* 19, no. 08–88 (August 1988): 48–51.

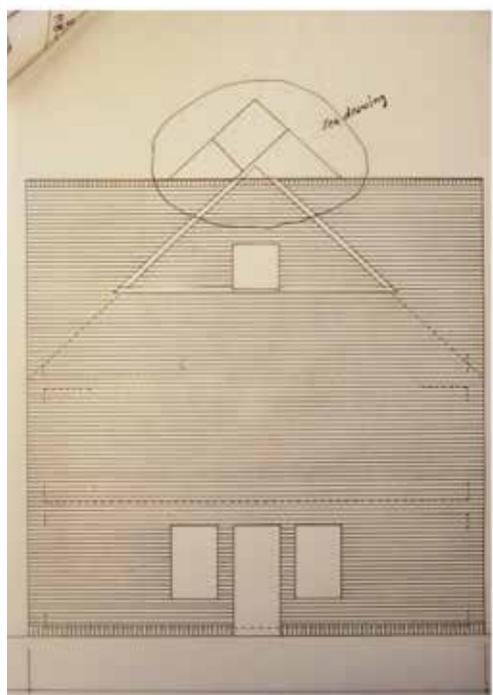
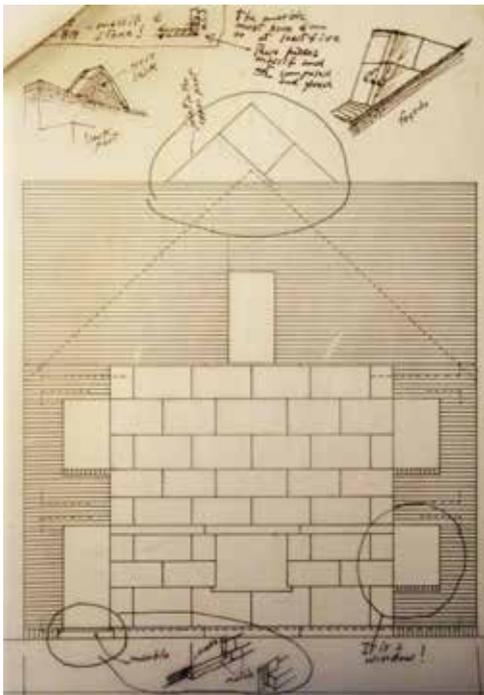
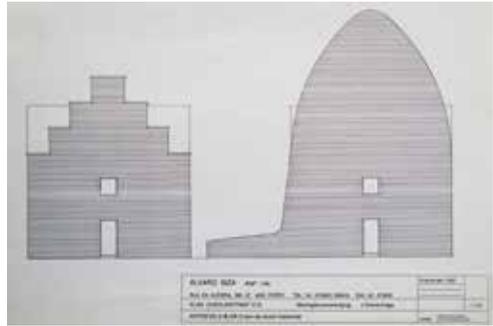
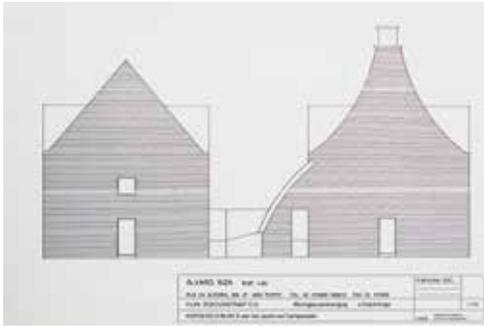


Figure 6.38. Elevations of the gables in the row-housing blocks. Preliminary version (above) and final version (below). Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photos: © Nelson Mota.



Figure 6.39. Álvaro Siza with Carlos Castanheira - Two houses and two shops in the Van der Vennestraat. Photos: © Nelson Mota, 2012.

Figure 6.40. View of the Hoefkade with the new housing complex designed by Álvaro Siza with Carlos Castanheira. Photos: © Nelson Mota, 2012.

of individual expectations, and goes beyond performing a mere liberating role providing individuals an escape from uncertainty.

Ambivalence and Ambiguity

Siza's projects for the urban renewal of the Schilderswijk challenged a straightforward monolithic reception. They suggested multiple readings and interpretations, and triggered contrasting accounts and reviews. The *Punt* and *Komma* complex, for example, was classified as "arbitrary" and "quirky",⁶⁴ "nonsensical" and "unclear",⁶⁵ or "massive" and "austere".⁶⁶ On the other hand, critics interpreted the ambivalence of that project as its main asset. Jean-Paul Robert, writing for *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, compared Siza's project to a fugue in musical composition. "As in the fugue," Robert argues, [in Siza's buildings] "accidents are solutions for continuity, in other words casual and momentary breaks in a system that goes on in spite of them: because they do not imperil the constancy renewed equilibrium of construction."⁶⁷ Umberto Barbieri, reviewing the *Punt* and *Komma* project for *Domus*, delivered another perspective on this idea of continuity, considering the buildings a novel approach in the Dutch context,

The strong architectural presence asserted by Alvaro Siza in The Hague can be recognized especially in his having reposed to Dutch architectural culture a fresh sense of the relation between city and project, between history and renewal, which had been notably dimmed during the functionalist period and during the later explosion in the 1970s of an unbridled artisticness inspired by liberation from the yoke of standards and standardized building.⁶⁸

Siza's *Punt* and *Komma* puzzled also *Architectural Review's* critic Peter Buchanan, whose review of the project epitomizes the ambivalent reception of Siza's project. Buchanan contends that "some compositional elements are outrageously arbitrary, yet somehow also seem just right. Also, for all its understatement, the design transcends pure functionality to exude a very precisely judged and evocative formal poetry."⁶⁹ If the project's compositional and formal aspects created this ambiguity in the critic's review, its ambivalence became even more outspoken when Buchanan holds that the building's design "is not just very local in its inspiration: it captures something more generalized but still quintessentially Dutch."⁷⁰ The critic thus highlights the impossibility to clearly affiliate the work with a specific context or with universal references. As in his project for Berlin, discussed in the previous chapter, in The Hague there was also some kind of strangeness to Siza's project, which created problems of affiliation of his work with a known canon or cultural background. This strangeness caused in the neighbourhood's residents some resistance to Siza's arrival in the *deelgebied* 5.

64. Peter Buchanan, "Full-Stop and Comma," *The Architectural Review*, no. 1124 (October 1990): 49–53.

65. Fred van der Burg, ontwerper Stadsontwikkeling, in Boasson, *Visie Op de Stad*, 47.

66. Dorien Boasson, "Onbevangen Stadsvernieuwing. Alvaro Siza in de Haagse Schilderswijk," *De Architect* 1988, no. 12 (December 1988): 41–43.

67. Jean-Paul Robert, "Siza a La Haye," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 261 (February 1989): 58.

68. Barbieri, "Alvaro Siza Vieira. Due Isolati Residenziali, L'Aia," 32.

69. Buchanan, "Full-Stop and Comma," 50.

70. *Ibid.*

In effect, the residents initially considered Siza an intruder.⁷¹ After the completion of the buildings, however, they recognized the qualities of the housing designed by him. In effect, a group of residents argued “the new building is beautiful as it is rich, it is more than just a façade.” Interestingly, after their initial contestation, Siza’s ability to negotiate tradition with invention was now praised by them, though it created an ambivalent balance between difference and familiarity. In any case, they further contended, “if you know the old architecture, you can only create something new. The block stands out among the others here, it has a different appearance, a street that again really looks like a street.”⁷²

Hence, both the experts and the residents seem to concur in attaching an ambivalent and ambiguous character to Siza’s buildings. Further, I would suggest the reviews discussed above emphasize Siza’s ability to develop architectural operations through negotiation of conflicting tokens such as arbitrariness and precision, functional and poetic, old and new, different and familiar, engagement and estrangement.

6.6• Negotiating Expertise

A common aspect in the reception of Siza’s projects for The Hague was his ambiguous position between technocratic standardization and unbridled artisticness. This ambiguity resonates, I would argue, with the tenets of critical regionalism, an emerging concept at that time.⁷³ Formulated in 1981 by Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre and afterwards, in 1983, by Kenneth Frampton, the notion of critical regionalism soon emerged as an alternative position to resist both the so-called postmodernism’s populism and modernism’s dogmatic approach.⁷⁴ The prefix “critical” was paramount to distinguish this resistant position from the Picturesque and Romantic regionalism or from vernacular nostalgia. Frampton, especially, was keen arguing, “the term critical regionalism is not intended to denote vernacular, as this was once spontaneously produced by the combined interaction of climate, culture, myth and craft”. Rather, Frampton went on, it should be used “to identify those recent regional ‘schools’ whose aim has been to represent and serve, in a critical sense, the limited constituencies in which they are grounded.”⁷⁵ For Frampton, the engagement with the real of architectural operations such as Siza’s in The Hague is thus a convincing illustration of an architecture that should “be contextual in respect of the culture of the lifeworld rather than pre-emptive.”⁷⁶

In Praise of the Residual

Siza was, in fact, one of the flagships presented by Frampton

71. Toos Van Leeuwen, Rina Boers, and Irene Van Zaamen, “Bewonersgroep ‘Bouwen in 5,’” in *Visie Op de Stad. Álvaro Siza in de Schilderswijk, Den Haag*, ed. Dorien Boasson (Den Haag: Uitgave Projektorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing ‘s-Gravenhage, 1988), 21.

72. Ibid.

73. For further details on Siza’s approach under the scope of the notion of critical regionalism, see my “Between Populism and Dogma: Álvaro Siza’s Third Way,” *Footprint*, no. 8 (2011): 35–58.

74. See Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, “The Grid and the Pathway. An Introduction to the Work of Dimitris and Susana Antonokakis with Prolegomena to a History of the Culture of Modern Greek Architecture,” *Architecture in Greece*, no. 15 (1981): 164–78; Kenneth Frampton, “Prospects for a Critical Regionalism,” *Perspecta* 20 (1983): 147–62; Kenneth Frampton, “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance,” in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend (WA): Bay Press, 1983), 16–30.

75. Frampton, “Prospects for a Critical Regionalism,” 148.

76. Kenneth Frampton, “Critical Regionalism Revisited: Reflections on the Mediatorial Potential of Built Form,” in *Vernacular Modernism*, ed. M. Umbach and B. Huppauf (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005), 197.

to illustrate an architectural approach resonant with his notion of critical regionalism. Frampton argued that, taking Aalto as his point of departure, Siza “seems to have been able to ground his building in the configuration of a given topography and in the fine-grained specificities of the local context.”⁷⁷ However, Alan Colquhoun, among others, disputed this conceptualization of regionalism. Colquhoun argued that an approach such as Siza’s in The Hague, revealed just the use of the context as an instrumental support to produce an original and unique outcome. Existing local features were interpreted by the architect and translated into his project according to an artistic approach. Colquhoun went further arguing that, in this case, “localism and traditionalism can therefore be seen as universal potentials always lurking on the reverse face of modernisation and rationalisation.”⁷⁸ At any event, Siza himself referred to his method as an ambivalent approach to the project’s cultural and material context. To be sure, instead of urging for invention Siza prefers to pursue transformation.⁷⁹ Or, paraphrasing Raymond Williams, Siza pursues an architectural approach resonant with a cultural politics of the “residual” rather than the “emergent”.⁸⁰

At any rate, one of the shortcomings of Frampton’s conceptualization of critical regionalism in the 1980s was the definition of what was the boundary between his idea of contextualism and mere nostalgic reverence. For Frederic Jameson, for example, if critical regionalism is to have any genuine content it should be able to foster a new relationship between architecture and technology. This approach, according to Jameson, “expresses the pathos of a situation in which the possibility of a radical alternative to late capitalist technologies (in both architecture and urbanism alike) has decisively receded.” He thus contended, “here not the emergent but the residual is emphasized (out of historical necessity), and the theoretical problem is at one with a political one.” In this context, Jameson went on asking, “how to fashion a progressive strategy out of what are necessarily the materials of tradition and nostalgia?”⁸¹ The answer for this question is linked with a perception of critical regionalism as an allegorical concept that deploys, in the same token as stylistic postmodernism or neorationalism, a storehouse of forms and traditional motifs by which “decorates” a conventional “shed.”⁸² Jameson went further emphasizing the strategy of critical regionalism as a process to produce meaningful aesthetic communication through signs and markers. In the design decision-making process, I would thus complement, those signs and markers are fundamental to enhance the reception of the architectural operation, nurturing its *interpretation* and *performance*. “In order for this kind of building to make a different kind of statement,” Jameson argued, “its decorations must also be grasped as recognizable elements in a cultural-national discourse, and the building of the building must be grasped at one and the same time as a physical structure

77. Frampton, “Prospects for a Critical Regionalism,” 151.

78. Alan Colquhoun, “Regionalism 1,” in *Collected Essays in Architectural Criticism*, by Alan Colquhoun (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2009), 284. This essay was originally published in Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu and Chong Thai Wong, *Postcolonial Space(s)* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 13–24.

79. See J.D. Besch, “Elogio della Trasformazione,” *Casabella*, no. 538 (September 1987): 4. Translation from the Italian by the author.

80. This reference to Raymond Williams was taken from Frederic Jameson, *The Seeds of Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 199.

81. *Ibid.*, 201–202.

82. *Ibid.*, 202–203.

and as a symbolic act that reaffirms the regional-national culture as a collective possibility in its moment of besiegement and crisis.”⁸³

I would thus contend in the *deelgebied 5* plan and in the *Punt en Komma* project, the concatenation of design decisions made in consultation with the participants, from the urban scale to the layout of the dwelling plan, utterly illustrates a case where disciplinary expertise was used to deliver those “recognizable elements” mentioned by Jameson. The specific instruments of the architecture discipline were employed to deliver an outcome that negotiates aesthetic principles, technical constraints, political agendas, and cultural idiosyncrasies. This negotiation, I would suggest, was only possible through a process of communication where the disciplinary discourse was translated and transformed into social practices.

A Negotiated Code

Stuart Hall points out in his 1980 influential essay *Encoding, decoding*, that “if no ‘meaning’ is taken, there can be no ‘consumption’.”⁸⁴ The stakeholders’ participation in the development of *Punt* and *Komma* dwellings’ layout reveals, then, a practice that went beyond a mere empowerment of the users in design decision-making processes. It created a platform where aesthetic communication could be conveyed through an actual spatial experience where the disciplinary codes can have a meaningful decoding as, and intelligible translation and transformation into, social practices. This process is not linear, though. In the design process there are different stages and moments with relative autonomy that, nevertheless, reproduce structures of power. Hall’s essay offers a sound theoretical framework to analyse the production and dissemination of messages, which can be valuable to discuss the case of citizens’ participation in design decision-making processes.

According to Stuart Hall, there are four linked but distinctive moments in the process of communication: production, circulation, distribution/consumption, and reproduction. Consumption, for Hall, is an indissoluble moment of the production process, and “the message-form is the necessary form of appearance of the event in its passage from source to receiver.”⁸⁵ He thus contended that “before this message can have an ‘effect’ (however defined), satisfy a ‘need’ or be put to a ‘use’, it must first be appropriated as a meaningful discourse and be meaningfully decoded.”⁸⁶ I would thus suggest the working sessions at the ROL workshops or the deliberate use of signs and markers attached to the vernacular tradition illustrate a successful attempt to translate the codes of the discipline to the decoder-receiver. The communicative exchange was reciprocal, though not symmetrical. There was reciprocity, for example, in

83. *Ibid.*, 203.

84. Stuart Hall, “Encoding, Decoding,” in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During, 3rd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 91. This reference is an edited extract from “Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse”, CCCS Stencilled Paper no.7 (1973) published in a revised version in 1980.

85. *Ibid.*, 92.

86. *Ibid.*, 93.

the way the architect, as an encoder-producer, benefited from the receiver's understanding of the message; it constituted a source for his continuous production, which eventually contributed to improve the process of consumption/reception. However, the positions at each end of the process, for example the author and the addressee, were not symmetrical or equivalent. In other words, the code of communication between, for example, the architect and the user, was essential to define the nature of the relation between production and reception. However, as Stuart Hall highlighted, there is no code with a transparent, or "natural" representation of the real. Hence, this inevitably sparks misunderstandings, or distorted communication, which creates discrepancies in the relation between encoder and decoder, thus resulting in three positions: the dominant-hegemonic, the negotiated, and the oppositional.⁸⁷

I would thus argue the design decision-making process in Siza's projects for the Schilderswijk district resonates with Stuart Hall's definition of the negotiated code. "Decoding within the negotiated version," Hall claimed, "contains a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements: it acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations (abstract), while, at a more restricted, situational (situated) level, it makes its own ground rules - it operates with exceptions to the rule."⁸⁸ Moreover, Siza's engagement in the urban renewal of the *Schilderswijk* district epitomizes the challenges brought about to the design disciplines and their relation with managerial strategies, including citizens' participation. In effect, Siza himself addresses these challenges in his reflections on the experience of designing *deelgebied 5*'s plan. He contended, "the participation of residents, technicians and politicians should signify an open process, not simply appeasing or conformist, nor of a local and fragmentary nature, and not merely conducive to the adoption of models around which a consensus is easily reached." And he went on asserting,

The experiences already in existence discredit the apologists of universal methods or more concretely of the possibility of universal 'techniques and technicians of participation'. They permit above all the generation of a correct information, continuously actualized and not bounded by disciplines, constituting a fundamental element of creativity, rigor and justice in the transformation of the city.⁸⁹

Siza thus criticized hegemonic definitions and advocated a negotiated code for a novel approach to the transformation of the built environment through social practices contingent and situated. His work attempts to create an open process able to tackle the challenges of urban renewal policies in an holistic way, from the urban scale to the scale of the dwelling; from the definition of the urban image and collective spaces to the detailing of the sliding door in the apartments; from the definition of the

87. An example of the first position is the use of professional codes that reify and reproduce hegemonic definitions. The second position resonates with situations when hegemonic definitions are acknowledged and legitimized as an abstract level, but nevertheless recoded to particular or situated logics. The third position occurs when the message is decoded and deliberately recoded in an alternative framework of reference.

88. Hall, "Encoding, Decoding," 102.

89. Siza, "Plan of Zone 5 of Schilderswijk Centrum," 5. A summary of the plan's report can be read, in Italian, in Siza, "Il Piano per La Zona 5: Direttive e Suggestimenti."

building's materialization to the solution of acoustic problems; dealing with the agenda of policy makers and the idiosyncrasies of the residents.

This open process resonates with Eco's poetics of the open work, overcoming the binary polarity between order and chaos, authority and individual expression, project and contingency. The project embodies suggestiveness as a condition to open the work for the free response of the addressee. Further, it circumvents the Manichean system depicted by Tzonis and Lefaivre. On the one hand, in the plan for the *deelgebied 5* and in the projects for the *Punt en Komma* and the Jacob van Campenplein housing complexes, the normative character of the welfare state architecture is tackled by Siza's strong commitment in taking advantage of contingency to deliver a situated approach. On the other hand, the fetishistic character attached to the object, championed by the populist movement, was challenged by a strong emphasis on the iterative character of the participatory design decision-making process. In this process, Siza relentlessly uncovered the conflicts and tensions brought about in citizens' participation. He rejected "simplifying tendencies and omissions" that, as he claimed, saw "participation of residents simply as a pacifying element so often reductive, refusing by prudence or calculation, the creative leap which qualifies it as an integral part of design."⁹⁰ Hence, on the one hand Siza's approach to design decision-making processes with citizens' participation echoes Zigmunt Bauman's assertion of the expert as both a mediator and interpreter, bridging the gap between the objective and the subjective worlds. However, I would argue Siza's approach goes further and challenges Bauman's idea of the expert as a proxy for individual escape from uncertainty and ambivalence. Rather, the power of ambivalence in Siza's engagement with participatory processes in design decision-making is, I thus contend, liberating the individual through stimulating his confrontation with the ambiguities and contradictions of the design process. In this context, the nexus between the author and the addressee is conveyed by a negotiated code that accommodates the universal and the situated, order and chaos, standards and contingency, modernity and the vernacular; in other words, autonomy *and* heteronomy.

90. Siza, "Plan of Zone 5 of Schilderswijk Centrum."

7• Lived-in Architecture Accommodating Contingency in the Malagueira Neighbourhood

In the early 1960s, Aldo van Eyck contributed a seminal reflection to reconceptualise the Einsteinian spatiotemporal concept cherished by Sigfried Giedion. “Whatever space and time mean,” van Eyck argued, “place and occasion mean more.”¹ And he went on emphasizing the humanist overtones of these notions, “for space in the image of man is place and time in the image of man is occasion.” Van Eyck loathed architectural expertise severed from human reality, which for him was unable to build the house for each and all man, to make habitable places for the millions. “Whoever attempts to solve the riddle of space in the abstract,” he contended, “will construct the outline of emptiness and call it space.” Hence, he concluded, “whoever attempts to meet humanity in the abstract will speak with an echo and call this a dialogue.”

Aldo van Eyck’s praise on the notions of place and occasion resonates, I would suggest, with a shift towards the assimilation of contingency as part and parcel of the project of modernity. This process of assimilation brings about an outstanding challenge onto “the quest for order,” one of the fundamental tenets of modernity as Zygmunt Bauman had it. “Among the impossible tasks that modernity set itself and that made modernity into what it is,” Bauman claims, “the task of order (more precisely and most importantly, of *order as a task*) stands out.” It is, he asserts, “the archetype for all the other tasks.”² Bauman argues modernity’s quest for order is concomitant with a relentless drive to combat its nemeses: ambivalence, chaos, and contingency.

1. Aldo van Eyck, “There Is a Garden in Her Face,” *Forum* 15, no. 3 (August 1960): 121.

2. Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, (Polity Press, 1993), 4. Original emphasis.

I would argue, however, that Bauman's construction of a binary polarity between modernity and contingency hinders the creative potential of the latter. In the early 1960s, Aldo van Eyck wrote an influential contribution to reconcile modernity with contingency. In his essay "Steps Toward a Configurative Discipline", published in 1962 in the Dutch journal *Forum*, Aldo van Eyck highlighted the creative potential of a combination between design and contingency in the negotiation of binary polarities to create an aesthetics of number that preserves human scale and the right effect of size.³ In that article Van Eyck argued that "what has right-size is at the same time both large *and* small, few *and* many, near *and* far, simple *and* complex, open *and* closed; will furthermore always be both part *and* whole and embrace both unity *and* diversity."⁴ Van Eyck contended, then, "man's home-realm is the inbetween realm" and that "what is directly needed is a dimensional change in both our way of thinking and working which will allow the quantitative nature of each separate polarity to be encompassed and mitigated by the qualitative nature of all twinphenomenon [sic] combined: the medicine of reciprocity."⁵

For Aldo van Eyck, this medicine of reciprocity should successfully govern multiplicity, thus avoiding the drawbacks of architectural modernism in coping with the so-called aesthetics of the great number, first and foremost, the menace of monotony. Essentially, Van Eyck championed an architectural interpretation of structuralist systems, inspired by ethnological approaches to the vernacular tradition of pre-modern societies, where individual identity could be negotiated with collectivity without losing its particular character. Further, in the face of contingent growth and change, the individual would acquire an extended identity, thus accomplishing what he called harmony in motion.

Hence, instead of Bauman's fatalist resignation to contingency as the other of order, Aldo van Eyck's harmony in motion resonates with a more positive account of contingency, which, as Jeremy Till suggests, creates spaces in which profound chance and opportunity for transformations surface.⁶ In effect, Till relieves contingency of the pressure of acting as the other of order, thus protecting it from falling in the pitfalls of postmodernism's relativism. Following Bruno Latour, Till contends contingency "is there to be dealt with on its own terms and not in the terms of others, and in particular not as the despised partner of order."⁷ He contends contingency is instrumental for an approach grounded in concrete reality, in the particular and in partial knowledge, thus safeguarding architects from delusions of disciplinary autonomy. "Dealing with contingency," Till contends, "calls for one to have a vision but, at the same time, to be modest light-footed enough to allow that vision to be adjusted to the circumstances."⁸

3. Aldo van Eyck, "Steps Toward a Configurative Discipline," *Forum* 16, no. 3 (August 1962): 81–94. This article was reprinted in Aldo van Eyck, "Steps toward a Configurative Discipline," in *Architecture Culture 1943-1968*, ed. Joan Ockman (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 348–360.

4. Van Eyck, "Steps Toward a Configurative Discipline," 81. Original emphasis.

5. *Ibid.*, 83.

6. Till, *Architecture Depends*, 55. Jeremy Till's assessment of the positive character of contingency is taken from Sogyal Rinpoche's account on the qualities of uncertainty.

7. *Ibid.*, 58.

8. *Ibid.*, 59.

In this chapter, I will discuss this instrumental quality of contingency as part and parcel of an architectural approach engaged in bridging the gap between art and life, between disciplinary autonomy and social engagement. Álvaro Siza's plan and projects for the Malagueira neighbourhood, on the outskirts of the Portuguese city of Évora, will be examined against the backdrop of a debate on design strategies to accommodate growth and change over time.

In the first section of the chapter, I will bring together an account on how architecture's disciplinary discourse explored the interwoven relation between design, standardization, human occupation and individual expression. A survey of notable contributions to this debate, from Gropius' *Typenserienhaus* to the PREVI Lima housing experiment will be addressed to elaborate on concepts such as "openness" and "incremental growth." Paramount contributions to the international and to the Portuguese debate on these topics, by people such as Alvar Aalto, Oskar Hansen, and Nuno Portas, will be discussed to frame how the raising concern with the traces of human occupation in housing influenced the disciplinary views, urban models and design strategies over a period of five decades, from the 1920s through the 1970s. The second section of the chapter defines the cultural and material backdrop against which the Malagueira plan and project unfolded. A special focus is given to the several attempts for a planned reconciliation between Évora's historic centre and the unplanned settlements – the *clandestinos* - burgeoning on its periphery. The third section of the chapter deals with the generative power of the "as found" as a fundamental token of Alvaro Siza's approach to the Malagueira plan. The relation between the tenets of modernity and a critical account of the vernacular tradition is explored in this part to emphasize the kernel of Siza's design and research method. In the fourth part of the chapter, the discussion moves to the scale of the dwelling, to examine the elasticity of the housing type designed by Siza for Malagueira and its capacity to accommodate growth and change over time. The fifth part of the chapter is dedicated to discuss the reception of Malagueira's plan and projects, first and foremost examining it through the lens of Henri Lefebvre's dialectical trinity of man: the perceived, the conceived, and the lived. Finally, in the last part of the chapter, Umberto Eco's notion of "open work" is discussed to set the background against which the notions of "open architecture" and "democratic urbanism" can be negotiated with a disciplinary approach that deliberately dwells on an ambivalent approach, between detachment and critical participation in its social condition.

7.1 • Living and Leaving Traces

The notion of social architecture gained momentum in the

aftermath of the late 1960s protest movements, and the relentless growth of grassroots empowerment encouraged the design disciplines to open their field to citizens' participation. In the previous chapters, many instances of this phenomenon were addressed. Next to citizen's participation, however, the disciplinary discourse became also interested in discussing and developing design strategies to accommodate growth and change over time. At any rate, the contingent nature of housing as a process, as opposed to housing as a product, was championed by the likes of John Turner and his followers. They sought a new position for the architecture discipline as an agent of transformation instead of a mere instrument for aesthetic commodification, thus arguably challenging the kernel of architectural modernism. Coping with growth and change and accommodating contingency surfaced as topical challenges that should be tackled by a generation of architects engaged with social change. I would argue, however, this interwoven relation between expertise and disciplinary engagement with social change was all but excluded in the work of some of the central figures of the modern canon. Strategies to tackle the challenge of accommodating growth and change, for example, were instrumental for such prominent figures as Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, Alvar Aalto and Jaap Bakema. Further, architects such as Fumihiko Maki, John Habraken or Oskar Hensen, contributed with different takes on the notion of open form as support for the empowerment of the individual against the backdrop of universal order and standardization. In the post-war architectural debate these contributions resonate with a pervasive research on the possibility of reconciling the architectural object with individual expression. This research would be utterly epitomized by the popularity, from the 1960s on, of incremental housing as a strategy to accommodate the great number.

Living Machines

One of the most topical works that came about in this period was Philippe Boudon's survey to the modifications in Pessac's Quartiers Modernes Frugès (QMF), produced by the residents of this housing complex designed in the mid-1920s by Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. [Figure 7.01] The seminal contribution of Boudon's 1969 book *Pessac de Le Corbusier* was questioning the extent to which the conspicuous transformations made to the project designed by the famous architect were either a signal of his design failure or a sign of its success, a resistance to the constraints of standardization or an illustration of the project's potential to cater for individual expression.⁹

Boudon explores these questions drawing on a method of surveying the built landscape that transcends a purely disciplinary approach. In effect, his method mingles a survey on aspects central to the design disciplines with research techniques

9. Philippe Boudon's book *Pessac de Le Corbusier* was first published in French in 1969 by Dunod. An English translation, published by MIT Press, became available in 1972 in hardcover. The paperback edition was published in 1979. See, Philippe Boudon, *Lived-in Architecture. Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited*, [1st English language ed.] (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1979). Further references to this work were taken from the 1979 edition.



Figure 7.01. Quartiers Modernes Frugès, Le Corbusier, 1926. Images of the row houses: 1926 (above) and 1998 (below). Source: Marylène Ferrand et al., *Le Corbusier: Quartiers Modernes Frugès* (Birkhäuser Basel, 1998), 18.

used by social sciences, first and foremost sociology. Faced with the pervasive alterations made to the original project, he focused his attention on trying to understand what motivated the residents to produce such changes. One of the central topics in the book was the dialectical relation between seriality and individuality. Boudon discussed strategies for differentiation and creating multiplicity in unity as the kernel of a project that sought to materialize Le Corbusier's notion of the house as a machine to live in. He highlighted the ambiguous meaning of the idea of machine, both as a poetic and a functional object.¹⁰

In effect, as Boudon asserts, for Le Corbusier the idea of a machine for living resonated with an approach that was focused in using *d'art et de ruse* (art and craftiness) to cater for the happiness of men.¹¹ This was not a heroic individual, Le Corbusier clarified, but the "everyday man, natural and reasonable. An individual of today."¹² And he went on further underlining the humanist focus attached to the architecture of dwelling as *un acte d'amour et non une mise en scène* (an act of love, not a *mise en scène*.)¹³ Boudon emphasizes this humanist and poetic aspect of Le Corbusier's approach to housing design with a lengthy quote of a review on the QMF written by Dr. Pierre Winter in *Le Nouveau Siècle*, the newspaper of the French Fascist group *Faisceau*.¹⁴ According to Winter, the universal tenets of Le Corbusier's machine to live in, where "useless remains are disposed of, [and] life leaves no trace," are combined with a thoughtful system that allows the flourishing of the individual. "With a limited number of pawns," Winter wrote, "a good chess player can evolve endless permutations." Then, he further contended, "in Pessac, where standard components were used throughout, no two houses are alike. Each occupant will have the house of his choice, built to suit his taste, his personality, his feelings..."¹⁵ Further ahead, Winter concluded, "the thing that strikes us most forcibly when we consider their project is that, above all, these two men [Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret] are poets."

Next to this humanist and poetic aspect of Le Corbusier's approach to housing design, Boudon discusses also the ideological aspect of standardization in his work. In his 1926 *L'Almanach de l'Esprit Nouveau*, Le Corbusier wrote that "standard components are letters; with those letters, and in a particular way, you have to spell out the names of your future house owners."¹⁶ These quotations illustrate Boudon's struggle to bring about Le Corbusier's ability to perform a concatenation of seriality, standardization, differentiation and individuality. At any rate, Boudon contends, "it was by playing about with his 'standard cells', his 'standard dominoes', that Le Corbusier created the urban composition of the whole district." And he goes on arguing, "the standard components represented a system of reference and provided the fixed co-ordinates on which the variations were based."¹⁷ According to Boudon, the design of

10. Boudon draws on Le Corbusier's writings to stress the ambiguity of the word *machine*. "On the one hand," Boudon writes, "we have the technological and functional quality of what is 'necessary and sufficient' whilst on the other hand we have *effects, artifices* and *art*, all of which depend on the use of *designs*..." See *Ibid.*, 32. Original emphasis.

11. Le Corbusier, "Entretien avec les Étudiants des Écoles d'Architecture," in *La Chartre d'Athènes* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1971), 140. This text was originally written in 1942.

12. *Ibid.*, 142.

13. *Ibid.*, 147.

14. For further information on Le Corbusier's friendship with Dr. Pierre Winter, his membership in the group *Faisceau*, and his relation with the editor of *Faisceau* League's newspaper *Le Nouveau Siècle*, the anarcho-syndicalist journalist Georges Valois, see Simone Brott, "In the Shadow of the Enlightenment Le Corbusier, Le Faisceau and Georges Valois," in *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 30, Open*, ed. Alexandra Brown and Andrew Leach, vol. 2 (presented at the 30th Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand, Gold Coast, Queensland: SAHANZ, 2013), 777-789.

15. Quoted in Boudon, *Lived-in Architecture*, 24.

16. Quoted in *ibid.*, 35.

17. *Ibid.*, 57.

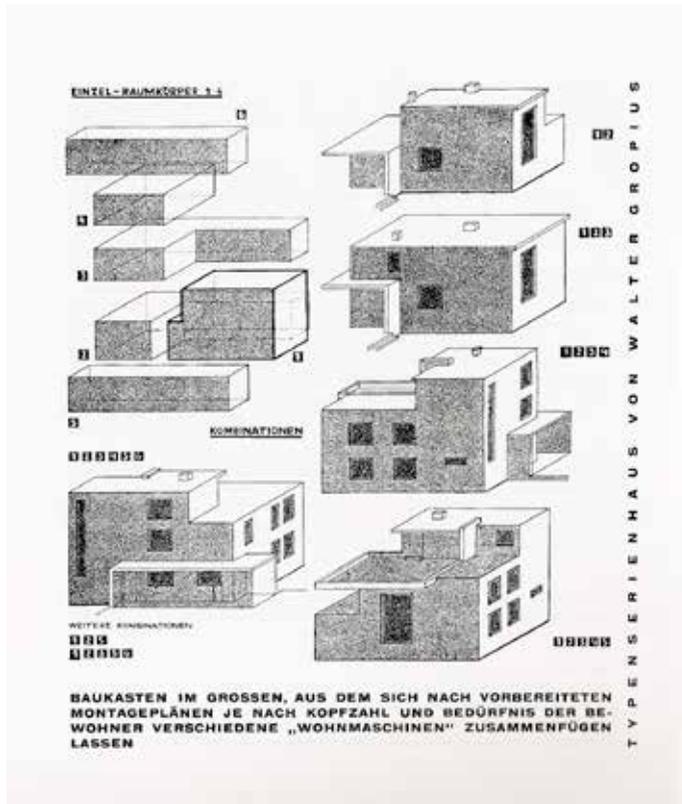


Figure 7.02. Walter Gropius - Typen-seriehaus. Source: Adolf Meyer, ed., *Ein Versuchshaus Des Bauhauses in Weimar* (München: Albert Langen Verlag, 1924), 8.

this system of reference, the “game of lotto” strategy, denotes Le Corbusier awareness of “the need to cater for the individuality of the Pessac residents.”¹⁸

The topicality of Boudon’s book was partially justified by the lively debate on grassroots empowerment that characterized the French academic world of the late 1960s. This is a factor that cannot be overlooked to make sense of the book’s essential ideas and reasoning. As discussed above, from the 1970s on, the emphasis on design strategies to accommodate growth and change over time would pervade the politics of architectural design and theory and invade other disciplines concerned with the human habitat. If in this period this was fostered by a swift (and even partisan) engagement of the design disciplines with social sciences, in former periods it had already been addressed by some of the most conspicuous supporters of architectural modernism.

Some years before Le Corbusier’s design for the QMF in Pessac, the interwoven relation between seriality and variation had been already addressed by the Bauhaus in Weimar. This relation was pursued in Walter Gropius’ *Typenserienhaus* (serial house types), first presented in 1922 and then showed with wider impact at the *Ersten Öffentlichen Bauhausausstellung* (Bauhaus’ First Public Exhibition), held in Weimar in the summer of 1923. This project reveals concern in developing design strategies using standardized components to create a customized outcome.¹⁹ [Figure 7.02] In effect, in the 1923 exhibition, Gropius’ scheme, developed with the assistance of the young architect Fred Forbát, was showed in the Haus am Horn, the *Versuchshaus des Bauhauses in Weimar* (Pilot house of the Bauhaus in Weimar), a project designed by the artist Georg Mücke.²⁰ The Haus am Horn was itself noticeably developed after the scheme designed by Gropius and, as Robin Schuldenfrei highlights, “marketed as a scalable, flexible, mass-producible dwelling within a planned settlement.”²¹ However, in Germany’s convoluted economical and political context of that time, the scheme eventually failed to generate a cost-effective solution to be used in mass housing complexes and to accommodate the needs of individual dwellers using a set of standard components or *wohnmaschinen* (living machines, as Gropius called them).

Growth and Change

Gropius’ *Typenserienhaus*, developed in the early 1920s, illustrates an attempt focused on reconciling architecture with industry and deliver a customizable product. Nearly two decades after, the massive destruction caused by WWII encouraged Alvar Aalto to formulate a research project for the reconstruction of houses destroyed by the global conflict. His article “Research for Reconstruction. Rehousing research in Finland” was published

18. Ibid., 109.

19. Walter Gropius, “Wohnhaus-Industrie,” in *Ein Versuchshaus Des Bauhauses in Weimar*, ed. Adolf Meyer (München: Albert Langen Verlag, 1924), 5–14.

20. Georg Mücke, an artist, won the internal competition launched by the Bauhaus. The development of the Haus am Horn design was assisted by people from the office of Gropius with Adolf Meyer in charge of the project and of its construction. For more information about this project and its ideological and social implications, see Robin Schuldenfrei, “Capital Dwelling: Industrial Capitalism, Financial Crisis and the Bauhaus Haus Am Horn,” in *Architecture and Capitalism: 1845 to the Present*, ed. Peggy Deamer (Routledge, 2013), 71–95.

21. Ibid., 75.

in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* on 17 March 1941, and aimed to contribute solving the destruction of what he considered the first and oldest human protection: the home and the community.²² Though solving this problem was a vital and urgent matter, Aalto was also well aware of the negative consequences of the post-World War I thoughtless provision of barrack shelters. He thus suggested a technical research on building problems related with mass housing that should be, nonetheless, focused on satisfying human needs, avoiding the errors of the past.

According to Aalto, in periods of social construction (new colonisation or massive reconstruction) there is a tendency to develop a crude social unit, such as hastily constructed primitive shelters or temporary barracks. Through time, these buildings are destroyed and new ones are built on their places, becoming themselves obsolete and replaced by new ones, and so on. “The wasteful character of such a process of demolition and reconstruction in wave after wave is obvious,” Aalto argued. He was aware, however, that in those special circumstances the time element is vital. Nevertheless, he discarded the provision of makeshift solutions as an option, for “the lack of regard for the natural organic growth of the social community is fundamentally to blame. But makeshift solutions for the sake of speed are also economically unsound.”²³

There was thus a fundamental challenge in his research project: How to cope with the urgency of the reconstruction task, mingling temporal solutions with the human need for permanency? The answer, then, should consider three conditions: speed of construction, satisfaction of the human biological needs, and develop constructions that provide a degree of permanency. In short, the research aimed to find a solution to gradually move from shelter to home. “Our ideal solution,” Aalto concluded, “should be a ‘growing house’ so constructed that higher levels of the living standard can be reached and developed without the destruction of any part of the first elementary constructions or the elementary communal skeleton first worked out.”²⁴

Aalto’s concept of growing house was thus based on the idea of development instead of replacement. Further, it was also supported by a gradual advance from the realm of the collective to the individual. This would thus generate, according to Aalto, a “harmonious transition from the first primitive solutions of utility and shelter problems on a collective basis, to a higher development of them for smaller units within the social group.”²⁵ The essential research points suggested by Aalto were then focused on the topics of standardization, incremental housing and the relation between the individual and the collective. This research should produce knowledge and experience that could be used to accommodate different types of families, to

22. This article was recently republished in Alvar Aalto, “Research for Reconstruction: Rehousing Research in Finland,” in *Nordic Architects Write: A Documentary Anthology*, ed. Michael Asgaard Andersen (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). Further references to this text were taken from the 2008 republication.

23. *Ibid.*, 129.

24. *Ibid.*, 130.

25. *Ibid.*, 131.

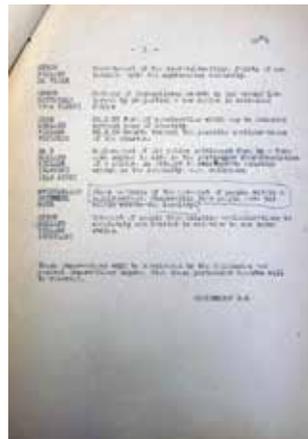
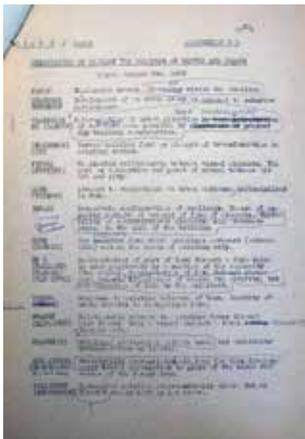
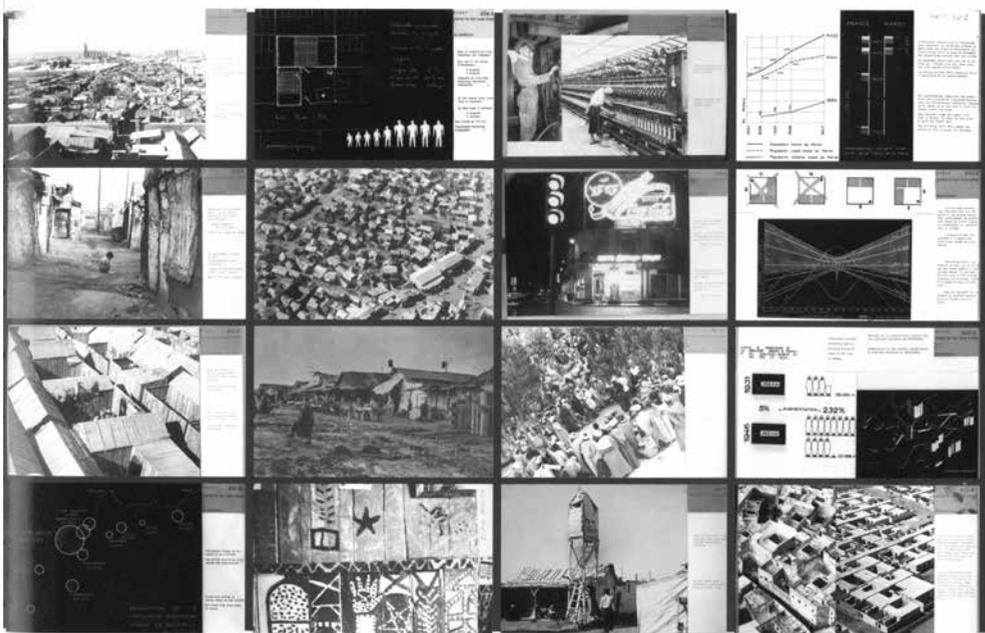


Figure 7.03. GAMMA Group - Extract of thr Habitat du plus grand nombre grid (1953). Source: Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10, 1953-1981*. (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005), 27.

Figure 7.04. CIAM 10, Commission B6 - Examination of Grilles for examples of growth and change (09-08-1956). Source: Bakema Archive, NAi Institute, BAKEg50. Photos: © Nelson Mota.

be adapted to various topographical locations and to diverse exposures, views and so on. Hence, Aalto was not looking for a formal vocabulary but a method of producing a flexible system where “practically every house will be different from the next in spite of the fact that there will be a strict standardization of elements and building cells.”²⁶

Some of the aspects of Aalto’s research program resonate with, for example, Le Corbusier’s design strategy in Pessac, the so-called “game of lotto”. However, Aalto’s plea for a project that should be deliberately designed to accommodate growth and change over time should be emphasized as a key aspect of his program.

This topic would surface again some years after the end of WWII in the mainstream of the architectural debate, and related with the issue of how to design for the great number. This theme was famously discussed by Michel Ecochard and presented in the 1953 CIAM congress held at Aix-en-Provence, where he and his fellow members of the CIAM group ATBAT-Afrique showed projects to accommodate large groups of rural migrants in the French protectorate of Morocco. [Figure 7.03] Some years later, in the 1956 CIAM congress held at Dubrovnik, this would evolve to a specific focus on the “problem of growth and change,” with a commission fully dedicated to reflect on this theme.²⁷

This commission produced reports of three meetings (9, 10, and 11 August 1956), where they highlighted change as an essential aspect of Habitat and they sought for examples of growth and change in the grids presented by the CIAM groups attending the Dubrovnik congress. In the report of the first meeting, the commission underlined that architect-urbanists have to make sense of the new tempo of contemporary life, and research on the relations between the mobility of men and the flexibility of buildings (houses) and structures (cities).²⁸ They thus contended that design strategies should consider possibilities of variation to answer the needs of the families that wish to remain living in the same place and for those who want to change their places. There should be a relative autonomy of growth and change. Further, in one bold statement, the commission argued that to satisfy the needs of the mobile man one couldn’t own the land, the space or the buildings. They contended “we envision the notion of property being replaced by the notion of fruition.”²⁹

In the second meeting, the commission analysed all the grids presented at the congress and examined how they performed in terms of growth and change. [Figure 7.04] In the third and final meeting, the outcome of the previous debates and analyses contributed to synthesize the commission’s statements, needs and proposals. The underlined paragraph of the “Statements” section reads, “the architect-urbanist knows that an evolution

26. Ibid., 135.

27. This commission was chaired by Jaap Bakema (The Netherlands) and the other members were De Vries (The Netherlands), Friedman and Neuman (Israel), Hebebrand (Germany), Kawai (Japan), Kuhne (Germany), Schutte (Austria), Scimemi (Italy), Voelcker (England). Evans, from England held the status of observer.

28. CIAM 10 - Commission B6, “Report of Commission B.6.” (Lapad, Dubrovnik, August 1956), BAKEg50, NAI, Bakema Archive. Further references to the report of CIAM 10 Commission B6 were taken from the same source.

29. The commission’s report of the meeting held on 8 August 1956 was written in French. The original text reads as follows: “On voit que la notion de propriété est remplacée par la notion de jouissance.”

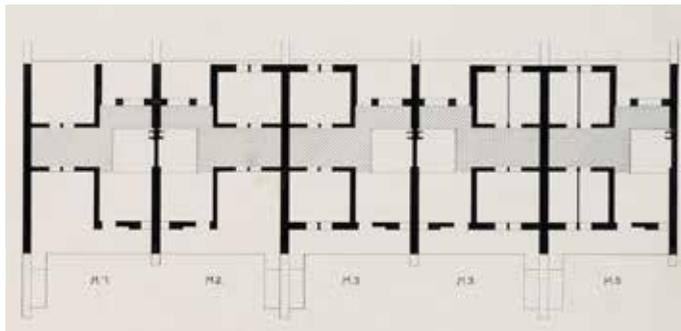
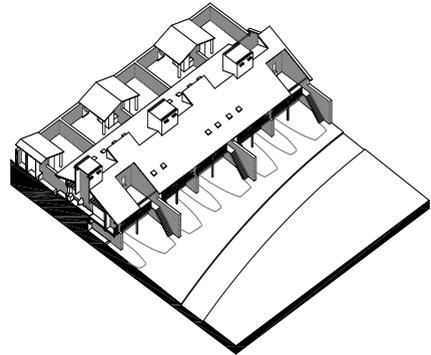
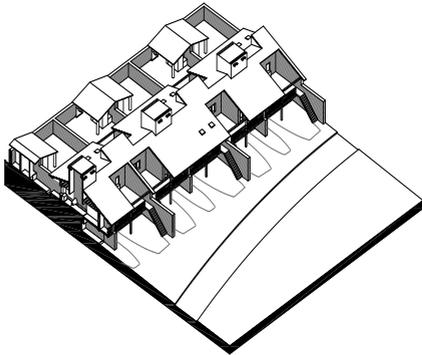


Figure 7.05. Group CIAM Porto – CIAM X. Rural Habitat. A New Agricultural Community (1956). Axonometric perspectives of two growth possibilities (above); Dwelling growth possibilities (below). Source: author's drawing (above); CEAU-FAUP (below).

from ownership of habitat to use of habitat is essential.” In the “Needs” section they emphasized the importance of a design strategy where in every stage of its development, the habitat must have its own identity, thus responding to the accelerating tempo of the contemporary situation. They highlighted that building for *le plus grand nombre* (the great number) was still the critical problem of their situation and that facilitating the right of people to move or to remain in one place should cater for the freedom in choosing one’s habitat. They also addressed the dialectic between the individual and the collective, stressing the importance of stimulating the spontaneous expression of identity among individuals and groups, and the transformation of existing expressions of habitat at the scale of the land, the village, the town and the city.

Next, in the “Proposals” section, the commission called for the development of a discipline through which the size and growth of the habitat may be controlled. “Through this discipline,” they argued, the architect-urbanist “must realise built elements which are, in themselves, complete expressions of habitat, and yet, because of their size and their content, they may become interdependent elements of the whole.” Further in their proposals they singled out the case of the Portuguese project for the new agricultural community, discussed in a previous chapter, to illustrate the need to “provide, among other elements, elements which can be changed by individuals and by groups in order that they may express creatively their separate identities.” In the Portuguese project, they highlighted, “within the framework of structural walls, roof, and floor the inhabitants have the freedom to select, exchange, re-arrange, and extend their dwelling.” [Figure 7.05] As was already discussed above, the Portuguese project was heavily drawn on a negotiation of the tenets of architectural modernism with the vernacular tradition. This seems to be in tune with the outlook of the commission as they argued in their proposals that

The architect-urbanist must interpret specific expressions of existing habitat and make building elements, whether simple units or complex groups, which will not only satisfy the immediate requirements for which they are designed but will also imply through their form, the re-orientation of the existing habitat which surrounds them.

Finally, the report ends with a call for the active engagement of the design disciplines in social change. “The architect-urbanist,” they claimed, “must re-establish the power of his discipline so that his active participation in the affairs of the community is equal to that of the economist and politician of the present time.”

In the late 1950s and early 1960s the disciplinary debate on growth and change would continue, first and foremost among the members of Team 10. This can be seen in the collection of

relevant texts, drawings and diagrams of Team 10's activity until the early 1960s, compiled by Alison Smithson in *Team 10 Primer*.³⁰ Among these some can be singled out as relevant expressions of the concatenation between the issue of the great number and the development of design strategies to accommodate growth and change over time. In an article published in January 1955 in *Architectural Design*, Georges Candilis reflected on the need to adapt the discipline to a new reality. "Up to now the house is built down to the smallest detail and man is pressed into this dwelling – in spirit the same from Scotland to Ghana – and adapts himself as best he may to the life that the architect furnishes him with." Candilis considered that this new approach should accommodate contingency. He argued, "we must prepare the 'habitat' only to the point at which man can take over." And he went on concluding "we aim to provide a framework in which man can again be master of his home."³¹ In *Team 10 Primer* Candilis considerations appear under the section "grouping of dwellings." However, the issue of growth and change is also touched upon in two other sections: "Role of the architect" and "Urban infra-structure." In the latter, an excerpt of Bakema's article "Towards a new concentration of forces," published in 1957 in *Magazine Bouw*, brings about some questions that resonate with the Dubrovnik debate. In his article Bakema asked, "how can industrialization produce building elements by means of which the different variations in way of life can be expressed? How can the flexible plan serve the change in the needs of family life?"³² The balance between the fixed and the transient became thus a vital issue in the architectural debate that ensued from the late 1950s on. Alison and Peter Smithson, for example, became interested in a so-called aesthetics of change, which "paradoxically, generates a feeling of security and stability because of our ability to recognize the pattern of related cycles."³³ They considered, however, that the support to this aesthetics of change would be provided by the urban infrastructure, as they tried to demonstrate in their most notable projects designed and discussed in this period.³⁴

Freedom to Inhabit and the Open Form

Growth and change was an important theme for Team 10's inner-circle, as seen above, and in *Team 10 Primer* Oskar Hansen was arguably the most notable protagonist of this debate. Excerpts of his account on the relation between the open form and the aesthetics of the great number bridge the themes of "The Role of the Architect" and "Grouping of Dwellings". Oskar Hansen, together with Zofia Hansen, had already addressed that relation in 1959 at the CIAM congress in Otterlo. However, the source used by Alison Smithson was the article published by Oskar Hansen in *Le Carrè Bleu* in 1961, which was, in effect, a version of his exposé at the Team 10 meeting in Bagnoles-sur-Cèze held in July 1960.³⁵ In this article Hansen presents the notion

30. Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Primer* (London: Studio Vista, 1968). The contents of this book were originally published in magazine form as a special issue of *Architectural Design* in December 1962.

31. Quoted in *ibid.*, 76.

32. Quoted in *ibid.*, 51.

33. Quoted in *ibid.*, 70. For an earlier approach of the Smithsons to the aesthetic of change see Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "The Aesthetics of Change," in *Architects' Year Book*, ed. Trevor Dannatt, vol. 8 (London: Elek Books, 1957), 14–22.

34. Among these projects I would highlight their entry for the Berlin Hauptstadt competition 1957-1958, (with Peter Sigmund), the London Roads Study (1959), (with Christopher Dean and Brian Richards), and the "Greenways and Landcastles" plan (1962-1963). For an account of the notion of urban infrastructure in the work of the Smithsons see Dirk Van den Heuvel, "Alison and Peter Smithson. A Brutalist Story Involving the House, the City and the Everyday (plus a Couple of Other Things)" (PhD Dissertation, TU Delft, 2013), 269–278.

35. Oskar Hansen, "La Forme Ouverte dans l'Architecture - l'Art du Grand Nombre," *Le Carrè Bleu* no. 1 (1961): 4–7. For the account of Oskar and Zofia Hansen's contribution to the 1959 CIAM congress in Otterlo, see Oscar Newman, ed., *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, Documents of Modern Architecture 1 (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961), 190–191.

of “open form” as the possibility to cater for the development of the individual as part of the collective. As opposed to the “closed form”, exemplified by the project for the new capital of Brazil, Hansen explains that the open form does not exclude “the energy of the inhabitant initiative.”³⁶ He further argues that open form has the aim of helping the individual participating in the development of his own milieu. “The open form”, Hansen contends, “should thus be expressed by the noticeable presence of the individual in the multitude together with the intelligibility of the number.”³⁷ Hansen thus concludes that the open form resonates with the emergence of a new architectural aesthetics, which will “move closer to simplicity, to the everyday, to the as found, shattered, casual.”³⁸

Some years after, in 1964, Oskar Hansen contributed yet another reflection on the relation between open form and the great number in his introduction to the section on Poland featured in John Donat’s *World Architecture*. In his piece Hansen emphasized “the purpose of the aesthetics of Open Form is to communicate the rich, organic polemics of *Occurring Forms*.” And he went on arguing “this is achieved through enlarging the sphere of action of subjective phenomena, not by the elimination of particular forms (as in the aesthetics of Closed Form) but by consideration of particular component elements.”³⁹ He claimed open form is the design strategy that solves the deadlock between quantity and quality, in mingling subjective (individual) elements with collective (objective) elements; the individual in the great number or the *Art of Spontaneous Occurrence*. [Figure 7.06]

Fumihiko Maki, a member of the so-called Metabolist group, developed in the early 1960s the concept of group form, which presents some resonances with Hansen’s concept of open form, and is yet another case that deals with the issue of growth and change. Maki discussed the concept of group form and presented examples of this spatial concept in venues such as the 1960 WoDeCo (World Design Conference) in Tokyo or in Team 10’s meeting in Bagnoles-sur-Cèze held in that same year. As Max Risselada explains, Maki’s concept of group form contrasts with both the traditional concept of *compositional form*, and the then-upcoming notion of *megastructure*.⁴⁰ The notion of group form was developed after a survey to the collective form of vernacular settlements in such different places as Sudan, Greece and Japan, and it refers to a design strategy where the forms are articulated in an identifiable and meaningful fashion that, nevertheless, can accommodate internal growth and change.⁴¹ [Figure 7.07]

In the same period but springing from a different source, meaning from outside the CIAM/Team10 context, the Dutch architect N. John Habraken published his *De Draggers en de Mensen, het einde van de massawoningbouw* (Supports and the People, the end of mass housing).⁴² With this book Habraken delivered strong

36. Hansen, “La Forme Ouverte dans l’Architecture - l’Art du Grand Nombre,” 5.

37. *Ibid.*, 7.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Oskar Hansen, “Open Form and the Greater Number,” in *World Architecture One*, ed. John Donat (London: Studio Books, 1964), 141.

40. Max Risselada, “Fernando Távora Within the Context of Team 10,” in *Fernando Távora. Permanent Modernity*, ed. José António Bandeirinha (Matosinhos: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012), 162.

41. The notion of group form was further developed in Fumihiko Maki, *Investigations in Collective Form*, Washington University (Saint Louis, Mo.). School of Architecture Special Publication no. 2 (St. Louis: School of Architecture, Washington University, 1964).

42. This book was originally published in Dutch. In 1972 it was translated into English and published by Architectural Press with the title *Supports. An Alternative to Mass Housing*. For the last English version see N. John Habraken, *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing*, trans. B. Valkenburg (Urban International Press, 1999). Further references to this book were taken from the 1999 English version.

criticism into the rigidity of mass housing design strategies that prevailed hitherto, chiefly determined by a search for an ideal form, detached from the individual experience. He argued that this process “reduced the dwelling to a consumer article and the dweller to a consumer.”⁴³ Habraken contended that mass housing developed under these premises overlook “one of the strongest urges of mankind: the desire for possession.” This possession, however, is different from property, he explained. He underlined that his notion of possession resonates with taking action; “something becomes our possession because we make a sign on it, because we give it our name, or defile it, because it shows traces of our existence.”⁴⁴ Hence, to cater for the urge to possess that was purposely frustrated by mass housing design, Habraken brought about a dual system support/infill, where the decision-making process was re-shifted from the designer (supports) toward the user (infill), thus attempting to create a natural relationship between people and their protective environment, the dwelling. [Figure 7.08]

Habraken’s system of supports and infill relied on a technological development that allows fully-mechanized production of groups of housing elements which, according to him, “need not result in uniform dwellings, but can be assembled in an endless variety,” catalysed by the consumer *qua* producer, as could be already seen in the industrial production of customized kitchens and furniture.⁴⁵ Hence, Habraken concluded, “support system industrialization of housing will mean the end of the architect who wants to live out his artistry by manipulating men and materials, but at the same time it will provide a basis for an architecture rooted in society.”⁴⁶

The openness of Habraken’s system was thus chiefly determined by a reconceptualization of mechanization as support for the creation of diversity instead of standardization and homogeneity. Though Habraken highlighted the importance of the user in this process, the vital role in his system was given to the designer, as he is the crucial player that will define the possibilities to create the natural relation championed by him. In the case of another supporter of open systems, John Turner, the situation is somewhat different. Writing in the early 1970s, after more than one decade of experience dealing with housing issues in South America, Turner would make a strong case against the problems and perils of standardization as a token of an authoritarian system that excludes the users from the housing process. In his paper “Housing as a Verb”, published in 1972 as a chapter of the book *Freedom to Build*, John Turner argued that enforcing standards that are detached from the reality of a given situation contributes only to worsen the living conditions of those it should serve. Instead, he argued the basic issue in housing is searching its meaning and value for people.⁴⁷ Turner brought about a central question that attempted to critically rethink the power relations

43. *Ibid.*, 15.

44. *Ibid.*, 17.

45. *Ibid.*, 69.

46. *Ibid.*, 120.

47. Turner, “Housing as a Verb,” in *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*, ed. John F. C. Turner and Robert Fichter (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1972), 148.

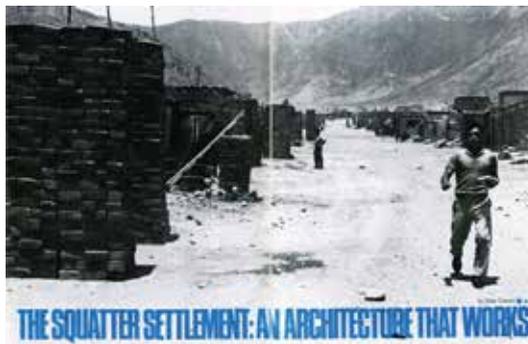
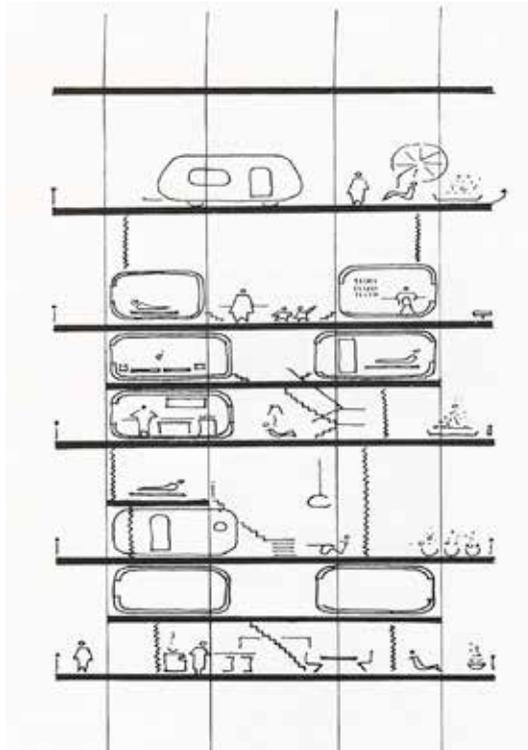


Figure 7.08. John Habraken - scheme describing the support-structure concept (unpublished, 1963). Source: Koos Bosma, Dorine van Hoogstraten, and Martijn Vos, *Housing for the Millions* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2000), 112.

Figure 7.09. John Turner, "The Squatter Settlement: An Architecture That Works,". Source: *Architectural Design*, 38 (August 1968), 355–356.

in the housing process. He asked, “why [...] are the ‘problems’ so universally defined in terms of what people *ought* to have [in the view of the problem-staters] instead of in realistic terms of what people *could* have?”⁴⁸

This fundamental distinction between *ought to have* and *could have*, becomes then instrumental to identify two different and conflictive accounts of housing: housing as a noun or housing as a verb. “When used as a noun,” Turner explained, “housing describes a *commodity* or a product. The verb ‘to house’ describes the process or *activity* of housing.”⁴⁹ Hence, he exemplified, when the public or the private sector sees housing as a commodity, people are treated as mere consumers, thus failing to consider housing value beyond mere material qualities, and unable to distinguish between what things *are* and what they *do* in people’s life.⁵⁰ Turner, then, championed the creation of open service networks where housing is conceived as an activity where the primal role is given to the users, as opposed to the closed project hierarchy where rule-making and game-playing are concentrated in the hands of one person or agency. [Figure 7.09]

Turner brought about examples retrieved from his experience in researching squatter settlements in Peru to highlight the potential benefits, both material and existential, obtained when the user is in full control of the design, construction and managements of his own home.⁵¹ Turner emphasized the primacy of local decision making in housing as an activity, claiming, therefore, that the governments’ role as rule maker should be tuned to “help the mass of the people make the best use of their own resources in their own ways.”⁵² These rules, however, are not fixed in an activity as housing. Hence, he contended, “the authorized institutions must be constantly active, therefore, adjusting the rules to previously misunderstood conditions and to new conditions that arise with ever-changing circumstances.” And he went on concluding “we must give up the futile or destructive attempt to impose our own will and we must support those who are fighting to regain the authority our executive institutions and corporations have usurped.”⁵³

The Previ-Lima Experience

The main reference supporting John Turner’s plea on people’s autonomy in building environments was the squatters’ movement in Latin America, especially in Peru. In effect, in the 1950s, shantytowns (locally known as *barriadas*) emerged as a side-effect of Peru’s project of modernization generating an outstanding increase in the number of urban poor that were accommodated in squatter settlements.⁵⁴ John Turner, Sharif Kahatt highlights, “took from his involvement in housing in Peru an understanding of the possibilities of pluralistic and inclusive

48. Ibid., 151.

49. Ibid. Original Emphasis.

50. Ibid., 152.

51. Ibid., 162.

52. Ibid., 173.

53. Ibid., 175.

54. For a synthetic account of PREVI-Lima’s relation with Peru’s project of modernization, see Sharif S Kahatt, “PREVI-Lima’s Time: Positioning Proyecto Experimental de Vivienda in Peru’s Modern Project,” *Architectural Design* 81, no. 3 (2011): 22–25.

representation of citizens' interests in urban development."⁵⁵

Curiously enough, then, it would be in the capital of Peru, Lima, where one of the most celebrated experiences in mass housing in the late 1960s would surface. Further, this experience would gather together some of the most outspoken supporters of the notion of "open architecture," discussed above. In effect, Oskar Hansen, Fumihiko Maki, Georges Candilis, and Aldo van Eyck would be invited to participate in the so-called *Proyecto Experimental de Vivienda* (PREVI, Experimental Housing Project).

The outset of this experience was triggered in 1965 by the joint initiative of the United Nations and the Peruvian government, whose president was Fernando Belaúnde, an architect, to invite Peter Land, a British architect and urban planner. The informal discussions began in 1966 and two years after, in September 1968, the Government of Peru, the United Nations and the United Nations Development Programme signed the plan of operations. However, in the month after the signature of the plan, in October 1968, Belaúnde's democratically elected government suffered a military coup d'état and was replaced by a military junta. Though some of PREVI's organizational structure suffered from this event, it nevertheless ensued with the basic principles proposed by Land with the support of Belaúnde's office. The main principles were drawn by an acknowledgement of the qualities and shortcomings of the unplanned growth and vernacular building practices observed in the squatters' settlements pervasive in Lima's built landscape. [Figure 7.10]

According to Peter Land, there were six fundamental principles that framed the experiment.⁵⁶ The urban design should be based on the possibility of future expansion and the concept of growing house should be used to accommodate the growth of the households over time. These two principles resonated with the transience of material and social conditions of the urban poor, which were noticeable in the slums. PREVI's development principles considered also the importance of accounting for the human-scale as a vital reference for the plan. Hence, the design should consider the configuration of housing clusters and a human-scale pedestrian environment. Finally, PREVI was also meant to explore and test new building techniques and to provide an overall landscape plan that could create an interwoven relation between all the constitutive parts of the neighbourhood.

55. Ibid., 23.

56. Peter Land, "The Experimental Housing Project (PREVI), Lima: Antecedents and Ideas," in *Time Builds!*, ed. Fernando García-Huidobro, Diego Torres Torriti, and Nicolas Tugás (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2008), 12.

The problem of social housing was, at that time, a vital issue in Peru but also in very many other places in the world, first and foremost in Latin America and Southeast Asia where rapid demographic growth led to severe housing shortages. PREVI Lima became thus an opportunity to contribute to discuss new possibilities to tackle this problem. The invitation to submit a



Figure 7.10. Photo montage of the international competitors at a briefing session with Peter Land (in front of blackboard). Source: *Architectural Design*, 4/70 (April 1970), 187.

Figure 7.11. Peter Lund (PREVI-Lima) - Model of the 24 different housing clusters. Source: Fernando García-Huidobro, Diego Torres Torriti, and Nicolas Tugás, *Time Builds!* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2008), 16. Photo: © Peter Land.

proposal for the PREVI sent to thirteen international renowned architects, representing different regions of the world, testifies to this will to extrapolate the experiment to a broader audience.⁵⁷ Next to the international offices, an equal number of Peruvian offices were selected after an open national competition.⁵⁸ In August 1969, the jury awarded six equal cash-prizes (three to international teams and three to Peruvian teams).⁵⁹ However, according to Peter Land, the quality of the proposals submitted by all the participants in the competition was such that it was decided that all the twenty-six schemes should be tested.⁶⁰ Peter Land himself developed the urban plan where clusters of around twenty dwellings, designed by each one of the twenty-six teams, were articulated with public facilities, the landscape design, and the communications and services infrastructure. [Figure 7.11]

57. The thirteen international offices invited were James Stirling (UK); Knud Svenssons (Denmark); Esquerra, Semper, Sáenz, Urdaneta (Colombia); Atelier 5 (Switzerland); Toivo Korhonen (Finland); Herbert Ohl (Germany); Charles Correa (India); Kikutake, Maki, Kurokawa (Japan); Iñiguez de Ozoño, Vasquez de Castro (Spain); Hansen, Hatloy (Poland); Aldo van Eyck (The Netherlands); Candilis, Josic and Woods (France); and Christopher Alexander (USA).

58. The Peruvian offices selected were Miguel Alvariano; Ernesto Paredes; Luis Miró-Quesada, Carlos Williams, Oswaldo Núñez; Juan Gunther, Mario Seminario; Carlos Morales; Juan Reiser; Eduardo Orrego; Luis Vier, Consuelo Zanelli; Franco Vella, José Bentín, Raúl Quiñones, Luis Takahashi; Manuel Llanos, Elsa Mazzarri; Frederick Cooper, José García-Bryce, Antonio Graña, Eugenio Nicolini; Fernando Chaparro, Vitor Ramírez, Victor Smirnoff, Victor Wyszokowsky; Jacques Crousse, Jorge Páez, Ricardo Pérez León.

59. For more information about the members of the jury and the winners of the competition, see “Previ/Lima. Low Cost Housing Project,” *Architectural Design* no. 4 (1970): 187–205.

60. Eventually only twenty-four schemes were actually built. Both the scheme designed by Herbert Ohl and one of the Peruvian teams were not built allegedly due to technical reasons. See Land, “The Experimental Housing Project (PREVI), Lima: Antecedents and Ideas,” 22.

61. “Previ/Lima. Low Cost Housing Project.”

A comprehensive coverage of the proposals designed by the invited international offices was featured in *Architectural Design* in the April 1970 issue.⁶¹ Each proposal covered a broad spectrum of themes ranging from the scale of the whole neighbourhood until the design of infrastructural components and building systems. In effect, the entries submitted by the participants in the PREVI competition show a thorough account of the state of the art on design strategies to accommodate growth and change over time. For example, the proposal designed by Fumihiko Maki (with Kikutake and Kurokawa) was a convincing illustration of his notion of group form. His project, selected as one of the winners of the competition, articulates the dwelling units in triangular clusters structured around collective open spaces served by pedestrian access. The circulation routes and public buildings were gathered in a so-called “omnibelt” serving the dwelling clusters. The general layout shows a clear and identifiable structure that, nevertheless, accommodates many variations in the size of the basic dwelling unit. [Figure 7.12]

If the PREVI Lima competition was an opportunity to test Maki’s notion of group form it was also an occasion for Oskar Hansen to explore the application of his concept of open form into a design strategy related to the habitat for the great number. The project presented by the Polish (co-authored with Svein Hatloy) illustrates his plea on the combination of individual expression and intelligible collectiveness. In the page of *Architectural Design* where his project was featured, the description reads “the project [...] is organized in such a way as to minimize hierarchical structures in favour of parallel opportunities for all inhabitants.” Hence, as opposed to Maki’s strategy, Hansen rejects the creation of neighbourhood units or “other *de facto* groupings, only the normal possibilities of contact between adjacent dwellings.” In the project designed by Hansen and Hatloy the relation between the urban scheme’s layout and the growth pattern of the dwelling units shows the formal autonomy

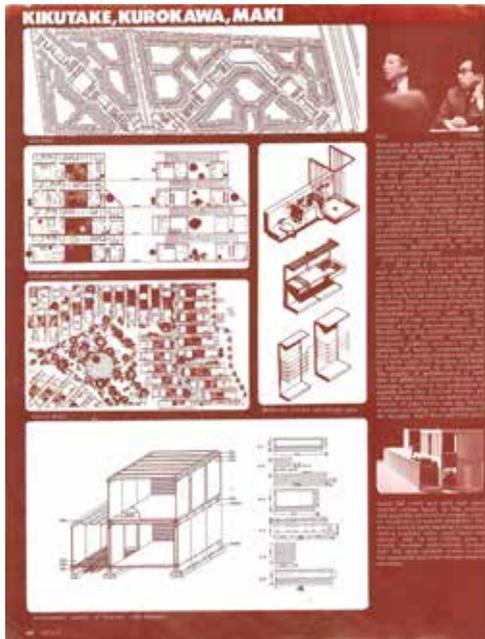


Figure 7.12. Kikutake, Kurokawa and Maki - Entry for the PREVI Lima competition. Source: *Architectural Design*, 4/70 (April 1970), 191.

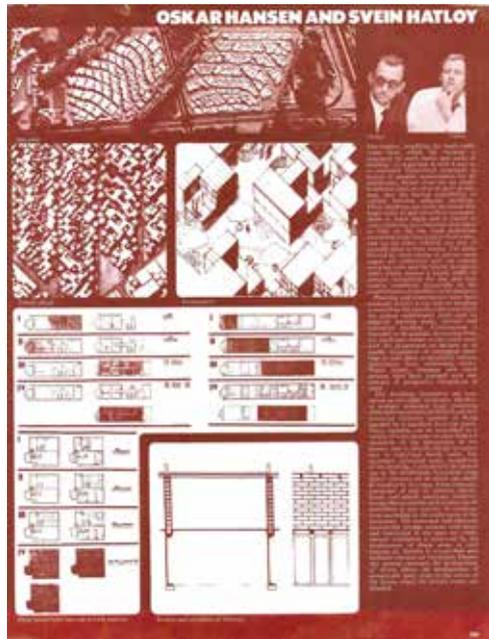


Figure 7.13. Oskar Hansen and Sven Hatloy - Entry for the PREVI Lima competition. Source: *Architectural Design*, 4/70 (April 1970), 200.

of the latter in relation to the former. [Figure 7.13]

Maki's and Hansen's projects show only two of the various design strategies to accommodate growth and change through time developed for PREVI Lima. As Justin McGuirk notes, the PREVI competition "involved the best radical avantgarde international architects chosen from among those who had a solid reputation for social housing."⁶² Among them, people such as James Stirling, Maki, Charles Correa, and the partnership of Candilis, Josic and Woods had been previously engaged with important housing experiences such as, respectively, Runcorn New Town housing, the house-capsule, the tube housing and the Cité Horizontale. This "dense urban collage," as Mc Guirk put it, would be highly influential in the architectural milieu in the early 1970s, and produce shockwaves that would eventually influence the disciplinary discourse even in (semi)peripheral locations such as Portugal.

Designing with Time

In one of his trips to South America in the 1960s, Nuno Portas visited the exhibition of the projects submitted to the PREVI competition.⁶³ In a previous chapter, it was already highlighted Portas' interest in the research on housing, which grew over the 1960s with his tenure at the LNEC (*Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil*, National Laboratory of Civil Engineering). While in the late 1950s the main references for his CODA thesis were chiefly inspired by the Italian architectural debate and production, and by the sociological work of Chombart de Lauwe, from the mid-1960s on he grew more interested in the work developed by a group of researchers active in the Anglo-Saxon circle and interested in the problem of the habitat for the urban poor in the developing world. Among them, the work of Charles Abrams, John Turner, and Amos Rapoport surface as noticeable references in Portas' writings and research produced in that period. Next to them, Portas was also greatly influenced by the Brazilian architect and anthropologist Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos, who was active in the 1960s developing alternative strategies to the Brazilian programmes of slum clearance.

It was in this context that in the late 1960s Nuno Portas developed with Francisco Silva Dias a research on housing types to accommodate growth and change over time. The outcome of their research was published as a technical report with the title *Tipologias de Edifícios. Habitação Evolutiva: princípios e critérios de projecto* (Building Typologies. Incremental Housing: principles and design criteria).⁶⁴ After its original publication, in December 1971 by the LNEC, the report was republished in the October 1972 issue of *Arquitectura* as an extensive article, thus circulating its conclusions to a broader

62. Justin Mc Guirk, "PREVI: The Metabolist Utopia," *Domusweb*, April 21, 2011, <http://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2011/04/21/previ-the-metabolist-utopia.html>.

63. In an interview given in 2011, Nuno Portas confirmed this visit to Lima, where he met Peter Land and saw the PREVI exhibition. He stated, "I went there to see the outcome of the [PREVI] competition (...). I have not seen the neighbourhood; I went to see the exhibition of the projects and to talk with the people from the United Nations, led by an Englishman, who had organized the competition." Interview with Nuno Portas (September 2011), in Mariana Carvalho, "Investigação em Arquitectura. O Contributo de Nuno Portas no LNEC 1963-1974" (Master Dissertation, University of Coimbra, 2012), 319. Translated from Portuguese by the author.

64. Nuno Portas and Francisco Silva Dias, *Tipologias de Edifícios. Habitação Evolutiva: Princípios e Critérios de Projecto* (Lisboa: LNEC, December 1971).

audience in the disciplinary field.⁶⁵ [Figure 7.14] The report/article draws extensively on contemporary experiences that explored incremental housing types and low-rise/high-density urban schemes.⁶⁶ These references were instrumental to tackle the essential problems in Portuguese housing policies diagnosed by the authors: the unequal social distribution of wealth and the social segregation triggered by a speculative real-estate sector.

The main goal of Silva Dias and Portas' study was the development of a housing policy that allocated its financial resources to solve the problem of mass housing in a more efficient and socially responsible manner, using "a compact horizontal grouping of individual houses provided with an additional private open space that can be partially built on."⁶⁷ This housing type, as opposed to the isolated high-rise housing blocks, allowed the introduction of building systems compatible with traditional methods and possibly self-built processes. Further, the introduction of the time factor in the relation between the house and the urban fabric would contribute to stimulate the progressive integration of the residents in the new social and economical context. Moreover, the openness of this typological approach was such that it could also be used to build middle class housing thus avoiding the "ghettoization" of the new settlements.

Silva Dias and Portas were strongly against mass housing policies based on the fatality of the *existenzminimum*, the use of emergency or provisional houses, or the inevitability of prefabrication processes. They argued, nevertheless, that industrialization could be used if the size and cost of the operation justifies it and provided that the system allows future expansion of the initial building. The use of incremental housing types was presented as a serious contribution to solve the country's housing shortage. In effect, by reducing the investment needed for the construction of the first phase of the dwelling unit, using the incremental housing type would allow increasing the number of new dwellings sponsored by the governmental agencies built with the same budget. By the same token, accelerating the production of houses would reduce the pernicious effects of real estate speculation.

The urban model proposed in the report was based on the extensive urban fabric, whose vitality could be experienced in the spontaneous (squatters) settlements, with low-rise buildings and high density. They argued, however, that the new settlements thus created should be articulated with the existing urban morphology to avoid "yet another 'rejection' process as that of the suburban speculative settlements."⁶⁸ This integration should be both functional (avoiding ghettos created by economical and social divisions) and visual (creating an urban pattern resonant with the traditional systems of streets, as opposed to the "free dispersive space of the housing blocks").

65. Francisco Silva Dias and Nuno Portas, "Habitação Evolutiva," *Arquitectura 3* Série, no. 126 (October 1972): 100–121. This and further quotations from this work were translated from Portuguese by the author.

66. Among the examples of foreign undertakings on these topics, they showed projects developed by Elie Azagury in Morocco, several entries to the PREVI-Lima competition (e.g. German Semper, Toivo Korhonen, and James Stirling), and incremental housing used in Milton Keynes new town.

67. Dias and Portas, "Habitação Evolutiva," 101.

68. *Ibid.*, 103.

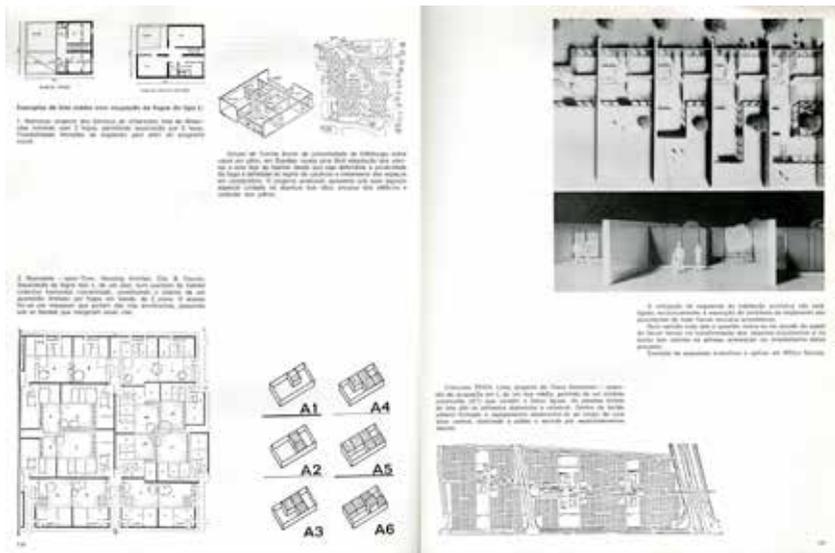


Figure 7.14. International references on incremental housing discussed in the article “Habitação Evolutiva,” written by Francisco Silva Dias and Nuno Portas. Source: *Arquitetura*, 3a Série, 126 (October 1972), 120–121.

Figure 7.15. Francisco Silva Dias and Nuno Portas - Examples of incremental growth in square and narrow plots. Source: *Arquitetura*, 3a Série, 126 (October 1972), 112–113.

They were aware of the disciplinary account on the urban models and design strategies proposed in their report, the suspicions and objections regarding the low-rise type and the concept of incremental housing. Whereas the former was usually associated with suburban low-density with its inherent individualism and deprived of social interaction, the latter was feared for the random character of the construction process over time. Silva Dias and Portas discarded the density argument using Amos Rapoport's notion of visual density (qualitative) instead of physical density (quantitative). Rapoport considered visual density as the result of the spaces' degree of enclosure and intricacy.⁶⁹ "The concept of urbanity," Silva Dias and Portas argued, "is much more related with the frequency and variety of the public spaces than with the height of the buildings."⁷⁰ Regarding the fear of spontaneity in incremental housing, they contended that in that design system, it is not the buildings that should define the urban form. Rather, it is the urban grid that defines the public open space, the scale of the streets, squares or parks, the strategic position of the vital communitarian amenities.⁷¹ Hence, the structure of the public space should be defined in such a way as to accommodate the time factor and the residents' initiative in the unrelenting definition of the building's program and form.

The report went further with the discussion of housing policies and urban models. It also presented a thorough illustration of several possibilities to develop incremental housing types in different morphological circumstances, and according to different aspects. [Figure 7.15] They identified two factors for the incremental development of the initial nucleus: changes in the family composition and alteration in the family's economical condition. The outset of the process could present two different scenarios: a dividable initial nucleus destined to a stabilized and sizeable family with children with a good initial surface but less privacy and comfort, or an expandable initial nucleus for a growing family where in the outset the privacy and comfort are acceptable but the surface is minimum. Depending on which was the case of the initial nucleus, they considered the dwelling could be developed in three phases: extension (incremented surface), partition (incremented privacy), and finishings (incremented comfort).⁷²

The outstanding transformation of Portugal's political situation with the 25 April 1974 democratic revolution would contribute to re-evaluate some of the seminal contributions for the reconceptualization of the country's housing policies suggested by Silva Dias and Portas' report on incremental housing. For one thing, the SAAL process, discussed in a previous chapter, would include recommendations clearly in tune with the principles of incremental housing, which some of the operations would follow. From the late 1970s on, with the premature end

69. Silva Dias and Portas quoted Amos Rapoport account on housing density in France published in Amos Rapoport, "Housing and Housing Densities in France," *The Town Planning Review* 39, no. 4 (January 1969): 341–354.

70. Dias and Portas, "Habitação Evolutiva," 104.

71. Lesley Martin's essay "The Grid as Generator", published in 1972, will be a pervasive reference in Nuno Portas' writings over the 1970s. It is not clear, however, whether Martin's ideas on the power of the grid as a controlling influence in city form was already influential to Silva Dias and Portas' discussion on incremental housing.

72. Dias and Portas, "Habitação Evolutiva," 107–108.

of the SAAL process, the innovative and progressive research on housing design and policies would have a swift decline, including the research on incremental housing. There was, however, an outstanding exception to this regressing process: the Malagueira district, an urban extension of the city of Évora in Portugal's southern province of Alentejo, whose plan was designed by Álvaro Siza.

7.2•Assimilating the Vernacular

The city of Évora is located in the Alentejo province in the south of Portugal. It has a long urban history, consolidated over a period of two millennia. Until the beginning of the twentieth century the city developed within the perimeter of its medieval ramparts. The first settlements developed outside the fortifications' perimeter came about in the 1930s as a result of the first wave of rural migration to the city. In the following two decades (1940s and 1950s) a second wave of rural migrants contributed to a noticeable growth of the city's population with an estimated amount of 1400 new households built outside the city's medieval core.⁷³ These settlements were dispersed around this core, occupying positions tangential to the main routes heading to the city centre, chiefly decided by speculative real-estate interests. This spontaneity, as it were, was further contrasted with the characteristics of the historical city by the conspicuous use of rural references in the building types, techniques, and materials employed by the migrants in their houses. Hence, the vernacular tradition of Alentejo's rural world was transported to the immediate surroundings of the medieval city. These so-called *clandestinos* (illegal or clandestine settlements) became pervasive on the suburban landscape of Évora and a challenge to the design of the city's successive urban plans over a period of almost half a century.

The *Clandestinos*

The settlements of *clandestinos* were already included in the first plan for the extension of Évora, elaborated by the technical services of the municipality in the late 1930s. This plan was not approved, and in the early 1940s the French urban planner Etienne de Gröer was commissioned by the Ministry of Public Works, Duarte Pacheco, to design Évora's urban plan, which was eventually approved in 1945 by the municipality and in 1947 by the government. This plan was chiefly influenced by the principles of the Garden City movement and, in its first version, rejected explicitly the creation of housing blocks or other collective building types. In effect, the single-family house type occupied all the housing sectors, though these were overtly categorized according to social class.⁷⁴ As mentioned above, the *clandestinos* grew noticeably over the 1950s, clearly showing the inability of

73. For an account of Évora's urban development in the twentieth century see Carmen Almeida, ed., *Riscos de Um Século. Memórias da Evolução Urbana de Évora* (Évora: Câmara Municipal de Évora, 2001).

74. The final version of the 1945 plan was more permeable to the inclusion of low-rise housing blocks. See Jorge Carvalho, *Évora. Administração Urbanística* (Évora: Câmara Municipal de Évora, 1990), 17; Almeida, *Riscos de Um Século*, 102–103.

the 1945 plan to accommodate the rural-urban migration and the emergence of spontaneous settlements. In the late 1950s, the son of Etienne de Gröer, Nikita de Gröer, was commissioned to develop a revision to the plan designed by his father. This revision was chiefly focused on rearticulating the motorized circulation in the urban structure. It was never approved, though, thus fostering contingent public urban policies and an inability to counter the emergence of spontaneous developments. [Figure 7.16] In 1969, the governmental agency for planning (DGSU, *Direcção Geral do Serviços de Urbanização*) commissioned Portugal's biggest architecture and urban planning office, *Atelier Conceição Silva*, the design of a new plan for Évora. The geographer Jorge Gaspar, one of the members of Conceição Silva's team for the plan, produced in 1972 a diagram that clearly illustrates the physical distribution of Évora's different types of settlements. [Figure 7.17] In this diagram, the scattered nuclei of *clandestinos* are noticeable, thus highlighting the failure of the successive plans to accommodate these settlements into the urban fabric, and the incapacity of the municipality to regulate the city's growth.⁷⁵ In Conceição Silva's plan the *clandestinos* were rearticulated with the new sectors proposed. Further, this plan defined a centrifugal gradient of densities, articulating the low density of the peripheral sectors with the high density of the sectors next to the city ramparts through the introduction of new building types, first and foremost middle-rise dwelling blocks. [Figure 7.18]

In the early 1970s, while the plan designed by the office of Conceição Silva was being discussed and developed, the governmental agency for housing (FFH, *Fundo de Fomento da Habitação*) developed a housing complex with 479 dwellings on Évora's western periphery. In an isolated attempt to tackle the city's housing shortage, the design of the so-called *Bairro da Cruz da Picada* (Cruz da Picada neighbourhood) was, nevertheless, overtly dissonant from the vernacular housing forms developed in the spontaneous settlements and from the traditional urban fabric of the historic city. [Figure 7.19] In effect, the complex included multifamily housing blocks, four to seven floors height, thus introducing a new scale, density and new dwelling types in that context.

Projecting with the Unplanned

When the 25 April 1974 revolution came about, the construction of *Cruz da Picada* was already in development but Conceição Silva's plan was not officially approved yet. In effect, in the aftermath of the revolution, Nuno Portas, now the provisional government's Secretary of State of Housing and Urbanism, decided to suspend Conceição Silva's plan arguing that it jeopardized the preservation of the historic city's image and profile. Consequently, the municipality's administration decided

75. A great deal of this growth was supported by occupations of land classified as "rural" to develop housing, which was not permitted by law.

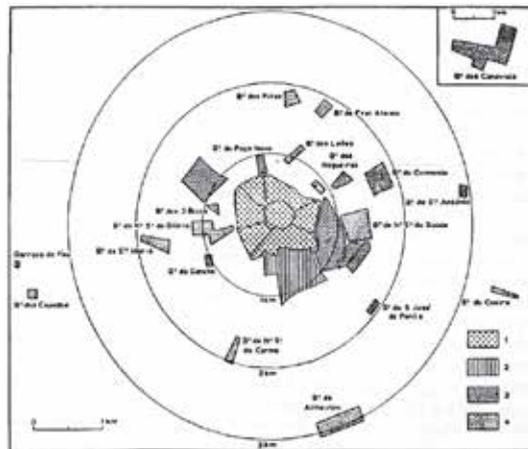
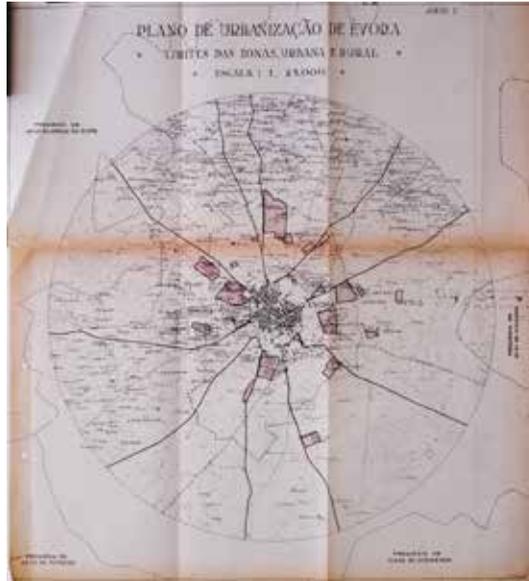


Figure 7.16. Plan of Évora with the location of the *clandestinos* highlighted. Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

Figure 7.17. Jorge Gaspar - Residential areas in Évora. 1- Historic City centre; 2- Late 19th century extension; 3- New neighbourhood (1940-70); 4- Illegal settlements (*clandestinos*). Source: Jorge Gaspar, *A Área de Influência de Évora* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Geográficos, 1972), 328.

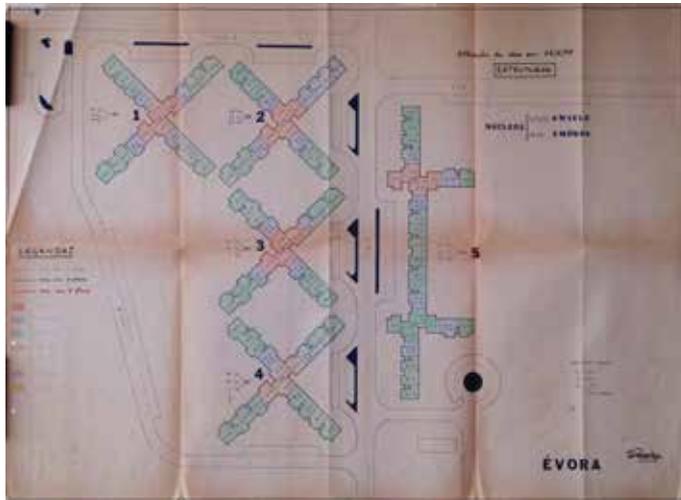


Figure 7.18. Atelier Conceição Silva - Preliminary project for the Malagueira estate sector (1972). Source: Carmen Almeida, ed., *Riscos de um Século* (Évora: Câmara Municipal de Évora, 2001), 147.

Figure 7.19. FFH Cruz da Picada housing complex, Évora. General Plan with building heights. Green: four floors; blue: five floors; red: seven floors. Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

to focus on the region west of the historic centre as the area for further growth, and asked directly the governmental agency for planning (DGSU) to elaborate a plan to develop that area. The new Plan for the Expansion of the Western Zone, (PEZO, *Plano de Expansão da Zona Oeste*), envisioned to articulate the shattered urban fabric of the area, to conciliate the urban expansion with the monumental character of the historic city, and to create three thousand and five hundred new dwellings. After a period of analysis and debate with the municipality's executive board and the dwellers associations, the PEZO was officially approved in November 1975.⁷⁶ [Figure 7.20]

This plan outlined an ambivalent strategy. While inspired on the tenets of the functional city, i.e. the principles of the Athens Charter, it also suggested an assimilation of elements from local culture. The influence of the interwar modernist principles was chiefly visible in the plan's circulation network, where spatial hierarchies and segregation of pedestrian and motorized traffic could be seen. However, the plan contested the approach epitomized by the large-scale housing blocks, such as the *Cruz da Picada* neighbourhood located on the southern part of the plan's area – Area ZUb. In fact, a great many of the residential areas defined in the new plan considered only buildings with a maximum height of two floors, predominantly single-family patio or row houses. Only in the central part of the plan (Areas R1 and R2) it was possible to build apartment blocks with four floors as maximum height.

The authors of the plan showed interest in preserving identifying devices related either with the walled city's traditional housing customs and with the peripheral spontaneous settlements. They argued that “the informal grouping of housing lots [...] with various configurations would foster probable tendencies towards self-construction allowing, on the other hand, the creation of more customized and spontaneous forms of habitat.”⁷⁷ The plan thus deliberately shunned a dogmatic urban design approach. It revealed instead a compromised solution, with ambiguous and hybrid principles mingled with some contextual references. The layout of the plan shows a fragmented mosaic of self-contained parts with a heterogeneous urban fabric. After four decades of urban plans that struggled to articulate structured urban growth with spontaneous settlements, the strategy of PEZO's authors was seemingly grounded in accommodating the vernacular, accepting the contingency inherent to the housing processes illustrated by the *clandestinos*.

76. The authors of the plan were A. Campos Matos (architect) and A. Nazaré Pereira (landscape architect), both technicians at the DGSU (Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização – General Directorate of the Urbanization Services).

77. A. Campos Matos and A. Nazaré Pereira, *Plano de Expansão Oeste de Évora. Memória Descritiva e Justificativa*, February 19, 1976, 44-45/70 Évora, Malagueira, Álvaro Siza archive.

Housing Policies and Democracy

In the aftermath of the democratic revolution, it was estimated that ten per cent of Évora's population lived in *clandestinos*, i.e. 3500 persons approximately. These settlements, shattered

on the outskirts of the historic city suffered from sanitation problems caused by the lack of infrastructure. In the period stretching from the 1974 revolution until the first local elections, in December 1976, the administrative commission that ruled the municipality defined two main goals for their intervention. On the one hand, they aimed to rehabilitate the *clandestinos* and, on the other hand, they proposed to develop a consistent policy to solve the housing shortage in the city and combat the real estate speculation that hindered a great deal of the population the right to have proper living conditions.

In April 1975, after some months of negotiation, the SAAL/Évora brigade was created to solve the housing problems of a group of residents living in *clandestinos* at the “Sancho de Miranda” and “Gancho” neighbourhoods.⁷⁸ These residents were eventually organized in the *Associação de Moradores de S. Sebastião* (S. Sebastião Residents’ Association), and a project for the Gancho neighbourhood was designed by a technical brigade coordinated by José Callado. [Figure 7.21] In 1976 the project was ready. The operation, however, met with many problems caused by, first and foremost, the expropriation process that was blocked and contested by the services of the DGSU. In effect, as mentioned above, the plan for Évora’s Western Extension (PEZO), developed by the services of DGSU, had just been officially approved and the expropriation process of a vast area comprising the Malagueira and Malagueirinha estates ensued. The funds allocated to this process were substantial, thus inhibiting a dispersal of resources to other initiatives. As in many other SAAL operations, in Évora it was also the mismatches between the local initiative (the residents association), the local administration (the municipality), and the central sponsor (the government) that determined its premature end. As in many other cases, in Évora the failure of the SAAL process was deliberately triggered by a process of relocation of the control of the city’s urban development to the hands of the municipal executive power. I would argue, however, that in this case the outcome was more influenced by a political project with a sound planning strategy, rather than by the readjustment of the economic influence of the real estate developers, as it happened in Porto, for example.

The problem of the *clandestinos* was central to this strategy. In effect, in a meeting of the municipal assembly held on 21 February 1977, the theme of the illegal urbanization and construction on the city’s outskirts was the main topic. The discussion was supported by a document prepared by the municipality’s alderman for housing and urban planning, Jorge Silva, an architect. Jorge Silva highlighted the perversity of the capitalist system that indirectly contributed to encourage the emergence of *clandestinos*, occupied by those who were not able to pay the exchange value of the urbanization areas defined

78. For an account of the SAAL Process in Évora see Rita Fonseca Martins, “Operação SAAL/Évora. A Construção de uma Vontade, O Bairro da Malagueira.” (Master Dissertation, Universidade de Évora, 2010).

by the plans developed since the 1930s. Hence, Silva argues, “a great deal of Évora’s urban growth was made in a negative image of the urbanization plans.”⁷⁹ The strategy to overcome this was thus clear: control the real estate speculation, increase the offer of legal construction and inform the population about the advantages of living in it. Among the actions to develop this agenda, a thorough study of the *clandestinos* was already in development and it was suggested the rapid development of the PEZO, inviting an experienced architectural office able to tackle the challenge to develop a masterplan (*Plano de Pormenor*) for an area with 27 hectares, which comprised a *clandestinos* settlement, an agricultural estate manor, and many remnants of its former agricultural function. Further, that masterplan should include housing to accommodate the needs of such different stakeholders as residents associations, cooperatives, the governmental housing agency, and private initiative.

On 7 March 1977, in a meeting at the municipality, Jorge Silva suggested inviting Álvaro Siza to design the so-called Malagueira masterplan arguing that he had demonstrated with his SAAL operations in Porto technical and personal skills to cope with the challenges of Évora’s operation. Further, the international appraisal on his work could contribute to create better conditions to negotiate with the several stakeholders involved in the process. After some debate on the democratic legitimacy of a direct invitation instead of a public consultation, the members of the municipality’s executive board eventually agreed on inviting Siza, who accepted the invitation on 26 March 1977.

7.3•The “As Found” as Generator

After his experience with the SAAL-Process in Porto’s São Victor and Bouça operations, Siza’s architectural approach to housing design showed an increasing attention to *reality* as a basic methodological apparatus for the design process. Yet, the notion of *reality* in Siza’s design process is complex and intricate as it dwells on aspects related with such topics as material and social circumstances, as well as disciplinary and political issues. In any event, the themes discussed above, from the dialectical relation between standardization and individual expression to the design strategies to accommodate growth and change over time will surface in the mid-1970s in Siza’s mass-housing projects. For its sheer scale and the characteristics of the commission, the plan and projects for the Malagueira neighbourhood epitomize a disciplinary approach that negotiates the tenets of modernity with an engagement with the vernacular tradition and with grassroots empowerment, through a project that combines citizens’ participation with authorship, and mingles openness with standardization.

79. Câmara Municipal de Évora, “Reunião de 21 de Fevereiro de 1977,” February 21, 1977, Álvaro Siza archive. Original in Portuguese, translated by the author.



Figure 7.22. Models of the Malagueira masterplan. Source: Álvaro Siza archive (above); *Arquitectura*, 4a Série, 132 (March 1979), 46 (below).

Reality as a Principle

Siza's preliminary study for Malagueira's masterplan was presented on 30 August 1977. [Figure 7.22] In the plan's description, Siza highlighted the three fundamental goals for the area, as defined by the PEZO. Firstly, the masterplan ought to accommodate dwellings for 4,120 inhabitants. Secondly, it should cater for the integration of three *clandestinos* settlements (Fontanas, Santa Maria and Nossa Senhora da Glória), the *Cruz da Picada* housing complex, and two university areas to the north of the area. Finally, it must preserve and create green areas. The two housing types suggested in the PEZO were housing blocks with four floors and a collective courtyard, and single-family houses with two floors. Siza accepted the essential aspects of the general plan though he suggested some changes to the housing types, which were determined, according to the plan's description, "by a more detailed account of the pre-existing physical condition and also a direct contact with the people engaged in the development of the plan."⁸⁰

In this report, Siza thus highlighted the importance of what Ernesto Rogers called the *preesistenza ambientale* (the pre-existing conditions), and he went further arguing that he also benefited from lessons learnt through the contact with the grassroots. He argued "the participation of the cooperatives and the possibility of using the municipality's experience in the rehabilitation of the *clandestinos*, provided more information and an acknowledgement of the tensions between customs, traditions and transformation tendencies."

Siza defined five essential principles for his Malagueira plan. The first was a structure supported by two perpendicular axes (north/south and east-west), chiefly defined in accordance with existing pathways. The second was the definition of the urban fabric and volumes based on the morphological characteristics of the "Santa Maria" and "Nossa Senhora da Glória" settlements, two of Évora's *clandestinos*, included in the plan's area. The third was the preservation of the profile of the historic city by creating a stark contrast between the low-rise buildings in the new neighbourhood and the striking skyline of the medieval core. The fourth principle was related with the strategy of considering only two housing types, one with a patio alongside the street (type A), and another with a patio at the back of the plot (type B). [Figure 7.23] Both types were nevertheless designed for similar plots with twelve meters depth and just one street front, measuring eight meters wide. The houses should have two floors and be suitable for incremental growth from a one-bedroom to a five-bedrooms layout. "The plot association framework," the report explains, "is repeated all through the site. The variation of ambiance is obtained by adaptation to the topography (profile variation), by the irregular distribution of the housing types, by

80. Álvaro Siza, *Plano de Pormenor de uma Área de 27 Ha Integrada no Plano de Expansão Oeste de Évora. Estudos Preliminares - Memória Descritiva*, August 30, 1977, 44-45/70 Évora, Malagueira, Álvaro Siza archive. Further references to this report were taken from this source. This and further quotes from this text were originally written in Portuguese and translated into English by the author.



Figure 7.23. Plan of Évora's western area. Existing situation in the mid-1970s (above); General plan with Álvaro Siza's Malagueira masterplan (below). Source: Author's drawing.

the spaces resulting from the junction of irregular routes, by the inclusion of facilities, by the contrast between green and built areas and the clash between both.”

In this principle, Siza emphasizes the potential of using contingent features inherent to the site to create diversity using only two basic dwelling types. “Complexity and variety,” he argued, “do not depend on the variation of housing types, rather in its articulation with the open spaces and with other functions. The city of Évora is a good example of this.” The references to the vernacular tradition and to the historic city are also present in the fifth principle, where Siza explains that in his plan the circulation network has less traffic segregation than that suggested by the PEZO. He argued that the layout of the masterplan took into account “pre-existing behaviours and interests already present in the sector (such as the commercial street in the *Bairro de Santa Maria*) and the example of the historic city.”

Siza’s five principles show his critical acceptance of PEZO’s general framework, with some outstanding differences, but with similar goals and strategies as well. As mentioned earlier, similarly to Siza’s principles, the authors of the general plan had already expressed their interest in preserving morphological relations with both the traditional housing customs in the historic city, and with the peripheral spontaneous settlements, the *clandestinos*. Concerning the circulation network, however, they were more interested, though in a non-dogmatic fashion, in the creation of typical “Athens Charter” strategies, defining hierarchies and segregation of pedestrian and motorized traffic. The general plan thus revealed a compromised solution, with ambiguous and hybrid principles mingled with some contextual references. With an area of 27 hectares, the area of Malagueira’s masterplan, occupied the central part of PEZO (areas R1 and R2).

This was the sector of the plan intended for multifamily housing blocks with a maximum height of four floors. [Figure 7.24] However, as discussed above, Siza challenged this premise and, instead, proposed an occupation chiefly determined by the contingencies of the situation. [Figure 7.25] Rather than a scattered set of multifamily housing blocks, Siza thus proposed to redistribute the housing units defined in the general plan into single-family row houses. Siza argued that this was the natural way buildings were associated in the existing spontaneous settlements, which he used and referred to as key elements for his plan. In fact, as mentioned above, the authors of the plan have also considered spontaneity as an important condition to be fulfilled by the plan’s strategy. Therefore, despite adopting a different typological approach, Siza shared with the authors of the general plan some common grounds.



Figure 7.24. A. Campos Matos and A. Nazaré Pereira - Detail of the Plan for Évora's West Extension (DGSU, 1975). Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

Figure 7.25. Álvaro Siza - Pre-liminary plan for the Malagueira estate - Structural definition of the plan. Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photo: © Nelson Mota.



Figure 7.26. Study for the plan's 'grid' relating with the existing infrastructure of the S. Maria *clandestinos* neighbourhood. Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

In Siza's approach, the neighbouring settlements would be of paramount importance to structure his plan for Malagueira. Each existing *clandestinos* neighbourhood revealed a relatively dense association of single-family houses organized along narrow streets. The compactness of each one contrasted with the scattered character of their distribution on Évora's suburban landscape. With the Malagueira's masterplan, Siza pursued an assimilation process, which was part of a strategy to articulate those independent *nuclei* into a coherent structure, as it had been relentlessly pursued in the plans for Évora since the 1930s. [Figure 7.26] This articulation was possible not only through built elements but also with open spaces, which were familiar urban figures for the communities of that region, most of them belonging to a first or second generation of rural migrants: patio, garden, street, and square.

Hence, the interaction of the private with the public realm was an important aspect in both the design of the dwelling unit and in Malagueira's masterplan, and it became a vital element to negotiate the definition of the transition between the individual and the collective space. In Siza's Malagueira plan, as Enrico Molteni argues, "the street limit is defined by the blocks' continuous wall, which expresses the deep desire for collective identity, alongside with the repetitiveness of each dwelling's common element – the patio, which represents the space for each family's life."⁸¹ The housing unit, in fact, became the basic reference to structure the whole plan, as Siza highlighted in the fourth principle of Malagueira's masterplan.

Siza's "First Gaze"

Siza developed the preliminary version of the Malagueira plan from May to August 1977, and it was approved by Évora's city council in November 1977. Subsequently, the plan was discussed with both the municipality's technicians and politicians, and the members of local housing cooperatives, acting as representatives of the future residents. The plan established that the housing units should be distributed through different intermediation processes and promotion methods: public, private, and cooperative.⁸² Siza's preliminary sketches confirm the importance given to the existing conditions of the site, as highlighted in the masterplan's principles. Those sketches reveal the central role he assigned to the assimilation of both the site's existing constructions and the region's building traditions and landmarks. [Figure 7.27] The initial drawings, in fact, reveal a vital aspect of Siza's design rationale, which the Italian architect Roberto Collovà called Siza's "initial act." In effect, Collovà, who followed the evolution of the construction of the Malagueira neighbourhood, argued that,

The architect, by recognising the insufficiency of our instruments to describe a reality so complex and apparently

81. Enrico Molteni, *Álvaro Siza. Barrio de la Malagueira, Évora*, Textos i Documents d'Arquitectura 5 (Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 1997), 35.

82. 407 units for housing cooperatives; 100 units for the S. Sebastião neighbourhood association; 300 for the central government's agency of social housing promotion (FFH, Fundo de Fomento da Habitação); 93 units for development contracts and 300 units for private initiative.

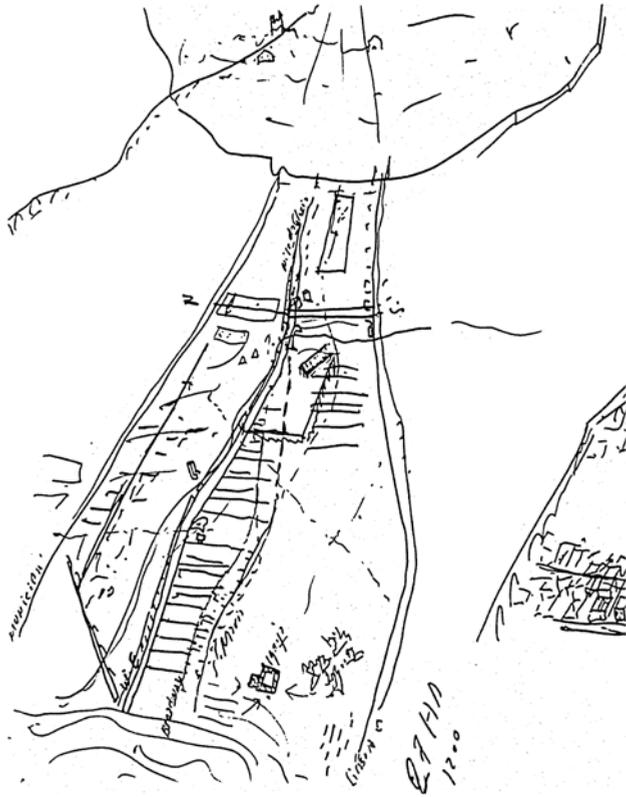


Figure 7.27. Álvaro Siza - Sketch of the preliminary plan for the Malagueira neighbourhood. Source: Álvaro Siza, *Imaginar a Evidência* (Lisboa: Edições 70, 2009), 112.

so simple, uses artistic instruments to *recognise* things, to readdress problems towards a provisional unity, which allows one to start seeing and understanding, and in that way being able to go one step forward.⁸³

The site's existing condition occupies a central position in Siza's design method. In fact, from the outset of Siza's design process there is a critical assessment of what his master, Fernando Távora, called "the circumstance." In fact, in his 1962 *Da Organização do Espaço*, discussed earlier, Távora contended "designing, planning, drawing, should not be translated by the architect as the creation of meaningless forms, imposed by a whim of fashion or by any other sort of whim." Otherwise, he argued, "the forms that he will create should result from a wise balance between his personal vision and the circumstance that surrounds him, and therefore, he should be intensely acquainted with the latter, so intensely that being acquainted and just being become muddled."⁸⁴

83. Roberto Collová, "Pequeñas Siluetas que Pasan," in *Álvaro Siza. Barrio de La Malagueira, Évora*, by Enrico Molteni, *Textos I Documents d'Arquitectura* 5 (Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 1997), 5. Original emphasis; All quotes from this book were translated from the Spanish by the author. Collová visited and photographed Malagueira several times during its construction process. He published a chronology of his visits to Malagueira in the Italian journal *Lotus International*. See also Roberto Collová, "Chronologies: Malagueira, Évora: 1974-2000," *Lotus* no. 103 (December 1999): 66-77.

84. Fernando Távora, *Da Organização do Espaço*, 5th ed. (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2004), 74.

85. Molteni, *Álvaro Siza. Barrio de la Malagueira, Évora*, 11.

86. Álvaro Siza, "Notas Sobre o Trabalho em Évora," *Arquitectura* no. 132, 4 (1979): 36. This and further quotations from this text were translated by the author from Portuguese into English.

87. Marion van Osten, "In Colonial Modern Worlds," in *Colonial Modern. Aesthetics of the Past Rebellions for the Future*, ed. Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion van Osten (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), 24. For an insightful approach to Team 10's members and activities, see Max Risselada and Dirk Van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10, 1953-1981. In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005).

For Siza, however, the assessment of the circumstance is not hierarchically organized in an ethical categorization of good and bad references. Instead, he incorporates the exceptional and the ordinary, the immanent and the transitory. All these elements build up Siza's initial approach to the project, something Enrico Molteni calls Siza's "first gaze."⁸⁵ In fact, Siza claims that "to those who know how to look the idea is on the 'site', more than in one's mind, it thus can and should appear to the first gaze." And argues further that other inputs from the designer and from other stakeholders will be overlaid on the site. Hence, he concludes, "what was born simple and linear will become complex and close to the real – truly simple."⁸⁶ In this context, the influence of local features and vernacular references to the design of Malagueira's masterplan and projects comes as a consequence of Siza's refusal of a *tabula rasa* approach, and his acknowledgment of the generative power of the circumstance. This approach, however, has had other proponents before, specially in the post-war reconceptualization of architectural modernism. Siza's rejection of a *tabula rasa* approach resonate with concepts and working methods as those developed by the Smithsons and Team 10, with those who celebrated an 'as found' aesthetics, those who as Marion van Osten put it, "became interested in the everyday, the popular and the discovery of the ordinary."⁸⁷

The Generative Power of the Circumstance

The generation of post-war modern architects was, as it were, discovering the ordinary. Likewise, Siza's strongest built references to draw the principles for Malagueira's plan were the *clandestinos*, which he called "pre-existing sectors". Siza enhanced the naturalness of these settlements, which he considered as "apparently spontaneous although actually

resulting from secular tendencies of transformations and adaptation to the environment.”⁸⁸ He did not suggest clearing these existing illegal and sub-standard buildings. Otherwise, he proposed to integrate them in the plan together with the new constructions. In order to support his attention to the spontaneous settlements, Siza argued that the architect’s approach could benefit from the maturity of those constructions to deliver a so-called natural architecture. “Only after a lot of experience and a lot of knowledge,” Siza contended, “one achieves that naturalness present in the architecture without architects.” Further, he further acknowledged that he had “the obsession to be able to, one day, accomplish that naturalness.”⁸⁹

Siza pointed out that in Malagueira’s plan “property limits, little paths, trees, some rocks, were useful as references to our intervention.”⁹⁰ In fact, in one of the first sketches for the plan, Siza represented features found on the site (such as abandoned windmills, existing pedestrian paths, illegal settlements) and he scribbled: “incluïr tudo” (include everything). [Figure 7.28] In effect, the relevance of this design approach was seemingly recognised by the editors of *Arquitectura*, when the Malagueira plan and projects were published in the Portuguese magazine in 1979. The main image featured on the cover of the magazine showed a plan centred on the one of the *clandestinos* included in the area of the Malagueira plan, the “Santa Maria” neighbourhood. [Figure 7.29] The drawing testifies to the deliberate articulation of the projected new urban fabric with existing spatial structures.

This relation with the site’s existing features and the development of an “as found” approach, is frequently highlighted in the assessment of Siza’s works. For example, Kenneth Frampton goes back to the project for the S. Victor SAAL operation to discuss this approach, claiming that Siza “insists on the vital co-existence of the new with the ruined, thereby denying the modernist tradition of the *tabula rasa*, without abandoning the utopian [normative] implications of the rational form.”⁹¹ Thus, the idea of co-existence in Siza’s approach to the site buttresses this tendency to negotiate modernity, which Frampton calls rational form, with the ordinary, the remnants on the site.

Curiously enough, in an interview given in 1978, Siza underlined his transition from a selective towards a so-called realistic approach regarding the qualities of the building site. He claimed that “in my first works, I started by looking at the site, and then making classifications: this is good, I can use this, this is awful... Today,” he argued, “I take all into account, because reality is what I am interested in.”⁹² In the same interview, Siza reflected on the interwoven relation between the vernacular tradition, architecture and society. The Vernacular, he claimed, “isn’t a formal model. I do not accept the influence of traditional architecture as a formal

88. Siza, “Notas Sobre o Trabalho em Évora,” 38.

89. Interview to Álvaro Siza by Enrico Molteni (Oporto, 28 April 1996), in Molteni, *Álvaro Siza. Barrio de la Malagueira, Évora*, 47.

90. Álvaro Siza, “Interview d’Alvaro Siza,” *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* no. 211 (October 1980): LX.

91. Kenneth Frampton, “Poesis and Transformation: The Architecture of Alvaro Siza,” in *Alvaro Siza. Professione Poetica / Poetic Profession*, ed. Pierluigi Nicolini (Milano: Edizioni Electa, 1986), 14.

92. Álvaro Siza, “Entretien Avec Alvaro Siza,” *AMC - Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité* no. 44 (1978): 36.

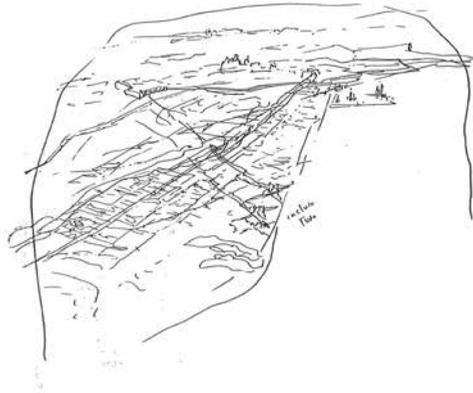


Figure 7.28. Álvaro Siza - Sketch made in the study flight over the Malagueira area. Source: *Arquitetura*, 4a Série, 132 (March 1979), 47.

Figure 7.29. Cover of *Arquitetura*, 4a Série, 132 (March 1979).

model, rather as a very long experience of adaptation to the site, also reflecting the transformation in this relation.” And he went on contending that, “as such, it interests me. Understanding the relations between a way of life and architecture is very useful, not for spatial organization propositions, but for understanding a society’s concrete problems.”⁹³

In Malagueira’s plan, Siza’s “as found” approach framed a design rationale where invention is fuelled by a critical assessment of vernacular references. In fact, although a relation seldom explored, Siza’s notion of the first gaze formulated in the late 1970s resonates with the Smithson’s definition of an “as found” approach. Writing in 1990, Alison and Peter Smithson claimed that “setting ourselves the task of rethinking architecture in the early 1950s we meant by the ‘as found’ not only adjacent buildings but all those marks that constitute remembrances in a place and that are to be read through finding out how the existing built fabric of the place had come to be as it was...” And they went on arguing, “thus the ‘as found’ was a new seeing of the ordinary, an openness as to how prosaic ‘things’ could re-energise our inventive activity.”⁹⁴

Dirk van den Heuvel underlines, however, that the Smithson’s concept of an “as found” approach wasn’t a simple automatic method of working that was the consequence of a certain way of life. Rather, it was an approach that rejected any professional or academic bias and that was defined by a critical and reflective method developed within the design process.⁹⁵ In the Malagueira project, I would argue this automatic method was also eschewed. Further, in Siza’s case the Smithson’s critical and reflective approach toward the ordinary was complemented with a broader critical account on the region’s local culture and built environment. For example, the neighbourhood’s street profile and the relation between buildings and the street can be easily paralleled with examples showcased in the influential survey on Portuguese vernacular architecture, discussed in a previous chapter.⁹⁶ [Figure 7.30]

To be sure, one of the outcomes of the Survey was an attempt to negotiate modernity with the social and spatial qualities of the vernacular tradition, beyond a mere mimesis of folk architecture. In Malagueira, I would suggest, Siza delivers an eloquent instance of this attempt at balancing the lessons of the vernacular with a drive towards modernization. He claims, for example, “the elaboration of the patio house is something much more complex and articulated than the dichotomy between vernacular model and Modern Movement, references always present, among many others, though.” He further contends, “what matters is this dense grid, which abundantly overtakes the limits of architectural culture, of disciplinary specificity. The entire project’s evolution is a very interesting story, influenced

93. Ibid., 34.

94. Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “The ‘As Found’ and the ‘Found,’” in *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty*, ed. David Robbins (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990), 201–202. To be sure, the notion of “as found” for the Smithsons is different from Reyner Banham’s famous 1955 definition of the same concept. For Reyner Banham’s definition of the “as found” see Reyner Banham, “The New Brutalism,” *The Architectural Review* 118, no. 708 (December 1955): 355–361.

95. Dirk Van den Heuvel, “As Found: The Metamorphosis of the Everyday. On the Work of Nigel Henderson, Eduardo Paolozzi, and Alison and Peter Smithson,” *OASE* no. 59 (2002): 64. See also the chapter “Another Sensibility. The discovery of Context and the Idea of Conglomerate Ordering” in Van den Heuvel, “Alison and Peter Smithson,” 195–238.

96. See Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, vol. 1, 2 vols., 1st ed. (Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1961).

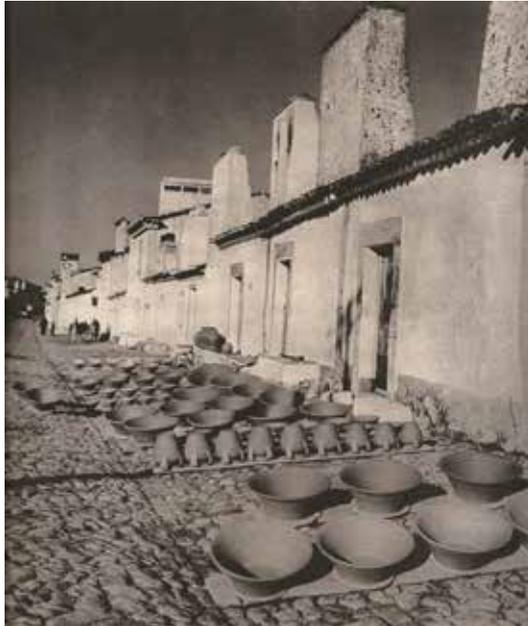


Figure 7.30. View of the Malagueira neighbourhood in 2011 (above). Page from the volume 2 of *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, originally published in 1961, featuring a street in the Alentejo village of Flor da Rosa (below). Source: © Nelson Mota (above); Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, vol. 2, 1st ed. (Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1961), 139 (below).

by the meeting between different origins, between opposed family conceptions.”⁹⁷

Using André Malraux’s concept of *musée imaginaire*, Dirk van den Heuvel defined the Smithson’s notion of “as found” as a “new, constructed context in which collected images assume a new significance and undergo a metamorphosis.”⁹⁸ Similarly, Siza’s strong engagement with the site’s existing conditions, I would argue, goes along with the Smithson’s approach. Siza’s design method relies on an archaeology of the ordinary, which is used as support for his metamorphosis of the everyday, and provides a framework to accommodate growth and change.

7.4•The Grid and the Pathway

Through the 1970s, the challenge of designing housing for the masses was strongly influenced by a drive to accommodate growth and change over time. The outstanding experience of PREVI-Lima, discussed above, testifies to this. In the Portuguese context, the report on incremental housing prepared in the early 1970s by Francisco Silva Dias and Nuno Portas is yet another case in point. This design strategy brings about the time factor as a vital aspect for the negotiation between the role of the architect and the agency of the residents. The delicate balance between an “open” approach, and a clear definition of rules that frame the further growth of the dwelling becomes meaningful. Moreover, coping with issues such as the negotiation between standardization and self-help brings about fundamental aspects of the interwoven relation between architecture and society, thus challenging the disciplinary autonomy.

In the principles of Malagueira’s plan presented on 30 August 1977, Álvaro Siza showed his sensibility to the importance of creating differences in the residential environment. In the fourth principle, however, he emphasized that variety does not have to correspond necessarily with typological differences. Rather, it could be naturally catered for by the interaction between a small palette of dwelling types and a multitude of factors, first and foremost, the topographical characteristics of the site, and the interaction of the new constructions with the existing elements, in short, with the situation “as found.” Moreover, the design strategy could further deliver that variety learning from the vernacular and including those lessons in the incremental growth of a limited number of types.

Variety and Variations

In the preliminary version of the Malagueira plan, presented in August 1977, Álvaro Siza included a proposal for the design of the individual housing unit, which had been previously

97. Álvaro Siza, *Imaginar a Evidência* (Lisboa: Edições 70, 2009), 127. This book was originally published in Italian in 1998 as *Immaginare l'evidenza* (Roma: Gius, Laterza & Figli). It was the outcome of a series of interviews to Alvaro Siza by Guido Giangregorio. All further references to this book were taken from the Portuguese translation published in 2009 and the translation to English is my responsibility.

98. Van den Heuvel, “As Found: The Metamorphosis of the Everyday,” 66.

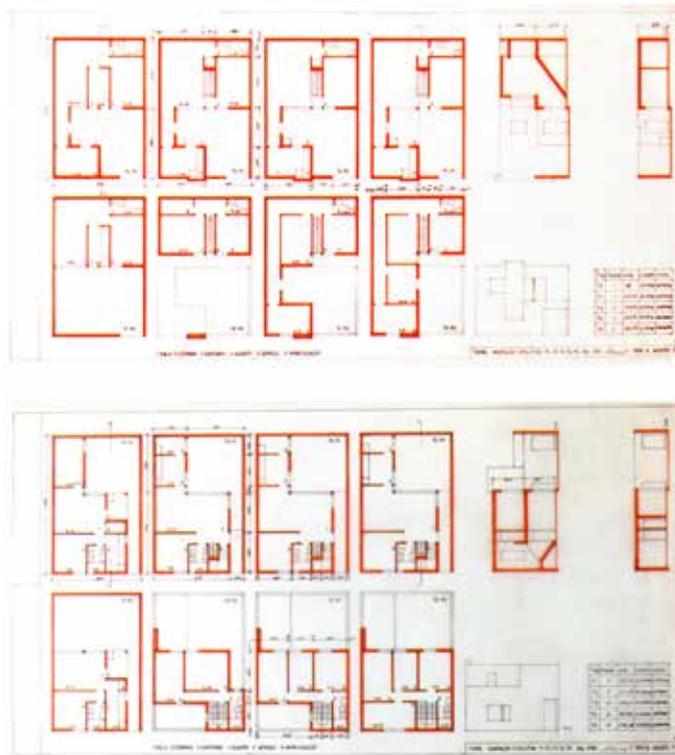


Figure 7.31. Álvaro Siza - Malagueira masterplan. Preliminary design of the dwelling types (August 1977). Source: Álvaro Siza and Carlos Castanheira, *As Cidades de Álvaro Siza* (Porto: Livraria Figueirinhas, 2001), 46.

presented and discussed with the members of the “Boa Vontade” housing cooperative (CHEBV, *Cooperativa de Habitação Económica “Boa Vontade”*).⁹⁹ When the plan was presented on 30 August 1977, Siza included also two dwelling types, A and B, each one with the possibility to grow from a single bedroom type into a five-bedroom type. [Figure 7.31] The two dwelling types designed for the CHEBV should accommodate, in the first phase, 350 residents. Together with CHEBV’s associates, in the initial phase of the development of the plan, it should also set up the site for 100 dwellings for the São Sebastião residents association (Associação de Moradores de S. Sebastião, AMSS). This association had been engaged with the SAAL process in the period 1975/1977, in the “Bairro do Gancho” operation, which eventually failed, as discussed above.

Álvaro Siza’s projects for the first housing units to be built in Malagueira consisted of a reduced palette of housing types – only two – with an incremental scheme to increase the number of rooms according to the family’s growth. [Figure 7.32] Each housing type was built on a parcel of 8x12m, which became the basic modular unit for the general plan. Each parcel could be linked horizontally in three of its sides, thus resulting that only one side would connect with the public open space. This feature, however, was essential to foster the associativity between the dwellings and to cater for high density with low rise. To avoid the shortcomings of poor sanitary conditions in a dwelling with just one open side, Siza included an internal patio to provide natural light and ventilation to all the main partitions. The position of the patio was, in effect, the fundamental difference between the two types presented in August 1977. In type A, the patio occupied the side of the street and in type B the patio was placed at the opposite side of the street. Though seemingly subtle, this difference produced important changes in the dwelling layout, thus influencing its growth pattern and the definition of the streetscape.

As he explicitly referred in the principles for the Malagueira plan, Siza deliberately explored the potential of using only two dwelling types that could, nevertheless, create multiple combinations. In the drawings produced to explain the two types and their incremental growth, Siza included an axonometric perspective simulating a random assemblage of variations of the two types. [Figure 7.33] Further, he also used models to show the potential to accommodate diversity and avoid the shortcomings of a monotonous repetition of similar types. [Figure 7.34]

In the first version of Malagueira’s dwelling types, the patio acted as a buffer zone for further extension of the dwellings but also as the core of the dwelling. The relation with the street was downgraded in relation to the vital role of the patio as provider of light, ventilation, and as an extension of the internal space.

99. Álvaro Siza to Cooperativa de Habitação Económica Boa Vontade, “Projectos de 350 Fogos Para a Cooperativa Boa Vontade,” Letter, July 29, 1977, Álvaro Siza archive. On 27 May 1977, Siza received a summary of the social and economical analysis to the members of the cooperative. Before the presentation of the Malagueira plan, Siza discussed a preliminary version of the dwelling project with the cooperative.

1st version nov77	1bedroom	2bedroom	3bedroom	4bedroom	5bedroom
Type A					
Type B					

Figure 7.32. Álvaro Siza - First version of the Malagueira neighbourhood dwelling types (November 1977). Source: Author's drawing.

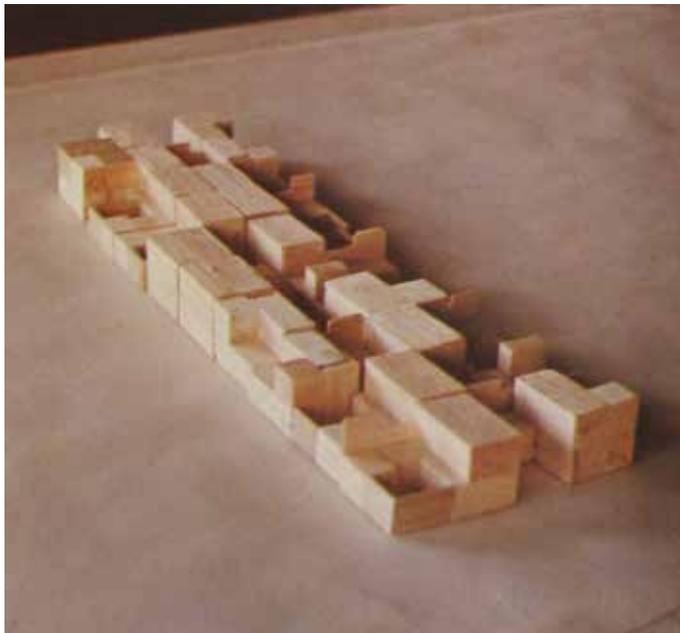
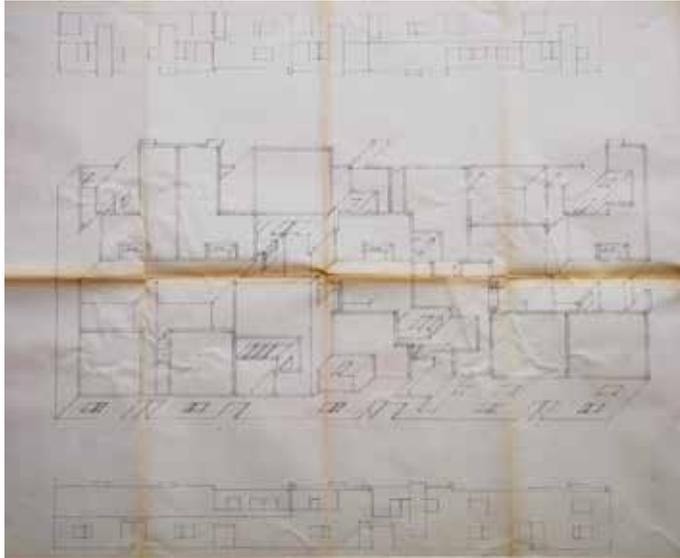


Figure 7.33. Axonometric perspective showing several possibilities to combine the two Malagueira dwelling types. Source: Álvaro Siza archive. Photo © Nelson Mota.

Figure 7.34. Model showing several possibilities to combine the two Malagueira dwelling types. Source: *Arquitectura*, 4a Série, 132 (March 1979), 46.

Further, in Siza's project, as in many instances of Alentejo's vernacular tradition, the only side of the plot facing the street was thus used to mediate the domestic space with the public space through devices such as the patio's high wall, and the chimney.

On 30 November 1977, Siza's Malagueira plan was officially approved by the DGSU, with the support of the technical report written by Campos Matos, one of the authors of the PEZO. Campos Matos recognizes that Siza's plan implies changes to the dwelling types and the circulation structure proposed in the PEZO. However, he considers these modifications acceptable and, in the conclusion of the report, he writes that Siza's "habitat proposals are very suitable and illustrative of a correct integration in Évora's urban milieu." And he goes on asserting, "for the first time in half a century Évora will have an expansion compatible with its urban quality."¹⁰⁰

In January 1978, the municipality decided to create a coordination commission for the development of the plan for the *Bairro da Malagueira* (Malagueira neighbourhood), as it was now officially called, involving the author of the plan, and several technicians representing local and governmental institutions.¹⁰¹ In the commission's first meeting, Siza discussed the details of the plan with a special focus on the infrastructural system, which he considered an essential component for the development of his proposal. In effect, after discussing the general layout of the plan and the design strategy for the dwellings' incremental growth, Siza developed a novel infrastructural system, where all the components except sewage were integrated in an aerial concrete pipeline. [Figure 7.35]

The Dwelling and the Monument

The *conduta*, as it became known (short for *conduta geral de infraestruturas* – general conduct for infrastructures), created a backbone for the urban fabric of the neighbourhood, structuring the whole territory and performing as the service core for the clusters of housing that would eventually be built against it. [Figure 7.36] As in the case of the dwellings, the *conduta* should be responsive to the site's topographical condition and thus present a changing profile throughout the different sectors of the plan. The main sector of the *conduta*, on the east/west axis, defined a street front with arcades created by the pillars that supported the elevated concrete pipeline. The materiality of the *conduta* was carefully defined. It was built with hollow concrete blocks supported by reinforced concrete columns and, in conspicuous locations, other materials were used such as marble or brick. Further, aligned with the streets between the clusters of housing, it had openings bordered in brick forming diverse shapes. In other cases, taking advantage of the shade

100. Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização to Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Évora, "Plano de Pormenor Da Zona Oeste de Évora. Parecer," November 30, 1977, Álvaro Siza archive.

101. This commission was named *Gabinete do Bairro da Malagueira* (Office for the Malagueira Neighbourhood).

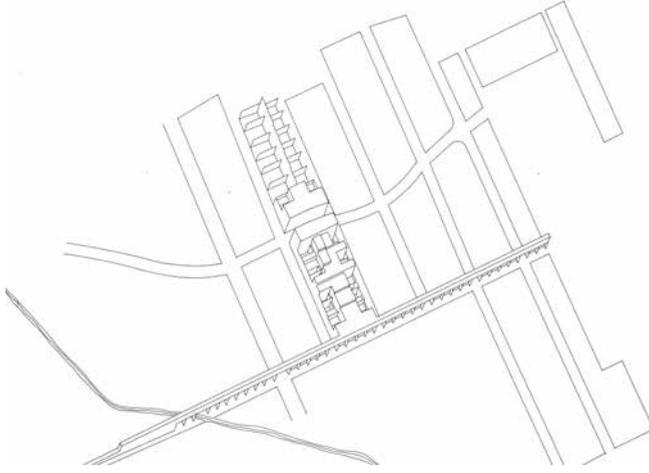


Figure 7.35. Axonometric perspective of the northern sector of the district with the *conduta* acting as the structural backbone for the development of the housing clusters. Source: *Casabella*, 478 (March 1982), 8.

Figure 7.36. Aerial view of the Malagueira neighbourhood in 1990, showing the *conduta* acting as the structural backbone of the whole complex. Source: Arquivo Fotográfico da Câmara Municipal de Évora. Photo: © José Manuel Rodrigues.

projected by the *conduta*, marble benches were installed.

Many obstacles were raised to the realization of the *conduta*, chiefly using arguments grounded on technical and financial aspects. Over the whole year of 1978, the *conduta* became the central issue in the development of the Malagueira plan. Álvaro Siza and João Sobreira, the civil engineer working with Siza, struggled to prove that the *conduta* was cheaper and a more efficient solution than the traditional underground system. Eventually the solution was approved and built through the first half of the 1980s.

The *conduta* became, in effect, a structural part of the Malagueira neighbourhood. Its significance was, nevertheless, larger than its mere technical aspect. According to Siza, it was an attempt to create “that dialogue, which we can see in any city, between the continuous and uniform urban fabric of the houses and the [exceptional character of the] collective buildings.” Hence, Siza argued, “this big structure extending through the whole site has, first and foremost, the role of defining an *other scale*.”¹⁰² For Siza, then, the *conduta* represents the role of the monument. This dialogue between the anonymous character of the dwellings and the exceptionality of the monument is meaningful, though. In effect, I would argue Siza’s exploration of this *other scale* in the Malagueira resonates with Aldo Rossi’s dialectical relation between the transient character of the dwelling areas and the permanence of the urban monument. The latter are, Rossi argued in the introduction to *The Architecture of the City*, “signs of the collective will as expressed through the principles of architecture.” Hence, he continued, they “offer themselves as primary elements, fixed points in the urban dynamic.”¹⁰³ For Siza, then, the *conduta* represents this fixed point in the urban structure of Malagueira, a fundamental counterpart to the dwelling areas.¹⁰⁴ In other words, to paraphrase the famous article written by Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, if the clusters of dwellings defined the grid of the neighbourhood, the *conduta* was its pathway.¹⁰⁵

Beyond the morphological significance of the *conduta* it indeed performed as an infrastructural device with clear implications in the definition of the dwellings’ grouping. In effect, tributary branches would connect the main sector of the *conduta* with the housing clusters. [Figure 7.37] This aspect would be vital to produce the second version of the dwelling types. The houses were now conceived in groups of two, mirrored, sharing an “infrastructural wall” with a similar group of houses associated back-to-back, thus concentrating the connection of four dwellings with the *conduta*’s tributary branch.¹⁰⁶ [Figure 7.38] The second version of the dwelling unit included also some other important changes. While in the first version only the houses with three or more bedrooms were developed in two

102. Siza, *Imaginar a Evidência*, 119. Original emphasis.

103. Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, Oppositions Books (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1984), 22.

104. The influence of Rossi’s *The Architecture of the City* in Siza’s architectural approach cannot be overlooked. In 1977, the year of the outset of Malagueira’s plan, a Portuguese translation of this book was published (the first edition, in Italian was published in 1966). Further, as mentioned in a previous chapter, Siza was certainly familiar with Rossi’s theses from their previous encounters in venues such as the 1976 Venice Biennale and in the first International Compostela Architecture Seminar (I Seminario Internacional de Arquitectura en Compostela), which was held between 27 September and 9 October 1976 in the Spanish city of Santiago de Compostela.

105. Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, “The Grid and the Pathway. An Introduction to the Work of Dimitris and Susana Antonokakis with Prolegomena to a History of the Culture of Modern Greek Architecture,” *Architecture in Greece* no. 15 (1981): 164–178.

106. This system privileged the Type A, because the internal patio of Type B thwarted the direct connection between the house and the aerial infrastructure. The residents and the technicians involved in the plan were informed about this fact and, eventually, few type B houses were eventually built.

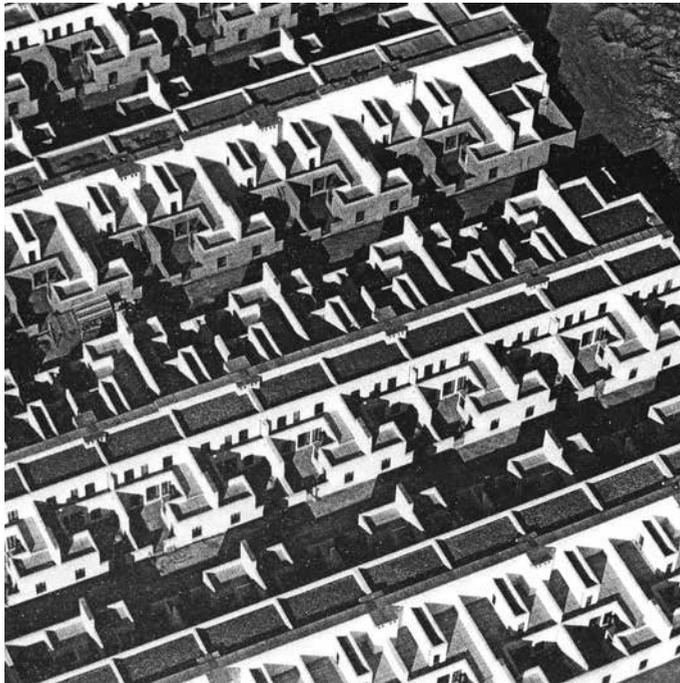


Figure 7.37. View of the Infrastructural backbone of the housing cluster in Malagueira. Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 211 (October 1980), 64.

Figure 7.38. The Malagueira housing clusters and the infrastructural backbone. Aerial view of the first built units. Source: *Casabella*, 478 (March 1982), 10-11. Photo © Jean-Paul Rayon.

floors and thus could take advantage of a roof terrace, now all the sub-types were designed with an access to the first floor and to the roof terrace.¹⁰⁷ [Figure 7.39] The relation with the street also changed. The chimneys were now included on the side wall and the façade to the street was designed with a more regular system of openings. The growth pattern of the first version was kept, though.

While the projects for the first groups of houses were being developed (350 for the “Boa Vontade” housing cooperative and 100 for the “São Sebastião” residents association), Siza developed also the guidelines for the 100 houses to be built by private initiative. The role of the *conduta* and its subsidiary branches was again instrumental to define the backbone for a development consistent with the whole character of the neighbourhood. [Figure 7.40] Other architects could design the projects for the houses developed by private initiative, providing that a set of construction rules, defined by Siza, would be followed. The rules determined a size for the plot similar to those of the cooperatives (8x12m), and included the minimum size of the patio (in both types), the height of the house and of the wall facing the street, as well as the maximum size of the openings.

This straightforward strategy was combined with the maintenance of some pre-existent features, as referred above, thus creating diversity throughout the entire plan’s area. Moreover, the articulation with the topography of each housing unit or sector contributed also to give the arrangement of the basic units a variegated appearance. Thus, even though only two basic housing types were used, the multiplicity of different combinations, and the site specificity triggered by their response to the topographical conditions, contributed to deliver a result which, at any rate, is conspicuously resonant with the region’s vernacular references. [Figure 7.41] Then, with this strategy, the sense of identity and diversity found in the *clandestinos* could also be accomplished using the architectural project as a tool to translate the informal features into the plan.

The Permanence of the Type

The harmonization of Siza’s Malagueira plan and projects with the region’s material and cultural characteristics was applauded by architecture critics and by some of the stakeholders involved in the process. In fact, just two years after the outset of the process, Évora’s mayor praised the initial outcomes of Siza’s project, specially highlighting its “affordability” and “compatibility” with the region’s vernacular architecture. The mayor claimed that

The author’s merit results from being able to introduce in his study and acknowledgement of Alentejo’s architecture

107. The sub-type with one bedroom was dismissed. The sub-type with two bedrooms was fully developed in the ground floor. However, the stairs to the first floor were included from the start and could be used as support to further extensions.

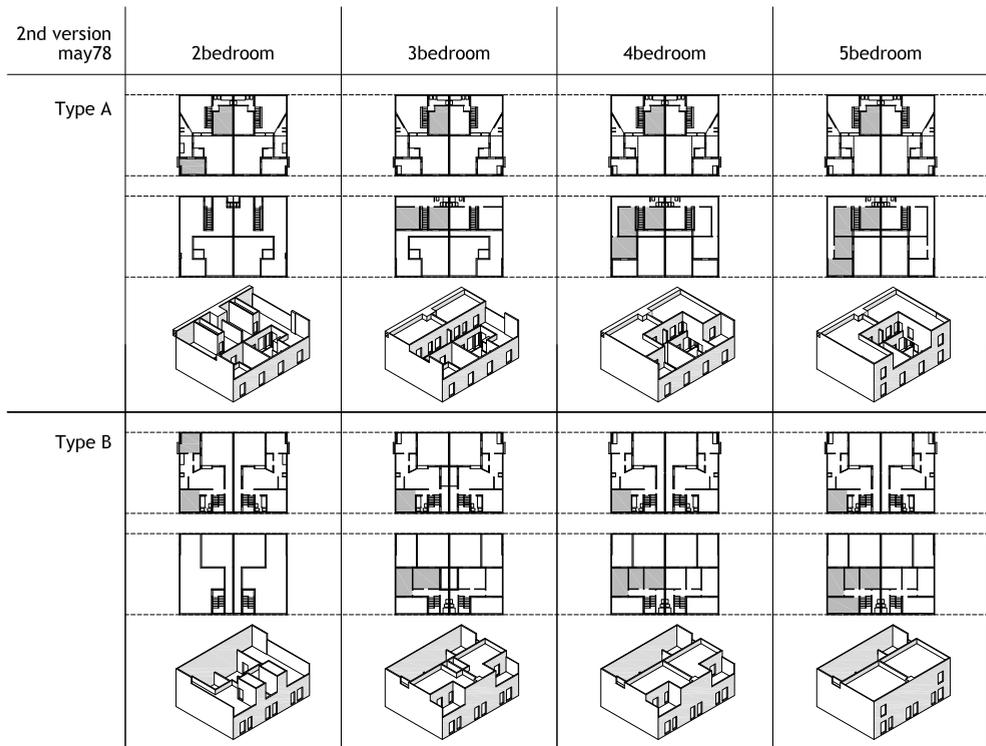


Figure 7.39. Álvaro Siza - Second version of the Malagueira neighbourhood dwelling types (May 1978). Source: Author's drawing.

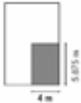
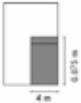
Housetype	Lot area and dimensions	Alignments and mandatory free-space 1 st floor	Alignments and mandatory free-space 2 nd floor	Maximum number of floors	Street elevation; maximum surface area, number of openings, and wall height	Maximum volume	Openings maximum dimension (only second floor's street elevation)	Recommendations
Frontyard				0 = floor 1 level 			0 = floor level 	Check the Town Hall's project-types Enclosing walls and chimneys should be studied in collaboration with the Town Hall
Backyard				0 = floor 1 level 			0 = floor level 	The yard should be gardened or covered by an ivy lattice
Specifications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) One or two-storey houses b) Annexes, store-rooms, and garages are not allowed c) Respect for the National and the Municipal building regulations d) First and second floor levels should be requested in the Town Hall e) Use a Town Hall's expandable project-type or a project that respects these regulations (subject to approval by town hall) f) Individual or collective garages available, according to Town Hall plan and regulations g) Use service gallery and its walls h) External whitewashed walls, terraces, wooden or colored aluminum mullions are mandatory i) Overhangs or cantilevered volumes are not allowed j) Number and dimensions of openings are constrained. Mortar frames with a maximum overhang of 1 cm and 20 cm wide, painted in the traditional colors (gray, yellow, green, blue, and rose) are allowed 							

Figure 7.40. Álvaro Siza - Malagueira's building regulations for private developers. Source: Redesign of the scheme and translation by José Pinto Duarte.

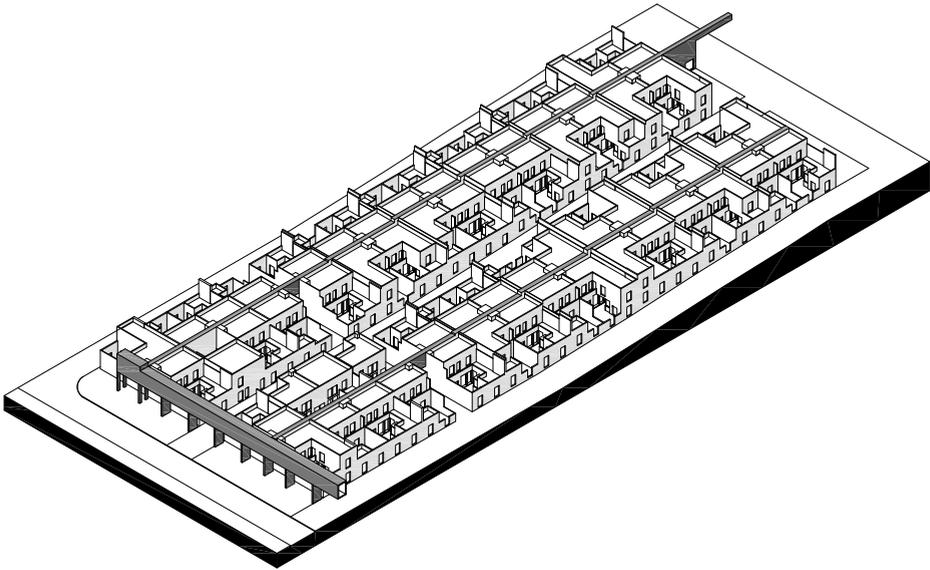
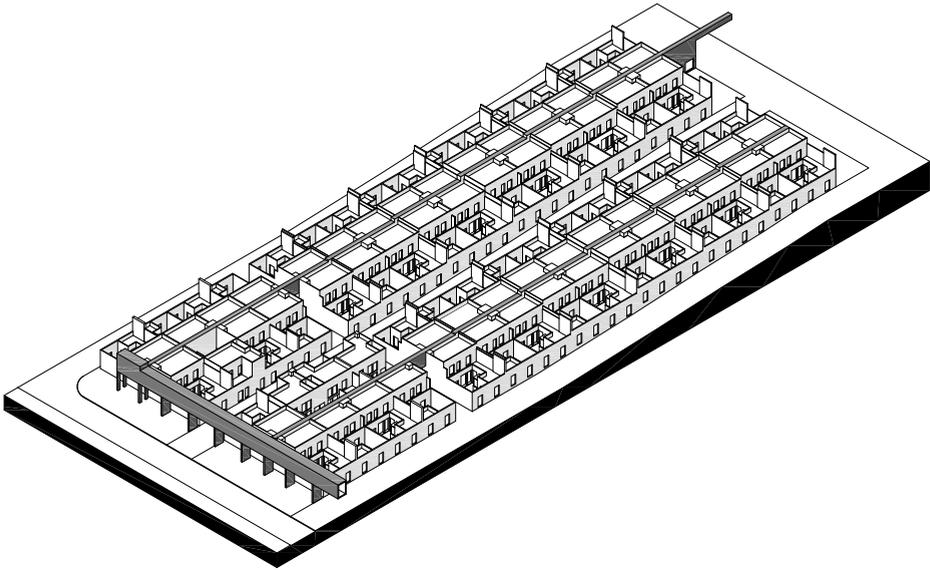


Figure 7.41. Two housing clusters in Malagueira. Initial situation (above), and after growth and change over time (below). Source: Author's drawing.

an inexpensive solution that could be affordable for the most needy members of the population, after the integration of a popular contribution, which he was able to promote and render compatible.¹⁰⁸

On the other hand, although praised by the local authorities, the development of Malagueira's plan struggled to cope with the government's bureaucracy, a challenge triggered by a problematic institutional relation between the municipality and the central administration. One of the reasons for these problems was Siza's criticism on the standard social housing strategy hitherto sponsored by the government – multi-storey housing blocks – opting, instead, for a so-called “more natural” solution. As discussed above, in his proposal Siza clearly preferred using the urban fabric of the *clandestinos* as his reference, rather than the typical multi-family social housing buildings built by the government's housing agency on the southern part of the site, or the rural or bourgeois single-family houses.

In July 1978, Siza delivered the plan for the construction of 300 dwellings sponsored and built by the governmental agency for social housing (FFH, *Fundo de Fomento da Habitação*). Siza suggested employing the same dwelling type used for the Boa Vontade housing cooperative. The director of the regional branch of FFH considered some materials and some aspects of Siza's project were incompatible with the standards of social housing used by the agency, and thus suggested alterations to reduce the cost of the development. Siza accepted some of the non-structural alterations but rejected those that implied changes in the structure of the project.

Eventually the outcome of the bidding process for the construction of the FFH houses resulted in a cost that the FFH did not agree to pay for. Hence, Siza was asked to design another version, which should be structurally revised in order to reduce construction costs. In June 1980, Siza delivered the third version of the Malagueira housing type, specially revised to meet the budget allocated to the social housing sponsored by the FFH. [Figure 7.42] The most noticeable structural difference is the redesign of the two-bedrooms sub-type, which was now concentrated at the back of the lot, with two floors, leaving the remaining part of the lot unoccupied and thus cutting the cost of the roof terrace above the area of the kitchen and services in the initial L-shaped version.¹⁰⁹

108. Abílio Fernandes, “O Presidente da C. M. de Évora Fala Sobre o Projecto,” *Arquitectura* no. 132, 4 (1979): 36.

109. In the version of the Malagueira houses sponsored by FFH, only the Type A was considered.

110. The housing cooperatives involved were “Boa Vontade” and “Giraldo sem Pavor” (the new name of the São Sebastião residents association).

Through the 1980s, Siza was commissioned to design new housing complexes in Malagueira, promoted by housing cooperatives.¹¹⁰ In 1985, Siza designed a fourth version of the basic type developing only sub-types with three, four and five bedrooms. [Figure 7.43] For the first time, the position of the stairs moved from its original location at the centre of the volume to the backside of the plot. This alteration created

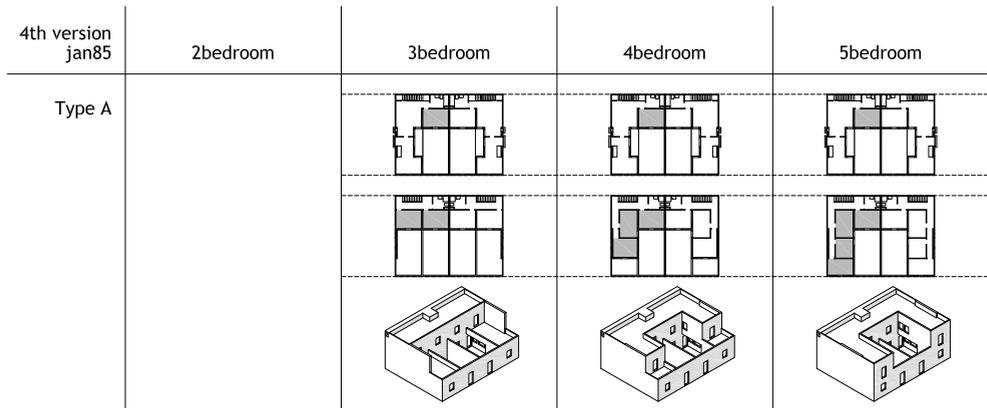
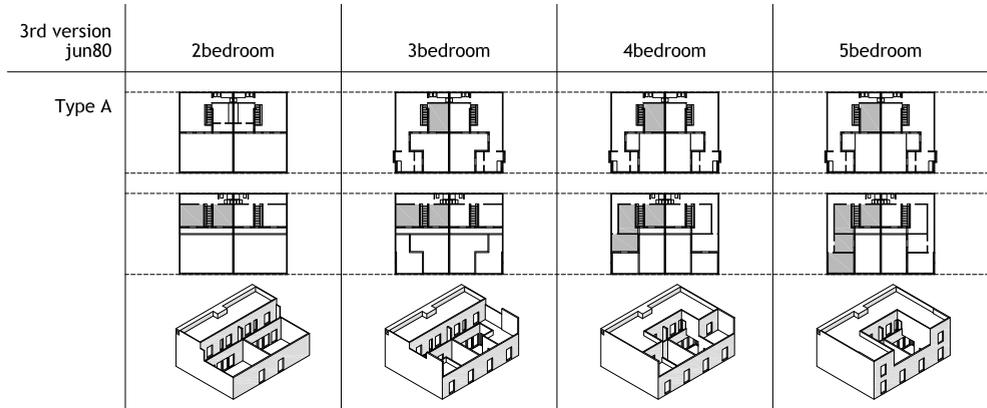


Figure 7.42. Álvaro Siza - Third version of the Malagueira neighbourhood dwelling type A (June 1980). Source: Author's drawing.

Figure 7.43. Álvaro Siza - Fourth version of the Malagueira neighbourhood dwelling type A (January 1985). Source: Author's drawing.

important changes in the dwelling layout, keeping the same strategy of incremental growth, though. Some years later, in 1988, Siza designed yet another version of the layout for type A. [Figure 7.44] The stairs came back to its original location and the position of the kitchen was replaced to the main volume of the house. In this version, the access from the patio to the interior of the house occurs through an additional element attached to the building's main volume, instead of the original lateral access in the smaller volume facing the patio.

The changes to the initial dwelling type for the Malagueira neighbourhood, though developed through a time span of ten years, kept the essential typological and morphological characteristics of the 1977 project. [Figure 7.45] The two initial dwelling types were virtually reduced to a single one, as the Type B, with the patio located opposite to the street, could not be easily articulated with the infrastructural *conduta*. Notwithstanding all these changes and alterations, the balance of the transitory character of the dwellings with the monumental scale of the *conduta*, shaped the essential feature of Siza's plan, delivering, according to him, what he accounted as a vital characteristic of every city.¹¹¹

Pride and Prejudice

Though the typological and morphological development of the dwelling types was seemingly straightforward over the first decade of the Malagueira plan, the fact is that until the late 1980s the process was tense, problematic and even conflictive. Many factors contributed for a delay in the construction of the houses sponsored by the governmental housing agency and, to a lesser degree, some of the infrastructures that were responsibility of the municipality. First and foremost among these factors was the lack of building expertise. At the turn of the 1980s there was a severe crisis in the Portuguese building sector caused by the swift decline of skilled manpower. A great deal of skilled workforce had fled the country in the 1960s and 1970s, first for political reasons, during the last years of the dictatorial regime, and then running away from the economic crisis that affected the country after the democratic revolution. Further, this sector was ill equipped and it was technologically underdeveloped, with a few exceptions for companies operating in the two main metropolitan regions, Lisbon and Porto. In 1986, while the houses developed by the Boa Vontade housing cooperative and the São Sebastião residents association were eventually completed (380 dwellings), those developed by the governmental housing agency faced a different fate.¹¹²

111. For an extensive study of Malagueira housing types using shape grammar methodologies, see José Pinto Duarte, *Personalizar a Habitação em Série: Uma Gramática Discursiva para as Casas da Malagueira do Siza* (Lisboa: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation / FCT-MCTES, 2007).

112. The contractor responsible for building the houses for the Boa Vontade Housing Cooperative, CUOP (Cooperativa de Unidade Operária de Construção Civil Alentejana), was also a cooperative.

The first phase (200 dwellings) of the houses sponsored by the FFH had started at the end of 1979 and the second phase (218 dwellings) in 1980. In effect, the winners of the bids for the

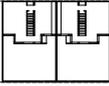
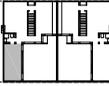
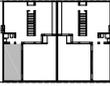
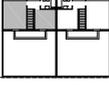
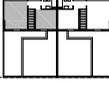
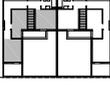
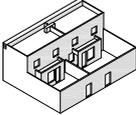
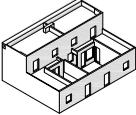
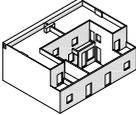
5th version dec88	2bedroom	3bedroom	4bedroom	5bedroom
Type A				
				
				

Figure 7.44. Álvaro Siza - Fifth version of the Malagueira neighbourhood dwelling type A (December 1988). Source: Author's drawing.

Type A	2bedroom	3bedroom	4bedroom	5bedroom
2nd version may78				
3rd version jun80				
4th version jan85				
5th version dec88				

Figure 7.45. Synthesis of the evolution of the Malagueira neighbourhood dwelling type A. Source: Author's drawing.

construction of these developments were small local contractors that struggled to meet the deadlines and the construction specifications. Moreover, the quality supervision, which should have been accounted for by the client, FFH, was lenient or simply inexistent. Eventually the contractors abandoned the building site leaving 418 houses unfinished while the legal procedures ensued.¹¹³ This troublesome process caused public distress that fostered the emergence of criticism on the Malagueira plan.

The mayor of the municipality, Abílio Fernandes, a keen supporter of Siza's plan, as seen above, was aware of the degradation of the public opinion on one of the most important ventures which the city was engaged with. In 1985, striving to invert this process, the mayor thus decided to clarify the causes and effects of the problems and to solve the conflicts between the stakeholders involved in the process. Further, he was also determined to show the population and his political peers the importance of the Malagueira plan for the city of Évora and his pride on the achievements thus far. In effect, in the April 1985 issue of the Municipality's periodical, the *Boletim Municipal* (Municipal Bulletin), next to a report on the visit to Évora of the Queen of England, it was published an article highlighting the importance of the Malagueira neighbourhood as Évora's major expansion area.¹¹⁴ [Figure 7.46] A draft version of this text had been sent earlier to Siza, who amended some parts. The same text was also published in local newspapers next to the report on the visit of the members of the municipality's assembly to Malagueira on 24 March 1985.¹¹⁵

One of the fundamental aspects of that text was the attempt to overcome the pervasive criticism on the plan's alleged detachment with the historic city, and the prejudice on the principles of Siza's architectural operation. Hence the first section of the text highlights that the new neighbourhood was not the city's *dormitório* (dormitory), emphasizing the articulation of the dwellings with new commercial amenities, services and public spaces. Even the morphology of the dwellings, the text argued, was meant to continue the qualities of the historic city and mirror it. "The Malagueira is, therefore, a true extension of the [historic] city," the text asserted. And continued claiming that, "although designed in a modern architecture fashion, it reflects all the architectural manners of the walled city."¹¹⁶ The aerial *conduta*, with its electricity, telecommunication, and television cables and water and gas pipes was presented as yet another sign of this continuity, highlighting its resemblance with the city's old aqueduct. The text further emphasized the contribution of the Malagueira plan to overcome the problems brought about by the uncontrollable growth of the *clandestinos*, whose legalization "constituted a heavy burden for the municipality and a tough obstacle for the city's harmonious and controlled development."

113. The contractor who won the bid for the construction of the first phase was José Ribeiro, Comércio e Indústria. This firm failed to meet the technical skills to develop the project, and thus the FFH terminated the contract and in 1983 renegotiated it with another firm, Construções Anacleto, including Siza's revisions to the dwelling unit made in June 1980. The new contractor could not cope with the technical demands of the project (specially the roof waterproofing) and abandoned the building site with the work unfinished. The second phase of FFH's development, with 218 dwellings, was contracted with the firm Candeias Santos, Lda, who similarly could not cope with the technical demands of the project and abandoned the site in 1986.

114. Câmara Municipal de Évora, "Malagueira: A Maior Zona de Expansão da Cidade," *Boletim Municipal*, April 1985, 44-45/70 Évora, Malagueira, Álvaro Siza archive.

115. The visit of the members of the Municipal Assembly to Malagueira and the presence of Siza in the building site was thoroughly covered by all local newspapers and some national titles.

116. Câmara Municipal de Évora, "Malagueira: A Maior Zona de Expansão da Cidade."



Figure 7.46. Cover and back of the *Boletim Municipal*, (April 1985), published by the Municipality of Évora.

This text shows the municipality's commitment in supporting Siza's plan against the many challenges and shortcomings that surfaced during the first decade of its development. As mentioned above, some of these challenges sprung from conflicts with the government's bureaucratic apparatus or from technological incompatibilities between the project and local expertise. The reception of the project by the people was, however, a more fundamental aspect to the development of the Malagueira plan and it deserves further discussion.

7.5• Designing with the People

At the end of the 1970s, Siza's work was widely praised by the architectural milieu, both nationally and internationally, as can be seen from several laudatory reviews published in the professional media. Siza's projects for the SAAL operations in Porto were highly acclaimed, though it was the Malagueira plan that became routinely object of reviews, interviews, analysis and photographic coverage in magazines such as *Lotus International*, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, *Casabella*, and *Quaders*, among many others. Curiously enough, the authors and editors of those magazines, keenly highlighted some of the specific characteristics of the project that were also emphasized in the municipality's bulletin, mentioned above. To be sure, in 1983, the cover of the Canadian magazine *ARQ Architecture Québec* featured an artistic interpretation of Évora's aqueduct highlighting the interplay between that infrastructural element and the dwellings mingled with it. [Figure 7.47]

This issue, dedicated to the theme "Modernity and Regionalism" underscored Siza's Malagueira project, featured inside, as a token of an approach that strived to "uphold, against the dominant models, the regional cultural identity in the urban and domestic organization of the space."¹¹⁷ The Malagueira plan became, in fact, instrumental to showcase an alternative architectural approach that was able to dwell between pure commodification and populist regionalism, as Frampton put it. However, similarly to the mismatch between expert and popular reviews on Le Corbusier's project for Pessac, also in Malagueira there were conspicuous discrepancies in the account of the project's qualities.

The Moroccan District

If among the architectural milieu there was an almost consensual praise on Siza's plan and projects for the Malagueira neighbourhood, concerning the *vox populi*, however, the scenario was somewhat more nuanced.¹¹⁸ In an interview given in 1998 to Guido Giangregorio, Siza declared that the first problems surfaced from the outset of the process, when he discussed his

117. "Alvaro Siza: Le Nouveau Quartier Malagueira. Evora, Portugal," *ARQ: Architecture/Québec* no. 14 (August 1983): 20–21. In the same issue, the magazine published a piece by Kenneth Frampton on regionalism and contemporary architecture, which he was at that time developing for the reconceptualization of the notion of critical regionalism. See Kenneth Frampton, "Le Régionalisme Dans l'Architecture Contemporaine," *ARQ: Architecture/Québec* no. 14 (August 1983): 11–15.

118. For an account of the reception on Siza's Malagueira project, see my "A Progressive Attachment. Accommodating Growth and Change in Álvaro Siza's Malagueira Neighbourhood," in *Consuming Architecture*, ed. Daniel Maudlin and Marcel Vellinga (London: Routledge, 2014), 89–107.

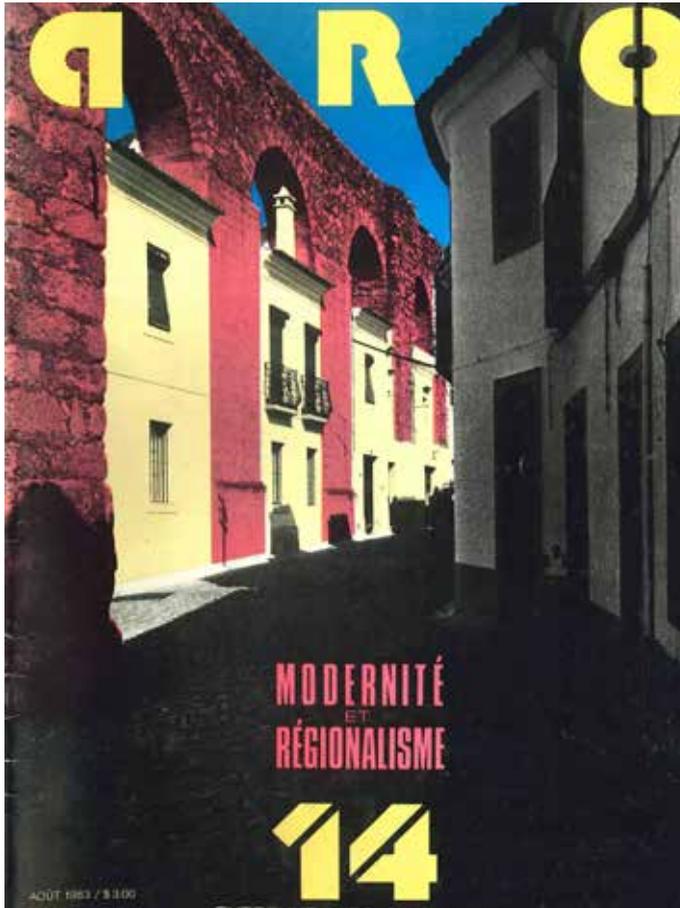


Figure 7.47. View of the conduita in the Malagueira neighbourhood. (above). Cover of *ARQ - Architecture/Québec*, 14 (August 1983) (below). Source: Photo: © Nelson Mota, 2011 (above); *ARQ - Architecture/Québec*, 14 (August 1983) (below).

ideas for the dwelling types. The choice of a single housing type was, according to Siza, transformed into a political issue. “An idea had spread, from inside the assembly or coming from outside, that building only patio houses, on a sector of the city, was inhumane and unacceptable,” he commented. However, he went on, “this fear of monotony is a challenge to pursue diversity, which cannot be solved as an aesthetic issue, because in so doing, the result would immediately appear artificial, caricaturized or invented.”¹¹⁹

Despite the criticism, Siza’s design principles developed for the Malagueira plan and projects were supported by the communist mayor of Évora, Abílio Fernandes, who played a key role supporting Siza’s resistance to populist drifts and granting him political background to keep developing the projects for the two main clients: the government’s agency for social housing (FFH) and the local co-operatives. Fernandes highlighted the productive relation between the architect, the municipality and the future residents, resisting the obstacles created by the central administration, which provided the fundamental financial support and bureaucratic apparatus. In fact, triggered by ideological reasons related with a tension between the political affiliation of Évora’s mayor and the governmental policies, there were several threats to the development of the construction process, and to the accomplishment of the master plan.

The criticism of the governmental services on some of Siza’s design decisions, were grounded on claims that his projects were too expensive for social housing standards. Commenting on this issue, Siza denounced the cynicism of the governmental authorities as regards their biased approach to social housing programmes. He declared that in Malagueira, “the houses were not approved because they were not considered popular construction [i.e. ordinary construction] as if there was a ‘minor style’ to build this kind of projects. It is like relating the economical restraints to the absence of quality: hence, with less means, the result should be awful.”¹²⁰ As mentioned above, the discussions on this issue would bring about many conflicts between local and governmental authorities, further delaying the development of the neighbourhood. The uncertainty related with the funding issue, led Évora’s mayor to rhetorically ask whether the central bureaucracy would be able to “overcome the political sectarianism, the anger and envy, the narrowness and mediocrities that, unfortunately, are still being kept close to the complicated governmental machine.”¹²¹

However, it was not only the central administration’s bureaucratic apparatus that delivered criticism on the Malagueira neighbourhood project. In fact, in 1983 – only six years after the onset of the plan – there was also popular discontent. Some of Évora’s residents and some dwellers from Malagueira

119. Siza, *Imaginar a Evidência*, 115–117.

120. *Ibid.*, 107.

121. Fernandes, “O Presidente da C. M. de Évora Fala Sobre o Projecto,” 36. In the background of the discussion on the Malagueira plan was the *Reforma Agrária* (Land Reform), which was promoted after the 1974 revolution to redistribute ownership from large aristocratic landowners to the peasants who worked the agricultural land. This reform was particularly important in Alentejo, as the biggest estates were located in this province. The communist party - who governed most of the municipalities in Alentejo – was a supporter of the Land Reform against the central government – whose politics became increasingly dominated by social democrats and liberals.

condemned the neighbourhood's architectural characteristics. It was called derogatively "the Arab neighbourhood." "It is very monotonous," some dwellers argued. And they went on claiming "It's always the same thing: the houses resemble animals' enclosures and the streets look like intersections of telephone cables."¹²²

The critical assessment implied in these statements is all but exceptional and pervades the history of twentieth century housing, first and foremost the criticism on the annihilating character of the functionalist approach to housing design, seen as a kernel of modern movement's principles. One of the most influential critics of architectural modernism's failure to cope with individual expression was Henri Lefebvre, who highlighted the consequences of a rationalist, universalist and functionalist approach to the definition of what he called the three dimensions of the production of space: the perceived (*perçu*), the conceived (*conçu*), and the lived (*vécu*).¹²³ Lefebvre saw Le Corbusier's project for Pessac, discussed above, as a good illustration of the interwoven relation between these dimensions. Commenting on the conspicuous changes introduced by the Pessac residents on Le Corbusier's initial design, Henri Lefebvre argued that "instead of installing themselves in their containers, instead of adapting to them and living in them 'passively', [the occupants of the neighbourhood] decided that as far as possible they were going to live 'actively'."¹²⁴ He advocated that this "active living" is exactly what living in a house is about. In other words, as Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas had it, for Lefebvre "the project of change and planning would seek to transform abstract spaces in cities into differential ones which could counter homogenization and restore the functions, elements and moments of social practice and put an end to the shattering of the human body."¹²⁵

In effect, the reactions of the man on the street to Siza's Malagueira plan resonate with those from Pessac's residents and the public in general. In Philippe Boudon's interviews, some of the neighbourhood's original occupants asserted that "it was as if we had the plague: What! You live in the 'Moroccan district'! So I said to myself: Well now! What if I don't like it there? What am I going to do about it?... it was terrible! I felt as if I was being sent to prison..."¹²⁶ This sort of reaction from the occupants resulted in a process described by Henri Lefebvre as creating distinctions and introducing personal qualities.¹²⁷ In fact, over the years since its initial occupation, the occupants of the *Quartiers* produced profound changes to Le Corbusier's original design. Moreover, the derogatory use of expressions such as 'the Arab neighbourhood' or the 'Moroccan district' highlights the displacement between the dwellers' expectations and the architect's references, and emphasizes identity issues.

122. In Mário Robalo, "O 'Bairro Árabe' de Siza Vieira," *Expresso*, July 2, 1983, sec. Actual, 20-R. This and further quotations from this article were translated from Portuguese by the author.

123. For a good synthesis on Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, see Christian Schmid, "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic," in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, ed. Kanishka Goonewardena et al., 1st ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 27-45.

124. Lefebvre, 'Preface', in Boudon, op.cit.

125. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, "Recovery and Reappropriation in Lefebvre and Constant," in *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom, Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2000), 89.

126. Boudon, *Lived-in Architecture*, 15.

127. Henri Lefebvre, "Preface," in *Lived-in Architecture. Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited*, by Philippe Boudon, [1st English language ed.] (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1979).

In Évora, to overcome these identity issues, the municipality strived to publicize Siza's project qualities, shunning the idea of rupture and emphasizing the project's resonances with the city's historical centre. However, outside the architectural milieu and the local media, the Malagueira neighbourhood was also scrutinized in the national media. Still in 1985, a reporter stated on the pages of the newspaper *O Diário* that "the external appearance of the houses [in the Malagueira neighbourhood] maybe isn't very appealing, but internally they are spacious, well designed, prepared against the climate hardships, and they transmit a pleasant sensation of well being. Everybody living there is unanimous stating that the houses are 'marvellous'."¹²⁸ The comments reproduced in this piece, however, clearly contrast with those, mentioned above, reported in 1983 on the pages of *Expresso*, thus revealing distinct accounts on the neighbourhood's qualities and flaws.

Design, Transformation and Adaptation

A contribution to further understand the interaction between those who perceive the space – the residents – and those who conceive the space – the architects – can be brought about by examining the extent to which the former produced or projected transformations to the latter's design. In the Malagueira folders at Siza's archive, there is a document with a list of several changes the dwellers envisioned to perform and those they had already made.¹²⁹ The changes were categorized as "authorized" and "to be discussed," i.e. non-authorized. Some of these authorized changes had already been foreseen in Siza's incremental scheme and in the plan's rules, whereas the non-authorized changes concerned mainly the occupation of the courtyard and changes on window frames and doors.¹³⁰ Eventually, with or without the author's permission or the approval of the municipal services, many of those non-authorized changes were, nonetheless, produced. Those more noticeable from the public space are the introduction of external stairs to access the terrace on the first floor, changes in the proportion of the openings, and decoration of the surfaces.¹³¹ [Figure 7.48]

Interestingly, these transformations render to Malagueira's streets characteristics that tend to mimicry the region's vernacular architecture. Moreover, following the plan's design principles, the growth of the housing units develops randomly, thus creating streetscapes that come closer to those of the spontaneous settlements. [Figure 7.49] Siza's project becomes thus closer to the *clandestinos*' architecture without architects, to the spontaneity he praised and envisioned as a reference, though without withdrawing his responsibility as a technician and upholding architecture's autonomous moment.

I would thus suggest that the process of growth and change in

128. Luís Rocha, "Eleitos da Assembleia Municipal Visitam Obras no Concelho de Évora," *O Diário*, March 26, 1985, sec. Informação Geral, 13, 44-45/70 Évora, Malagueira, Álvaro Siza archive. Translation from Portuguese by the author.

129. The author had access to the document 'Relação das Obras que os Sócios Pretendem Fazer' held in Álvaro Siza archive.

130. The list referred that the associates planned to do fourteen authorized and ten non-authorized kinds of changes in the type A houses (front courtyard). Regarding the nature of the changes already made in the same type A houses, the list recorded eighteen that had been authorized and ten non-authorized. Concerning the changes in the type B houses (back courtyard), the list recorded only two types of changes already made and three other planned by the associates.

131. For a sociological approach on the evolution of the Malagueira neighbourhood, see Jean-Michel Leger and Gisela Matos, "Siza Vieira em Évora: Revistar uma Experimentação," *Comunidades e Territórios* no. 9 (December 2004): 39–53.



Figure 7.48. Views of the Malagueira neighbourhood in 1990, showing transformations made to the original buildings. Source: Arquivo Fotográfico da Câmara Municipal de Évora. Photos: © José Manuel Rodrigues.



Figure 7.49. View of the Malagueira neighbourhood in 2011 (above). Page from the volume 2 of *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*, originally published in 1961, featuring a street in Oriola, Portel (below). Source: Photo: © Nelson Mota (above); Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*, vol. 2, 1st ed. (Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1961), 174 (below).

both Le Corbusier's Quartiers in Pessac and in Siza's Malagueira neighbourhood, epitomizes what Christian Schmid designated as Lefebvre's dialectical trinity of man.¹³² In effect, as discussed in the previous chapter, Henri Lefebvre can be credited as one of the most influential voices in shifting the disciplinary approach to urban design, and especially to housing design, at the turn of the 1960s. As opposed to the top-down reconstruction strategies of the post-war period, which prevailed until the late 1960s, in the 1970s Lefebvre contributed to the emergence of a full-fledged new rhetoric of bottom-up policies, influenced by the pervasive challenge on traditional power relations embodied in counter culture movements. In the 1960s Lefebvre dedicated an important part of his research and writings to criticize the centralist and interventionist approach of the French spatial planning policy, chiefly supported by a technocratic apparatus and an ideology of rationality and political neutrality. With his criticism on the extant planning approaches, which became more conspicuous in what Lukasz Stanek called his series of six "spatial books", Lefebvre set the stage for a disciplinary shift of focus, in spatial design, from the designer to the user.¹³³ With his notion of "representational spaces", conceptualized in the last volume of that series, *La Production de l'Espace*, (The Production of Space) Lefebvre defined the space where all the stakeholders participating in the construction of social space meet, including the inhabitants and the users. Within the context of the post war Welfare State's housing and planning policies this intellectual framework would be highly influential to a new generation of architects and planners. A generation that was keen on pursuing an epistemological shift "which conceives the built environment as result, frame and substance of socio-spatial practices," as Tom Avermaete put it.¹³⁴

Resisting Populism

The emergence of a drive to bring citizens' participation as part and parcel of the design process was one of the outcomes of this epistemological shift. However, participation was also championed by populist approaches, which instrumentalized it. In effect, Michael Shamiyeh argues there were two main dimensions of populism that have influenced the architectural discourse and practice in the second half of the twentieth century. One was the adoption of vernacular structural forms by experts in the field (architecture without – albeit for – people) and, on the other hand, the exploration of possibilities to integrate the client or the public in the design process (architecture with the people).¹³⁵

At any rate, should we have followed Shamiyeh's viewpoint, the Malagueira project would have been inexorably condemned to become a good illustration of an utterly populist approach. To be sure, this project conflates instances of Shamiyeh's

132. See Schmid, "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic," 39–40.

133. Stanek groups Lefebvre's writings in the period 1968-1974, written during his tenure in Nanterre, as his "spatial books". This group includes the following works: *Le Droit à la ville* (1968), *La Révolution urbaine* (1970), *Du rural à l'urbain* (1970), *Espace et politique* (1972), *La pensée marxiste et la ville* (1972), and *La production de l'espace* (1974). For an insightful account of Lefebvre's vision of the "architecture of social change", see Lukasz Stanek, "Henri Lefebvre and the Concrete Research of Space: Urban Theory, Empirical Studies, Architecture Practice" (PhD Dissertation, TU Delft, 2008).

134. Tom Avermaete, "Nomadic Experts and Travelling Perspectives: Colonial Modernity and the Epistemological Shift in Modern Architecture Culture," in *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past Rebellions for the Future*, ed. Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), 141.

135. Michael Shamiyeh, "Foreword," in *What People Want. Populism in Architecture and Design*, ed. Michael Shamiyeh (Basel: Birkhauser, 2005), 25–26.

dimensions of populism: references to the vernacular tradition and integration of the client in the design process. From the discussion above, however, I would suggest this project should neither be seen as delivering “what people want” nor that Siza’s approach resonates with that of the “architect as the hand of the people.” However, participatory processes bring about important questions: How can the design disciplines integrate the residents and other stakeholders in the design process avoiding populist drifts? How can architecture’s disciplinary autonomy be negotiated with a critical engagement with mass culture and everyday life? I would argue the Malagueira’s plan contributes a possible answer to these questions thus illustrating how participatory processes can enhance critical processes for the transformation of thought in both designers and users.

For example, in Malagueira’s plan, the decision to design a limited palette of housing types or the idea to use an aerial distribution system for the infrastructures, the *conduta*, created some tensions and conflicts, as discussed above. Reacting to accusations that blamed on Siza’s approach the reason for these divergences, the architect argued, “I have no knowledge of a project more discussed, step-by-step, more patiently revised and re-revised. At least 450 families, in several meetings, have seen it, listened to its explanation by words, models, sketches, drawings, photomontages.” And he went on stressing the active participation of all stakeholders. He contented, “they delivered criticism, proposed changes, approved. Municipality technicians and representatives of the population gave their opinion; technicians from my office, from the engineers’ office, from several services, have developed and reviewed it; when necessary, they have suggested changes, analysed the economical and technical viability, and coordinated efforts.” Further, highlighting the political instrumentalization of the process, Siza asserted, “many people have officially approved the project. Others, and sometimes the same, have surreptitiously contested it.”¹³⁶

These statements reveal Siza’s anxieties in the development of Malagueira’s plan, dealing with a complex set of interwoven relations between architecture’s disciplinary autonomy, citizens’ participation in the design process and negotiations with bureaucratic apparatuses. Interestingly, the challenges brought about by this process contributed important features to the project’s outcome. In effect, referring to Siza’s experience with citizens’ participation in the design process, Frampton argued “it was this intense and difficult experience which has led him, in retrospect, to caution against the simplistic populism of ‘giving the people what they want’”.¹³⁷ However, as discussed earlier, both in the SAAL process and in Malagueira, the conflicts between the architect and the other stakeholders in the process, became part and parcel of the design process. Siza claimed

136. Siza, “Notas Sobre o Trabalho em Évora,” 38.

137. Frampton, “Poesis and Transformation: The Architecture of Alvaro Siza,” 12.

“participation procedures are above all critical processes for the transformation of thought, not only of the inhabitants’ idea of themselves, but also of the concepts of the architect.”¹³⁸ Hence, despite all the struggles and setbacks encountered in the course of the project, Siza acknowledged the importance of citizens’ participation to deliver a negotiated outcome without shying away from his responsibilities as a technician.

Therefore, is it possible, then, to balance architecture for architecture’s sake with an architecture that caters for the masses? I would suggest this question can be articulated with a broader debate on artistic movements and the distinct account on the contributions of the historic avant-garde and modernism to bridge the gap between art and life or just produce art for art’s sake. By this token, the debate on citizens’ participation in the design process plays a central role in discussing architecture’s disciplinary autonomy and its engagement with social change.

Architecture and the Everyday

In 1972, Henri Lefebvre published a contribution to the *Encyclopaedia Universalis* with the title “Quotidien et Quotidienneté”.¹³⁹ In this text Lefebvre delivered a synthesis of his long-term engagement and concern with the concepts of everyday and everydayness. In fact, since the 1930s, Lefebvre had been committed to highlight the extraordinary in the ordinary. In key moments such as the aftermath of WWII and at the end of the 1960s, his writings, and he himself for that matter, have been influential denouncing authoritarian approaches and resisting processes of urbanization and globalization prompted by the capitalist economic system. Lefebvre looked back, and delivered appraisal on the diversity of the pre-modern era with its variegated traditions, which were mainly defined according to local customs and specific social and material circumstances. Otherwise, in his times he saw a globalized trend to uniformity.

Lefebvre thus claimed in his text that the everyday has become commodified, that it became a *product*, which was therefore manipulated by the producers. He delivered a critique of rationalization, universalism and functionalism arguing that the everyday is defined by repetitive gestures imposed by modernity, and that even change and obsolescence are programmed. “Production anticipates reproduction,” he argued. And he went on declaring “production produces change in such a way as to superimpose the impression of speed onto that of monotony.”¹⁴⁰ To uncover the deep structures defined by modernity and everydayness, and the relentless rationalization of the contemporary city, Lefebvre championed a critical analysis that should go beyond a simple “change life” attitude or a rejection of lived experience. He thus called for the expression of the energy, humanity, and creativity embodied in the humble, prosaic details

138. Álvaro Siza and France Vanlaethem, “Pour Une Architecture Épurée et Rigoureuse,” *ARQ: Architecture/Québec* no. 14 (August 1983): 18. Translated from French by the author.

139. See the English translation in Henri Lefebvre, “The Everyday and Everydayness,” trans. Christine Levich, *Yale French Studies* no. 73 (January 1, 1987): 7–11. All further references to this text will use this version.

140. *Ibid.*, 10.

of daily existence in order to challenge the commodification of the everyday.

In effect, in her account of Lefebvre's critique of everydayness, Mary McLeod, argued that the philosopher's interest in the humble and prosaic was also a manifestation of his criticism on the elitism and heroism of Nietzsche's rhetoric of the superman, which should be superseded by superhumanism.¹⁴¹ McLeod contended that Lefebvre's postulation of superhumanism "is a rejection of bourgeois humanism, of universal rationality, and of suppression of difference. It is also a refusal to accept the death of subjectivity, the endless proliferation of signs, and the celebration of commodity forces - the 'anything goes' mentality."¹⁴²

In the disciplinary field of architecture, Lefebvre's denounce of the status quo – the annihilating power of everydayness - can be paralleled with the concept of critical architecture, which Hilde Heynen has defined as a critical engagement of architectural works with their social condition.¹⁴³ Heynen uses Frankfurt School's critical theory, specially the work of Theodor Adorno, as a theoretical apparatus to describe an architectural approach that is able to combine its autonomy with social interests. To illustrate this approach, Heynen presents the architecture of the Modern Movement, particularly its contributions for the emergence of new disciplinary approaches on housing design. She claims that modernist architecture and urban design proposed "a new way of living that offered an alternative to the exploitation and injustice of the status quo. Modern architecture," she argues, "thus equalled a social project, with utopian overtones, based upon a critical attitude towards the existing."¹⁴⁴

This combination of disciplinary autonomy and social engagement is, however, a challenge to conventional divisions between the notions of modernity and avant-garde, which pervade several disciplines. Heynen suggests applying the notion of a heroic avant-garde, as suggested in the works of Matei Calinescu and Renato Poggioli, to those progressive political and artistic movements, which are fostered by a utopian approach, challenging the status quo. In contrast, Heynen resonates the notion of transgressive avant-garde with Peter Bürger's and Andreas Huyssen's claim that the historical avant-garde was concerned with bridging the gap between art and life, while modernity was associated with an autonomous moment of art for art's sake.¹⁴⁵

Hilde Heynen thus uses the distinction between modern and avant-garde as an instrumental support to differentiate her concept of critical architecture from that supported by American scholars such as K. Michael Hays or Peter Eisenman. Hence, while the latter tend to present a more modern (formalist and

141. Mary McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life: An Introduction," in *Architecture of the Everyday*, ed. Steven Harris and Deborah Berke, 1st ed. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 12.

142. *Ibid.*, 28–29.

143. Hilde Heynen, "A Critical Position for Architecture?," in *Critical Architecture*, ed. Jane Rendell et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 48–56.

144. *Ibid.*, 49.

145. See Peter Bürger, "The Significance of the Avant-Garde for Contemporary Aesthetics: A Reply to Jürgen Habermas," trans. Andreas Huyssen and Jack Zipes, *New German Critique* 22 (1981): 19–22; Andreas Huyssen, "The Search for Tradition: Avant-Garde and Postmodernism in the 1970's," *New German Critique* 22 (1981): 23–40.

elitist) outlook, the European perspective championed by Heynen is more socially engaged, “closer to an avant-garde ideal of overthrowing the separation between art and the everyday.”¹⁴⁶

In fact, this separation between an elitist approach and the humble and prosaic was a central issue in post-war architectural debates. In the late 1960s and 1970s surfaced what Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler called “an optimistic belief in the ability of people to gain from the devolution of power.”¹⁴⁷ This process was related with post-war strategies of withdrawal from Modern Movement’s architectural determinacy. As a result of this process, there was a progressive attention to accommodate the will of the people, to understand the extent to which individuals could be empowered and take control of their living environments. According to Hughes and Sadler, this devolution of power in the post-war period was conjured up with such notions as choice, freedom, and participation.

Appropriation and Subversion

The interplay between these notions brings about challenges to the architecture discipline in making sense of the relation between the design process and post-occupancy phase. Regarding these challenges, I would argue in Malagueira Siza’s approach as regards citizens’ participation in the design process was ambivalent. To be sure, this was expressed in his own words. In an interview given to the Portuguese public broadcasting TV channel, in 1995, referring to the Malagueira plan, Siza argued, “my goal was to create very precise limits to spontaneous intervention.” This was nonetheless a conscious strategy, he contended. In effect, Siza claimed, these limits were imposed “knowing right from the start that this strictness does not have translation into practice, because there is an anxiety to be different, which conquers all, but if it does not have a solid framework, it leads to the chaos that we experience in so many parts of the country.”¹⁴⁸

146. Heynen, “A Critical Position for Architecture?,” 51.

147. Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler, “Preface,” in *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom, Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2000), ix.

148. Quoted in Maria Filomena Mónica, “Régua e Esquadro,” *Indy*, January 23, 1998, 29.

149. Cf. Robalo, “O ‘Bairro Árabe’ de Siza Vieira”; Mónica, “Régua e Esquadro.”

150. Mónica, “Régua e Esquadro,” 29.

In this interview, Siza was clearly reacting to the frequent critiques he received on Malagueira’s plan. As mentioned earlier, some of these critiques claimed that the neighbourhood was monotonous, dull, anonymous, inhumane, and oppressive.¹⁴⁹ Siza himself admitted that the plan’s “regulations are tyrannical, with the belief that the limits to tyranny, fortunately existing, will foster subversion”¹⁵⁰

In fact, today, paying a visit to the neighbourhood, we can feel this subversion omnipresent. Comparing images taken immediately after construction with pictures of the neighbourhood’s current status, one can observe the extent to which there was a spontaneous process of change to the buildings’ initial characteristics. [Figure 7.50] These changes and appropriations



Figure 7.50. Views of the Malagueira neighbourhood in 2011. Photo: © Nelson Mota.

are now, in fact, widespread through all the different sectors of the plan. This circumstance has driven some commentators to argue that this was the consequence of Siza's "regulatory obsession and its modernist preferences."¹⁵¹

This criticism seems to imply that Siza simply imposed his ideas against the client and the future residents. However, as discussed above, this project was developed in direct consultation and negotiated with many stakeholders, including the future residents organized in co-operatives and with local and governmental technicians and politicians. Furthermore, instead of resisting to dialogue, Siza was keen in stressing the creative impetus generated by the emergence of conflicts in participatory processes. In 1998, two decades after the beginning the process, Siza argued that in the Malagueira project "the discussion was conflictive, as a participatory process should be, however, the dialogue was never compromised." And went on saying "twenty years after, I still have the population and the co-operatives' support and, therefore, regardless the continuous attacks of politicians and architects, I continue working at the Malagueira: it seems to me that this is an exceptional outcome."¹⁵² Siza thus concludes that the character of citizens' participation "depends of social conflicts and cultural specificities."¹⁵³

In the Malagueira neighbourhood, however, the participation of the users in the initial design process and the knowledge of the region's cultural specificities didn't hold back a widespread process of appropriation and change to the original characteristics of the housing units. In fact, in 1991, commenting on these appropriations and changes, Siza claimed, "it's true that all this goes far beyond the control of the design. Yet," he goes on, "none of it is chaotic or irrational since our aim was to build a structure open to transformations, but that's able to maintain its identity nonetheless."¹⁵⁴

7.6• The Poetics of the Open Work

In this account on the changes introduced by the residents in the Malagueira houses, Siza thus emphasizes the openness of the structure he designed and its potential to accommodate the transformations. Siza's comment highlights, I would suggest, the interwoven relation between the notions of "open architecture" cherished by such people as Oskar Hansen, John Habraken, John Turner, and Nuno Portas and the concept of "lived" spaces as discussed by Henri Lefebvre. This relation stresses the importance of understanding the reception of the work of architecture as a fundamental part of the design process. Umberto Eco with his 1962 *Opera Aperta* (Open Work), discussed in the previous chapter contributed a milestone for a theory of aesthetic communication, especially with the essay "The Poetics

151. Ibid.

152. Siza, *Imaginar a Evidência*, 117.

153. Ibid., 113.

154. Álvaro Siza, "Comment Parvenir à La Sérénité. Interview with Laurent Beaudouin," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* no. 278 (December 1991): 64–65.

of the Open Work,” which still stands as a seminal contribution to discuss the role of the individual addressee in the reception of the work of art.¹⁵⁵ I would suggest, drawing on Eco’s poetics of the open work, that the design strategies to accommodate growth and change discussed in this chapter contribute seminal illustrations on the interwoven relation between the author and the addressee in the architecture discipline. They represent, however, different possibilities to explore this topic. To be sure, Gropius’ *Typenserienhaus* has little to do with John Turner’s plea on giving people freedom to build, and John Habraken’s system of support and infill contrasts with Nuno Portas’ strategy for incremental housing.

However, to discuss the poetics of the open work in the disciplinary field of the design disciplines, the time factor is vital. Hence, Philippe Boudon’s approach on post-occupancy evaluation to housing settlements with his 1969 *Pessac de Le Corbusier*, contributed a seminal account on the reception of the work of architecture. Likewise, the survey on the reception of the PREVI Lima experimental housing, showcased more recently in *Time Builds!* reveals a striking illustration of the possibilities of the open work.¹⁵⁶ In this context, the discussion of Álvaro Siza’s Malagueira plan and projects sought to bring about and illustrate an architectural approach that resonates with Brecht’s *verfremdung* device, thus deliberately exploring a dialectic relation between the author’s organizing rule and the addressee’s personal *performance*.

Open Architecture and Democratic Urbanism

In Philippe Boudon’s account of Pessac, Le Corbusier’s design strategy became instrumental to accommodate change over time. He went further and compared Le Corbusier’s design with the vernacular “lean-to” houses, where people upgraded their houses by extending them to the courtyard and altering some aspects of the basic formal configuration in such a way that, at the end, the outcome becomes itself a vernacular type. “Like the traditional lean-to house,” Boudon contended, “Le Corbusier’s villas were *capable of being altered and were in fact altered*.” And he went further arguing “one of the essential features of this conception is the fact that it *facilitated* and, to a certain extent, even *encouraged* such alteration.”¹⁵⁷ Boudon thus rejects the prevalent judgment of Pessac as purely functional containers in the same vein of some classic examples such as J.J.P. Oud’s scheme designed for the 1927 Weissenhof Siedlung. He emphasized instead the lack of spatial definition in Pessac as a token of Le Corbusier’s deliberate strategy to counter rigidity with an open architecture, an untrammelled spatial conception that, in effect, pervaded the rationale of his famous *cinq points de l’architecture moderne* (five points of modern architecture).

155. The first edition of *Opera Aperta* was published in Italian in 1962. Since then, the book was translated in many languages, including Portuguese in 1968. According to Umberto Eco’s introductory note to *Opera Aperta*, this essay was originally written in 1958.

156. Fernando Garcia-Huidobro, Diego Torres Torriti, and Nicolas Tugás, *Time Builds!* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2008).

157. Boudon, *Lived-in Architecture*, 114 Original Emphasis.

Boudon concluded, then, that the *juxtaposition* of individual elements to Le Corbusier's collective *composition* testifies to the success of the original conception and not, as commonly assessed, to prove its failure. The rules of the construction game used by the architect proved to be a fertile ground to stimulate the residents' transformation game. "Le Corbusier," Boudon argued, "provided the occupants with a perfect basis for their conversions."¹⁵⁸ In his *exposé* given in 13 June 1926 at the inauguration of the QMF, Le Corbusier stated, "we have tried to produce a *machine to live in*." And he went on declaring "but since men also have hearts, we have also tried to ensure that men with hearts would be able to live happily in our houses."¹⁵⁹ In effect, through time, these men would thoroughly produce changes and, as Henri Lefebvre wrote in the preface to Boudon's book, they would create distinctions, introduce personal qualities and build a differentiated social cluster.¹⁶⁰ Of all people and of all places, Le Corbusier and Pessac became then an epitome of a design strategy to accommodate growth and change over time. The myth of the rigidity associated with the mechanist tropes of Le Corbusier's functionalism was thus broken, and the principles of architectural modernism celebrated as tokens of open architecture.

More recently, however, Peter Land would contribute a reflection in *Time Builds!* on the extent to which openness without control can pervert the initial goal of creating a democratic urbanism. In his account on the PREVI Lima plan, Land emphasizes that it was designed according to the concept of high density in low-rise settlements. This concept fostered a more democratic relation between the individual and the public space, as opposed to the hierarchical relations sparked by the pervasive use of tall structures in housing schemes, which at that time was influenced by an uncritical interpretation of the tenets of functionalist modernism.¹⁶¹ Further, next to the high density/low-rise concept the experiment also developed a financing system that was designed to grant full ownership to the households, which also contrasted with the typical governmental social housing tenements that were cherished by the welfare state policies ruling in the so-called developed world. Hence, Peter Land highlights, "the density advantages [of tall structures] are minimised when maintenance, access, privacy, human scale and the impossibility of unit expansion are considered." Instead, he goes on contending, "the ownership of a small lot and a compact house with privacy builds equity with time and is the basic building block of 'democratic urbanism'."¹⁶² Further, this system of ownership also encourages a more flexible use of the house, accommodating the changing needs in the structure of the household over time.

158. *Ibid.*, 163.

159. Quoted in *ibid.*, 195.

160. Lefebvre, "Preface."

161. Land, "The Experimental Housing Project (PREVI), Lima: Antecedents and Ideas," 18.

162. *Ibid.*

According to the initial plan and strategy of the PREVI Lima initiative, this change and growth should have been supported

by technical advice, provided by a local team. However, after the completion of the neighbourhood, in 1973, this team was not created and some of the ideas of the PREVI plan were not implemented.¹⁶³ The local furniture industry should also be invited to decorate some houses and thus show possibilities for a contemporary inhabitation in social housing. Further, each household should receive the architectural and structural plans of their house so that these could be eventually used as support for the extension of the house. Moreover, technical issues related with the experimental character of the scheme had been also considered. For example, the formwork used in the construction of the houses, in some case using innovative techniques, should have been kept and used in further extensions, but it soon disappeared after the completion of the construction. Peter Land argues these initiatives were fundamental for the further development of the experiment, as they would have made PREVI residents more consciousness about the special architectural design and value of their properties.

Over the years after the completion of the project, the households confirmed the initial expectations of the urban plan, and consolidated the neighbourhood increasing its density and the vital role of the cluster organization in the development of community bonds. [Figure 7.51] Regarding the expansion of the houses, however, Land argues that due to the complete absence of technical advice and planning control the houses suffered “some deterioration in environmental standards” such as overcrowding and safety issues. He thus argues, “basic urban planning regulations are desirable to limit expansion and to shape urban growth so that in the long run the built environment is safe, healthy and attractive.”¹⁶⁴

The growth patterns of PREVI Lima offer an important support to discuss the relation between design strategies to accommodate growth and change over time and housing policies. In fact, the regulated incremental growth championed by Peter Land is at odds with the autonomy in building environments advocated by John Turner. In his *Housing by People*, published in 1976, Turner argued, “pyramidal structures are impervious to personal and local inputs in proportion to their size.”¹⁶⁵ He further contended, “while people tend to intolerantly look a centrally administered gift horse in the mouth, they show a surprising facility for multiplying the blessings of something they have done for themselves.”¹⁶⁶ He underlined, moreover, the economical advantages of people’s autonomy in housing. “Thanks to the freedom which the locally controlled system has given to the people to decide and even to build for themselves,” Turner contended, “the demand for local labour is maintained and the benefits stay with those who have exercised their own imagination and initiative, skills and responsibility.”¹⁶⁷

163. Among these there was a plan to develop an international conference and an exhibition on the topic of design strategies to accommodate growth and change over time.

164. Land, “The Experimental Housing Project (PREVI), Lima: Antecedents and Ideas,” 19.

165. John F. C. Turner, *Housing by People. Towards Autonomy in Building Environments* (London: Marion Boyards, 1976), 40.

166. *Ibid.*, 41.

167. *Ibid.*, 50.



Figure 7.51. PREVI Lima neighbourhood. Original situation (1978) and transformation (2003). Source: Fernando García-Huidobro, Diego Torres Torriti, and Nicolas Tugás, *Time Builds!* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2008), 44-45.

Whereas for Peter Land PREVI Lima's deterioration in environmental standards could have been avoided with local technical support provided by a central administration, for Turner it was the absence of this heteronomous relation that transformed the PREVI experiment into an important lesson. In the preface to *Time Builds!*, the survey on the transformations produced by the residents to the original houses designed in the late 1960s, Turner explained that he was sceptical about the project when it was initially proposed. When the book was published, in 2008, more than three decades after the completion of the project, Turner argued, "In my view the most important message that the study emits is that housing is a community-building *activity*, not just a *product*."¹⁶⁸

The different perspectives of Peter Land and John Turner on the outcome of the PREVI-Lima experiment resonates, I would suggest, with the ambivalent character of the notions of open architecture and democratic urbanism in relation to the role of the architect in the design process. Understanding the productive nature of this ambivalence is, however, essential to grasp the full extent to which processes such as the Malagueira plan show the possibility to bridge the gap between art and life.

Detachment and Ambivalence

To be sure, using the critical assessment of hegemonic relationship models as a framework, Siza's experience with users participation in the Malagueira neighbourhood's design process can be paralleled with Homi Bhabha's concept of ambivalence in the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized: the will of the colonizer to see himself repeated in the colonized, and the need to repudiate that image. In effect, Felipe Hernández claims that for Bhabha,

Ambivalence shows that the colonisers are also internally in conflict between their wish to repeat themselves in the colonised [...] and the anxiety of their disappearance as a result of the repetition, because if the Other turns into the same, difference is eliminated, as are the grounds to claim superiority over it.¹⁶⁹

Therefore, Bhabha's concept of ambivalence becomes instrumental in assessing architectural practices where the relation between the architect and "the other", the residents in the case of affordable housing projects, is a central issue. This was brought about by José António Bandeirinha, who, commenting on some contemporary architectural approaches, claimed that "today, it is not so much the forms of social organisation or the practices related to them that exemplarily inspire erudite otherness." Instead, Bandeirinha went on, it is "the morphological dynamic itself – the design of the homes, the neighbourhoods, and their reciprocal mediations, the transformative pressure of time, etc. – which brings very strong motivation to architectural practice."¹⁷⁰

168. John Turner, "Preface," in *Time Builds!*, ed. Fernando García-Huidobro, Diego Torres Torriti, and Nicolas Tugas (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2008), 7.

169. Felipe Hernández, *Bhabha for Architects* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 41.

170. José António Bandeirinha, "'Verfremdung' vs. 'Mimicry'". The SAAL and Some of Its Reflections in the Current Day," in *Let's Talk About Houses: Between North and South*, ed. Delfim Sardo (Lisboa: Athena, 2010), 72.

Bandeirinha thus denounces an architectural practice where the context becomes a model instead of an object of transformation, overlooking the role of the architectural project as a mediator. He claims that this resonates with the concept of *mimicry*, that Bhabha borrowed from Lacan, “a strategy which aims towards the appropriation of the other, granting it simultaneously the illusion of some power, through a false homogenisation.”¹⁷¹ Bandeirinha argues that some of the SAAL projects were praised in certain critical assessments because of “their ability to mingle with a formal or material expression which was very closely linked to that of the living and urban spaces, ‘popular spaces’, in the end resorting to a *mimicry* effect, *avant la lettre*”. In Siza’s projects for the SAAL Process, however, Bandeirinha argues that the architect resisted this *mimicry* effect by keeping clear the boundaries of disciplinary autonomy. He refers to Siza’s projects as “one of the most lucid interpretations of the contours of participation, as a methodological component of the project.”¹⁷²

In effect, concerning his methodological approach, Siza himself claims that “to work as an architect requires great confidence and capacity of affirmation, and, at the same time, a certain distancing [*sic*].” And he goes on contending “this is Brecht’s attitude with regard to theatre: distancing does not mean that one does not assume the role, it means that one becomes conscious of acting out that role.”¹⁷³

Hence, referring to Siza’s affiliation with Brecht’s notion of *Verfremdung*, Bandeirinha claims that, for Siza, “the commitment with the residents would not imply a direct adoption of their aspirations, but rather the rigorous and permanent consciousness of having their interest made manifest through *representation*, which in this case was Architecture.”¹⁷⁴ Thus, the notion of *Verfremdung* becomes instrumental in supporting a position of resistance to a populist approach where the aspirations of the users would unconditionally define the architect’s performance.

171. *Ibid.*, 73.

172. *Ibid.*, 75.

173. Álvaro Siza and Alejandro Zaera Polo, “Getting Through Turbulence. An Interview with Álvaro Siza,” *El Croquis* no. 68/69 (1994): 11.

174. Bandeirinha, “‘Verfremdung’ vs. ‘Mimicry’”, 75. Original emphasis.

175. Ernst Bloch, “‘Entfremdung, Verfremdung’: Alienation, Estrangement,” trans. Anne Halley and Darko Suvin, *The Drama Review: TDR* 15, no. 1 (October 1, 1970): 124.

With the architectural project as mediator, the architect uses it as a tool for the translation of users’ aspirations. Hence, following Ernst Bloch, I would argue in Siza’s Malagueira plan, as in Brecht’s plays, “the actor speaks this [both highly polished and plain] language as if he were reciting someone else’s words: as if he stood beside the other, distancing himself, and never embodying the other.”¹⁷⁵

A Progressive Attachment

In Siza’s architectural approach, Brecht’s detachment device is vital at the moment of the conception of the work of architecture. It contributes for its multiple polarity that suggests infinite possibilities of personal intervention framed in the world

intended by the author. This resonates, I would contend, with an ambiguous position where architecture has the possibility to bridge the gap between art and life, preserving its disciplinary autonomy while being critically engaged in social change. This position, however, challenges the conventional tenets associated with both disciplinary autonomy and critical architecture.

Hilde Heynen argues, nonetheless, that in “Adorno’s view it is only by preserving its autonomy that art can remain critical.”¹⁷⁶ Therefore, Heynen contends for Adorno there is a dual character of art that can be useful as framework for heteronomous forms of art such as architecture. On the one hand this dual character of art allows us to “see works of art in the perspective of their social definition and social relevance [...] and on the other hand in the perspective of their autonomy as aesthetically shaped objects.”¹⁷⁷

In the case of Siza’s project for the Malagueira neighbourhood I would also suggest that there is a dual approach. On the one hand the architect preserves his autonomy by using the architectural project as a tool to translate the users’ demands. On the other hand, the outcome of his work is the result of a critical assessment of everyday life. Thus, the rationality and anonymity associated with the modernist principles inherited from the Enlightenment values is mingled with the historic avant-garde’s desire to bridge the gap between art and life. From this dialectic process results a negotiated outcome where needs and desire can be finally reconciled, as Henri Lefebvre argued. In fact, according to Siza himself, what interests him in the construction of a city

Is the capacity of transformation, something quite like the growth of a human being, who from his birth, has certain characteristics and a sufficient autonomy, a basic structure that can integrate or resist the changes in life. This doesn’t signify a loss of identity though. What we built at Malagueira is like the zero point of a city, more exactly not the zero but what comes immediately after it.¹⁷⁸

Instead of a users’ subversion of power, as Lefebvre pointed referring to the Quartiers Frugès, I would argue the Malagueira neighbourhood epitomizes the balance between Lefebvre’s three moments of production of space: The material production, the production of knowledge, and the production of meaning. [Figure 7.52] These moments are interwoven in a relationship that goes beyond architecture’s autonomous moment; it takes place in time. Or, using Siza’s own words,

The architectural creation is born of an emotion, the emotion caused by a moment and a place. The project and the construction, demand from the authors to free themselves from that emotion, on a progressive detachment – transmitting it as a whole and hidden. From then on, the emotion belongs to the other(s).¹⁷⁹

176. Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* (Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1999), 192.

177. Ibid.

178. Siza, “Comment Parvenir à La Sérénité. Interview with Laurent Beaudouin,” 64.

179. Álvaro Siza, *Textos 01 - Álvaro Siza*, ed. Carlos Campos Morais (Porto: Livraria Civilização Editora, 2009), 109. This text was originally published in 1992. Translation from Portuguese by the author.



Figure 1.52. View of a street in Malagueira in 1990. Source: Arquivo Fotográfico da Câmara Municipal de Évora. Photos: © José Manuel Rodrigues.

Siza's progressive detachment springs from an architectural approach that negotiates disciplinary autonomy with a critical assessment of the everyday. The project accommodates processes of growth and change through an archaeology of the ordinary, and thus accomplishes the historical avant-garde's ambition of bridging the gap between art and life, through a progressive attachment of the users to the project.

Conclusion

I am or I feel like an emigrant: an intermittent emigrant. Emigrants exchange information giving and taking what for them is usual or new. Other crossroads encompass other nuclear places; all crossing the territory in every way and direction through the consciousness of the possible Universality.

Álvaro Siza*

The main narrative that pervades this dissertation is one of underlining the creative potential of conflicts asserting its emancipatory character in resisting hegemonic relations. Moving back and forth from the (semi) periphery to the core of the world system, the locus of the hegemonic power, this research highlights the productive outcome of a conflicted relation between modernity and the vernacular to the politics of architectural design and theory in the period stretching from the fall of the colonial empires in the late 1940s until the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s.¹ This dissertation shows that through this period the relation between modernity and the vernacular can be translated into two fundamental disciplinary paradigms that resonate with two historical moments and that affected the architecture of dwelling: a pastoral view of the vernacular followed by a counter-pastoral view of modernity.

A Pastoral View of the Vernacular

The first disciplinary paradigm stretches from the outset of the fall of the colonial empires in the late 1940s until the global crisis of the early 1970s. Through this historical moment, which Eric Hobsbawm calls the “Golden Age,” the vernacular tradition was fetishized and portrayed as example of communitarianism, rootedness, and unspoiled equilibrium between man and

* Álvaro Siza, “Mundo À Parte, Mundo-Parte,” in *Textos 01 - Álvaro Siza*, ed. Carlos Campos Morais (Porto: Livraria Civilização Editora, 2009), 287–88. This text was originally written in 2002. Translation from Portuguese by the author.

1. This period corresponds to the last two stages (The Golden Age and The Landslide) of the *Age of Extremes*, “the short twentieth century,” as Eric Hobsbawm had it. See Eric J Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1995).

nature. This pastoral approach was instrumental to develop a counter-form to the architecture produced under the auspices of hegemonic power relations, which relentlessly flattened individual expression. Notwithstanding this emancipatory drive, this pastoral view of the vernacular tradition often overlooked the poor living conditions in the rural world and in the fringes of the life in the city. It succeeded, nevertheless, in expanding the world culture of modernism and in underlining the ambivalent character of the experience of modernity.

The CIAM debates on the habitat for the great number, a pervasive topic over the 1950s, epitomize a disciplinary drive to instrumentalize a pastoral vision of the vernacular as part and parcel of a project of progress and emancipation. Further, in this process of mediation between modernity and the vernacular, the agency of the architecture's disciplinary apparatus was vital to mediate the nexus between utopia and the real. In other words, the architectural project was a medium for social change and a vehicle to reconcile the project of modernity with the man on the street.

A critical account of the relation between modernity and the vernacular triggered a disciplinary approach that pursued relentless efforts to articulate modernity *qua* universal civilization and the vernacular *qua* local culture. Operating in this context, the work of the Portuguese CIAM group, and that of most of its prominent members, testifies to a drive to conflate modernity with the circumstance, pursuing a situated architectural approach, and delivering an architecture of dwelling that negotiates civilization with culture.

A Counter-Pastoral View of Modernity

The second disciplinary paradigm surfaced in the aftermath of the unrest caused by the early 1970s crisis and ensued until the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. Through this period the pastoral view of the vernacular was superseded by a counter-pastoral view of modernity. This shift in the disciplinary approach was driven by a partisan involvement in the struggle against the *detritorialization* of the individual under the pressure of economic and cultural globalization. In "the Landslide," as Hobsbawm named this historical moment, an intense debate on the social role of the architect ensued, underpinned by societal transformations that triggered citizens' empowerment.

In the 1970s and 1980s, this debate would be pervasive, first and foremost in mass housing design decision-making processes with citizens' participation. To be sure, these processes revealed many disciplinary challenges put forward by a negotiation of power relations between the architect *qua* author, and the future residents *qua* addressees. Through this period, citizens'

participation was often suggested as an instrument to mitigate the tensions in the design decision-making process and the role of the expert was seen frequently as a proxy for individual escape from uncertainty and ambivalence. In the politics of architectural design and theory, I would suggest these challenges were tackled in three different ways: fostering populist consensus, activating agonistic pluralism, and simply withdrawing the discipline altogether. The aversion towards confrontation of both the consensual approach and the disciplinary withdrawal hindered political participation. Rather, as Chantal Mouffe put it, the approach based on agonistic struggle generated “passionate attachments in the constitution of political identities.”² In this context, the research developed for this dissertation shows that the mass housing projects developed by Álvaro Siza in the 1970s and 1980s can be seen as instances of an agonistic struggle that uses architecture’s disciplinary apparatus to nurture collective memory, and foster social change through political participation.

Further, Siza’s architectural operations challenged modernity’s drive to get rid of ambivalence, chaos, and contingency. Instead they underlined modernity’s transience and uncertainty, developing design strategies to accommodate growth and change over time, acknowledging the “as found” as a token of collective memory, and developing a critical assessment of the qualities of the vernacular as essential instruments to engage disciplinary expertise in bridging the divide between alienating globalization and folkloric populism.

Thus, during “the Landslide”, the relation between modernity and the vernacular was conspicuously embodied in the struggle to balance disciplinary expertise with social engagement. As a consequence of this state of affairs, the politics of architectural design and theory was pervaded with calls for a withdrawal of the discipline from the production of space. In this context, both partisanship and dissent gained currency and dug out deeper the gap between elitism and populism. In short, they increased binary polarities. In this period, however, the work of Álvaro Siza recuperated the notion of collective memory as a vehicle to enable a social confrontation with the real mediated by the expert. In other words, Siza recuperated the project as the essential tool to enhance the social production of space.

The conflicts generated by this process became essential to challenge the predicates of hegemonic relations based on either championing dogma or promoting consensual populism. The research on Siza’s projects for housing complexes developed with citizens’ participation in the design decision-making process brought about instances of a conflictual consensus mediated by the figure of ambivalence. Siza’s politics of architectural design in the 1970s and 1980s thus conveyed a disciplinary approach that activates the vernacular to deliver an architecture of dwelling

2. Chantal Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically* (London and New York: Verso Books, 2013), 96.

that acknowledges ambiguity and contingency as part and parcel of the project of modernity.

An Archaeology of the Ordinary

Against the epistemological background defined by a shift from a disciplinary paradigm that stimulated a pastoral view of the vernacular into one driven by a counter-pastoral view of modernity, this dissertation conceptualizes as “an archaeology of the ordinary” the architectural operations developed by the Portuguese CIAM group and its main protagonists in the 1950s and 1960s, and Álvaro Siza’s in the 1970s and 1980s.

In his *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Michel Foucault distinguished two categories of formulations that characterized the field of discourses: the original and the regular.³ While the first refers to those things that are highly valued, relatively rare, and may be seen as creations, the latter resonates with those ordinary things that derive from what has already been said. These two categories demand two distinct analytical approaches. Describing the original demands a rediscovery of the basis of isolated points, moments of rupture in the continuous line of an evolution. To describe the regular, instead, one has to acknowledge history as a slow accumulation of the past, a silent sedimentation of things.

In the case studies examined in this dissertation, I contend the reconceptualization of the architecture of dwelling was supported by a disciplinary approach based on an archaeological analysis to that silent sedimentation of ordinary things. The notion of archaeological analysis, which was also conceptualized by Foucault, is thus of the utmost importance to frame the conclusions of the research. Foucault asserted “archaeology tries to define not the thought, representations, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourses; but those discourses themselves, those discourses as practices obeying certain rules.”⁴ When we replace “discourses” with “architectural operations” in the sentence above, we have thus outlined the fundamental disciplinary approach that contributed to rethink the architecture of dwelling in the architectural operations surveyed in this dissertation. In short, an archaeology of the ordinary.

Polarity and Ambivalence

In his *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, Marshall Berman pointed out the ambivalent character of modernity for nineteenth-century thinkers such as Baudelaire, Kierkegaard, Marx or Nietzsche. By the same token he asserted that twentieth-century writers and thinkers on issues related with modernity developed “a radical flattening of perspective and shrinkage of imaginative range,” abolishing modernity’s ambiguities and contradictions, and lurching toward rigid polarities and flat totalizations.⁵ For

3. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. Alan Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 141–148.

4. *Ibid.*, 138.

5. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air. The Experience of Modernity* (New York and London: Verso Books, 2010), 24.

them, Berman contended, “modernity is either embraced with a blind and uncritical enthusiasm, or else condemned with neo-Olympian remoteness and contempt.” Then, he went on, “in either case, it is conceived as a closed monolith, incapable of being shaped or changed by modern men. Open visions of modern life have been supplanted by closed ones, Both/And by Either/Or.”⁶

This dissertation argues that one of the instances of this monolithic account of modernity was the construction of a binary polarity between universal civilization and local culture. Focusing on its consequences to the politics of architectural design and theory, the dissertation brings forth contributions engaged in breaking that binary opposition, searching for a solution to the paradox advanced by Paul Ricoeur in 1961: “how to become modern and to return to sources; how to revive an old, dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization?”⁷ The outcome of the research underlines that, from the late 1940s until the early 1990s, an instrumentalization of the dyad modernity and the vernacular became one of the main strategies to cope with this paradox. First, the mechanist tropes of modernity, symbolized by the life in the metropolis, were confronted with the idyllic character of the vernacular tradition, asserted as the true locus of the *domus*. This was the moment when a pastoral view of the vernacular dominated the politics of architectural design and theory as a vehicle to re-humanize the built environment, and it lasted until the early 1970s.

Then, a new perspective ensued, asserting the counter-pastoral character of modernity, emphasizing the processes of modernization and rendering the triumph of global capitalism accountable for the alienation of the individual. As Marshal Berman had it, this generated three tendencies towards modern life: affirmative, negative, and withdrawn.⁸ These tendencies, this dissertation shows, pervaded also the politics of architectural design and politics. There was an affirmative tendency engaged in bridging the gap between the discipline and the everyday, a negative tendency struggling against the totality of modern existence, and a drive to withdraw the architecture discipline from modern life, championing architectural operations as self-referential processes. To counter the dark side of modernity, as it were, these tendencies sponsored, either explicitly or implicitly, the vernacular tradition as the locus to resist the obliteration of identity and difference. This conceptualization of the vernacular was no longer resonant with the Arcadian view of the countryside, though. Rather it denoted the commercial vernacular alongside with building processes developed through the agency of non-experts.

6. Ibid. Both in the case of those who championed modernity, such as Italian Futurism or the Bauhaus technocratic pastoral, as in the case of those sceptical of modernity, such as Max Weber or José Ortega Y Gasset, modern man as a subject, as an agent of transformation in and of the world has disappeared.

7. Paul Ricoeur, “Universal Civilization and National Cultures,” in *Architectural Regionalism. Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 47.

8. Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air. The Experience of Modernity*, 29.

Dwelling on the Third Bank of the River

This dissertation asserts the pervasiveness of a rhetoric based on binary polarities was the predicament immanent in both disciplinary paradigms. It suggests, then, a reconceptualization of the dyad modernity and the vernacular framed by a condition of thirdness associated with the rationale of the concept of semi-periphery. The results of this research demonstrate that the conceptual toolbox produced by an acknowledgement of the creative potential of occupying a space that does not adjust well to the typical binarisms of western society, empowered the emergence of a Third Space, as Homi Bhabha had it, a space with assigned spatial characteristics that challenges binary polarities, accommodates hybridization, and advocates acculturation.

This reconceptualization is illustrated by the work of the Portuguese CIAM group and its main protagonists and followers in the 1950s and 1960s, alongside with the projects for mass housing designed by Álvaro Siza in the 1970s and 1980s. In effect, while the first illustrates an attempt to re-humanize the politics of architectural design and theory and resist the menace of mass culture through rearticulating the universalism of modernity with the situated character of traditional cultures, the latter exemplifies a reassessment of the struggle against hegemonic structures asserting the social role of the architect as one that should cater for the creation of spaces where people can perform and negotiate their differences. At any rate, both contribute examples that dismantle the binary polarity between modernity and the vernacular in the conceptualization of the notion of architecture of dwelling.

The politics of architectural design and theory brought about by these disciplinary approaches do not discard altogether the existence of opposite poles. Rather, they acknowledge and take advantage of them as part and parcel of a process of negotiation that explores the creative potential of conflictive consensus, thus asserting the emancipatory potential of dwelling on “the third bank of the river”, as the Brazilian writer João Guimarães Rosa put it.

List of Abbreviations

AMSS - Associação de Moradores de S. Sebastião (São Sebastião Residents Association)

ATBAT - Atelier des Bâtitseurs

BDA - Bundes Deutscher Architekten (The Association of German Architects)

CHEBV - Cooperativa de Habitação Económica “Boa Vontade” (“Boa Vontade” Affordable Housing Co-op)

CIAM - Congrès International d’Architecture Moderne

CODA - Concurso para a Obtenção do Diploma de Arquitecto (Submission for Obtaining the Architect’s Diploma)

DGSU - Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização (General Directorate for Urbanization Services)

DSO - Dienst Stadsontwikkeling ([The Hague] Service for Urban Design)

EEC - European Economic Community

EFTA - European Free Trade Association

EU – European Union

FCP – HE - Federação das Caixas de Previdência – Habitações Económicas (Federation of Social Welfare Institutions - Affordable Housing)

FFH - Fundo de Fomento da Habitação ([Portuguese] State Housing Agency)

GAMMA - Group d’Architects Modernes Marocains

GATEPAC - Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles para la Arquitectura Contemporánea (Group of Spanish Artists and Technicians for Contemporary Architecture)

GEU - Gabinete de Estudos de Urbanização (Office for Urbanization Studies)

IARP – Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa (Survey to Portuguese Regional Architecture)

IAUS - Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies

IBA Berlin - Internationalen Bauausstellung Berlin (International Building Exhibition Berlin)

ICAT - Iniciativas Culturais Arte e Técnica (Cultural Initiatives Art and Technique)

IDZ - Internationales Design Zentrum

INC - Instituto Nacional de Colonización (National Colonization Institute)

INH - Instituto Nacional da Habitação ([Portuguese] National Housing Institute)

LNEC - Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil (National Laboratory of Civil Engineering)

MAI - Ministro da Administração Interna (Minister of Interior)

MESA - Ministro do Equipamento Social e Ambiente (Minister for Social Infrastructure and the Environment)

MFA - Movimento das Forças Armadas (Movement of the Armed Forces)

MoMA – Museum of Modern Art

ODAM - Organização dos Arquitectos Modernos (Organization of Modern Architects)

OED – Oxford English Dictionary

PAGON - Progressive Arkitekters Gruppe Oslo Norge

PEZO - *Plano de Expansão da Zona Oeste* (Plan for the Expansion of the Western Zone)

POS - Projectorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing ([The Hague] Project Organization for Urban Renewal)

PREVI - Proyecto Experiencial de Vivienda ([Lima] Experimental Housing Project)

QMF - Quartiers Modernes Frugès

ROL - Ruimtelijk Ontwikkelings Laboratorium (Spatial Development Laboratory)

SAAL - Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local (Mobile Service for Local Support)

SEHU - Secretário de Estado da Habitação e Urbanismo (Secretary of State of Housing and Urbanism)

SIAC - Seminario Internacional de Arquitectura en Compostela (Compostela International Architecture Seminar)

SNA - Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos (National Syndicate of Architects)

UIA - Union Internationale des Architects

WBK - Wohnungsbaukreditanstalt ([Germany's] Public Institution for Social Housing Credit)

WoDeCo - World Design Conference

WWII – World War II

ZIP - Zukunftsinvestitionsprogramm (West Germany's Investment Program)

Sources and References

Interviews

On 20 November 2009, right at the outset of the research for this dissertation, I interviewed Manuel Mendes, who gave me some interesting insights on how Fernando Távora dealt with the intellectual and disciplinary issues that affected the 1950's politics of architectural design and theory. On 19 July 2010, I interviewed Carlos Carvalho Dias, the only surviving member of the team that designed the project presented by the group CIAM-Portugal at the 1956 10th CIAM congress. This interview was extremely useful to understand the dynamics of the group as well as the nature of field work developed for the Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture.

On 21 April 2011 I had my first interview with Álvaro Siza. This was an exploratory conversation to present the goals of my research and to get acquainted with his personal archive. On several occasions in the summer of 2011 I interviewed Alexandre Alves Costa for an article I co-authored with him. In these interviews, he shared with me his scholarly knowledge on the Portuguese architectural debate of the 1950s and 1960s, as well as his experience as one of the coordinators of SAAL-Norte. On 24 May 2012 I had my second interview with Álvaro Siza. In this long exchange, Siza gave me insightful accounts of his work from the 1970s through the 1980s, specially his projects for affordable housing in Porto, Évora, Berlin and The Hague. On that same day I also interviewed Sergio Fernandez, who discussed with me his experience in the early 1960s living and developing architectural research in the Portuguese countryside, as well as an account of his involvement in the SAAL Process

as team leader of the Leal neighbourhood operation, in Porto. Finally, on 1 October 2012, I interviewed Carlos Castanheira who shared with me interesting details about the The Hague's *Punt en Komma* project, of which he is a co-author with Álvaro Siza.

Archives

Most of the material related with the CIAM-Portugal group was collected at the CIAM archive held by the gta Institute for History and Theory of Architecture at the ETH Zürich. The documentation on the Doorn meeting, the 10th CIAM congress in Dubrovnik and the 1959 CIAM congress in Otterlo was gathered from the collections included in the Bakema archive and the Team 10 archive held by NAI Archive in Rotterdam (which is part of The New Institute as per 1 January 2013). Further documentation on the Portuguese participation in the CIAM congresses was collected from the personal archive of Octávio Lixa Filgueiras (thanks to Gonçalo Canto Moniz), and the Documentation Centre of the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Porto (CDFAUP), with a special mention to CIAM-Portugal's grid presented at the 1956 10th CIAM congress. At the CDFAUP I also consulted documentation on the CODAs of Arnaldo Araújo and José Joaquim Dias. I consulted Sergio Fernandez' CODA at his personal archive, located in his office in Porto.

The projects and further documentation on the work of the department of affordable housing of the Portuguese Federation of Social Welfare Institutions (FCP-HE, Federação das Caixas de Previdência – Habitações Económicas) were gathered in Lisbon, at the archive of the Portuguese Institute for Financial Management of Social Security (Instituto de Gestão Financeira da Segurança Social, IGFSS). More documentation about this topic and the housing projects developed by Nuno Teotónio Pereira is available at the library of the Portuguese National Laboratory of Civil Engineering (Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil, LNEC) and at the Information System for the Architectural Heritage (Sistema de Informação para o Património Arquitectónico, SIPA), both located in Lisbon.

A great deal of documentation on the Survey to Portuguese Regional Architecture (Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa, IARP) was gathered from the Arquivo IARP, kept at the Portuguese Architects Order (Ordem dos Arquitectos) in Lisbon. I have research on material from the archive of Fernando Távora which can be found at the Foundation Instituto Marques da Silva (Fundação Instituto Marques da Silva, FIMS) in Porto.

The original documentation about the projects designed by Álvaro Siza was examined and collected at his personal archive, located in Porto. Further documentation on the SAAL Process was consulted at the Documentation Centre 25 Abril (Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril, CD25A) in Coimbra. A photographic survey of the Malagueira project was investigated at the Municipality of Évora's Photographic Archive (Arquivo Fotográfico da Câmara Municipal de Évora, AF-CME). Finally,

I examined media documentation about the urban renewal of the Schilderswijk district in The Hague's Municipal Archive (Haags Gemeentearchief, HG), with a special focus on the design and construction process of the *Punt en Komma* housing complex.

Bibliographic References

- AA.VV. "Opiniões Que Entram pela Porta de Serviço por Chegarem Atrasadas." In *1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura. Edição Fac-Similada*, edited by Ana Tostões, 421–42. Lisboa: Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2008.
- Aalto, Alvar. "Research for Reconstruction: Rehousing Research in Finland." In *Nordic Architects Write: A Documentary Anthology*, edited by Michael Asgaard Andersen. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Acciaiuoli, Margarida. *Exposições do Estado Novo 1934-1940*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1998.
- Adams, Henry. *The Education of Henry Adams*. New York: Cosimo, Inc., 2008.
- Adorno, Theodor W. *The Jargon of Authenticity*. Translated by Knut Tarnowski and Frederic Will. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1973.
- Akcan, Esra. "A Building with Many Speakers: Turkish 'Guest Workers' and Alvaro Siza's Bonjour Tristesse Housing for IBA-Berlin." In *The Migrant's Time: Rethinking Art History and Diaspora*, edited by Saloni Mathur, 91–114. Clark Art Institute, 2011.
- . "Immigration, Participation and IBA '84/87.'" In *25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung in Berlin 1987. Ein Höhepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus*, edited by Harald Bodenschatz, Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, and Wolfgang Sonne, 57–74. Sulgen: Niggli Verlag, 2012.
- Alberti, Leon Battista. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Translated by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1991.
- Alexander, Christopher. *The Timeless Way of Building*. New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 1979.
- Almeida, Carmen, ed. *Riscos de Um Século. Memórias da Evolução Urbana de Évora*. Évora: Câmara Municipal de Évora, 2001.
- Anderson, Stanford. "The Vernacular, Memory, and Architecture." In *Vernacular Modernism*, edited by M. Umbach and B. Huppau, 157–71. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Applegate, Celia. *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Architektur Zentrum Wien. *Lessons from Bernard Rudofsky: Life as a Voyage*. Basel: Birkhäuser, 2007.
- Arnstein, Sherry. "A Ladder of Citizens Participation." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35, no. 4 (July 1969): 216–24.
- Aureli, Pier Vittorio. *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2011.
- . *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture within and against Capitalism*. New York: Buell Center / FORuM Project and Princeton Architectural Press, 2008.
- Avermaete, Tom. *Another Modern: The Post-War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods*. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005.
- . "CIAM, TEAM X, and the Rediscovery of African Settlements. Between Dogon and Bidonville." In *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*, edited by J.F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino, 250–64. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.

- . “Nomadic Experts and Travelling Perspectives: Colonial Modernity and the Epistemological Shift in Modern Architecture Culture.” In *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past Rebellions for the Future*, edited by Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten, 130–49. London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010.
- Bandeirinha, José António. “Nuno Teotónio Pereira, Rua da Alegria. O Arquitecto, o Atelier e a Questão da Habitação.” In *Arquitectura e Cidadania. Atelier Nuno Teotónio Pereira*, edited by Ana Tostões, 62–79. Lisboa: Quimera, 2004.
- . *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura no 25 de Abril de 1974*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2007.
- . “‘Verfremdung’ vs. ‘Mimicry’. The SAAL and Some of Its Reflections in the Current Day.” In *Let’s Talk About Houses: Between North and South*, edited by Delfim Sardo, 59–79. Lisboa: Athena, 2010.
- Banham, Reyner. “The New Brutalism.” *The Architectural Review* 118, no. 708 (December 1955): 355–61.
- Barbieri, Umberto. “Alvaro Siza Vieira. Due Isolati Residenziali, L’Aia.” *Domus*, no. 705 (May 1989): 25–33.
- . “Alvaro Siza. Edificio per Abitazioni Con Negocio E Bar, L’Aia.” *Domus*, no. 696 (August 1988): 25–31.
- Barros, Henrique. *Inquérito à Habitação Rural*. Vol. 2, 1948.
- Basto, Eduardo A. Lima, and Henrique Barros. *Inquérito à Habitação Rural*. Vol. 1, 1943.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. *Modernity and Ambivalence*. New Ed. Polity Press, 1993.
- Beaudouin, Laurent, and Christine Rousselot. “Un Immeuble d’Angle à Berlin.” *AMC - Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, no. 2 (October 1983): 16–20.
- Beerheim, Wilhelm. “IBA Berlino: Un Bilancio di Sette Anni di Lavoro.” *Domus*, no. 685 (August 1987): 65–80.
- Bell, Aubrey. *In Portugal*. London and New York: John Lane, 1912.
- Bergdoll, Barry. “Foreword.” In *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*, edited by J.F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino, xv–xix. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.
- “Berlin - Alt Und Neu. 3. Symposion Des IDZ Berlin.” *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 25–55.
- Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York and London: Verso Books, 2010.
- Besch, J.D. “Elogio della Transformazione.” *Casabella*, no. 538 (September 1987): 4–8.
- Bhabha, Homi K. “Cultures in Between.” *Artforum* 32, no. 1 (September 1993): 167–168; 211–214.
- . “Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817.” *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (October 1985): 144–65.
- Bishop, Claire, ed. “Introduction. Viewers as Producers.” In *Participation*, 10–17. London; Cambridge, Mass.: Whitechapel ; MIT Press, 2006.
- Bloch, Ernst. “‘Entfremdung, Verfremdung’: Alienation, Estrangement.” Translated by Anne Halley and Darko Suvin. *The Drama Review: TDR* 15, no. 1 (October 1, 1970): 120–25.

- Boasson, Dorien. "Onbevangen Stadsvernieuwing. Alvaro Siza in de Haagse Schilderswijk." *De Architect* 1988, no. 12 (December 1988): 38–45.
- . , ed. *Visie Op de Stad. Alvaro Siza in de Schilderswijk, Den Haag*. Den Haag: Uitgave Projektorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing 's-Gravenhage, 1988.
- Bohigas, Oriol. "Alvaro Siza Vieira." *Arquitecturas Bis*, no. 12 (March 1976).
- . "Alvaro Siza Vieira." In *Álvaro Siza. Poetic Profession*, edited by Pierluigi Nicolini, 182–85. Milano: Edizioni Electa, 1986.
- Bonillo, Jean-Lucien, and Claude Massu, eds. *La Modernité Critique. Autour Du CIAM 9 d'Aix En Provence*. Marseille: Editions Imbernon, 2006.
- Bosma, Koos, Dorine van Hoogstraten, and Martijn Vos. *Housing for the Millions: John Habraken and the SAR (1960-2000)*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2000.
- Boudon, Philippe. *Lived-in Architecture. Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited*. [1st English language ed.]. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1979.
- Brigada Técnica Antas. "Antas." *Lotus International*, no. 18 (March 1978): 88–91.
- Brigada Técnica Lapa. "Lapa." *Lotus International*, no. 18 (March 1978): 82–84.
- Brinkert, Peter. "En Block." In *Idee, Prozess, Ergebnis: Die Reparatur Und Rekonstruktion Der Stadt*, edited by Josef Paul Kleihues and Hardt-Walther Hämer, 139–45. Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984.
- Brott, Simone. "In the Shadow of the Enlightenment Le Corbusier, Le Faisceau and Georges Valois." In *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 30, Open*, edited by Alexandra Brown and Andrew Leach, 2:777–89. Gold Coast, Queensland: SAHANZ, 2013.
- Buchanan, Peter. "Full-Stop and Comma." *The Architectural Review*, no. 1124 (October 1990): 49–53.
- Bürger, Peter. "The Significance of the Avant-Garde for Contemporary Aesthetics: A Reply to Jürgen Habermas." Translated by Andreas Huyssen and Jack Zipes. *New German Critique* 22 (1981): 19–22.
- Burkhardt, François, ed. *5 Architekten Zeichnen Für Berlin*. Berlin: Archibook Verlag, 1979.
- Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. *Habituação Social na Cidade de Lisboa 1959-1966*. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1967.
- Carlo, Giancarlo de. "Architecture's Public." In *Architecture and Participation*, edited by Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till, 3–22. London and New York: Taylor and Francis, 2005.
- . "Talk on the Situation of Contemporary Architecture." In *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, edited by Oscar Newman, 80–91. Documents of Modern Architecture 1. Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961.
- Carvalho, Jorge. *Évora. Administração Urbanística*. Évora: Câmara Municipal de Évora, 1990.
- Carvalho, Mariana. "Investigação em Arquitectura. O Contributo de Nuno Portas no LNEC 1963-1974." Master Dissertation, University of Coimbra, 2012.
- Castoriadis, Cornelius. "The Retreat from Autonomy: Post-Modernism as Generalised Conformism." *Democracy & Nature* 7, no. 1 (2001): 17–26.

- Chombard de Lauwe, Paul-Henry. "Sociologia da Habitação. Métodos e Perspectivas de Investigação." Translated by Nuno Portas. *Arquitectura* 1960, no. 68 (July 1960): 41–50.
- Clelland, Doug, ed. "Block 121: SO 36." *The Architectural Review* 176, no. 1051 (September 1984): 40–41.
- Coderch, José Antonio. "No Son Genios lo que Necesitamos Ahora." *Domus*, no. 384 (November 1961).
- . "No Son Genios lo que Necesitamos Ahora." *Arquitectura*, no. 73 (December 1961): 3–4.
- Coelho, Margarida. "Uma Experiência de Transformação no Sector Habitacional do Estado. SAAL 1974-1976." *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 18/19/20 (February 1986): 619634.
- Coelho, Mário Brochado. "Um Processo Organizativo de Moradores (SAAL/Norte - 1974/76)." *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 18/19/20 (February 1986): 646–71.
- Cohen, Jean-Louis. *The Future of Architecture, since 1889*. London; New York: Phaidon, 2012.
- Collovà, Roberto. "Chronologies: Malagueira, Évora: 1974-2000." *Lotus*, no. 103 (December 1999): 66–77.
- . "Pequeñas Siluetas que Pasan." In *Álvaro Siza. Barrio de La Malagueira, Évora*, by Enrico Molteni, 5–7. Textos I Documents d'Arquitectura 5. Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 1997.
- Colquhoun, Alan. *Modern Architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- . "Regionalism 1." In *Collected Essays in Architectural Criticism*, by Alan Colquhoun, 280–86. London: Black Dog Publishing, 2009.
- Comas, Carlos Eduardo Dias. "O Passado Mora ao Lado: Lúcio Costa e o Projecto do Grande Hotel de Ouro Preto 1938/40." *Arqtexto*, no. 2 (2002).
- Conselho Nacional do SAAL. *Livro Branco do SAAL 1974-1976*. Vol. 1. Conselho Nacional do SAAL, 1976.
- Correia, Nuno. "A Crítica Arquitectónica, o Debate Social e a Participação Portuguesa nos 'Pequenos Congressos' - 1959/1968." *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 91 (October 2010): 41–57.
- Costa, Alexandre Alves. "1974-1975, O SAAL e os Anos da Revolução." In *Arquitectura do Século XX: Portugal*, edited by Annette Becker, Ana Tostões, and Wilfried Wang, 65–71. München and New York: Prestel, 1997.
- . "A Ilha Proletária como Elemento Base do Tecido Urbano. Algumas Considerações Sobre um Título Enigmático." *Jornal Arquitectos*, no. 204 (2002): 9–15.
- . *Dissertação...* Porto: Edições do Curso de Arquitectura da ESBAP, 1982.
- . *Introdução ao Estudo da História da Arquitectura Portuguesa. Outros Textos Sobre Arquitectura Portuguesa*. Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1995.
- Costa, Alexandre Alves, and Nelson Mota. "Nem Neogarretianos nem Vencidos da Vida. Uma Pastoral Transmontana." *Monumentos*, no. 32 (2011): 148–57.
- Costa, Lúcio. "Documentação Necessária." In *Lúcio Costa. Registro de uma Vivência*, edited by Maria Elisa Costa, 457–62. São Paulo: Empresa das Artes, 1995.

- Crysler, C. Greig, Stephen Cairns, and Hilde Heynen. "Introduction - 1: Architectural Theory in an Expanded Field." In *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, edited by C. Greig Cryslser, Stephen Cairns, and Hilde Heynen, 1–21. London: SAGE Publications, 2012.
- . , eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*. London: SAGE Publications, 2012.
- Curtis, William J. R. *Modern Architecture since 1900*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1982.
- . "The Classical Ideas of Le Corbusier." *The Architectural Review* 230, no. 1376 (October 2011): 32.
- Cutolo, Davide. "L'altra IBA. L'Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1984/1987 E Il Behutsame Stadterneuerung Di Kreuzberg." PhD Dissertation, Politecnico di Torino - Politecnico di Milano, 2012.
- Deckker, Zilah Quezado. *Brazil Built: The Architecture of the Modern Movement in Brazil*. London and New York: Spon Press, 2001.
- Diane Ghirardo. "Architecture of Deceit." *Perspecta*, no. 21 (1984): 110–15.
- Dias, Carlos Carvalho. *Memórias de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro nos 55 Anos do "Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa."* Guimarães: Opera Omnia, 2013.
- Dias, Francisco Silva, ed. "Keil do Amaral e o Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa." In *Keil do Amaral: O Arquitecto e o Humanista*, 112–17. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1999.
- Dias, Francisco Silva, and Nuno Portas. "Habitação Evolutiva." *Arquitectura* 3ª Série, no. 126 (October 1972): 100–121.
- Dias, João. *As Operações SAAL*. Documentary. Midas, 2007.
- Dias, Jorge. *Rio de Onor. Comunitarismo Agro-Pastoril*. 2nd ed. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1981.
- Dias, José Joaquim. "Recuperação de Aldeias (Espinhosela, Bragança)." *RA - Revista de Arquitectura*, no. 0 (October 1987): 71.
- Dinesen, Cort Ross. "Boliglaboratorier I Holland." *Arkitekten* 1982, no. 15 (1982): 306–8.
- Donat, John. *World Architecture One*. London: Studio Books, 1964.
- Dronkers, Leo. "Gute Gründe Für Kurze Leine. IBA 1981 - Fremde Federn, Termin-Affront Und Fragwürdiger Wettbewerb." *Berliner Stimme*, March 20, 1981.
- Duarte, Carlos. "Breves Notas sobre a Arquitectura Espontânea." *Arquitectura* 3ª Série, no. 66 (December 1959): 38–43.
- Duarte, Carlos, and Daniel Santa Rita. "Bairro Económico na Chamusca. Comentário." *Arquitectura* 74 (March 1962): 3–4.
- Duarte, José Pinto. *Personalizar a Habitação em Série: Uma Gramática Discursiva para as Casas da Malagueira do Siza*. Lisboa: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation / FCT-MCTES, 2007.
- Duivesteijn, Adri. "Stadsvernieuwing: Een Nieuw Begrip." In *Visie Op de Stad. Alvaro Siza in de Schilderswijk, Den Haag*, edited by Dorien Boason, 5–7. Den Haag: Uitgave Projektorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing 's-Gravenhage, 1988.
- Duntze, Klaus. "Berlin SO 36: Die „Dritte Runde“ Neues von Den STRATEGIEN FÜR KREUZBERG." *Arch+*, no. 40/41 (November 1, 1978): 2–13.

- . “Experiment Der Selbsterneuerung Oder Feigenblatt? Zur Ausschreibung ‘Strategien Für Kreuzberg’ Interview Mit Klaus Duntze.” *Arch+*, no. 34 (June 1, 1977): 13–23.
- Düttmann, Martina. “Analyse Und Kommentar.” In *5 Architekten Zeichnen Für Berlin*, edited by François Burkhardt, 42–45. Berlin: Archibook Verlag, 1979.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. 2nd Edition. Wiley-Blackwell, 1996.
- Eco, Umberto. *The Open Work*, trans. Anna Cancogni. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- . “The Poetics of the Open Work.” In *The Open Work*, translated by Bruce Merry, 1–23. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- . *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*. Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Eleb, Francesca. “An Alternative to Functional Universalism: Ecochard, Candilis and ATBAT-Afrique.” In *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, edited by Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, 55–73. The MIT Press, 2001.
- Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process*. 2nd Edition. Wiley-Blackwell, 2000.
- Engel, Helmut. “Urban Renewal and Historic Structure of the City.” *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 27–31.
- Fathy, Hassan. *Architecture for the Poor: An Experiment in Rural Egypt*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1973.
- Fernandes, Abílio. “O Presidente da C. M. de Évora Fala sobre o Projecto.” *Arquitectura*, 4, no. 132 (1979): 36.
- Fernandes, Eduardo. “A Escolha do Porto: Contributos para a Actualização de uma Ideia de Escola.” PhD Dissertation, Universidade do Minho - Escola de Arquitectura, 2010.
- Fernandez, Sergio. *Percursos: Arquitectura portuguesa: 1930-1974*. 2ª edição. Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 1988.
- . “Rio de Onor, 1963-1965.” *Joelho*, no. 2 (2011): 38–49.
- Ferrão, Bernardo. “Tradição e Modernidade na Obra de Fernando Távora 1947/1987.” In *Fernando Távora*, edited by Luiz Trigueiros. Lisboa: Editorial Blau, 1993.
- Ferreira, Raúl Hestnes. “Keil do Amaral. Prática da Arquitectura e desenho Urbano: O Início e a Visita à Holanda.” In *Keil do Amaral no Centenário do seu Nascimento*, edited by Ana Tostões. Lisboa: Argumentum e Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2010.
- Figueira, Jorge. “A Periferia Perfeita. Pós-Modernidade na Arquitectura Portuguesa, Anos 60-Anos 80.” PhD Dissertation, University of Coimbra, 2009.
- . *Escola do Porto: Um Mapa Crítico*. Coimbra: e|d|arq Edições do Departamento de Arquitectura da FCTUC, 2002.
- . “Fernando Távora, Alma Mater. Travel in América, 1960.” In *Fernando Távora. Permanent Modernity*, edited by José António Bandeirinha, 132–40. Matosinhos: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012.
- Figueiredo, Rute. *Arquitectura e Discurso Crítico em Portugal (1893-1918)*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2007.

- Filgueiras, Octávio Lixa. *Da Função Social do Arquitecto*. 2nd ed. Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1985.
- . “Inquéritos Urbanos. Experiências Pedagógicas da Escola Superior de Belas-Artes do Porto entre 1961 e 1969.” *Urbanização* 5, no. 1 (March 1970): 3–30.
- Filgueiras, Octávio Lixa, Arnaldo Araújo, and Carlos Carvalho Dias. “Zona 2.” In *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*, edited by Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, 4th ed., 1:113–215. Lisboa: Centro Editor Livreiro da Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2004.
- Fleck, Brigitte. *Alvaro Siza*. London: E & FN Spon, 1995.
- Forty, Adrian. *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000.
- Foster, Hal. “The ‘Primitive’ Unconscious of Modern Art.” *October* 34 (October 1, 1985): 45–70.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated by Alan Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.
- Frampton, Kenneth. “Critical Regionalism Revisited: Reflections on the Mediatory Potential of Built Form.” In *Vernacular Modernism*, edited by M. Umbach and B. Huppauf, 193–97. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- . “Le Régionalisme Dans l’Architecture Contemporaine.” *ARQ: Architecture/Québec*, no. 14 (August 1983): 11–15.
- . *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. 2nd ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985.
- . “On Reading Heidegger.” In *Oppositions Reader*, edited by K. Michael Hays, 3–6. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.
- . “Poesis and Transformation: The Architecture of Alvaro Siza.” In *Alvaro Siza. Professione Poetica / Poetic Profession*, edited by Pierluigi Nicolini, 10–24. Milano: Edizioni Electa, 1986.
- . “Prospects for a Critical Regionalism.” *Perspecta* 20 (1983): 147–62.
- . “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance.” In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster, 16–30. Port Townsend (WA): Bay Press, 1983.
- . “Towards an Agonistic Architecture.” *Domus*, no. 972 (September 2013): 1–8.
- Franke, Rainer, and Bernd Wensch. “Alvaro Siza Haus. Interview with Alvaro Siza.” *Bauwelt* 81, no. 29/30 (August 10, 1990): 1462–98.
- Freitas, António. “Tradicionalismo e Evolução.” *Arquitectura*, no. 66 (November 1959): 30–37.
- García-Huidobro, Fernando, Diego Torres Torriti, and Nicolas Tugas. *Time Builds!* Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2008.
- Geist, Johann Friedrich and Klaus Kürvers. *Das Berliner Mietshaus 1862-1945*. München: Prestel, 1984.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Reprint. Polity Press, 1998.
- Giedion, Sigfried. *Architecture, You and Me: The Diary of a Development*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- . *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1949.

- Goldhagen, Sarah Williams. "Coda: Reconceptualizing the Modern." In *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, edited by Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, 301–23. The MIT Press, 2001.
- Goodwin, Philip Lippincott. *Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old 1652-1942 / Construção Brasileira: Arquitetura Moderna e Antiga 1652-1942*. First Edition. The Museum of Modern Art, 1943.
- Grande, Nuno, ed. *The Urban Being: On the Trails of Nuno Portas*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2012.
- Gravagnuolo, Benedetto. "From Schinkel to Le Corbusier. The Myth of the Mediterranean in Modern Architecture." In *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*, edited by J.F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino, 15–39. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Greenberg, Clement. "Avant-Garde and Kitsch." *Partisan Review* 6, no. 5 (1939): 34–49.
- Gregotti, Vittorio. "Architetture Recenti di Alvaro Siza." *Controspazio*, no. 9 (September 1972): 22–24.
- . "Architetture Recenti di Alvaro Siza." In *Alvaro Siza. Poetic Profession*, edited by Pierluigi Nicolini, 182–85. Milano: Edizioni Electa, 1986.
- . , ed. "The Last CIAMs." *Rassegna*, no. 52 (December 1992).
- Gropius, Walter. "Wohnhaus-Industrie." In *Ein Versuchshaus Des Bauhauses in Weimar*, edited by Adolf Meyer, 5–14. München: Albert Langen Verlag, 1924.
- Guarneri, Andrea Bocco. "Bernard Rudofsky and the Sublimation of the Vernacular." In *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*, edited by J.F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino, 231–49. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Guattari, Félix. "On Machines." *Journal of Philosophy and the Visual Arts*, no. 6 (1995): 8–12.
- Habraken, N. John. *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing*. Translated by B. Valkenburg. Urban International Press, 1999.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Translated by Lewis A Coser. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Hall, Stuart. "Encoding, Decoding." In *The Cultural Studies Reader*, edited by Simon During, 3rd ed., 90–103. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Hämer, Hardt Walther. "Twelve Principles of Careful Urban Renewal in Berlin-Kreuzberg." *Domus*, no. 685 (August 1987): 79.
- Hansen, Oskar. "La Forme Ouverte Dans l'Architecture - l'Art du Grand Nombre." *Le Carré Bleu*, no. 1 (1961): 4–7.
- . "Open Form and the Greater Number." In *World Architecture One*, edited by John Donat, 141. London: Studio Books, 1964.
- Hatch, C. Richard, ed. *The Scope of Social Architecture*. Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984.
- Hays, K. Michael, ed. *Architecture Theory Since 1968*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 2000.
- . "Critical Architecture: Between Culture and Form." *Perspecta* 21 (January 1984): 15–29.

- Hegemann, Werner. *Das Steinerne Berlin ; Geschichte Der Grössten Mietskasernenstadt Der Welt. 1930.* Bauwelt Fundamente 3. Berlin: Ullstein, 1963.
- Heidegger, Martin. "Building Dwelling Thinking." In *Poetry, Language, Thought*, translated by Albert Hofstadter, 145–61. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Hernández, Felipe. *Bhabha for Architects*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Heynen, Hilde. "A Critical Position for Architecture?" In *Critical Architecture*, edited by Jane Rendell, Jonathan Hill, Mark Dorrian, and Murray Fraser, 48–56. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- . *Architecture and Modernity. A Critique*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1999.
- . "Architecture between Modernity and Dwelling: Reflections on Adorno's 'Aesthetic Theory.'" *Assemblage*, no. 17 (April 1, 1992): 79–91. doi:10.2307/3171226.
- . "Engaging Modernism." edited by Dirk Van den Heuvel and Piet Vollaard, 21–32. Delft: Faculty of Architecture at Delft University of Technology, 2003. <http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft2/heyne.pdf>.
- Hitchcock, Henry Russell. "The Architecture of Bureaucracy and the Architecture of Genius." *Architectural Review*, January 1947, 3–6.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*. London: Abacus, 1995.
- Hoffmann-Axthelm, Dieter. *Strassenschlachtung: Geschichte, Abriss Und Gebrochenes Weiterleben Der Admiralstrasse (Kreuzberger Hefte)*. Nishen, 1984.
- Hohendahl, Peter Uwe. "Introduction to Reception Aesthetics." Translated by Marc Silberman. *New German Critique*, no. 10 (January 1, 1977): 29–63.
- Huet, Bernard. "La Passion d'Alvaro Siza." *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 185 (1976): 42.
- Hughes, Jonathan, and Simon Sadler. "Preface." In *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom, Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism*, edited by Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler, viii–ix. Oxford: Architectural Press, 2000.
- Hulsbergen, Edward, and Paul Stouten. "Urban Renewal and Regeneration in the Netherlands Integration Lost or Subordinate?" *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action* 5, no. 3 (2001): 325–37.
- Hüppauf, Bernd. "Spaces of the Vernacular: Ernst Bloch's Philosophy of Hope and the German Hometown." In *Vernacular Modernism : Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*, edited by Bernd Hüppauf and Maiken Umbach, 84–113. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Hüppauf, Bernd, and Maiken Umbach. "Introduction: Vernacular Modernism." In *Vernacular Modernism*, edited by M. Umbach and B. Hüppauf, 1–23. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- . , eds. *Vernacular Modernism : Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005.

- Huyssen, Andreas. *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- . “The Search for Tradition: Avant-Garde and Postmodernism in the 1970’s.” *New German Critique* 22 (1981): 23–40.
- Jackson, John Brinckerhoff. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984.
- . “The Mobile Home on the Range.” In *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time*, 50–67. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994.
- . “The Movable Dwelling and How It Came to America.” In *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, 88–101. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984.
- . “The Necessity for Ruins.” In *The Necessity for Ruins, and Other Topics*, 89–102. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980.
- Jameson, Fredric. *The Seeds of Time*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Kahatt, Sharif S. “PREVI-Lima’s Time: Positioning Proyecto Experimental de Vivienda in Peru’s Modern Project.” *Architectural Design* 81, no. 3 (2011): 22–25.
- Kaminer, Tahl. *Architecture, Crisis and Resuscitation: The Reproduction of Post-Fordism in Late-Twentieth-Century Architecture*. 1st ed. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Keil do Amaral, Francisco. *A Moderna Arquitectura Holandesa*. Lisboa: Seara Nova, 1943.
- . “Uma Iniciativa Necessária.” *Arquitectura* 2ª Série, no. 14 (April 1947): 12–13.
- Kleihues, Josef Paul. “Josep Paul Kleihues Interviewed by Lore Ditzen.” *The Architectural Review* 176, no. 1051 (September 1984): 42–44.
- . “The IBA Influence. Other Berlinese Projects.” *Lotus International*, The IBA Influence, no. 41 (1984): 18–20.
- Kleinegris, Richard. “Democratisering van de stede­bouw. Den Haag in de Jaren 1970-1980.” In *Het Veranderend stads­beeld van Den Haag: plannen en processen in de Haagse stede­bouw, 1890-1990*, edited by Victor Freijser, 189–234. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1991.
- Kofman, Eleonore, and Elizabeth Lebas. “Recovery and Reappropriation in Lefebvre and Constant.” In *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom, Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism*, edited by Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler, 80–89. Oxford: Architectural Press, 2000.
- Kramer, Jane. “Letter From Europe.” *The New Yorker*, November 28, 1988.
- Land, Peter. “The Experimental Housing Project (PREVI), Lima: Antecedents and Ideas.” In *Time Builds!*, edited by Fernando Garcia-Huidobro, Diego Torres Torriti, and Nicolas Tugas, 10–25. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2008.
- Le Corbusier. *La Charte d’Athènes*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1971.
- . *The Modulor: A Harmonious Measure to the Human Scale, Universally Applicable to Architecture and Mechanics*. Springer, 2000.
- Leach, Neil, ed. *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- . “The Dark Side of the Domus.” *The Journal of Architecture* 3, no. 1 (1998): 31–42.

- Leal, João. *Arquitectos, Engenheiros, Antropólogos: Estudos Sobre Arquitectura Popular no Século XX Português*. Porto: Fundação Instituto José Marques da Silva, 2009.
- . *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular e Identidade Nacional*. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2000.
- Lefavre, Liane, and Alexander Tzonis. *Architecture of Regionalism in the Age of Globalization: Peaks and Valleys in the Flat World*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- . *Critical Regionalism. Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World*. Munich: Prestel, 2003.
- Lefebvre, Henri. "Preface." In *Lived-in Architecture. Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited*, by Philippe Boudon, [1st English language ed.]. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1979.
- . "The Everyday and Everydayness." Translated by Christine Levich. *Yale French Studies*, no. 73 (January 1, 1987): 7–11.
- . *The Production of Space*. 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, 1992.
- Leger, Jean-Michel, and Gisela Matos. "Siza Vieira em Évora: Revistar uma Experimentação." *Comunidades e Territórios*, no. 9 (December 2004): 39–53.
- Lejeune, Jean-François. "The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain. Sert, Coderch, Bohigas, de La Sota, Del Amo." In *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*, edited by J.F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino, 65–93. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Leoni, Giovanni. "Oltre Il 'Moderno': L'architettura Di Fernando Tavora." In *Fernando Tavora. Opera Completa*, edited by Giovanni Leoni and Antonio Esposito, 34–87. Milano: Electa, 2005.
- Lima, Alfredo Viana de. "O Problema Português da Habitação." In *Relatório da Comissão Executiva. Teses. Conclusões e Votos do Congresso*, 215–22. Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1948.
- Lima, Alfredo Viana de, Fernando Távora, and Octávio Lixa Filgueiras. "Tese ao X Congresso do CIAM." *Arquitectura*, 3, no. 64 (January 1959): 21–28.
- Lino, Raul. *Casas Portuguesas. Alguns Apontamentos Sobre o Arquitectar de Casas Simples*. Lisboa: Edições Valentim de Carvalho, 1933.
- Lloyd, G. E. R. *Polarity and Analogy. Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1992.
- López, Gerardo García-Ventosa, Xavier Llobet Ribeiro, and Isabel Ruiz Castillo. *José Antonio Coderch. Torre Valentina: A Landscape Project, 1959*. Madrid: Editorial Rueda, 2004.
- Lourenço, Eduardo. *O Labirinto da Saudade. Psicanálise Mítica do Destino Português*. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1978.
- Lyotard, Jean-François. *The Inhuman: Reflections on Time*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.
- MacDougall, Carla. "In the Shadow of the Wall. Urban Space and Everyday Life in Kreuzberg." In *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday: Subversive Politics in Europe from 1957 to the Present*, edited by Timothy Brown and Lorena Anton. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011.
- Maki, Fumihiko. *Investigations in Collective Form*. Washington University (Saint Louis, Mo.). School of Architecture Special Publication, no. 2. St. Louis: School of Architecture, Washington University, 1964.

- Marchi, Leonardo Zuccaro. "The Heart of the City: Continuity and Complexity of an Urban Design Concept." PhD Dissertation, Delft University of Technology, 2013.
- Martins, Rita Fonseca. "Operação SAAL/Évora. A Construção de uma Vontade, o Bairro da Malagueira." Master Dissertation, Universidade de Évora, 2010.
- Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. 35th Anniversary. Oxford University Press, USA, 2000.
- Mc Guirk, Justin. "PREVI: The Metabolist Utopia." *Domusweb*, April 21, 2011. <http://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2011/04/21/previ-the-metabolist-utopia.html>.
- McLeod, Mary. "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life: An Introduction." In *Architecture of the Everyday*, edited by Steven Harris and Deborah Berke, 1st ed., 9–29. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997.
- McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994.
- Mendes, Manuel. "Para Quê Exigir à Sombra a Rectidão Que não Possui a Vara Que a Produz?" In *Leonardo Express*, edited by Rita Marnoto, 111–38. Leonardo 2. Coimbra: IEIFLUC, e|d|arq, 2004.
- Mesquita, Ana. "O Melhor de Dois Mundos. A Viagem do Arquitecto Távora aos EUA e Japão - Diário 1960." Master Dissertation, University of Coimbra, 2007.
- Milheiro, Ana Vaz. *A Construção do Brasil. Relações com a Cultura Arquitectónica Portuguesa*. Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2005.
- . *Nos Trópicos sem Le Corbusier: Arquitectura Luso-africana no Estado Novo*. Lisboa: Relógio d'Água, 2012.
- Miller, Wallis. "IBA's 'Models for a City': Housing and the Image of Cold-War Berlin." *Journal of Architectural Education* 46, no. 4 (May 1, 1993): 202–16.
- Moholy-Nagy, Sibyl. "Magnificent Folly." *College Art Journal* 16, no. 3 (1957): 187–91.
- . *Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture in North America*. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.
- Molteni, Enrico. *Álvaro Siza. Barrio de la Malagueira, Évora*. Textos i Documents d'Arquitectura 5. Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 1997.
- Mónica, Maria Filomena. "Régua e Esquadro." *Indy*, January 23, 1998.
- Moniz, Gonçalo Canto. "O Ensino Moderno da Arquitectura. A Reforma de 57 e as Escolas de Belas-Artes em Portugal (1931-69)." PhD, University of Coimbra, 2011.
- Mota, Nelson. *A Arquitectura do Quotidiano*. Coimbra: edarq, 2010.
- . "A Progressive Attachment. Accommodating Growth and Change in Álvaro Siza's Malagueira Neighbourhood." In *Consuming Architecture*, edited by Daniel Maudlin and Marcel Vellinga, 89–107. London: Routledge, 2014.
- . "Between Populism and Dogma: Álvaro Siza's Third Way." *Footprint*, no. 8 (2011): 35–58.
- . "The Teacup and the Motorcycle. Situating the Circumstance in Fernando Távora's Reconceptualization of Architectural Modernism." *OASE - Journal for Architecture*, no. 92 (2014): 96–111.

- Mouffe, Chantal. *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically*. London and New York: Verso Books, 2013.
- Mumford, Eric. *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000.
- Nalbantoğlu, Gülsüm Baydar, and Chong Thai Wong. *Postcolonial Space(s)*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997.
- Newman, Oscar, ed. *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*. Documents of Modern Architecture 1. Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961.
- Nicolin, Pierluigi. "Alvaro Siza: Three Projects for Kreuzberg. Fraenkelufer-Kottbusserstasse-Schlesisches Tor." *Lotus International*, no. 32 (1981): 44–59.
- . "Bonjour Tristesse. Story of a Project." *Lotus International*, no. 41 (1984): 50–61.
- . , ed. "Portugal after 25th of April." *Lotus International*, no. 10 (1975): 34–37.
- Norberg-Schulz, Christian. "Genius Loci." *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 57–67.
- . *The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture*. [Milan]; New York: Electa ; Rizzoli, 1985.
- Ockman, Joan. *Architecture Culture: 1943-1968*. Reprint. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.
- Oliveira, Alberto. *Palavras Loucas*. Coimbra: F. França Amado, 1894.
- Oliver, Paul. *Dwellings. The Vernacular House Worldwide*. London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2003.
- Ortega y Gasset, José. *The Revolt of the Masses*. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1964.
- Pagano, Giuseppe. "Documenting Rural Architecture." Translated by Michelangelo Sabatino. *Journal of Architectural Education* 63, no. 2 (2010): 92.
- Passanti, Francesco. "The Modern, the Vernacular and Le Corbusier." In *Vernacular Modernism*, edited by M. Umbach and B. Huppau, 141–56. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- . "The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 4 (1997): 14.
- Pawley, Martin. *Architecture versus Housing*. New York: Praeger, 1971.
- Pedret, Annie. "Dismantling the CIAM Grid: New Values for Modern Architecture." In *Team 10 1953-81. In Search of a Utopia of the Present*, edited by Max Risselada and Dirk Van den Heuvel, 252–57. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005.
- Pelkonen, Eeva-Liisa. "Alvar Aalto and the Geopolitics of Fame." *Perspecta* 37 (January 1, 2005): 86–97.
- Pereira, Nuno Teotónio. *Escritos*. Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1996.
- . "Manifesto do Grupo ODAM Lido no Congresso e Distribuido em Folheto Sobre o Problema da Habitação." In *1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura. Edição Fac-Similada*, edited by Ana Tostões, 51–52. Lisboa: Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2008.
- . "Que Fazer com estes 50 Anos?" In *1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura. Edição Fac-Similada*, edited by Ana Tostões, 43–49. Lisboa: Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2008.

- Pereira, Nuno Teotónio, and Manuel Costa Martins. "Habitação Económica e Reajustamento Social." In *Relatório da Comissão Executiva. Teses. Conclusões e Votos do Congresso*, 243–49. Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1948.
- Pereira, Virgílio Borges. "Uma Imensa Espera de Concretizações... : Ilhas, Bairros e Classes Laboriosas Brevemente Perspectivados a Partir da Cidade do Porto." *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: Sociologia*, no. 13 (2003): 139–48.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. *An Outline of European Architecture*. 7th ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963.
- Pizza, Antonio, ed. *J. LL. Sert and Mediterranean Culture*. Barcelona: Actar, 1998.
- . "The Tradition and Universalism of a Domestic Project." In *Coderch 1940-1964. In Search of Home*, edited by Antonio Pizza and Josep M. Rovira, 86–159. Barcelona: COAC, 2000.
- Pizza, Antonio, and Josep M. Rovira, eds. *Coderch 1940-1964. In Search of Home*. Barcelona: COAC, 2000.
- Portas, Nuno. *A Arquitectura Para Hoje*. Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1964.
- . *A Cidade Como Arquitectura*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1969.
- . *A Habitação Social. Proposta para a Metodologia da sua Arquitectura*. 2 vols. Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2004.
- . "A Responsabilidade de Uma Novíssima Geração no Movimento Moderno em Portugal." *Arquitectura*, no. 66 (November 1959): 13–14.
- . "Arquitecto Fernando Távora: 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional." *Arquitectura* 1961, no. 71 (1961): 10–23.
- . "Arquitectura Integrada?" In *Arquitectura(s). História e Crítica, Ensino e Profissão*, 25–31. Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2005.
- . "Note Sul Significato Dell'architettura di Alvaro Siza Nell'ambiente Portoghese." *Controspazio*, no. 9 (September 1972): 24–25.
- . "Prefazione." In *Politica e Progetto. Un'esperienza di Base in Portogallo*, by Francesco Marconi and Paula Oliveira, 7–28. Milano: Feltrinelli Economica, 1977.
- . "Uma Experiência Pedagógica na E.S.B.A. do Porto." *Arquitectura* 77 (January 1963): 16–18.
- Portas, Nuno, and Francisco Silva Dias. *Tipologias de Edifícios. Habitação Evolutiva: Princípios e Critérios de Projecto*. Lisboa: LNEC, December 1971.
- Provoost, Michelle. "De grezen van de metropol. Den Haag in de Jaren 1950-1970." In *Het Veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag: plannen en processen in de Haagse stedenbouw, 1890-1990*, edited by Victor Freijser, 143–88. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1991.
- Queiroz, Eça de. *The City and the Mountains*. Translated by Margaret Jull Costa. Sawtry: Dedalus, 2008.
- Rapoport, Amos. "Housing and Housing Densities in France." *The Town Planning Review* 39, no. 4 (January 1969): 341–54.
- Ribeiro, José Sommer, and José Joaquim Rodrigues, eds. *Viana de Lima. Arquitecto 1913-1991*. Lisboa and Porto: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and Árvore - Centro de Actividades Artísticas, CRL, 1996.

- Richardson, Tim, and Stephen Connely. "Reinventing Public Participation: Planning in the Age of Consensus." In *Architecture and Participation*, edited by Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till, 77–104. London and New York: Taylor and Francis, 2005.
- Ricoeur, Paul. "Universal Civilization and National Cultures." In *History and Truth*, translated by Charles A. Kelbley, 271–84. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1965.
- Ridderhof, Ruud. "'You Cannot Impose an Imaginary History on the City'. Interview with Alvaro Siza." In *Detachment and Involvement. Work of Alvaro Siza for the Schilderswijk Area, The Hague*, edited by Ruud Ridderhof, 39–48. The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1994.
- Risselada, Max. "Fernando Távora Within the Context of Team 10." In *Fernando Távora. Permanent Modernity*, edited by José António Bandeira, 156–63. Matosinhos: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012.
- . "The Space Between." *OASE*, no. 51 (1999): 46–53.
- Risselada, Max, and Dirk Van den Heuvel, eds. *Team 10, 1953–1981. In Search of a Utopia of the Present*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005.
- Robalo, Mário. "O 'Bairro Árabe' de Siza Vieira." *Expresso*, July 2, 1983, sec. Actual.
- Robert, Jean-Paul. "Siza a La Haye." *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 261 (February 1989): 54–58.
- Rogier, Francesca. "The Monumentality of Rhetoric: The Will to Rebuild in Postwar Berlin." In *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, edited by Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, 165–89. The MIT Press, 2001.
- Rosa, Edite. "ODAM: Valores Modernos e a Confrontação com a Realidade Produtiva." PhD, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Barcelona, 2005.
- Rosemann, Jürgen. "Forschungsbezogene Praxis Und Praxisorientierte Forschung." In *Stadt Im Kopf: Hardt-Waltherr Hämer*, edited by Manfred Sack, 157–173. Berlin: Jovis, 2002.
- Rossi, Aldo. "Aldo Rossi." In *Europa/America. Architecture Urbane Alternative Suburbane*, edited by Franco Raggi, 50–55. Venezia: Edizioni "La Biennale di Venezia," 1978.
- . "Proyecto y Ciudad Histórica. Entrevista con Aldo Rossi." *El País*. October 10, 1976.
- . "The Analogous City: Panel." *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 5–8.
- . *The Architecture of the City*. Oppositions Books. Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1984.
- Rovira, Josep M. *José Luis Sert: 1901-1983*. Milano: Electa Architecture, 2003.
- . "The Mediterranean Is His Cradle." In *J. LL. Sert and Mediterranean Culture*, edited by Antonio Pizza, 46–79. Ministerio de Fomento Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña Barcelona: Actar, 1998.
- Rowe, Peter G. *Making a Middle Landscape*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991.
- . *Modernity and Housing*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1993.
- Sabatino, Michelangelo. "Ghosts and Barbarians: The Vernacular in Italian Modern Architecture and Design." *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 4 (2008): 24.

- . *Pride in Modesty. Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- . “Space of Criticism: Exhibitions and the Vernacular in Italian Modernism.” *Journal of Architectural Education* 62, no. 3 (2009): 35–52.
- Sadler, Simon. *The Situationist City*. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1998.
- Salgado, José. *Álvaro Siza em Matosinhos*. 2nd ed. Porto: Afrontamento / Câmara municipal de Matosinhos, 2005.
- Samonà, Giuseppe. “Architettura Spontanea: Documenti di Edilizia Fuori Dalla Storia.” *Urbanistica*, no. 14 (1954).
- Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. “Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-Identity.” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 39, no. 2 (December 1, 2002): 9–43.
- . *Portugal: Ensaio Contra a Autoflagelação*. Coimbra: Edições Almedina, 2011.
- . “Portugal: Tales of Being and Not Being.” *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, no. 20 (2009): 1–46.
- Saunders, Doug. *Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History Is Reshaping Our World*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2010.
- Schilling, Rudolf. “Behutsame Stadterneuerung.” In *Stadt Im Kopf: Hardt-Walther Hämer*, edited by Manfred Sack, 179–215. Berlin: Jovis, 2002.
- Schmid, Christian. “Henri Lefebvre’s Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic.” In *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, edited by Kanishka Goonewardena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom, and Christian Schmid, 1st ed., 27–45. New York and London: Routledge, 2008.
- Schmidt, Olaf. “Vorschriften Und Normen Als Determinanten Für Architektur.” *Der Architekt*, no. 6 (June 1983): 323–26.
- Schrijver, Lara. “Architecture: Projective, Critical or Craft?” In *Architecture in the Age of Empire. 11th Bauhaus Colloquium 2009*, edited by Kristian Faschingeder, Kari Jormakka, Norbert Korrek, Olaf Pfeifer, and Gerd Zimmermann, 353–67. Weimar: Verlag der Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, 2011.
- . “The Archipelago City: Piecing Together Collectivities.” *OASE*, no. 71 (November 2006): 18–36.
- Schuldenfrei, Robin. “Capital Dwelling: Industrial Capitalism, Financial Crisis and the Bauhaus Haus Am Horn.” In *Architecture and Capitalism: 1845 to the Present*, edited by Peggy Deamer, 71–95. Routledge, 2013.
- Scott, Felicity. “Underneath Aesthetics and Utility: The Untransposable Fetish of Bernard Rudofsky.” *Assemblage*, no. 38 (1999): 58–89.
- Sert, José Luis. “Raíces Mediterráneas de La Arquitectura Moderna.” *AC - Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, no. 18 (1935): 31–36.
- Seta, Cesare, ed. “Introduzione.” In *Giuseppe Pagano. Architettura e città durante il fascismo*, 3rd ed., xix–lxxxiv. Milano: Editoriale Jaca Book, 2008.
- Shamiyeh, Michael. “Foreword.” In *What People Want. Populism in Architecture and Design*, edited by Michael Shamiyeh, 25–27. Basel: Birkhauser, 2005.
- Sharr, Adam. *Heidegger for Architects*. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.

- Simmel, Georg. "The Stranger." In *On Individuality and Social Forms*, edited and translated by Donald N. Levine, 143–49. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971.
- Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos. *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*. 2 vols. Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1961.
- Siza, Álvaro. "Alvaro Siza." In *Europa/America. Architetture Urbane Alternative Suburbane*, edited by Franco Raggi, 56–61. Venezia: Edizioni "La Biennale di Venezia," 1978.
- . "Architektur Und Partizipation." In *5 Architekten Zeichnen Für Berlin*, edited by François Burkhardt, 115–18. Berlin: Archibook Verlag, 1979.
- . *City Sketches / Stadtskizzen / Desenhos Urbanos*. Edited by Brigitte Fleck. 1st ed. Birkhäuser, 1994.
- . "Comment Parvenir à La Sérénité. Interview with Laurent Beaudouin." *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 278 (December 1991): 59–65.
- . "Entretien Avec Alvaro Siza." *AMC - Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, no. 44 (1978): 33–41.
- . "Foreword." In *Bouça Residents' Association Housing: Porto 1972-77, 2005-06*, edited by Wilfried Wang and Brigitte Fleck, 7. Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 2008.
- . "Il Piano per La Zona 5: Direttive e Suggestimenti." *Casabella*, no. 538 (September 1987): 9.
- . *Imaginar a Evidência*. Lisboa: Edições 70, 2009.
- . "Interview d'Alvaro Siza." *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 211 (October 1980): LX–LXII.
- . "Notas Sobre o Trabalho em Évora." *Arquitectura*, 4, no. 132 (1979): 34–49.
- . "O 25 de Abril e a Transformação da Cidade." *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 18/19/20 (February 1986): 37–40.
- . *Textos 01 - Álvaro Siza*. Edited by Carlos Campos Morais. Porto: Livraria Civilização Editora, 2009.
- . "The Line of Action of the Technicians as Technicians." *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 87.
- . "The Proletarian 'Island' as a Basic Element of the Urban Tissue." *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 80–93.
- Siza, Álvaro, and Brigitte Cassirer. "Entretien Avec Álvaro Siza." *AMC - Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, no. 2 (October 1983): 16–21.
- Siza, Álvaro, and France Vanlaethem. "Pour une Architecture Épurée et Rigoureuse." *ARQ: Architecture/Québec*, no. 14 (August 1983): 16–19.
- Siza, Álvaro, and Alejandro Zaera Polo. "Getting Through Turbulence. An Interview with Álvaro Siza." *El Croquis*, no. 68/69 (1994): 6–31.
- Smithson, Alison. "Architecture as Found / Language of Architecture at Kreuzberg." *Lotus International*, no. 13 (December 1976): 44–47.
- . , ed. *Team 10 Meetings 1953-1984*. Delft: Publikatieburi Bouwkunde, 1991.
- . , ed. *Team 10 Primer*. London: Studio Vista, 1968.
- . *The Emergence of Team 10 Out of C.I.A.M.: Documents*. Architectural Association, 1982.

- Smithson, Alison, and Peter Smithson. "Alison & Peter Smithson." In *La Biennale Di Venezia. Section of Visual Arts and Architecture - General Catalogue*, edited by Barbara Radice and Franco Raggi, 2:247. Venice: Edizioni "La Biennale di Venezia," 1976.
- . "Alison e Peter Smithson." In *Europa/America. Architetture Urbane Alternative Suburbane*, edited by Franco Raggi, 62–65. Venezia: Edizioni "La Biennale di Venezia," 1978.
- . "The Aesthetics of Change." In *Architects' Year Book*, edited by Trevor Dannatt, 8:14–22. London: Elek Books, 1957.
- . "The 'As Found' and the 'Found.'" In *The Independent Group: Post-war Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty*, edited by David Robbins, 201–2. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990.
- Soja, Edward W. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, 1996.
- Soler, Miguel Centellas. *Los Pueblos de Colonización de Fernandez del Amo. Arte, Arquitectura Y Urbanismo*. Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2010.
- Somol, Robert E., ed. *Autonomy and Ideology: Positioning an Avant-Garde in America*. New York: Monaceli Press, 1997.
- Somol, Robert, and Sarah Whiting. "Notes around the Doppler Effect and Other Moods of Modernism." *Perspecta* 33 (January 1, 2002): 72–77. doi:10.2307/1567298.
- Stanek, Lukasz. "Henri Lefebvre and the Concrete Research of Space: Urban Theory, Empirical Studies, Architecture Practice." PhD Dissertation, TU Delft, 2008.
- Storm, Eric. *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- Strauven, Francis. *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity*. Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998.
- . "The Shaping of Number in Architecture and Town Planning." In *Team 10, 1953–1981. In Search of a Utopia of the Present*, edited by Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, 295–99. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005.
- Sunstein, Cass R. *Why Societies Need Dissent*. Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Szacka, Léa-Catherine. "Historicism versus Communication: The Basic Debate of the 1980 Biennale." *Architectural Design* 81, no. 5 (October 2011): 98–105.
- Tafari, Manfredo. "L'Architecture Dans Le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language." Translated by Victor Caliendo. *Oppositions*, no. 3 (April 1974).
- . "L'Architecture Dans Le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language." In *Architecture Theory since 1968*, edited by K. Michael Hays, 148–73. Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1998.
- Tavares, Maria Fernanda Gaspar. "Federação de Caixas de Previdência - Habitações Económicas. Um Percurso na História da Habitação em Portugal." Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 2003.
- Távora, Fernando. "Arquitectura e Urbanismo: A Lição das Constantes." *Lusitana* 1, no. 2 (November 1952): 151–55.
- . *Da Organização do Espaço*. 5th ed. Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2004.

- . *Diário de “Bordo.”* Edited by Rita Marnoto. 2 vols. Matosinhos: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012.
- . “O Encontro de Royaumont.” *Arquitectura* 3ª Série, no. 79 (1963): 1.
- . “The Problem of the Portuguese House.” In *Fernando Távora*, edited by Luiz Trigueiros, 11–13. Lisboa: Editorial Blau, 1993.
- . “The Royaumont Meeting.” In *Fernando Távora. Modernidade Permanente*, edited by José António Bandeirinha, translated by Nelson Mota, 164–65. Matosinhos: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012.
- Távora, Fernando, Rui Pimentel, and António Menéres. “Zona 1.” In *Arquitectura Popular Em Portugal*, edited by Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, 4th ed., 1:1–111. Lisboa: Centro Editor Livreiro da Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2004.
- Teixeira, Manuel C. *Habitação Popular na Cidade Oitocentista - As Ilhas do Porto*. Lisboa: FCG/JNICT, 1996.
- Testa, Peter. *The Architecture of Álvaro Siza*. Porto: Edições FAUP, 1988.
- . “Unity of the Discontinuous: Alvaro Siza’s Berlin Works.” *Assemblage*, no. 2 (February 1, 1987): 47–61.
- Teyssot, Georges. “Aldo van Eyck’s Threshold: The Story of an Idea.” *Log Winter* 2008, no. 11 (2008): 16.
- The Museum of Modern Art. “What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?” In *Architectural Regionalism. Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, edited by Vincent B. Canizaro, 293–309. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007.
- Theissen, Volker. “Mit Der IBA Am Schlesischen Tor.” *Berliner Bauwirtschaft*, no. 6 (February 3, 1981): 110–12.
- Till, Jeremy. *Architecture Depends*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009.
- Tostões, Ana, ed. *1º Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura, Edição Fac-Similada*. Lisboa: Ordem dos Arquitectos, 2008.
- . *Os Verdes Anos na Arquitectura Portuguesa nos Anos 50*. Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1997.
- Trigueiros, Luiz, ed. *Fernando Távora*. Lisboa: Editorial Blau, 1993.
- Turner, John. “Housing as a Verb.” In *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*, edited by John F. C. Turner and Robert Fichter, 148–75. New York: Collier Macmillan, 1972.
- . “Preface.” In *Time Builds!*, edited by Fernando García-Huidobro, Diego Torres Torriti, and Nicolas Tugas, 6–7. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2008.
- . *Housing by People. Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*. London: Marion Boyards, 1976.
- Turner, John F. C., and Robert Fichter, eds. *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*. New York: Collier Macmillan, 1972.
- Tyrwhitt, Jaqueline, José Luis Sert, and Ernesto N. Rogers, eds. *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*. New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1952.
- Tzonis, Alexander, and Liane Lefaivre. “In the Name of the People. The Development of the Contemporary Populist Movement in Architecture.” *Forum* XXV, no. 3 (February 1976).

- . “In the Name of the People; The Populist Movement in Architecture.” In *What People Want. Populism in Architecture and Design*, edited by Michael Shamiyeh, 288–305. Basel: Birkhauser, 2005.
- . “The Grid and the Pathway. An Introduction to the Work of Dimitris and Susana Antonokakis with Prolegomena to a History of the Culture of Modern Greek Architecture.” *Architecture in Greece*, no. 15 (1981): 164–78.
- Ungers, Oswald Mathias. “Oswald Mathias Ungers.” In *Europa/America. Architetture Urbane Alternative Suburbane*, edited by Franco Raggi, 78–85. Venezia: Edizioni “La Biennale di Venezia,” 1978.
- Union Internationale des Architects. *Troisième Congrès de L’Union Internationale Des Architects. Rapport Final*. Lisbonne: Librairie Portugal, 1953.
- Van den Heuvel, Dirk. “Alison and Peter Smithson. A Brutalist Story Involving the House, the City and the Everyday (plus a Couple of Other Things).” PhD Dissertation, TU Delft, 2013.
- . “Another Sensibility – The Discovery of Context.” *OASE*, no. 76 (September 2008): 21–43.
- . “As Found: The Metamorphosis of the Everyday. On the Work of Nigel Henderson, Eduardo Paolozzi, and Alison and Peter Smithson.” *OASE*, no. 59 (2002): 52–67.
- . “Le Présent de L’utopique: La Grille de Réidentification Urbaine d’Alison et Peter Smithson.” In *La Modernité Critique. Autour Du Ciam 9 d’Aix En Provence*, edited by Jean-Lucien Bonillo and Claude Massu, 147–55. Marseille: Editions Imbernon, 2006.
- . “The Spaces Between\Encounters. Historical and Theoretical Backgrounds of the Architectural Teachings of Max Risselada and Hans Tupker.” In *Lessons: Tupker\Risselada. A Double Portrait of Dutch Architectural Education 1953\2003*, edited by Dirk Van den Heuvel, Madeleine Steigenga, and Jaap Van Trieste, 96–153. Amsterdam: SUN, 2003.
- Van Dijk, Hans, Rob de Graaf, and Adri Duivesteijn. “‘De Architecten Die Wij Zoecken Volgen Geen Stromingen Na: Zij Vertegenwoordigen Zelf Een Opvatting’. Een Vraaggesprek Met Adri Duivesteijn.” *Archis*, no. 5–88 (May 1988): 8–11.
- Van Eyck, Aldo. “Is Architecture Going to Reconcile Basic Values?” In *CIAM ’59 in Otterlo*, edited by Oscar Newman, 26–35. Documents of Modern Architecture 1. Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961.
- . “Steps Toward a Configurative Discipline.” *Forum* 16, no. 3 (August 1962): 81–94.
- . “There Is a Garden in Her Face.” *Forum* 15, no. 3 (August 1960): 107–21.
- . “Steps toward a Configurative Discipline.” In *Architecture Culture 1943-1968*, edited by Joan Ockman, 348–60. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.
- Van Leeuwen, Toos, Rina Boers, and Irene Van Zaamen. “Bewonersgroep ‘Bouwen in 5.’” In *Visie Op de Stad. Álvaro Siza in de Schilderswijk, Den Haag*, edited by Dorien Boasson, 21. Den Haag: Uitgave Projektorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing ’s-Gravenhage, 1988.

- Van Osten, Marion. "In Colonial Modern Worlds." In *Colonial Modern. Aesthetics of the Past Rebellions for the Future*, edited by Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion van Osten, 19–37. London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010.
- Van Wijngaarden, Andries, and Bert Ströbaum. "Uit de Praktijk van de Haagse Stadsvernieuwing. Een Reactie Op de Culturele Revolutie van Adri Duivesteijn." *De Architect* 17, no. 03/86 (March 1986): 23–27.
- Veloso, António Matos. "Habitação Rural e Urbanismo." In *Relatório da Comissão Executiva. Teses. Conclusões e Votos do Congresso*, 189–96. Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1948.
- Vital, António Lobão. "A Casa, o Homem e a Arquitectura." In *Relatório da Comissão Executiva. Teses. Conclusões e Votos do Congresso*, 197–214. Lisboa: Sindicato Nacional do Arquitectos, 1948.
- Von Krüger, Karl-Heinz. "Die Arrckitucktn Sünnd Tautal Pfarrucktn." *Der Spiegel*, October 9, 1984.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. "Semi-Peripheral Countries and the Contemporary World Crisis." *Theory and Society* 3, no. 4 (December 1, 1976): 461–83.
- Welter, Volker M. "Post-war CIAM, Team X, and the Influence of Patrick Geddes." Delft, 2001. <http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft1/welter.pdf>.
- Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. Nottingham: Spokesman, 2011.
- Woods, Shadrach. *The Man in the Street: A Polemic on Urbanism*. Penguin Books, 1975.
- Wright, Gwendolyn. "On Modern Vernaculars and J. B. Jackson." *Geographical Review* 88, no. 4 (October 1, 1998): 474–82.
- Zeynep Çelik. "Learning from the Bidonville." *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 18 (Spring/Summer 2003): 70–74.
- Zucker, Paul. "Ruins. An Aesthetic Hybrid." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 20, no. 2 (December 1961): 119–30.
- Zwinkels, Cees. "Alvaro Siza Geeft Ironisch Commentaar Op Nederlandse Woningbouw." *De Architect* 19, no. 08–88 (August 1988): 48–51.
- . "Wethouder Adri Duivesteijn Op Zoek Naar Het Buurtkarakteristieke." *De Architect* 17, no. 01/86 (January 1986): 28–33.

Archival Documents

- AA.VV. "Notes from First Meeting." Doorn, 1954. TTEN7. NAI, Team 10 Archive.
- . "Statement on Habitat." Doorn, 1954. BAKEg28. NAI, Bakema Archive.
- . "Transcription of the Recording of the Távora's Presentation at the Otterlo Congress," September 1959. BAKEg113. NAI, Bakema Archive.
- Araújo, Arnaldo. "Formas do Habitat Rural - Norte de Bragança. Contribuição Para a Estrutura da Comunidade." Concurso para a Obtenção do Grau de Arquitecto (CODA), E.S.B.A.P. 1957. Centro de Documentação da Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto.
- ASCORAL. "Project de Programme pour le IX^o Congres C.I.A.M. 1953. La Charte de l'Habitat," January 10, 1952. 42-AR-6-5. gta archive.
- Bakema, Jaap. "CIAM X - 1955. Résumé des réactions dans 'Instructions aux Groupes,'" 1955. 42-AR-9-85. gta archive.
- Bouwen in 5. "Voorlopig Voorstel Voor de Werkwijze Tijdens de Bouwplanontwikkeling," March 1985. De Punt e Komma. Alvaro Siza Archive.
- Bouwen in 5, Bewonersoverleg deelgebied 5, and Opbouwwerk 5. "Bewonersparticipatie. Nu en in de Toekomst," April 22, 1985. De Punt e Komma. Alvaro Siza Archive.
- Brigada SAAL S. Victor. "Relatório da Brigada: Março, Abril, Maio, Junho," March 7, 1975. 26-'70 - Brigada S. Victor (Relatórios "74-"77). Álvaro Siza archive.
- . "Relatório do Mês de Novembro de 1974," January 16, 1975. 26-'70 - Brigada S. Victor (Relatórios "74-"77). Álvaro Siza archive.
- Câmara Municipal de Évora. "Malagueira: A Maior Zona de Expansão da Cidade." *Boletim Municipal*, April 1985. 44-45/70 Évora, Malagueira. Álvaro Siza archive.
- . "Reunião de 21 de Fevereiro de 1977," February 21, 1977. Álvaro Siza archive.
- CIAM. "CIAM 10 Dubrovnik 1956," 1956. 42-X-115A. gta archive.
- CIAM 10 - Commission B6. "Report of Commission B.6." Lapad, Dubrovnik, August 1956. BAKEg50. NAI, Bakema Archive.
- CIAM Porto. "Group Porto, Portugal. Description de la grille." Dubrovnik, August 7, 1956. 42-JT-13-32/33. gta archive.
- CIAM X. "Draft Framework 5," December 1954. 42-AR-9-20. gta archive.
- CIAM-Portugal. "CIRPAC La Sarraz. Rapport du groupe portugais." Porto, September 1, 1955. 42-AR-12-97/110. gta archive.
- . "Groupe CIAM Portugais," 1953. 42-SG-33-76. gta archive.
- . "Groupe Portugais." Sigtuna, 1952. 42-AR-6-85. gta archive.
- Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização. Letter to Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Évora. "Plano de Pormenor da Zona Oeste de Évora. Parecer," November 30, 1977. Álvaro Siza archive.
- Duivestijn, Adri. Letter to Alvaro Siza, May 24, 1984. De Punt en de Komma - 106 woningen in Deelgebied 5 - Folder 1. Álvaro Siza archive.

- Fernandez, Sergio. “Recuperação de Aldeias (Equipamento Colectivo). Rio de Onor, Bragança.” Concurso para a Obtenção do Grau de Arquitecto (CODA), E.S.B.A.P., 1964. Centro de Documentação de Urbanismo e Arquitectura da Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto.
- Filgueiras, Octávio Lixa. “Urbanismo: Um Tema Rural.” Concurso para a Obtenção do Grau de Arquitecto (CODA), Escola de Belas-Artes do Porto, 1953. Arquivo Pessoal Octávio Lixa Filgueiras.
- Giedion, Sigfried. “Minutes of the CIAM Meeting of Delegates at La Sarraz.” La Sarraz, September 10, 1955. BAKEg41. NAI, Bakema Archive.
- Gutachterverfahren “Mischzone” (Bereich Schlesische Straße 1-8). “Ergebnisprotokoll Der Obergutachteritzung,” November 4, 1980. Álvaro Siza archive.
- Hämer, Hardt Walther. Letter to Bezirksverordneten des Bezirks Kreuzberg. “Beschlußempfehlung Aus Dem Ausschuß Für Die Beratung von Bebauungsplänen Zur Planung in Block 121,” June 3, 1981. Álvaro Siza archive.
- Korsmo, Arne, Geir Grung, and G. S. Gundersen. “CIAM 10 Grid.” Dubrovnik, 1956. BAKEf17. NAI, Bakema Archive.
- Kreutzer, Wolfgang, and Lothar Kerpa. “Beschlußempfehlung Aus Dem Ausschuß Für Die Beratung von Bebauungsplänen,” February 26, 1981. Álvaro Siza archive.
- Lima, Alfredo Viana de. “Rapport du Groupe CIAM portugais à la Réunion CIRPAC du 4 Juillet 1955.” Porto, June 29, 1955. 42-SG-47-36. gta archive.
- . “Rapport sur le schema de Grille proposée,” 1955. 42-SG-47-35. gta archive.
- . Letter to Sigfried Giedion, March 8, 1951. 42-SG-33-344. gta archive.
- MARS Group, and John Voelcker. “Rural Resettlement.” La Sarraz, September 1955. BAKEt129. NAI, Bakema Archive.
- Matos, A. Campos, and A. Nazaré Pereira. *Plano de Expansão Oeste de Évora. Memória Descritiva e Justificativa*, February 19, 1976. 44-45/70 Évora, Malagueira. Álvaro Siza archive.
- Rocha, Luís. “Eleitos da Assembleia Municipal Visitam Obras no Concelho de Évora.” *O Diário*, March 26, 1985, sec. Informação Geral. 44-45/70 Évora, Malagueira. Álvaro Siza archive.
- Siza, Álvaro. “Construção de Habitações de Carácter Social em Terreno Anexo ao Tribunal Central de Menores,” June 6, 1973. 01-17-’70_138 - Bouça I - FFH (1973-1975). Álvaro Siza archive.
- . “Plan of Zone 5 of Schilderswijk Centrum,” 1985. De Punt en de Komma - 106 woningen in Deelgebied 5 - Folder 1. Alvaro Siza Archive.
- . *Plano de Pormenor de uma Área de 27 Ha Integrada no Plano de Expansão Oeste de Évora. Estudos Preliminares - Memória Descritiva*, August 30, 1977. 44-45/70 Évora, Malagueira. Álvaro Siza archive.
- . Letter to Cooperativa de Habitação Económica Boa Vontade. “Projectos de 350 Fogos Para a Cooperativa Boa Vontade.” Letter, July 29, 1977. Álvaro Siza archive.
- Smithson, Alison, and Peter Smithson. “Galleon Houses - Fold Houses - Burrows Lea Farm.” Dubrovnik, 1956. BAKEf11. NAI, Bakema Archive.

- Smithson, Peter. *Report 1st Meeting Commission B4*. CIAM 10 Commission Report. Lapad / Dubrovnik, August 8, 1956. TTEN15. NAI, Team 10 Archive.
- Team 10. "Draft Framework 5 - CIAM X - Instructions to Groups," 1954. BAKEg35. NAI, Bakema Archive.
- The Hague Public Relations Department. "The Boldest Post-War Urban Renewal Project Completed." Municipality of The Hague, April 1983. De Punt en de Komma - 106 woningen in Deelgebied 5 - Folder 1. Álvaro Siza archive.
- "Verslag van de Excursie Naar Het R.O.L. Te Scheveningen Op 7 September 1985 Georganiseerd Vanuit Buurtwinkel 'de Hoefeiser' Voor Bewoners Uit Deelgebied 5.," September 7, 1985. De Punt e Komma. Alvaro Siza Archive.
- "Verslag van de Werkdag in Het R.O.L. Op 24 Januari 1985," January 24, 1985. De Punt e Komma. Alvaro Siza Archive.
- "Verslag van de Werkdag in Het R.O.L. van de TH-Delft Met Turkse Bewoners," July 4, 1985. De Punt e Komma. Alvaro Siza Archive.

Biographical Note

Nelson Mota was born in Mesão-Frio (Portugal) on 23 January 1973. From 1984 until 1990 he pursued his secondary education at Mesão-Frio and Peso da Régua (Portugal). In 1990 he enrolled in Architecture at the University of Coimbra (UC) and in 1998 he received his graduation as architect. From 2004 until 2006, he pursued at the UC an advanced Master on Architecture, Territory and Memory (Estudos Avançados em Arquitectura, Território e Memória), and received his Master diploma from the University of Coimbra in 2006 with a dissertation on bourgeois domestic space.

After receiving his graduation, Nelson divided his time between teaching and designing. From 1998 until 2004, he lectured at the ARCA-EUAC University School of Arts of Coimbra, and from 2004 until 2009 he lectured at the Department of Architecture, University of Coimbra. He practiced as a designer in the office “gtl de montemor-o-velho” from 1998 until 2002, and from 2002 onward he established, with Luís Miguel Correia and Susana Constantino, the office “comoco arquitectos”, an independent architecture practice.

Since he graduated in Architecture, Nelson received several academic and professional awards. In 1999, he received the Quartel Mestre General William Elsdon Scholar Prize for the best graduate in Architecture, and the Teixeira Lopes Prize for the best graduate student from the UC. His work as a designer was awarded in 2003 the Alexandre Herculano National Architectural Prize in the category of design of public spaces (with gtl montemor-o-velho), and in 2013 the Portuguese National Prize

for Architecture in Wood (with comoco arquitectos). In 2006 he was awarded the 1st Fernando Távora Prize with a research trip proposal that included visits to Paris, Amsterdam, London, Boston, Recife, and Rio de Janeiro.

In 2009, Nelson moved to the Netherlands to pursue a PhD at the TU Delft. Since then, next to the doctoral research, he has been involved in the Master program of the chair of Architecture and Dwelling at TU Delft's Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, teaching seminars and design studios. In the fall semester of 2013/14 he has also been teaching as guest scholar at The Berlage Center for Advanced Studies in Architecture and Urban Design.

From 2009 until 2014 he was member of the research team of the project "Digital Alberti – Tradition and innovation in the architectural theory and practice in Portugal" financed by the FCT – Fundação da Ciência e Tecnologia, and coordinated by Prof. Dr. Arq. Mário J. T. Kruger (CES / University of Coimbra). Since 2009 he is also a researcher in the project "The Architectural Project and its Foundations / Revisions: Changing Ideals and Shifting Realities", coordinated by Prof. Dr. Ir. Tom Avermaete (Delft University of Technology).

Nelson has published several articles and essays in academic publications and peer-reviewed journals, including *Footprint*, *Monumentos*, *DASH*, *OASE – Journal for Architecture*, and *Journal of Architecture* (forthcoming). In 2010 he authored the book *A Arquitectura do Quotidiano*, runner-up in the Iberian FAD Prize 2011, and in 2014 he contributed a chapter to the book *Consuming Architecture*, published by Routledge. Since 2009, he regularly contributes articles to professional journals such as *C3 Magazine* (South-Korea), *JA – Jornal Arquitectos* (Portugal), and *Grand Tour* (UK).

Nelson's scholarly addresses are chiefly focused on the entwined relation between modernity and the vernacular tradition and its influence on the architecture of dwelling. Since 2009 he has delivered papers and chaired sessions in several international conferences, among others the 2009 ADGD Conference in Nottingham, the 11th International Docomomo Conference in Mexico City, the 2012 ACSA International Conference in Barcelona, the 2nd and 3rd International Meeting EAHN in Brussels and Turin respectively, the 12th International Bauhaus-Colloquium in Weimar, the 10th annual conference of the AHRA in Bristol, and in scientific meetings organized by ETH Zürich, KU Leuven, and the University of Coimbra.

Since 2012, Nelson is production editor and member of the editorial board of the academic peer-reviewed journal *Footprint*, published by Techne Press and TU Delft.