

Architecture and Utopias

The Relationship between Society, Space and Politics





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The Relationship between Society, Space and Politics

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»Regardless whether the final result in any form reflects the original idea, represents something completely new, or is even something unconstructable – the drawings serve the same purpose as the study or the model in painting/sculpture: they are intended to develop an idea. What ultimately becomes visible in every drawing is a very specific moment in the thinking process and in the creative, imaginative work of the architect.«

McQuaid, Matilda. Visionen und Utopien. 2003.

Abstract

The relationship between architecture and politics has manifested itself through different conditions over different periods of time. Throughout history, politics in architecture can be seen through the emergence of new design movements, the construction of prestigious monuments, the work of individual architects but especially through utopias. Utopias in general represent an attempt to reinterpret the future and a form of critique of social, political, economical conditions and norms of that period. However, nearly all utopian projects have remained theoretical and were never realized as they were either too complicated for construction or too daring to find enough supporters.

In the present work, utopian projects from the last 250 years that were created in specific political environments were studied. The projects were analyzed to gauge their success or failure in terms of realization or further development. For centuries people have been writing books and theories about ideal utopian societies expressing criticism towards their current political environment. As early as 350 BC, Plato wrote *The Republic*, presenting a new form of society and thereby criticizing and questioning the way society had organized itself up until then. Further research is amplifying the transformation of poli-

tical ideals and its influence on architects and architecture. Starting from the Revolutions in the late 18th century to the advancement of the Industrialization in the 19th century, the rise of totalitarian states to capitalism and ending with the transition of liberalistic states towards neoliberalism.

It is to be questioned to which degree an architect and his design project can remain independent and indifferent towards politics and whether a shift from a place of creation to obsequiousness takes place.

Graphical content in architecture has always been an important aspect in the communication of ideas and visions. This is especially true for utopian projects, where strong visual content such as dramatic paintings, drawings or graphics were created to broadcast the utopian message to as many people as possible. Throughout the thesis, the history of utopias in architecture is displayed by unique collages, created to reflect specific time periods and stressing important developments and changes in politics and architecture. The aim is to introduce as many people as possible to a considerable understanding towards architecture and politics with the help of collages.

Abstract

Das Verhältnis von Architektur und Politik wurde im Laufe der Zeit von verschiedenen Entwicklungen beeinflusst. Über die Jahrhunderte hinweg kann Politik in der Architektur im Entstehen neuer Designbewegungen, prestigeträchtiger Denkmäler, einzelner ArchitektInnen, aber vor allem auch in Utopien nachvollzogen werden. Utopien in der Architektur stellen einen Versuch dar, die Zukunft neu zu interpretieren und die soziale, politische und wirtschaftliche Situation der Gegenwart zu kritisieren. Jedoch blieben fast alle utopischen Projekte als Theorie auf Papier und wurden nie realisiert, da etliche utopische Projekte entweder zu kompliziert zu bauen oder so gewagt waren, dass sich keine Anhänger dafür finden ließen.

In meiner Diplomarbeit betrachte ich ausgewählte utopische Projekte der letzten 250 Jahre, die in einem bestimmten politischen Umfeld oder Zeitraum entstanden sind, und analysiere sie im Hinblick auf ihren Erfolg oder Misserfolg und ihre Realisierung oder Weiterentwicklung. Seit dem 16. Jahrhundert wurden vermehrt Schriften und Theorien über ideale utopische Gesellschaften verfasst, die als Kritik am jeweiligen politischen Umfeld interpretiert wurden. Bereits 350 v. Chr. verfasste Platon sein Werk Politeia (der Staat) und entwarf darin eine neue Form der Gesellschaft, indem er die Art und Weise kritisierte und in Frage stellte, wie die Gesellschaft bis dahin gelebt hat. Weitere Forschungen untersuchten die Trans-

formation politischer Ideale und wie diese die zeitgenössische Architektur beeinflussten: von den Revolutionen im späten 18. Jahrhundert und dem Fortschreiten der Industrialisierung im 19. Jahrhundert, dem Aufstieg totalitärer Staaten und der Entfaltung des Kapitalismus bis hin zur Entstehung liberalistischer Staaten und des Neoliberalismus. In diesem Kontext gilt es zu untersuchen, inwieweit Architekt*innen und ihre Entwurfsprojekte gegenüber der Politik unabhängig oder autonom sein können.

Die grafischen Inhalte der Architektur waren schon immer ein wichtiger Aspekt bei der Vermittlung von Ideen und Visionen an die Öffentlichkeit. Vor allem architektonische Utopien waren von Anfang an durch einen starken visuellen Ausdruck mit dramatischen Gemälden, Zeichnungen oder Grafiken gekennzeichnet, die geschaffen wurden, um die utopische Botschaft möglichst vielen Menschen näher zu bringen. In meiner Diplomarbeit wird die Geschichte von Utopien in der Architektur durch einzigartige Collagen dargestellt, die so gestaltet sind, dass sie bestimmte Zeiträume widerspiegeln und wichtige Entwicklungen und Veränderungen in Politik und Architektur hervorheben. Ziel ist es, möglichst vielen Menschen ein umfassendes Verständnis des Zusammenhangs von Architektur und Politik durch Collagen zu vermitteln.

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Introduction

Prelude

Utopias have always been an integral component of architecture. The indication of the inception of a brave new world, the embodiment of a criticism of a prevailing situation, a daring new point of view, a fantasy even – utopias can take on many roles.

In the present work, I reflected on the timeline of the last 250 years in history to analyze compelling projects in architecture and their respective relationship with important political happenings. In my research, I discovered that utopias in architecture were often precursors of or parallel developments of significant political or social change.

In Plato's "Republic", written in 348 BC, the first draft of a utopian civilization is described. The main creators of utopias of that time were philosophers who dared to think differently and to question the political status quo. In literature, utopias became more common during the transitioning period between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It was Sir Thomas More who coined the term Utopia in his 1516 book: "Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia." ("A truly golden little book, no less beneficial than entertaining, of a republic's best state and of the new island Utopia."). The word "utopia" is derived from two greek words: "ou-"; meaning "not" and "topos"; meaning "place". As such, the word utopia describes a nowhere place, located on an island somewhere in the middle of the sea, inaccessible and unattainable to the public. This is a good description of utopias of the 16th and 17th centuries, which were a form criticism towards the existing social order without expecting to have an immediate social reform as consequence. Utopian projects were centered on social problems and the criticism of state rule. Architectural and urban issues weren't questioned at this time. However, in order to be more plausible, utopian projects had to become more realistic and precise in the description of features such as streets and buildings. In many utopian texts, the architecture of the imagined ideal cities is described in strong accordance with what architects and engineers were ide-

alizing at that time. Through the development of a critical stance by the reader, the possibility of real social, political and architectural progress becomes much more likely to open up a path to real reform. In summary, it can be said that utopias from the time of the transition between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance were all characterized by hope.

Towards the end of the 18th century, utopias became a topic of social and political transformation. The French Revolution was the starting point for the emerging revolutionary architecture by the likes of Claude Nicolas-Ledoux and Étienne Louis-Boullée. The first half of the 19th century was defined by the works of Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen. These authors dared to rethink society and its politics whilst engaging in a social movement and experimenting with newly developed social concepts in built environments. In the aftermath, these authors were called the utopian socialists.

In the first half of the 19th century, utopias became a social and political movement of their own and the relation between architectural and urban thought was profoundly changed. In criticizing the existing architecture and urban conditions of industrial cities, the demanded societal change additionally gained a spatial dimension with architecture as part of this solution. Owen and Fourier in particular rejected city slums, industrial suburbs and the overall poor living conditions of the working class people. They proposed a new kind of architecture for a new age of harmony. With growing Industrialization, citizens of industrial cities were confronted with rapid societal change and the emergence of new programs challenging traditional knowledge. Utopian writers, architects and philosophers began to look for a more organic kind of architecture and urban expression which could fulfill the material and spiritual requirements of the industrial age.

In the first half of the 20th century, new utopian ideologies emerged with their own idealized version of a new society. The 20th century utopian perspectives merged with mainstream political ideas and economical agendas: the development of communism promising the golden age, fascist regimes demanding authoritarian state power and

the rapidly developing capitalism. The era was defined by utopian ideals communicated through large scale planning, namely the architecture of Le Corbusier and Ludwig Hilberseimer. The second half of the 20th century was marked by contra-utopian perspectives challenging and criticizing the brave new world of communism and capitalism. Projects such as the Continuous Monument by Superstudio or the Non-Stop City by Archizoom were putting in perspective capitalistic ideals and the ensuing globalization. Other utopias of the 20th century attempted to fully equip and manage the earth through architecture. The chasm between nature and the industrial world preoccupied both utopian models and architecture. The utopias of the movements Metabolist and Archigram tried to reconcile nature and technology and map out a new way of living in so-called megastructures and thereby illustrating the relationship between individual and collective life. Architects such as Buckminster Fuller were driven by the idea of combining nature and architecture with technology by producing tent- and hut- like structures.¹ In the late 20th century, at a time in which neoliberalism gained popularity in the global market, the term starchitect became popular. It denotes a new class of architects who embrace unconditional acceptance of the globalization and design new forms of individualistic architecture dependable on digital culture.

Every utopia represents an ideal as well as an ideology which, together, form the basis of economic and political theory and policy.² Throughout the course of history, especially after the Industrial Revolution, economical powers grew stronger through the development of capitalism. Before engaging in the history of capitalism, it is important to look back on what set the basis for its development. Starting with the French Revolution in 1789, many other countries followed suit during the 18th and 19th centuries with their own revolutions and started to shift from constitutional monarchies to socialist democratic states. French philosophers such as Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier and English philosopher Robert Owen were forerunners of the new political orientation of so-

cialism. Inspired by the utopian socialists, Owen, Fourier and Saint-Simon, Karl Marx wrote "das Kapital" which ended up influencing the establishment of the UDSSR and the People's Republic of China. In the beginning of the 20th century, state politics were leaning towards totalitarian regimes, leading to World War 2, initiated by fascist Nazi Germany. In the aftermath of World War 2 the politics of the countries occupied by the American allies was oriented towards more liberal forms of government, endorsing capitalism to the benefit of the United States. This resulted in a post war economic boom which also boosted the progression of globalization.

Earliest documentation shows that capitalism flourished in the 13th century in Florence, Italy. The roots of capitalism can be traced back even further to Arabic civilizations that were promoting capitalistic free trade and banking. Along with Indo-Arab numerals, used to facilitate bookkeeping, capitalism migrated to Europe. In the 18th century, the Industrial Revolution began and capitalism developed to a new level thanks to new forms of technology that allowed for mass production of goods. At the same time, people were able to own independent or private trades in means of production which led to working class people selling their labor for money in order to provide for a living. New developments in infrastructure, such as the development of railroads, increased the growth of the industrialization by providing for the transportation of goods on a larger scale. Globalization in the 19th century had the effect of consolidating several market systems which resulted in the intensification of the global interconnection. The use of the gold standard formed the financial basis of the international economy from the late 19th to the early 20th century. The Great Depression (1929 - 1939) precipitated by the first global stock market crash in Oktober 1929 in the United States shockingly displayed the interdependency of a global market. After the market crash on Wall Street, the stock markets of many other countries followed suit and crashed, resulting in a global financial crisis.³ Keynesian economics gained popularity afterwards. After World War 2, most of the capitalistic states

experienced an economic boom. At the end of the 20th century, neoliberalism started to gain traction thanks to the endorsement of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. With the invention of computers and the development of the internet, global stock markets started to work faster and thus globalization advanced faster.⁴ Over the last 30 years, tech companies have grown to large scales and have thus gained an enormous amount of power. In Silicon Valley, companies such as Apple, Facebook and Google are building enormous corporate estates. In some of these estates, starchitects are designing new forms of privately owned city towns.

In my research, I picked out 13 focal points with the help of which I want to present the development of utopias in history and therefore also the relationship of architecture with politics and society. Each topic depicts a specific time in history, chosen to illustrate important changes in architecture and politics.

I have chosen to communicate the focal points of my thesis through the medium of collage, an ancient technique of art production, where various pictures, materials or textures are assembled into a new form, thus creating a new whole.⁵ In communicating my thesis through the medium of collage, my goal is to open up the conversation around architecture and its relationship with politics to as many people as possible.

Every collage is accompanied by a text setting the scene and providing context as well as a frame for every topic. Each text is written in a distinct style to accompany each of the collages and convey another layer of representation of the topic at hand.

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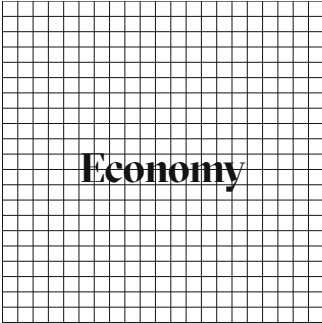
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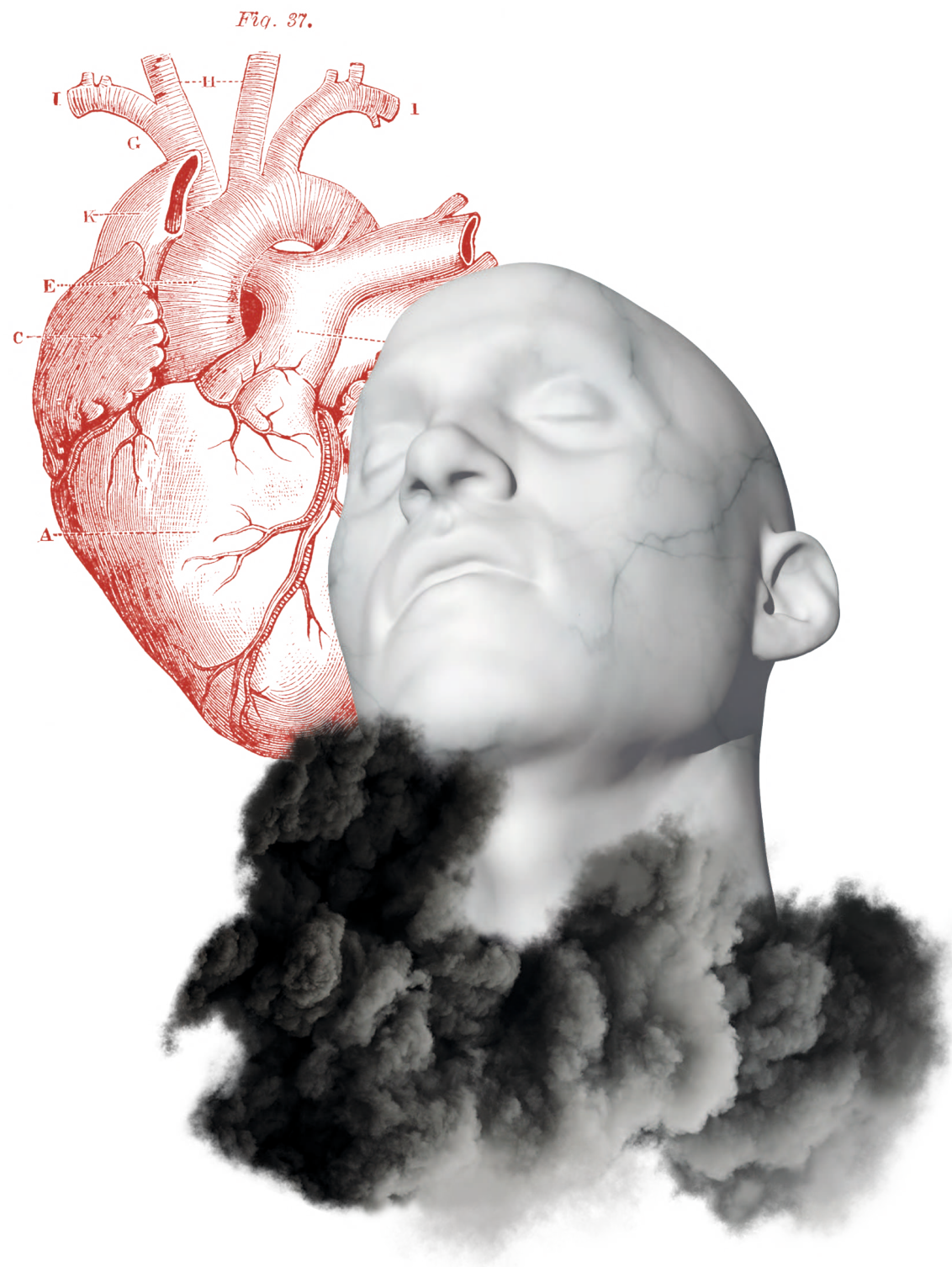
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Ideology



1. Plato, The Republic (380 BC)

The Analogy of City and Soul



Around 380 BC Plato wrote one of the most significant works of philosophy titled “The Republic”. It describes the journey of a man named Socrates who is in search of justice in a city and society. Socrates takes part in a dialogue which mainly debates the questions of what justice is and what constitutes the relation of justice and happiness? The debate results in the creation of Kallipolis, a city that is ruled by a philosopher King. In the debate, justice within a city is illustrated in close analogy to the human soul.⁶

The human soul is described as three mutually dependent parts: Reason, Appetitive and Spirit. Reason represents the parts of the soul that are related to wisdom and knowledge and from which rational decisions derive. Spirit stands for honor and the experience of emotions. It represents the recognition of others upon them, as their belief in right or wrong. The appetitive part of the soul represents the bodily desires: food, drink and sex.⁷ It is Reason that ought to control the appetitive through the spiritual part of the soul. It is only if these three parts of the soul are in balance with one another that the human soul can be just.

Furthermore, he compares this analogy to the virtues of Kallipolis. The society of Kallipolis is divided into three classes. The producers or workers, the auxiliaries or soldiers and the guardians. The guardians ought to be not only smart but also virtuous and selfless. The city is ruled by them and they select one leader as the philosopher King. Hence why it is clear that, politically, Plato’s Republic is not in favor of a democracy but a totalitarian aristocracy. Plato wrote the Republic following the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta. In the aftermath of the war, he devised a new society ruled through autocracy.⁸

The relationships between the three parts of the human soul and the three classes of society are represented in the collage. The composition of the depicted figures is chosen as a representation of not just the role the different parts of the soul fulfill but also as an expression of

the relationship these parts have between one another.

Reason cannot exist without Spirit or Appetitive. Balance is what keeps the soul functioning. Only when an equilibrium between the three is attained, can humans act just within a city and their society.

Plato’s Republic represents only a theoretical example of an ideal society as it has never been realized. However it is an extraordinary example of individuals of earliest civilizations critically discussing the betterment of their situation within their society and most importantly their political position towards their state.

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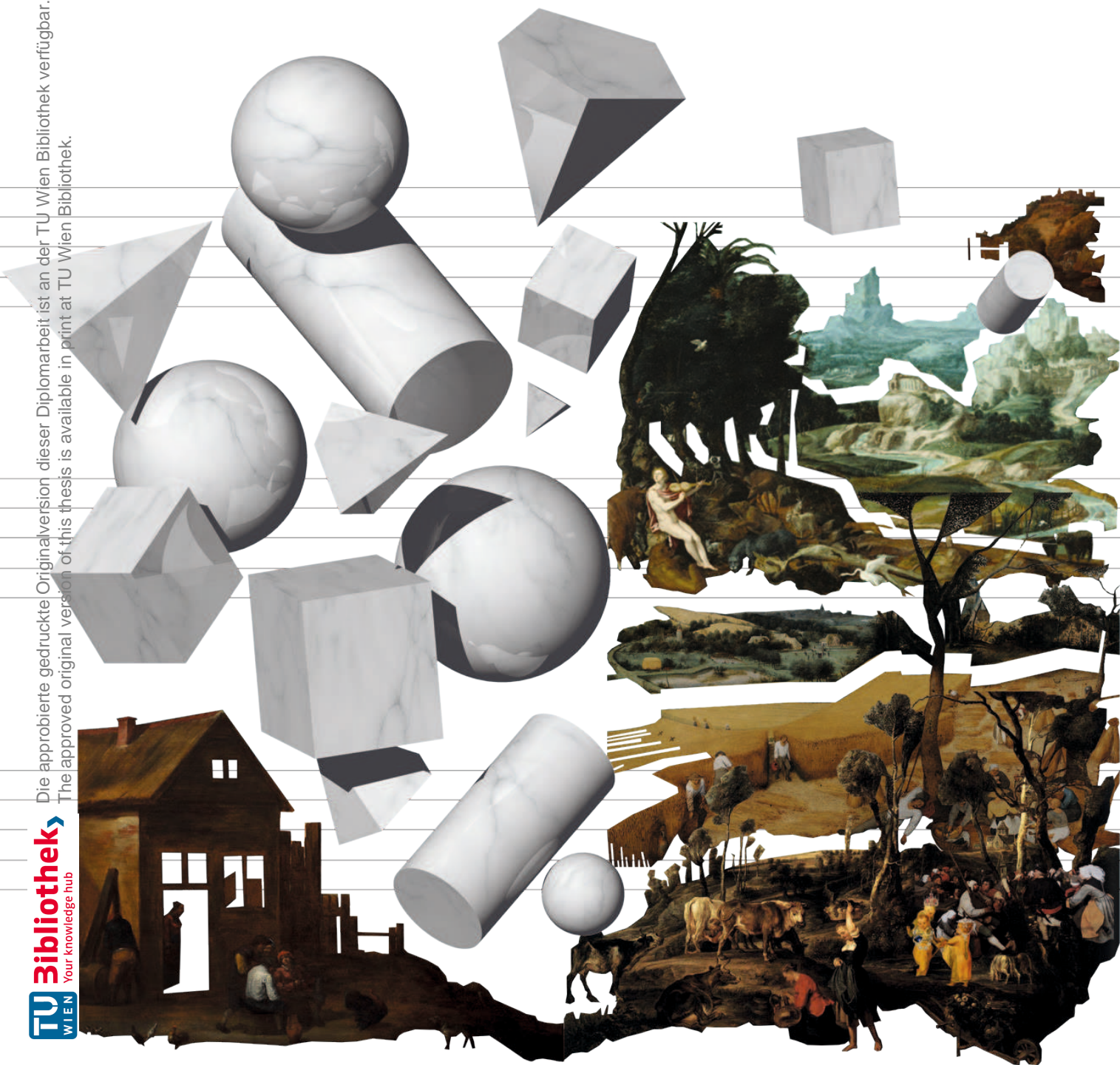
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2. Sir Thomas Moore, Utopia (1516)

„Utopia“
(greek: ou = not, topos = place) ⁹



The island of Utopia has 54 cities which are all situated within a walking distance of one day from one another. Amaurotum is the capital of Utopia which is organized in a square orthogonal structure plan divided into 4 parts. Each part maintains its own marketplace, each house is accessible by street and has access to a community garden situated in the middle of the housing complex. All inhabitants of Utopia are treated the same. Privatization is discouraged on every level as every event or good should be produced for and used by the community only. Communal gardens are used for community projects such as agriculture, sports, playing, education and culture. Every household, which may consist of more than one family, is responsible for a trade product. All goods are stored in warehouses and can be accessed at request. Cities that produce fewer goods and are in need can be supported by cities with a production surplus. Goods are distributed evenly amongst the cities, depending on the respective citizen ratio. To keep population sizes consistent between the cities, resettlements take place every 10 years. These can sometimes be radical and even require entire households to move to entirely different cities. Utopians work a maximum of 6 hours a day and are encouraged to engage in self education in their spare time. Religion is chosen freely. There is no direct hierarchy in the layout of the city as there is no hierarchy in the community. Together, 30 households can elect one phylarchus. 10 of these phylarchi elect a traniborus. The elected traniboruses meet up with the prince every 3 days. The prince of Utopia is elected in a secret ballot by all 200 phylarchi and remains in the position for life except if there is suspicion of tyranny.¹⁰

In 1516, Sir Thomas More published his book "A little, true book, both beneficial and enjoyable, about how things should be in the new island Utopia". In a frame narrative, he describes the fictional island of "Utopia" with new concepts for society and religion, thereby defining new social and political customs. Sir Thomas More, a strong critic of the prevalent Catholicism in England, described his society as egalitarian and rational, running on the values

of Humanism. More wrote "Utopia" in an era where the Middle Ages were slowly shifting towards Renaissance. People engaging in voyages were broadening their horizons on the landscape map, discovering new land and opening new possibilities of economical trade.

The collage is a composition of several paintings from the 16th and 17th centuries. Paintings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Peter Paul Rubens and Martin van Cleve depict citizens engaging in farm labour and leisure activities within their community. The landscapes in these paintings show countrysides with agriculture and animal farming as well as beautiful sceneries with idyllic character. Albrecht Dürer's engraving "Melancholia I" describes the time period perfectly. The marble cubes, triangles, cylinders and spheres are an analogy to the geometric shapes of the engraving "Melancholia I", representing the shift in time periods and depicting the unification of arts and science.¹¹

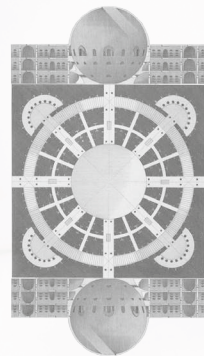
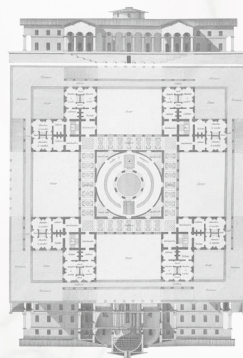
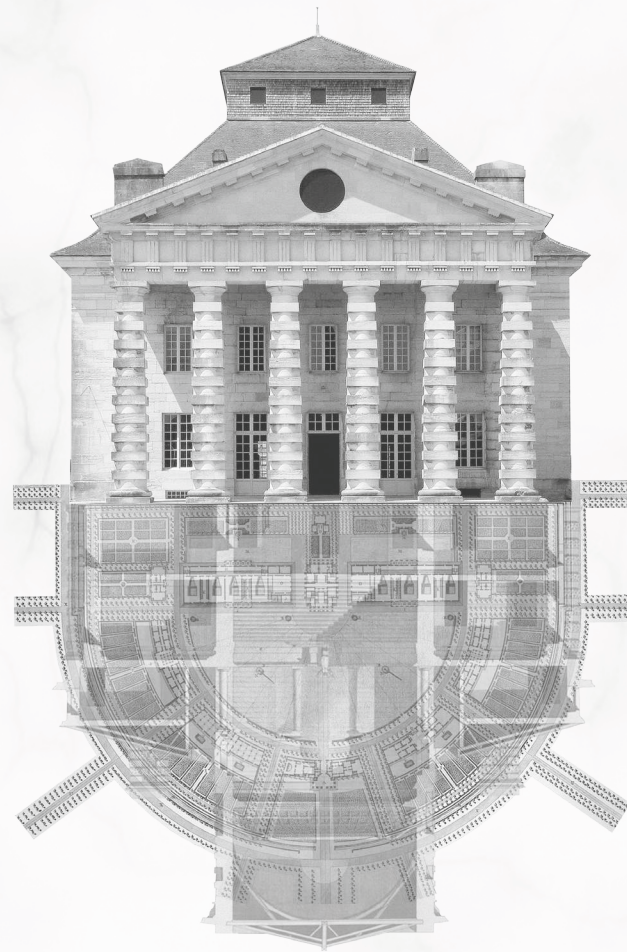
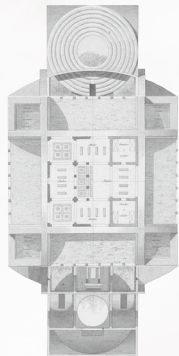
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3. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (End 18th century)

Royal Saltwork at Arc-et-Senans
and the City of Chaux



In the late 18th century, the economy of France was a state monopoly and high taxes were levied on production and goods. Saltworks were a lucrative business seeing as people were dependent on the use of salt for the preservation of their food during that period of time. In 1771 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, working for King Louis XV since 1764, was promoted to inspector of the saltworks in Lothringen and the Franche-Comté. During his inspections, Ledoux discovered high inefficiencies in the saltwork productions and proposed a new design concept of saltworks with improved working, living and hygiene conditions. Pleased with Ledoux's work, the King commissioned him to design the saltwork plant between Arc and Senans. In 1773, Ledoux started designing the first plans for the new saltwork plant. After several redesignings in 1774, construction work started in 1775 and the royal saltworks of Arc and Senans opened in 1779. The architecture of the factory was new at the time. Ledoux designed single large sized buildings organized according to their function. The buildings were placed in a new geometrical structure that emphasized social interaction. Politically, Ledoux's views adhered to absolutism and he was heavily influenced by the Age of Enlightenment. The royal saltworks of Arc and Senans consist of a semicircular plan in which the orientation of all buildings is dictated by a specific hierarchy. At the midpoint of the semicircle is a Portal, the only point of access to the complex, located next to the buildings for the guards, a prison and a forge. At the center of the circle on the opposite side of the portal stands the director's house representing the highest level in hierarchy: it is controlling all the other buildings. Next to the director's house are the saltworks themselves, which contain drying ovens, heating pots and salt stores. The other buildings of the complex situated on the sides of the semicircle are dedicated to the professional activities of carpenters, coopers, laborers and marshals. Ledoux, who designed the complex influenced by the principles of absolutism, had a strong hierarchy in mind in which the director is both representative and controller of the complex. Next in the hierarchy after the director, are guardians and marshals, administration and production

staff and workers and laborers at the end.¹² The Architecture of the saltworks of Arc and Senans was inspired by the Palladian style that Ledoux discovered during his England trip from 1769 until 1771. His pavilion for Mme Barry in Louveciennes, built in 1770, confirms this distinct Palladian style.

Rising social and political inequalities, including the introduction of high taxes on salt were a few of the main reasons that provoked the French revolution from 1789 to 1799. Ledoux was arrested in 1791 and condemned to prison due to his involvement with the monarchy and its architecture. He had worked on the publication of his architecture work since 1773 but never proceeded to release it because of his ever changing architecture style. During his time in prison, Ledoux reworked all the plans for his saltworks in Arc and Senans and renamed it the ideal city of Chaux. In 1804, two years before his death, Ledoux managed to publish the first and only edition of his lifetime work: „L'Architecture considérée“.¹³

The new ideal city of Chaux showed a reworked city plan including an additional semicircle extending the whole complex into a full circle. In the extension of the semicircle Ledoux designed a town hall and barracks for the military. Within the complex itself, a church was placed in the north as well as a new court in the south.

The private enclave of the previous design was updated with gaps between the buildings forming streets extending into the surrounding woods. Three new typologies of architecture can be found here. The worker houses, the *cénobies* and the cemetery. The worker houses are designed according to their function and profession, in a minimal and simplistic way, also described as „architecture parlante“ (talking architecture). The *cénobies* are designed after the typology of monasteries and are intended for communal living. All rooms and windows are centered around a courtyard without direct contact to the outside. A single *cénobie* can accommodate up to 16 families who are tired of urban life and want to return to their „natural condition“.¹⁴

The city plan of Chaux is an analogy to the solar system

and implies the creation of humans and the world. However, far from religious beliefs of christianity and paganism, Ledoux plays with the idea of the survival of mind and soul.

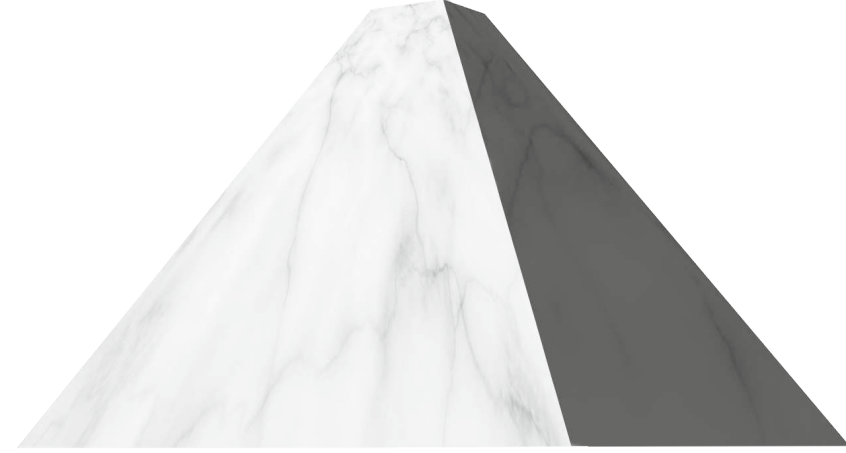
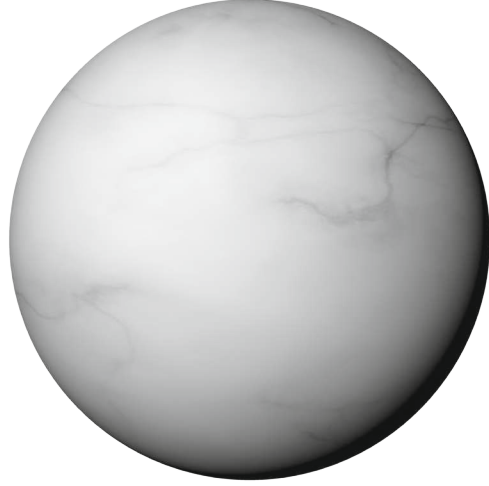
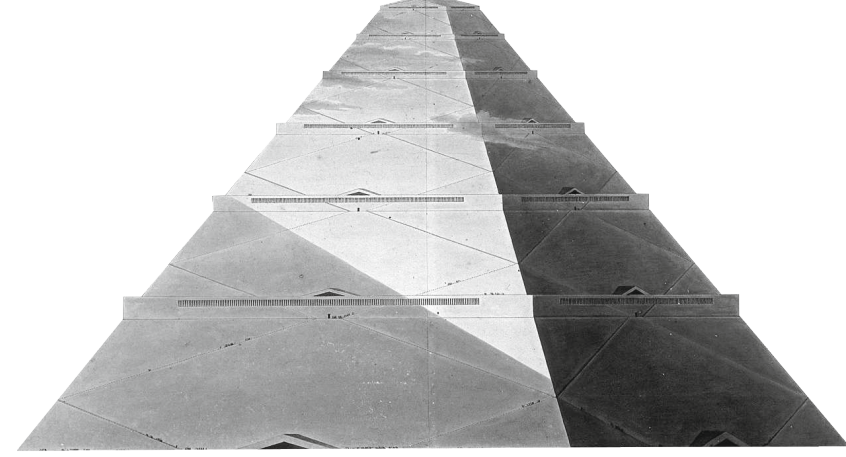
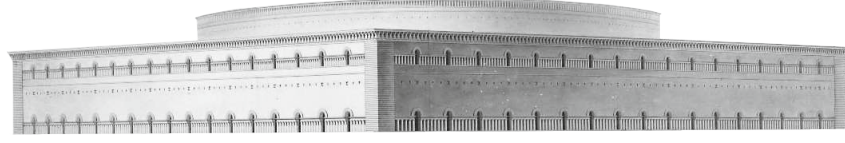
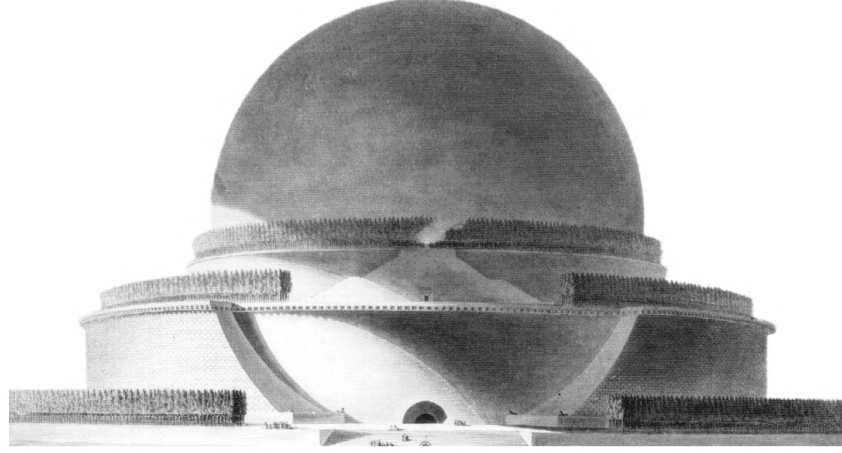
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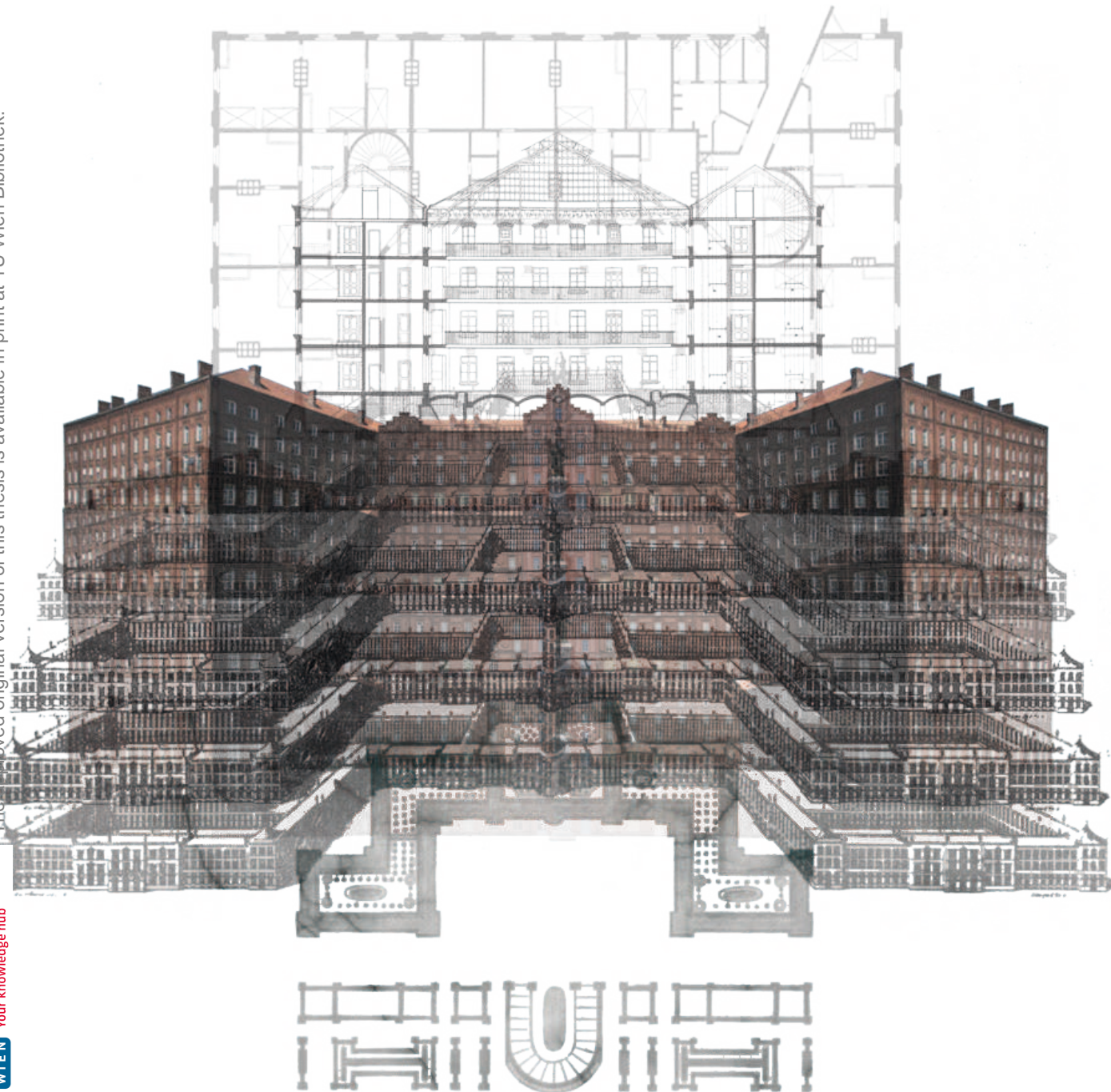
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4. Étienne-Louis Boullée (End 18th Century)

Utopia as a monument





Utopian socialism is dated back to Robert Owen and Charles Fourier who both made utopian projects about idealistic socialist societies. It is derived from early communist and socialist ideas that consider the life of agriculture endangered by the rise of the self-interested capitalism. The term utopian was only added later, when critique was targeted towards these projects because they were considered unrealistic. In fact, the theories of both Owen and Fourier demonstrated a blatant lack of flexibility and adaptability to reality. Both Fourier and Owen designed their ideal societies in the aftermaths of the Napoleonic Wars which resulted in the rise of nationalism and liberalism all over Europe.¹⁸

Charles Fourier was critical towards liberalism and the exploitation of industrial anarchy. In the early years of the 19th century he developed theories for a new society. Beginning with his work titled „The Theories of the Four Movements“, he describes how society up to that point was characterized by social, animalistic, organic and monetary standards of life. Later, he describes the structure of the world in three categories: an economical, a political and a social system. Interestingly, he only considers the social system as god given. Fourier goes further in his theories and says that he believes that the three structures should be adapted to each person individually in order to work productively on a larger scale in society.¹⁹ Fourier’s ideals of economic output were based on labour, capital and talent. Profits from joined stock companies were distributed either on the basis of investments or labour performance. Fourier planned for society to live according to his theories in a so-called “Phalanstère”. The “Phalanstère” (phalanx + monastère)²⁰ represented a collectiveness of living in a self contained community. Fourier would organize the community’s residents into so called associations, or, as he calls them, “phalanxes”. People from different classes are working simultaneously in different categories as agrarians, industrial producers or artisans. Changes between occupations are allowed as every person is entitled to their own harmony. The “Phalanstère” was based on a notion of voluntariness as

Fourier was against governmental legislations or coercive powers. To enforce this argument, Fourier planned the “Phalanstère” on the plans of the castle of Versailles. In his utopia, a new era has begun, in which castles are intended for the proletariat, not for aristocracy. According to Fourier, if the system of the “Phalanstère” were to be implemented on an international scale, it would mean the elimination of war.¹⁸

At the beginning of the 19th century, Robert Owen owned a textile mill in New Lanark, Scotland, where he first applied the theories of his socialist ideal. He proposed a community of 1200 people living together in a single building with public kitchens and dining places. Different to Fourier’s Phalanstère, Owen included private apartments for families. Owen also believed that the reeducation of people was necessary to succeed in the implementation of his ideal society.¹⁸

Owen introduced 8 hours of work a day to maintain the laborers health and productivity under the slogan: 8 hours labor, 8 hours recreation, 8 hours rest.²¹

In the late 19th century Jean-Baptiste André Godin adapted the plans of Charles Fourier and created his Familistère de Guise. It was built after the social design plan of the “Phalanstère” but with improvements in some of the architectural features including higher standards of hygiene and better air ventilation. Godin, who owned a factory, built the Familistère to accommodate his workers and their families. It is seen as one of the first realized social housing complexes of the modern area.²²

18

Bollerey, Franziska. "Architekturkonzeptionen der utopischen Sozialisten: alternative Planung und Architektur für den gesellschaftlichen Prozeß." Original published in 1977, Ernst, Berlin, 1991.

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Fourier, Charles. "The Theory of the Four Movements." Edited by Gareth Stedman Jones and Ian Patterson. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

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Douglas, Harper. "phalanstery." Online Etymology Dictionary, 2009.

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Ward, Marguerite: "A brief history of the 8-hour workday, which changed how Americans work". CNBC, 2017.

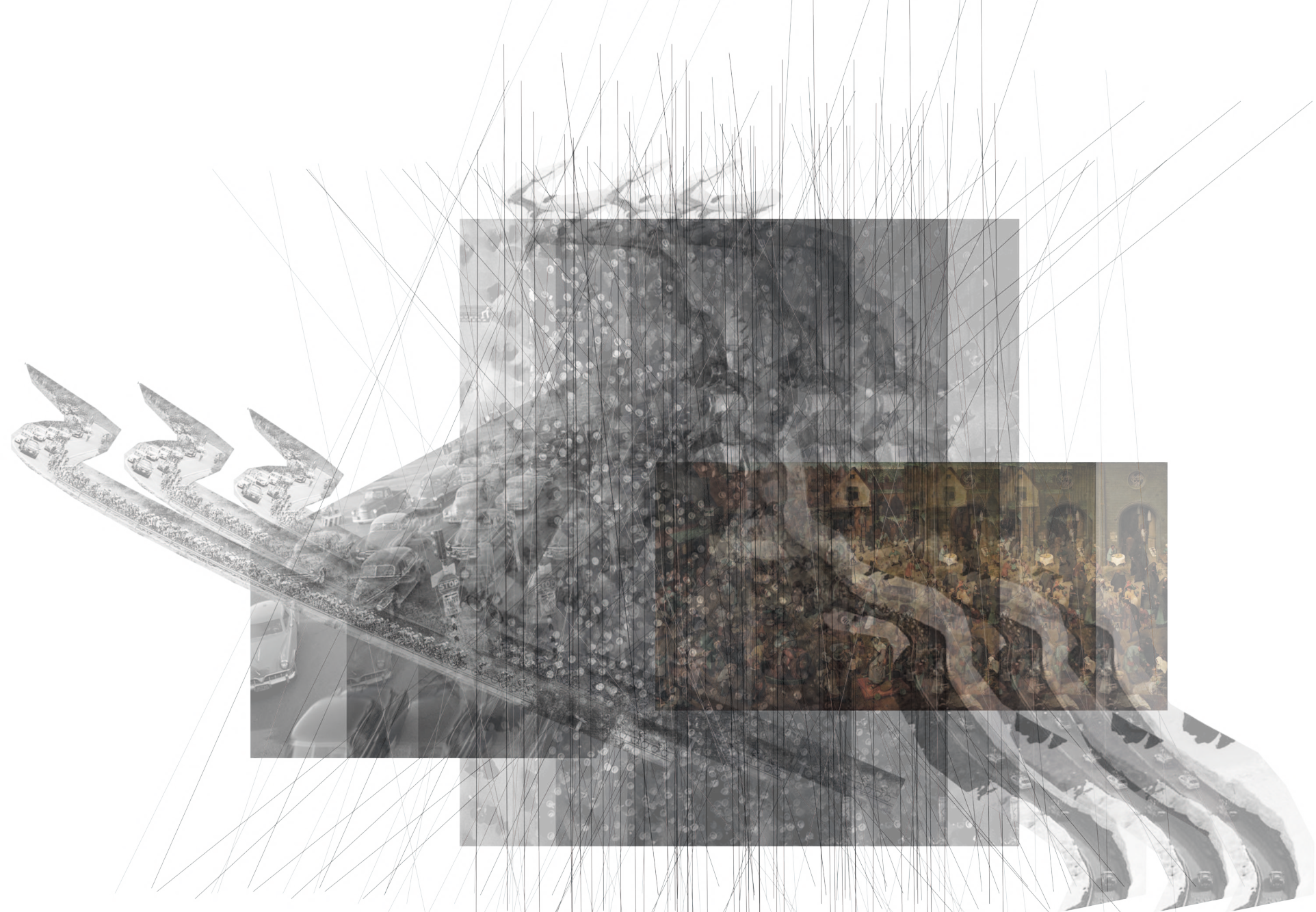
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Leszkiewics, Anna. "Famillistère values: How one 19th-century stove maker created a socialist utopia in northern France", New Statesman, 2016.

»Then the vision of an enormous town presented itself, of a monstrous town more populous than some continents and in its man-made might as if indifferent to heaven's frowns and smiles; a cruel devourer of the world's light. There was room enough there to place any story, depth enough for any passion, variety enough there for any setting, darkness enough to bury five millions of lives.«

Conrad, Joseph. The Secret Agent. 1907.

**darkness
darkness
darkness
darkness
darkness
darkness
darkness
darkness
darkness**



**bury five millions of lives.
bury five millions of lives.
bury five millions of lives**

**»The classic utopian dilemma.
To appeal to everyone on the basis
of universe principles is to appeal
to no one in particular. The more
glorious the plans are in theory, the
more remote they are from the con-
crete issues that actually motivate
action. With each elaboration and
clarification, the ideal cities move
closer to pure fantasy. Can imagina-
tion alone change the world?«**

Fishman, Robert. Urban Utopias. 1977.

6. Urban Utopias

(Turn of the 20th century)

»Town and country must be married, and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilization.«

Howard, Ebenezer. To-morrow,
A Peaceful Path to Real Reform. 1898.

In the mid 19th century, industrialization was on the rise and most European cities experienced a drastic increase in the size of their population due to the steady influx of workers both from abroad and rural areas. The rise was sudden and the old fortification structures of European cities weren't built to accommodate for the housing of such large numbers of workers. The cities expanded drastically into the surrounding countryside and gradually lost the power to control their own growth in an era marked by laissez-faire and feverish speculation. This resulted in disorganized and spontaneous constructions lacking coherency and structure. Speculation – blind forces of chance and profit – ultimately determined urban structures. This would eventually result in the segregation of cities by class. Life in major European cities was mainly characterized by a massive lack of space and basic hygiene which made for truly horrifying living conditions. At the same time, a stagnation of population growth took place in the countryside and most rural villages experienced depopulation as skilled and ambitious young people left and moved to bigger cities.

It was these circumstances that prompted three architects of the time to design their ideal city for an ideal industrial society. In 1898, Ebenezer Howard published the book „To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform“ in which he presents his idea for the so-called Garden-City. Le Corbusier first released a plan for his Ville Contemporaine (Contemporary City) in 1922 and worked on the plans for his ideal city for nearly a decade, ending with the publication of “Ville Radieuse” (Radiant City) in the Athens Charter in 1933. Frank Lloyd Wright published his outline for an ideal city, named Broadacre City, in 1932 in his book „The Disappearing City“. The designers established their ideal cities through the elaborate development of their own social theories, national traditions as well as their distinctive personalities.

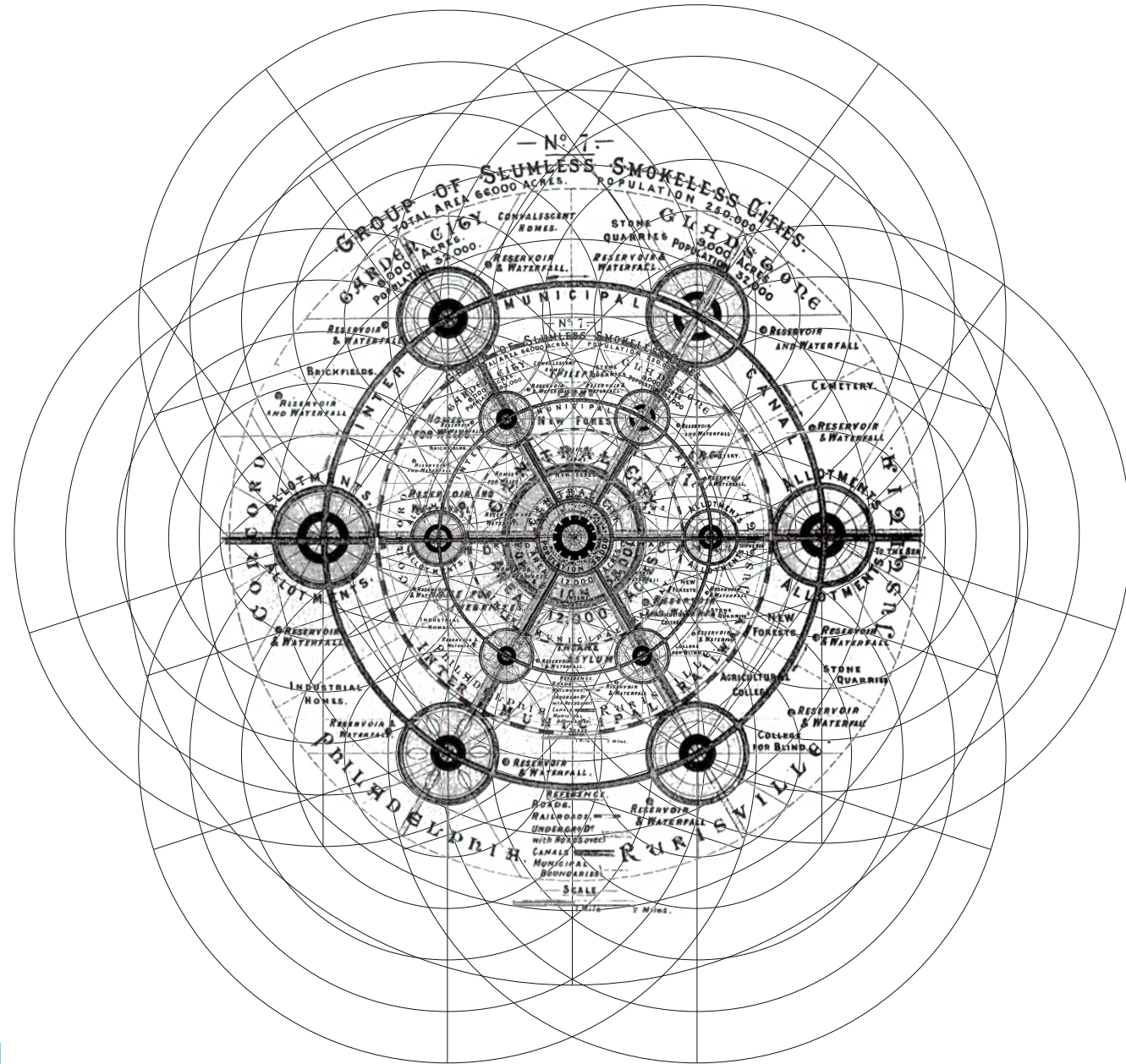
All architects mentioned were inspired by the utopian socialists Charles Fourier and Robert Owen. At the same time, they were also intrigued by modern technology and the technical innovations of the 20th century. Their designs ultimately represent an intersection of 19th century

hopes with 20th century technology. Ebenezer Howard designed the Garden City with an interest for railroad systems. Le Corbusier was fond of skyscrapers or, as he called them, vertical streets, constructions made possible by new building methods with steel frames and glass. Frank Lloyd Wright was inspired by the automobile industry and even designed an automobile himself for his ideal city.

All of these architects believed that the transformation of the physical environment is the outward sign of an inner transformation in the social structure of the community. Their social structures were based in three dimensions: politics, economy and architecture.²³

23

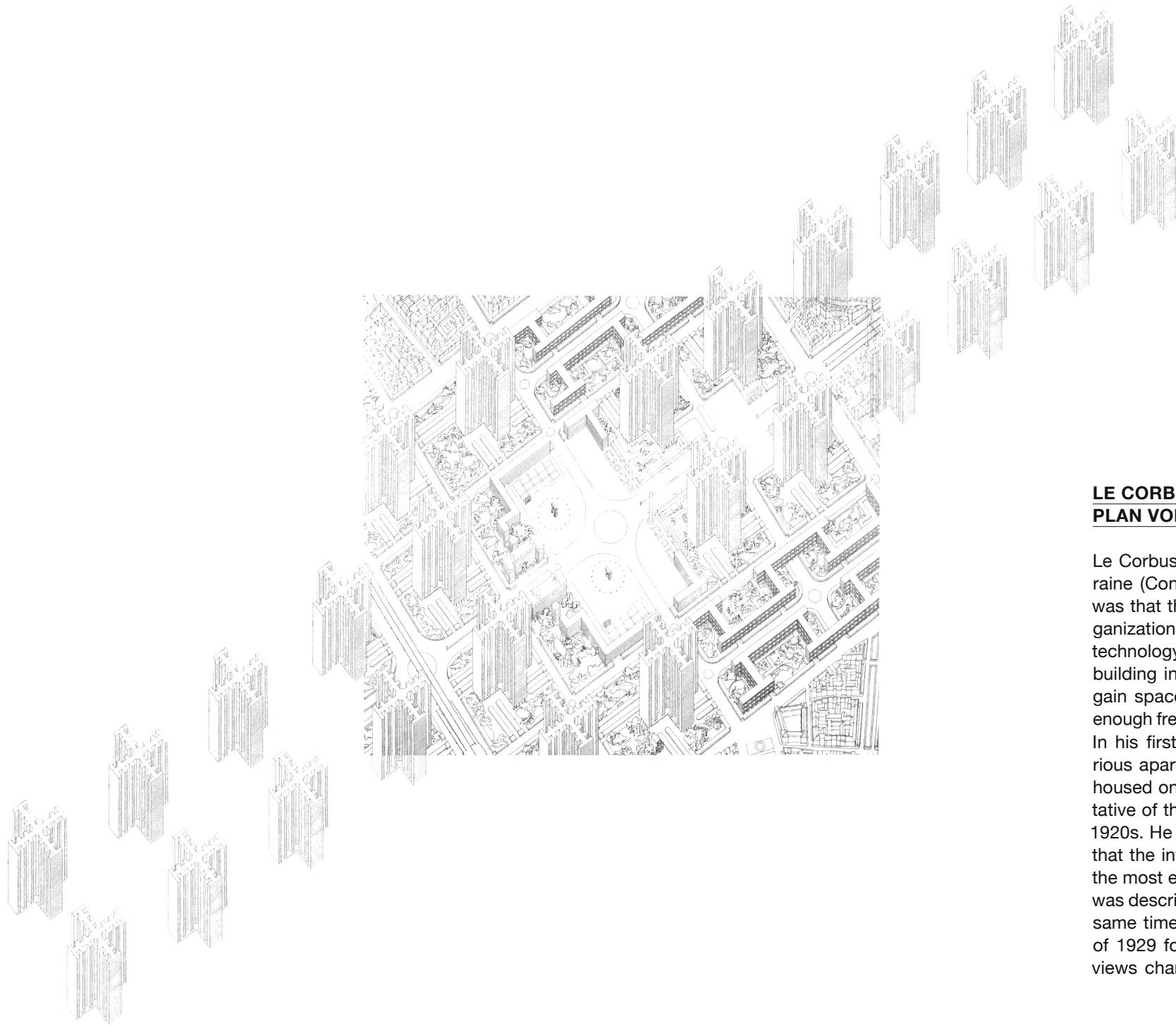
Fishman, Robert. “Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier.” Basic Books, HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1977.



EBENEZER HOWARD – GARDEN CITY (1898)

Howard was a cooperative socialist, believing in a cooperative commonwealth. He designed the Garden city as a reaction to the overcrowded and industrially polluted victorian cities in London in 1898. He planned to build new, economically relatively independent cities for 30.000 inhabitants in the midst of unspoiled countryside surrounded by green belts. The countryside was to become dotted with hundreds of new communities that would contain residential buildings and small-scale cooperations which would result in a direct democracy.

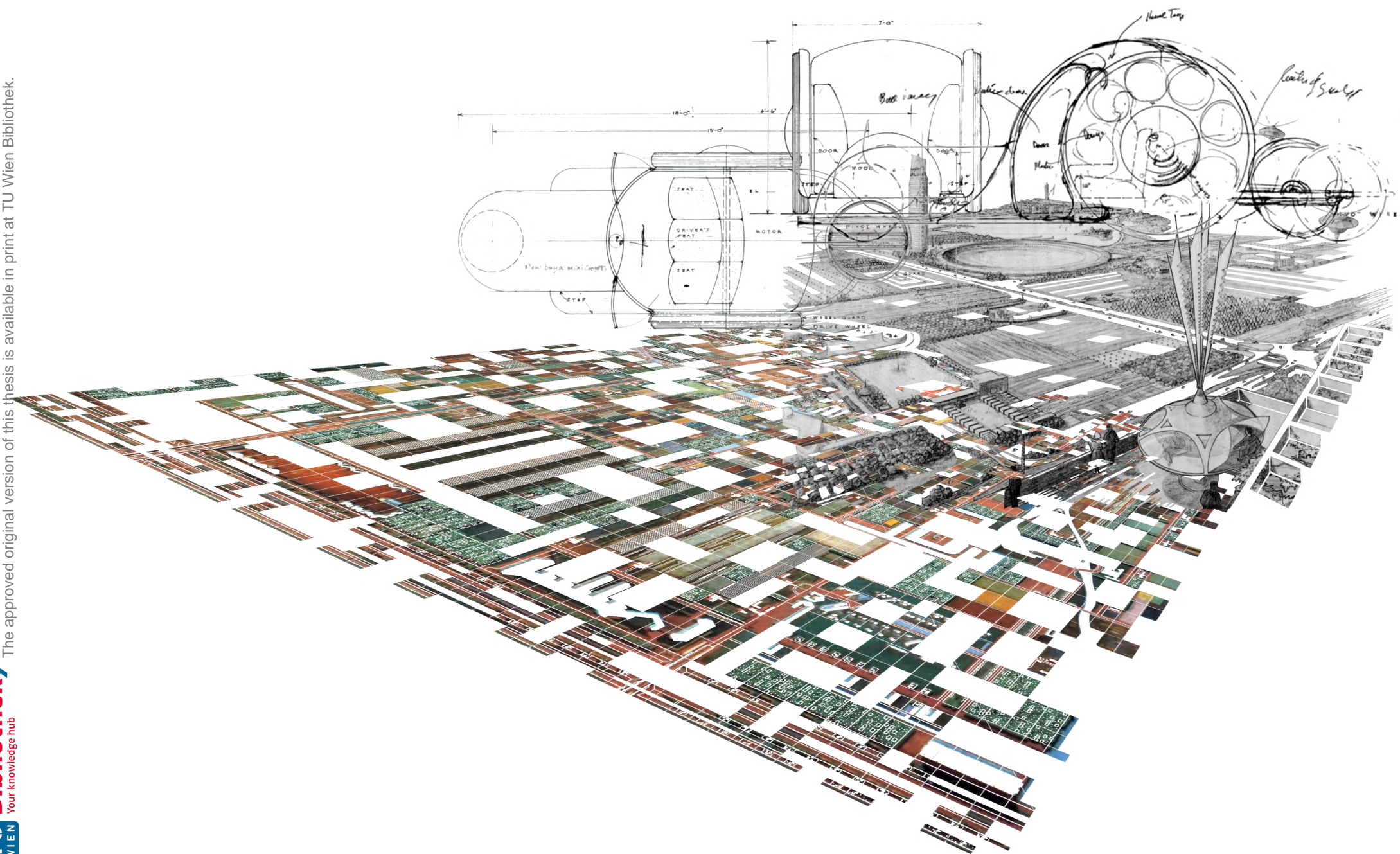
Every citizen of Garden City was a shareholder of their property and land. Howard was against unearned increments of rents and cost of land by landlords and speculative investors. He proposed a scheme in which the money was distributed back to the citizens actually housed in the properties.²⁴



LE CORBUSIER – VILLE CONTEMPORAINE – PLAN VOISIN – VILLE RADIEUSE (1922–30)

Le Corbusier released the plans for his Ville Contemporaine (Contemporary City) in 1922. His main argument was that the great cities were lacking in architectural organization and could be made denser through modern technology building innovation: the skyscraper. A way of building in which, according to Le Corbusier, residents gain space and the surrounding ground floor provides enough free space for parks, gardens and superhighways. In his first plan of 1922 Le Corbusier envisioned luxurious apartments in the city center. The proletariat was housed on the outskirts of the city.²⁵ This was representative of the political views Le Corbusier held in the mid 1920s. He was a proponent of capitalism as he believed that the invisible hand of free competition would create the most effective coordination. His Ville Contemporaine was described as both authoritarian and libertarian at the same time. However, after the global economical crisis of 1929 followed by the great depression, his political views changed from authoritarian libertarianism to rad-

ical french syndicalism. Many of his designs were later published in the revolutionary syndicalist journals. In Ville Radieuse, designed in 1930, housing for the proletariat now stood proud in the city center. Le Corbusier designed the apartments for the proletariat to a minimum dwelling, based on the absolute hygienic minimums, minimally-acceptable floorspace and access to green space. Men and women work full-time as equals for a maximum of 8 hours a day, child education services are provided by the community. In their spare time, residents can engage in leisure activities such as swimming, sports, weaving and so forth. In Ville Radieuse Corbusier proposes his pyramid of natural hierarchies based on French Syndicalism. Le Corbusier explains the necessity of the ordering of society according to objective rather than political principles. This is important because the Machine Age requires conscious control.²⁶



FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT – BROADACRE CITY (1932)

Frank Lloyd Wright was a Jeffersonian democrat and an admirer of Henry George's economic philosophy. Georgism clearly states the belief that workers should own the value they produce, but the economic value of land, natural resources and opportunities should belong equally to all members of society.²⁷ This is made possible by single taxation on land instead of taxing labour. In Wright's opinion, the state fulfills the role of a realtor for land under the assistance of an architect. Frank Lloyd Wright was also a strong supporter of individualism. He envisioned the United States of America to become a nation of individuals. Every person in Broadacre City has the right to own as much land as he can use, the minimum of owned land being set to an acre of land per person. Inhabitants of Broadacre City split their work between their own farms and small factories, offices or shops distributed among the farms. A believer in modern technology, Wright based the infrastructure of Broadacre City on a new interconnected system of automobiles with superhighways.²⁸

24

Howard, Ebenezer. "To-morrow, A Peaceful Path to Real Reform." Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London, 1898

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Boesiger, Willy. "Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret: Oeuvre complète, volume1, 1910-1929." Les Editions d'Architecture, Erlenbach- Zurich, 1946.

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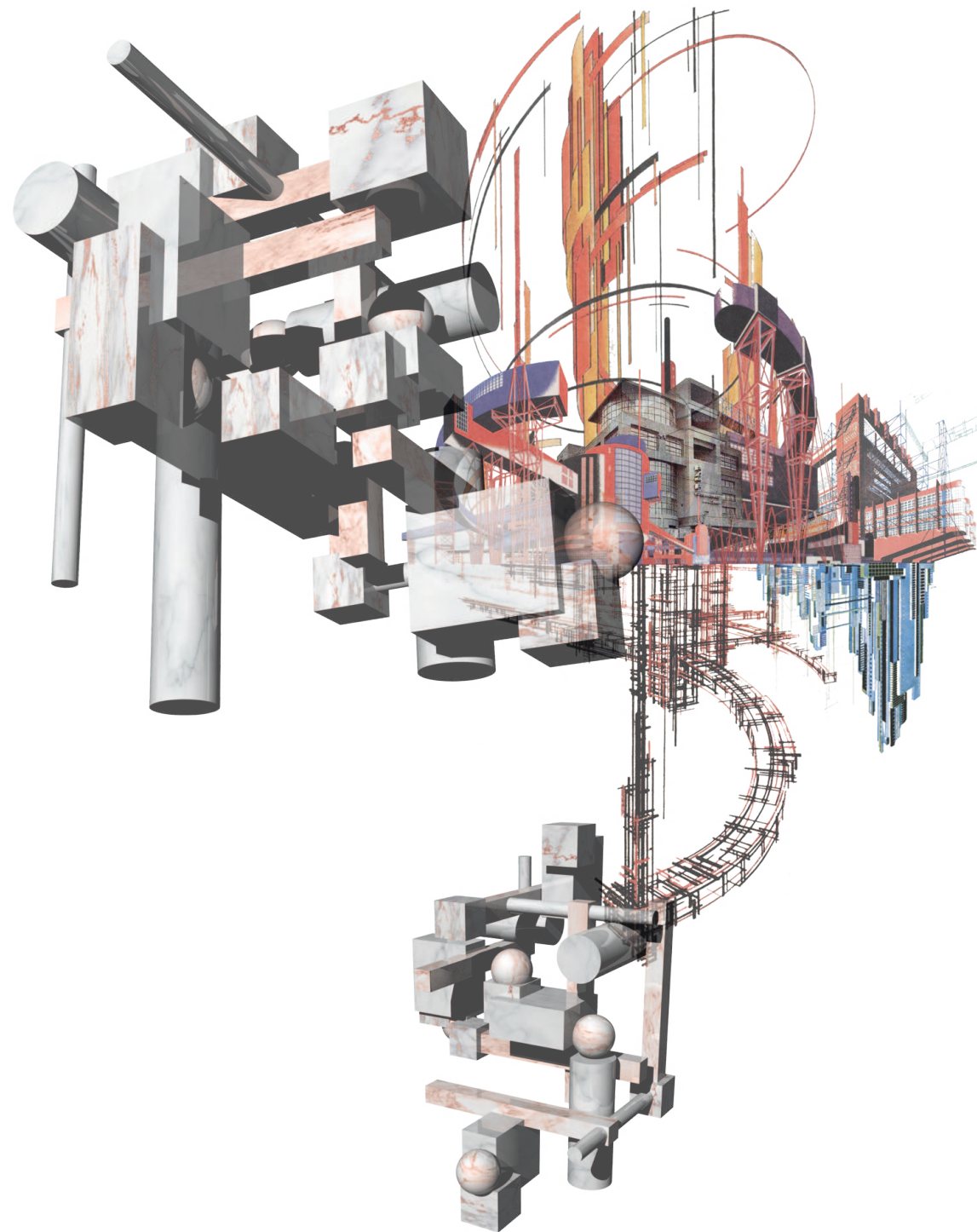
Sawe, Benjamin Elisha. "What Is Georgism (Geoism) In Economics?" WorldAtlas, 2017.

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Gray, Jennifer. "Reading Broadacre." Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, 2018.

7. Yakov Chernikhov, Constructivist Architecture

Architecture Fantasies



The Russian revolution eradicated the Tsar monarchy in 1917, after several years of political and social upheaval. A provisional government took over which was overthrown six months later by the leader of the Bolsheviks, Vladimir Lenin. The Bolsheviks were in line with the Marxist theory of a classless society, but Lenin proclaimed that a revolution was not possible without strong leadership and that a distinction needs to be made between politics and the common workers. Lenin was a strong opponent of the economists as they failed to unite the working people and didn't change the current government. Vladimir Lenin took power of the state but it wasn't until 1922 that the Russian Civil War ended and Lenin was able to gain complete power and create the Soviet Union.²⁹ During this period of time, a new architectural movement named Constructivism emerged.

Constructivism was a form of modern architecture, the combination of modern technology and engineering methods with the socio-political ethos of communism. Constructivist architects designed their architecture for the workers, infusing the avant-garde into everyday life of the common man. Surpassing the Russian Futurism movement, Constructivism was inspired by the Suprematism art movement, founded by Kazimir Malevich which showed basic geometric forms in a limited range of colors.³⁰

The style of Constructivism is defined by three dimensional cubism, including geometrical forms such as cylinders, cubes, rectangles and straight lines, and the abstraction of non objective constructions with a kinetic element. Designs were constructed in a continuous and constant procedure, characterized by the repetition of fractal structures and the experimentation with symmetry.³¹

Yakov Chernikhov, a Russian architect and graphic designer, was one of the most prominent figures of the constructivist movement evolving after the Russian revolution in 1917. From 1927 to 1933, Chernikhov published 4 books on Constructivism in architecture. In his last book „Architectural Fantasies in Russian Constructivism“, first

published in 1933, Chernikhov showed various utopian designs which perfectly encapsulate the Constructivist movement in Russia in the 1920s and 1930s.³² The constructivist movement was brought to an abrupt halt in 1932 by Josef Stalin. He was strongly opposed to the style and favoured the movement of Socialist Realism during his dictatorship.^B

29

Stalin, Joseph V. "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks): Short Course." first published 1938, Prism Key Press, 2013.

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Olmo, Carlo; de Magistris, Alessandro. "Jakow Černichov, sowjetischer Architekt der Avantgarde." Arnold, Stuttgart, 1995.

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Constructivist Architecture. Design Buildings Wiki, 2018.

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Chmelnizki, Dmitrij; Tschernichow, Jakow. "Architekturfantasien im russischen Konstruktivismus." DOM Publisher, Berlin, 2013.

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"Unknown Socialist Realism." The Leningrad School. St Petersburg, 2007. p. 28 – 29

8. Utopian Totalitarianism Architecture

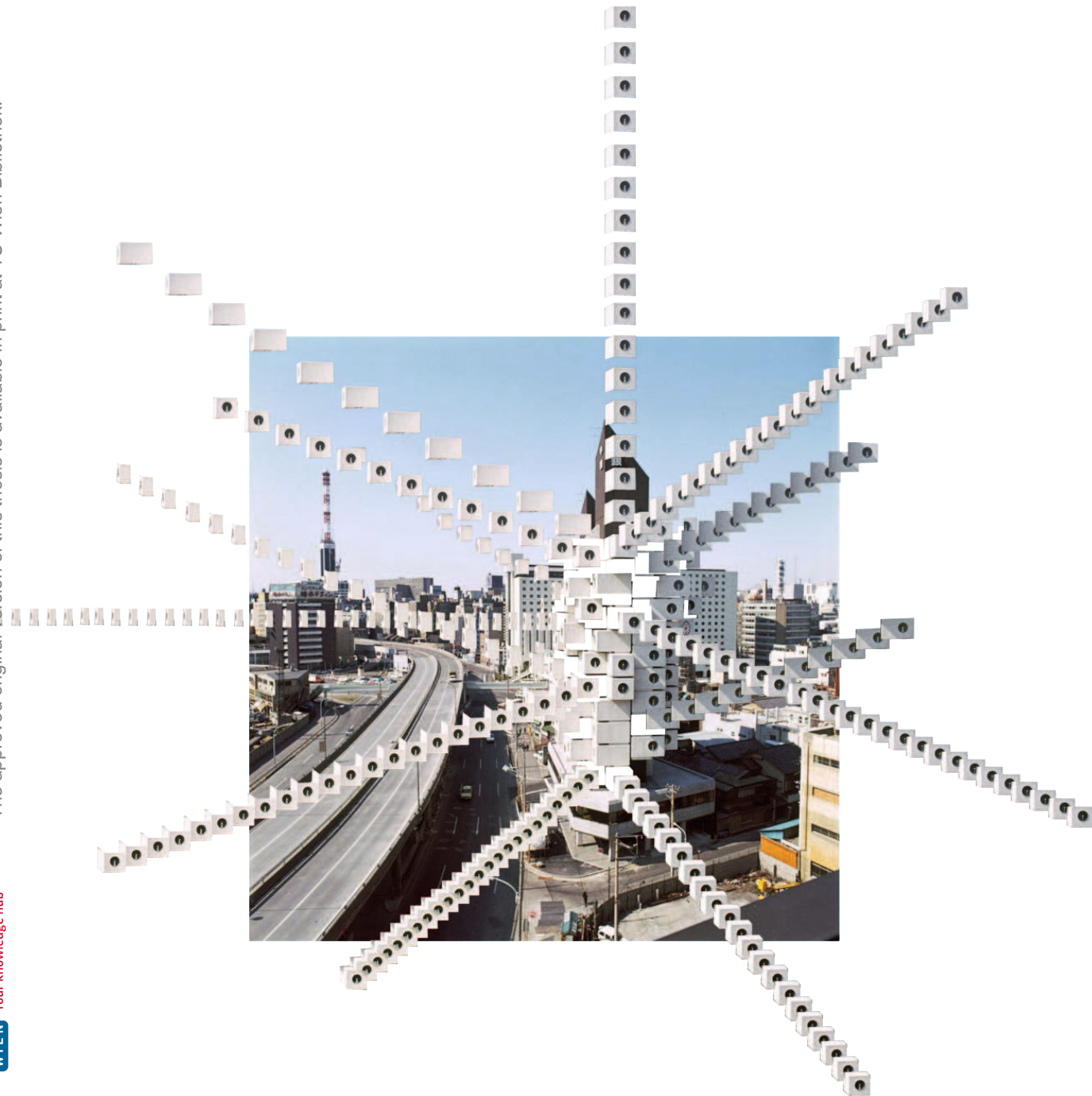
Utopias in World War 2



In the early 20th century, mainly during the 1930s and 1940s, a new kind of architecture and utopias arose in a period where rising nationalism and socialism resulted in the establishment of totalitarian states.

In Russia, Joseph Stalin rose to power after the death of Vladimir Lenin in 1924. Starting as a collective leadership in 1924, Stalin established complete dictatorship by the early 1930s. Moscow was now the center of the socialist world and thus, a new urban plan for Moscow was needed to symbolize the self-conscious expression of a new age. The new buildings were designed in an architectural style described as Stalinist architecture, but also described as social classicism. The old buildings of old Moscow were too small to fit all the delegates of the Republic of the Union, therefore huge palaces were to be built for the new government. The intention behind the construction of the new government headquarters was also the reassurance of the European proletariat of the good of a communist regime. In 1933, the architect Boris Iofan won the competition for the design of the palace of the soviets, a design competition launched internationally for the creation of a new administrative center and congress hall in Moscow. The enormous proportions of the building proposed by Iofan represented the steep rise in power of the communist regime. At a total height of 420 m, it would have been the tallest building of the time, surpassing the Empire State Building in New York. However, the palace of the soviets was never built as construction was often halted and never resumed after the German invasion in 1941.³³

In Germany, Adolf Hitler rose to power in 1933 and had idealistic views for the representation of his new regime, the Third Reich. Albert Speer was one of Hitler's architectural planners who helped him realize this new architecture. Monumental buildings were designed to serve as propaganda for the Nazi-regime and as a testament to the regime's power and ability. The intended buildings were to be of enormous dimensions. The intention behind the enormity of the designs was to evoke an overwhelming



Metabolism. Described as a continuous development from atom to nebula. Human society is regarded as a vital process. Design and technology are a denotation of human vitality. Metabolism.

The detonation of two atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 resulted in a massive lack of housing solutions as the bombs created a never before seen tabula rasa of a city. Other vulnerabilities of Japan at the time were the lack of space in its archipelagos and its propensity to the dangers of earthquakes and tsunamis. After the Second World War, Japan was occupied by the Allied Forces and led by an American-written constitution. This resulted in the suppression of communism and a discouragement of organized labour. With an economy heavily influenced by American ideals, Japan experienced an economic growth which massively aided the stabilization of the country after the war.³⁷

Metabolism was an architecture movement that took place mainly in the 60s and was initiated by Kenzo Tange, who was already an established architect at the time, with connections to other international avant-garde architects. Tange visited a seminar by Konrad Wachsmann held in Tokyo in 1955, during which Wachsmann introduced prefabricated houses that could be assembled in 9 hours and were designed in tetrahedron and octahedron structures for speedy construction. There were other architects designing and working with this architectural style of moving and growing architecture modules. Yona Friedman developed his Ville Spatiale in 1958 and Constant Nieuwenhuys had worked on his project New Babylon for over a decade since 1959. Tange was definitely inspired by this new architecture process. He selected a heterogeneous group of architects to form the group named Metabolist. The members, all of different ages, exhibited strong individual views and interests on architecture, politics and economics.

In 1960 the Metabolists published their manifesto called „Metabolism“ at the World Design Conference in Tokyo and officially introduced themselves in front of other in-

ternational architects. In their manifesto, each Metabolist member proposes futuristic scenarios with designs and illustrations. Focusing on a flexible and spontaneous architecture, the buildings of the Metabolists are designed both with permanent and impermanent parts, thus making it possible for their buildings to evolve and grow or shrink over time. Influenced by the post-war housing deficit and the tabula rasa of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, some Metabolists designed and planned complete new cities from scratch. These cities were not only bound to be erected on land, the Metabolists also looked at other options to expand a city, such as the Ocean City proposed by Kiyonori Kikutake, the Space City by Kisho Kurokawa or the City in the Air by Arata Isozaki. The World Fair in Osaka in 1970 marks the peak of the Metabolist movement. Many designs were realized and showcased and were visited by numerous people from various countries. Metabolist designs were getting more recognition and attention. In 1972, the prime minister of Japan worked with one of the Metabolists to create a plan to remodel the archipelago of Japan.

It was only after the oil crisis in 1973/74 that Japan experienced a recession for the first time since the war. After that, most of the Metabolist designs stayed utopian.³⁸

Kisho Kurokawa was the youngest Metabolist. He joined the group when he was only 26 years old. Kurokawa managed to get his famous Nakagin Capsule Tower built, which now stands as one of the few representatives of Metabolist buildings that were realized.

The Nakagin Capsule Tower contained 144 capsules that were plugged into 2 concrete cores. The capsules were prefabricated in a factory that was specialized in the fabrication of shipping containers. The 2.5 m x 4 m capsules were very minimalistic and efficiently designed with minimum space requirements. All the furniture was incorporated within the architecture itself. The capsules are plugged into the cores with only 4 bolts over 13 floors. Kurokawa claimed construction of the building is possible within 30 days. He describes the capsule architecture as an emancipation of a building in relation to the ground

in the era of moving architecture. The capsules were a new design form centered on individualism. They were intended for the housing of salarymen from Ginza in Tokyo who didn't want to return to their suburban bedroom community. Kurokawa described the landscape of the future as a determined colossal aggregation of individual unit spaces.³⁹

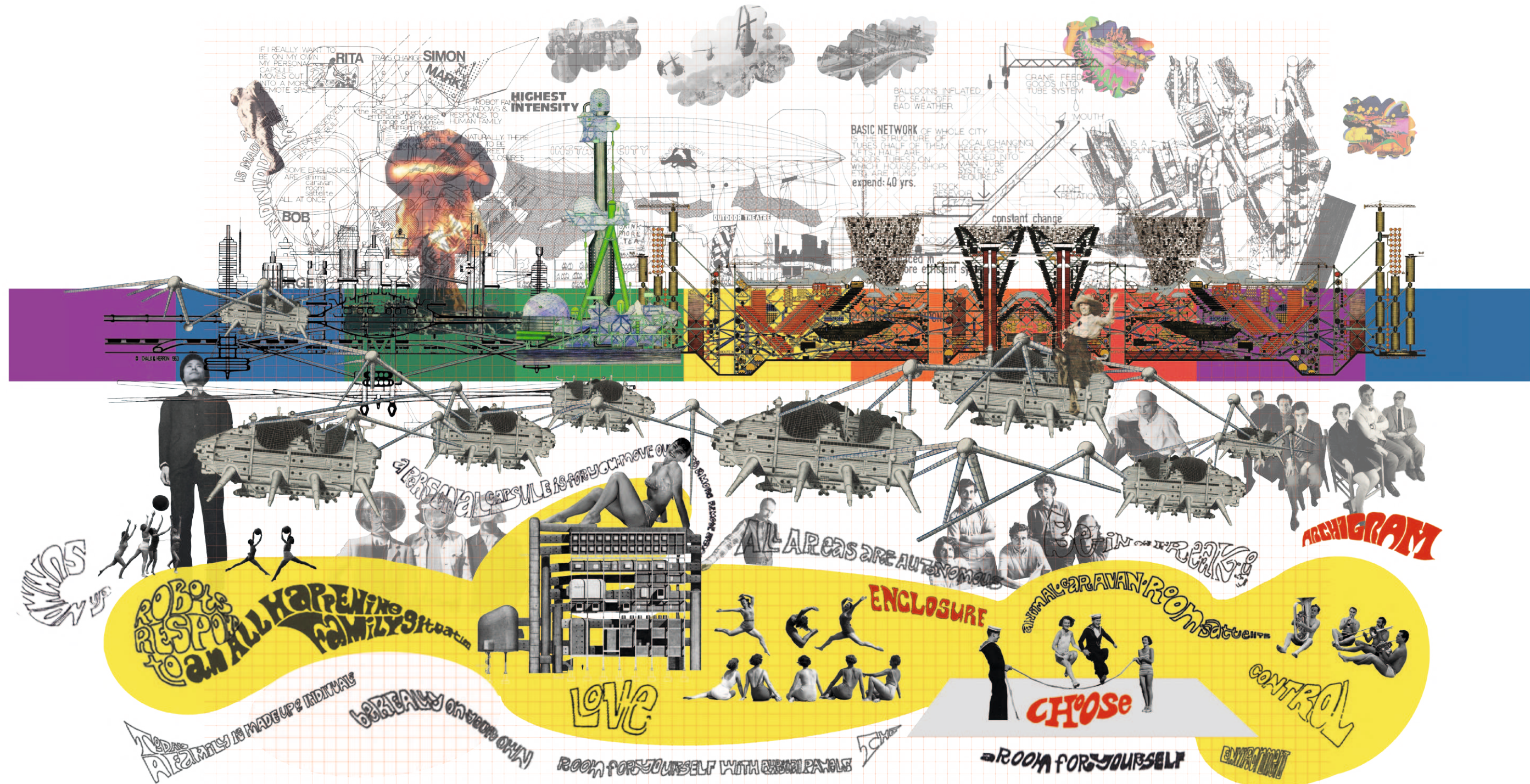
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Koolhaas, Rem. Obrist, Hans Ulrich. "Project Japan: Metabolism Talks..." Taschen, Cologne, 2011.

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Doezema, Marie. "Time Is Running Out for Tokyo's Nakagin Capsule Tower." Citylab, Aug. 2019.

10. Archigram

Technology and the Total Environment



Archigram was an architecture collective formed by six former students from the Architecture Associates School in London. Founded in 1961, they developed several utopian projects that reflect the post-war economic boom of London in the 60's, an era also commonly referred to as the swinging sixties. The rise of mass culture and an increasingly technological society proposed new challenges. From 1961 to 1974, Archigram published a total of ten magazines in which they propose architectural utopias as a critique to modernism. A critique to modernism not because of its attention and engagement towards modern technology as such but directed towards the way it is utilized. Modernism failed by forcing the user to comply to the machines rather than rethinking architecture itself through the potential of technology.

In all of their utopian projects, Archigram used imagery inspired by pop culture of the 60s. They questioned the modernist aesthetic and often used the machine as an image to critique the strict mechanical architecture of modernism.⁴⁰

The Metabolists, Constant Nieuwenhuys and Yona Friedman, along with Archigram, were interested in the evolution of the metropolis in order to create the ideal of a total environment. However, most of these projects combined architecture with new or potential future technology. Archigram, on the other hand, were the only ones to question the role of technology itself in architecture. Archigram took the possibilities of technology to an extreme. Technology was an instrument that could enable people to control or transform the environment they live in in order for them to live in the environment of their choice. In opposition to Friedman's Spatial City or Nieuwenhuys's New Babylon, Archigram did not design for the working class by means of socialism. Archigram had a fascination for disposable products, individualization and temporary housing. Archigram's society was based on change, desire and the market. Planned obsolescence was their term to describe the temporary use of products in order to form potential new desires. A city that does not transform at this pace is stagnate. Archigram proposed a forward-pushing consumerist architecture. Contrasting

to the belief of Nieuwenhuys's Situationalism, Archigram had a tendency towards the American belief of consumer freedom as a means towards self-realization. Technocracy was viewed as the only true functionalism by the Archigram collective.⁴¹

In 1964, member of Archigram, Peter Cook designed the Plug-In City, a city with new technology that is used to facilitate the creation and transformation of a total environment. The radical transformation of a city into a new highly technological environment. Cook critiqued the strict systematic grid and equalized apartments of Corbusier's Ville Radieuse, and proposed a more complex and systemized infrastructure that allows individual apartments to plug into larger systems in his Plug-In City. The basic Infrastructure is given and static, whereas the rest of the city is formed and reconfigured over time. Communal structures are standardized, but each apartment is potentially completely different as apartments can be plugged into wherever the inhabitants desire. The Plug-In City stands for flexibility, mobility and an expressive identity.⁴²

For his project named the Walking City, Ron Herron was initially inspired by the engineer structures of Cape Kennedy, the Space Station in Florida. In the Walking City, massive structures comparable to skyscrapers of metropolitan cities were moving across fields, exactly like the massive structures from Cape Kennedy, with plug-in capsules that were unpluggable at any time. Walking City is a self sufficient living environment that was capable of travel in search of labour. It addressed questions of global shifts in labour supply and demand, and therefore also the time dependent expanding and shrinking needs of living spaces in the city.

Instant City combined the interconnected elements of the Plug-In City with the mobility of the Walking City. Aided by airship, pneumatic and lightweight structures, Instant City flow through air and temporarily travels to rural cities and villages to offer all amenities and excitements of urban

life. To present the audiovisual event associated with the arrival, Instant City is highly technological with cranes, robots, gantries and electric lights. Through screens and projections, information is distributed, evoking the start of an information network on education, entertainment and culture. The traveling metropolis is built of temporary structures which contain entertainment facilities and exhibitions.⁴³

40
Schrijver, Lara. "Radical Games: Popping the Bubble of 1960's Architecture." NAI Publishers, Rotterdam, 2009. p.95–100, 107–114, 125–130

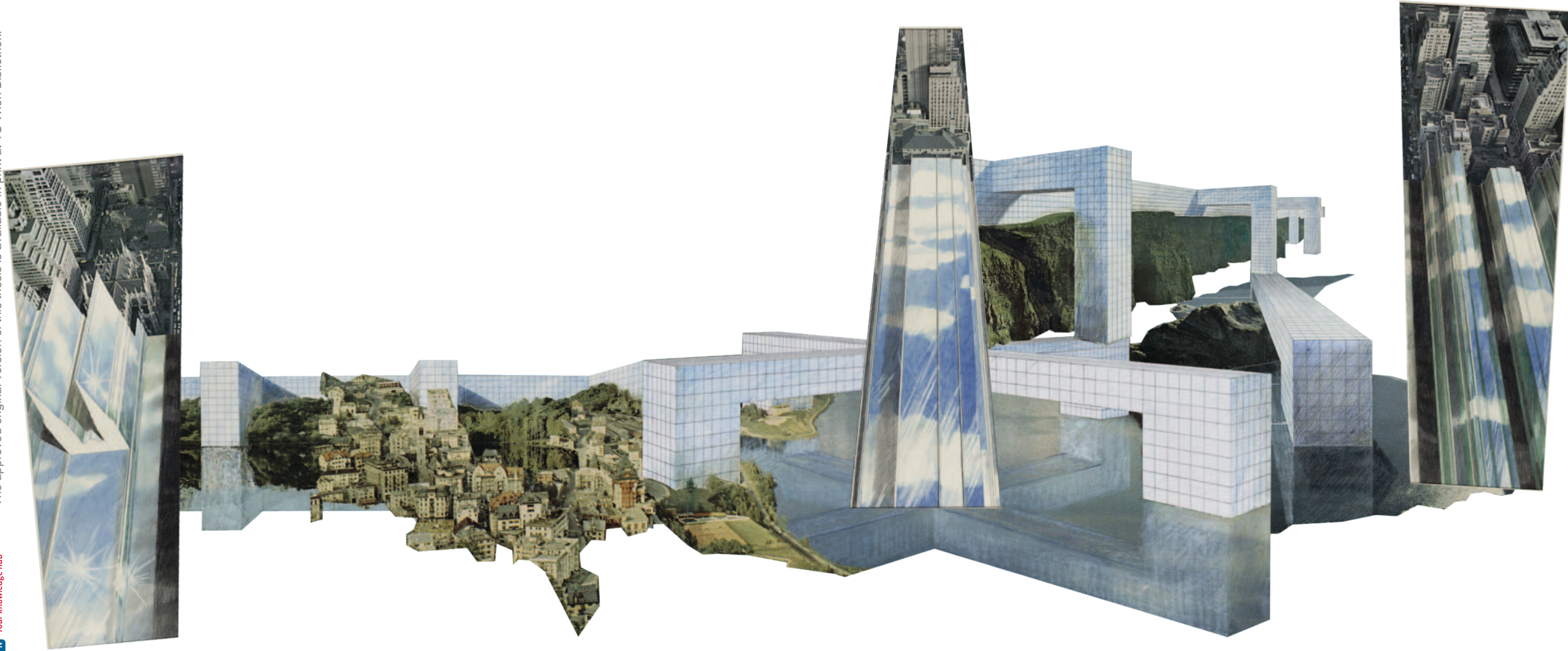
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Zawia. "THIS WAS OUR UTOPIANISM!: An Interview with Peter Cook." ArchDaily, 2014.

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Merin, Gili. "AD Classics: The Plug-In City/Peter Cook, Archigram." ArchDaily, 2013.

43
BMIAA. "Instant City: travelling exhibition, now at Collège Maximilien de Sully." Bigmat International Architecture Agenda, 2015.

11. Superstudio, The Continuous Monument

L'utopia è morta viva l' utopia! ⁴⁵



Oversized, abstract structures are extending infinitely into the horizon. Linear structures occupying territories as geometric objects. There is no insight into the interior of the structure, only smooth white surfaces rendered as grids. A world with increasing impoverishment and an expanding population. The environment has become homogenized through technology, culture and all the inevitable imperialisms.⁴⁴ The Continuous Monument is an efficient and flexible design, an economic form of construction. Design unico – a design suited for production of an infinite, uniform architecture issued from a single gesture which can be used anywhere in the world. The Continuous Monument is a model for total urbanization.⁴⁵

The Continuous Monument was first presented at the Biennale in Graz in 1969 in form of a manifesto and the medium of photo-collages. It was created by Superstudio, a group of architecture students from the architecture university of Florence in Italy. The Continuous Monument was not a typical Utopia in that it didn't present what was considered a better and idealized future of a current society. Instead, Superstudio presented a Utopia criticizing the current society and its architecture without proposing any solutions for it. A negative (critical) Utopia. Architecture was used as a means of critique.⁴⁶ A Utopia subjected to irony, and more specifically, a romantic irony:

Dystopia.

The revolutionary architecture from the 18th century marks a beginning point for the evolution of modernist architecture, which is gradually developing into functionalism and rationalism of the 1920s, and ending with the international style of the post-war period. In the 1960s Italy began developing a newly transformed economy, increasing industrialization and marking the beginning of the development of a new modern culture. In 1963, architecture students from the University of Florence occupied the Faculty of Architecture. The occupation of universities all over Italy reached its peak in 1968. In the late 1960's a radical design movement was devel-

oped in Italy, announcing a new form of design and style among the avant-garde. Superstudio and Archizoom were among the avant-garde and developed the exhibition „Superarchitettura“ in 1966, a theoretical and conceptual framework criticizing mass production installed by industrialization.⁴⁷ The architecture collective Archizoom, founded in 1966 in Florence, published the Non-Stop City in 1969, a critique to the modern city. Much like The Continuous Monument, No-Stop City is a critique to modernism and capitalistic industrialism. Archizoom discusses concerns on modernism, functionalism and rationalism through the perspective of a modern theory of marxism. Humankind always had a will to signify and to measure. This is seen as a sign for the tendency of mankind to want to grasp the world both in the sense of comprehending it and taking possession of it.⁴⁵

44
Toraldo di Francia, Christiano.
L'utopia è morta viva l' utopia!

45
Superstudio. "Discorsi per immagini." Domus 481, 1969. p. 44
"[L]a terra resa omogenea della tecnica, dalla cultura e da tutti gli inevitabili imperialismi."

46
van Schaik, Martin; Mácel, Otakar. "Exit Utopia – Architectural Provocations 1956–76." Prestel, IHAU – TU Delft, 2005.

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Toraldo di Francia, Cristiano.
"CONTINUOUS MONUMENT"

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Von Kempis, Stefan. "The Long '68'. Italy's View of the Protest Movement of 40 Years ago." Paper, 2008.

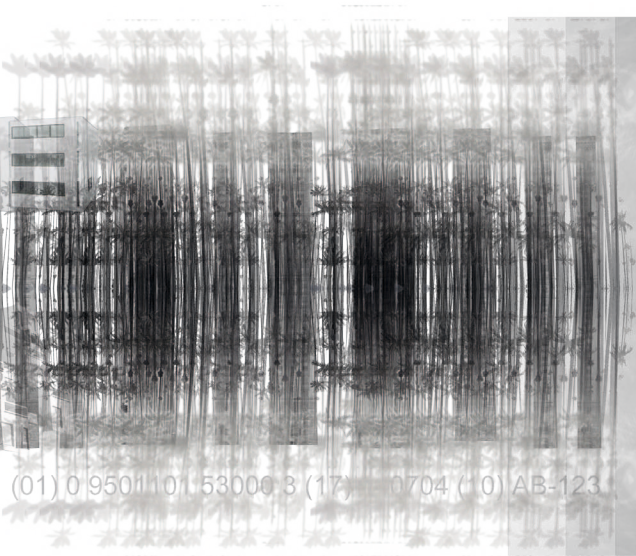
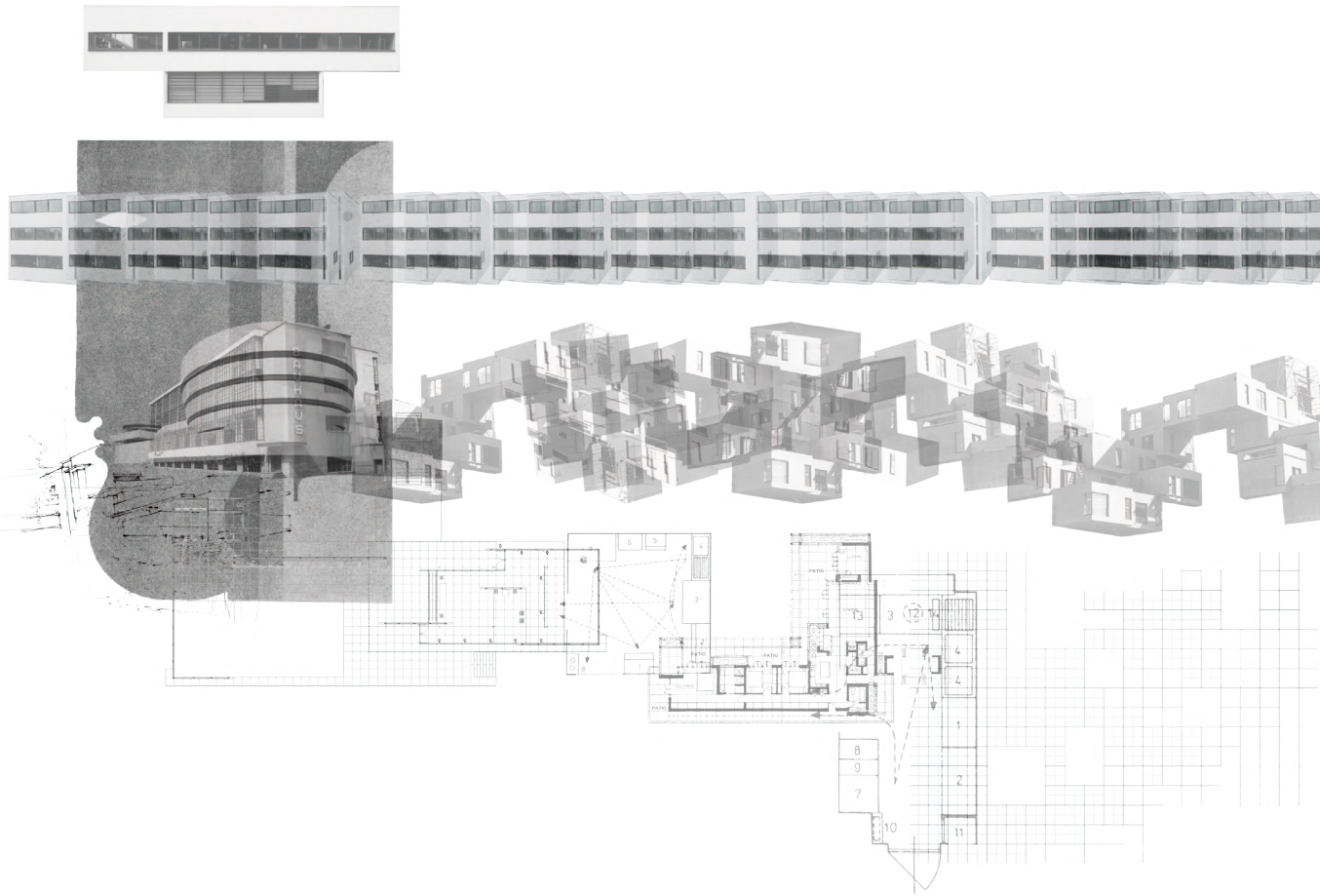
»Human history is littered with people who tried to build really huge projects with unproven technology.«

Mozingo, Louise A. 2015.

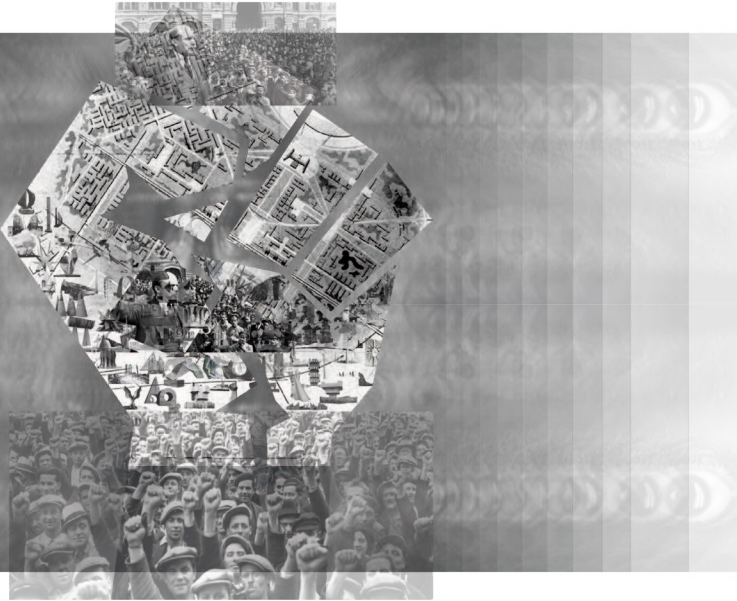
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12. The Crisis of Utopia

The Crisis of the grand projects



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The architecture utopias of the 20th century were marked by revolutionary and reformist ideas searching for a possible way out of dominant political trajectories and ideologies. Revolutionary utopias, such as those from the Russian constructivists, planned and designed alternative social systems. Reformist utopias channeled technological potentials of the existing system towards the betterment of the living standard and cultural fulfillment of the masses.

Since the late 1970s and the early 1980s a decline in the creation of both architectural and societal utopias can be observed. The post war economic boom led to the emergence of significant advances in technology and the establishment of new forms of social behavior. Architects were very ambitious and radical in designing grand new projects, some of them unrealistic with complete disregard towards the consequences or the realization of the architecture.⁴⁹

The crisis of the grand projects began in the 60s with the rise of more critical views towards the 3 big meta-projects of the era; Modernism as the cultural meta project, Technoscience as the technological meta-project and Socialism as the political meta project. Modernism was criticized because of its tendency towards standardization and functional mass production of the industrialization which resulted in a critical loss of individuality.

Technoscience, established to achieve mastery over nature and its forces, is accused of causing the global ecological crisis. The decline of Socialism was caused by the association with authoritarianism, by the repression of the people and the inability of the system's for spontaneous regeneration.⁵⁰

The 1973 oil crisis marked the end of the era of swift economic growth. By the end of the 70s, it also marked the end of the Keynesian economy and neoliberal ideas began to enter the mainstream. It also marked the era of the first wave environmentalism as the global side effects of the industrialization began to enter

into public consciousness. Cybernetics and ecology were

new science developments led by environmentalism. This inspired architects to change their designs and utopias. Architects start considering their environmental impact more, they start questioning the materials and energy use, as well as their position within the fragile ecological networks. Architecture grew to become less monumental and more efficient.

Architecture of the 21st century is marked mainly by salvatorian utopias. Design scenarios of surviving potential disastrous consequences resulting from the given political and economical developments marked by neoliberalism were presented in the form of opportunistic and uncritical green utopias. Instead of being a project of the future, utopia becomes a reflection on the present. These utopias were all proposed under the fashionable name "sustainable city". All the beliefs and ambitions of utopian imagination survived within this theme. It is the sustainable modernization with faith in technological development. Big masterplans of new cities proposed as interventions on a massive spacial scale. Geoengineering and terraforming is evoking radical changes of the existing demographic structures, prevailing lifestyles and their material conditions. Forms follows energy which proposes a belief in definite formulas which guarantee a good design. The free market of neoliberalism is directed against utopias, planned social systems and the regulation of it. The idea of Neoliberalism is that the market regulates itself. Existing systems should be more efficient and capable of spontaneous self-regulation. In this neoliberal political pragmatism the utopian content of the architecture design was economized with a reorientation towards more concrete and realistic ideas. In this process the architectural designs lost their social and political aspirations.⁵¹

The free market, as proposed by Neoliberalism, has never actually been free. The application, maintenance and rescuing has always been heavily reliant on the State and its interventions. Neoliberalism is an idealized picture of a sociopolitical process without defining where exactly this process should lead.

Perhaps Neoliberalism itself is a Utopia.⁵⁰

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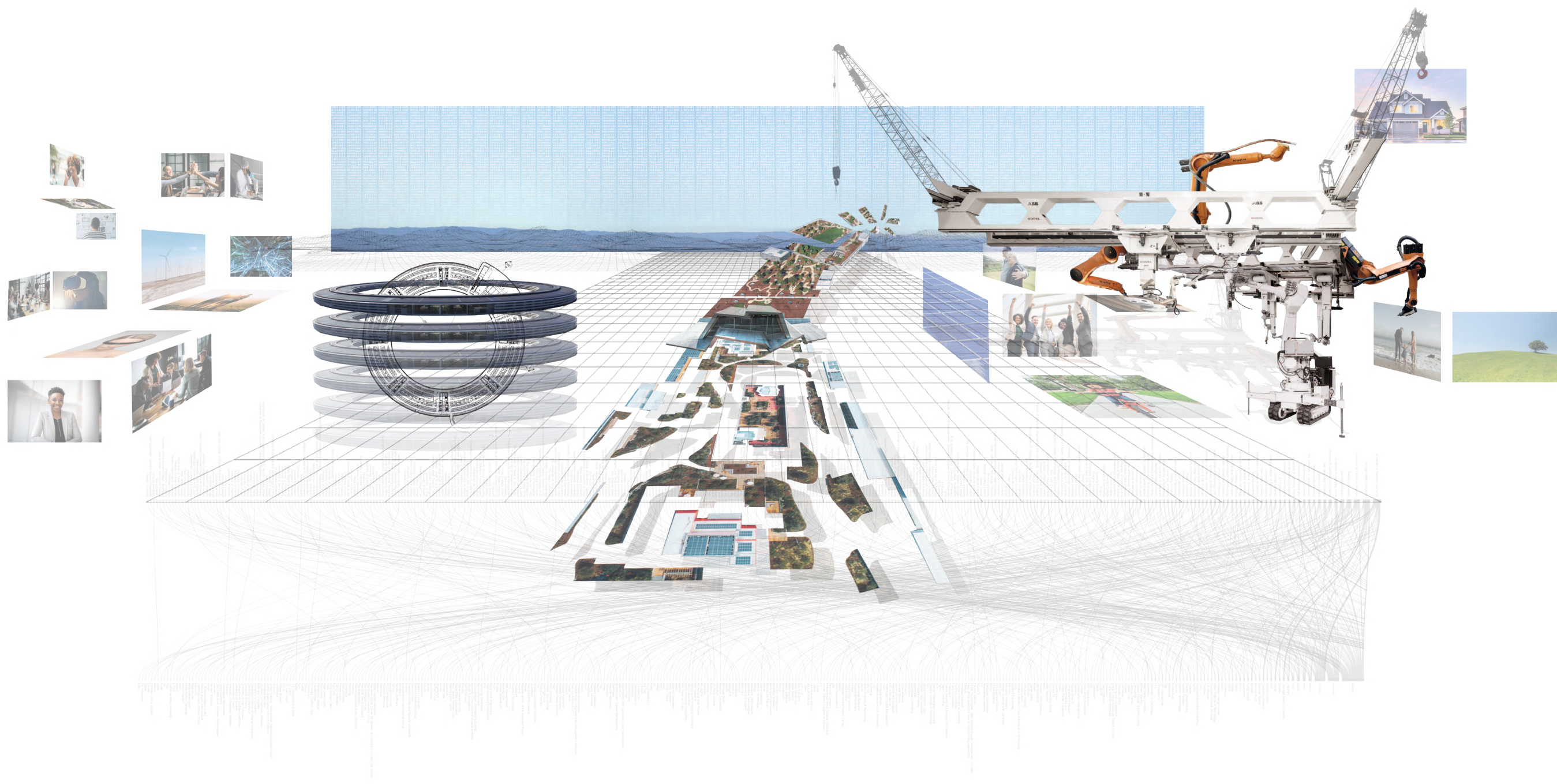
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**»Because building a building
costs so much money, construction
– and within it, architecture –
necessarily works for and within
the monetary system.«**

Deamer, Peggy. Architecture and Capitalism. 2014

13. Corporate Monuments

Silicon Valley



At its beginning, Silicon Valley, through the installment of new startups, was defined by modest, unremarkable suburban office parks. In the 90s, tech companies grew bigger and became widely known and highly visible due to the explosive growth and development of the internet. In the last 20 years tech giants erected massive campuses demonstrating ideal working societies reflective of their company policies. In place of the fluidity and flexibility that defined the era of the startups in the beginning, the new campuses impose prestigious enclaves, designed by star-architects and characterized by a sense of permanence and establishment.⁵²

Corporate headquarters started to emerge after World War 2 in the “white flight“ time, during which companies fled inner cities and moved to residential suburbs. A new typology in corporate architecture was formed in suburban landscapes. Louise A. Mozingo, Professor in the Department of Landscape Architecture and Environmental Planning at the University of California in Berkeley, describes these new suburban corporate landscapes in her book “Pastoral Capitalism“.⁵³ According to Mozingo, three categories can be distinguished:

- corporate campuses,
- corporate estate and
- office parks.

The corporate campus should attract highly educated people as it was modeled after a university campus with parks evoking collaboration and creativity. The corporate estate was envisioned for high positioned managers and should represent power and prestige. The office park is a mix of different offices from smaller companies who could lease, buy or build on the property with a suburban character.⁵⁴

The new headquarters of Apple opened in 2017 and presented a new office building mirroring Apple’s devotion to design. A ring shaped Building designed by Foster + Partners is covered with a smooth surface made out of

panels of curved glass, sealed off entirely from the public and surrounded by vegetation. 7000 retained and planted trees are hiding within the headquarters and stand in comparison to Apple’s famously secretive and exclusive business codex. On 260.000 m2 total area, fitness centers of ca. 9.300 m2, restaurants totaling 5.600 m2 and outdoor walk and running trails are only a few listed facilities Apple employees can enjoy in their own building. According to Apple, Apple Park has the longest on-site solar energy installation in the world.⁵⁵

In 2017, Google announced their plans for a new headquarter, an extension of their already massive Campus. A new extension of 300.000 m2 is set to create an entirely new vision of a modern futuristic work environment for 12.000 new employees. Serving as architects for the new campus is the collaboration of Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG) and Thomas Heatherwick Studio. In picturesque renderings Google presents its future campus for their idealized working society. There are 4 building structures enveloped with photovoltaic integrated glass canopies that are movable depending on the temperature inside of the building. Google expressed their need for facilities that are able to respond at the same speed as the technology industry is responding. The Architecture collaboration came up with a solution where the basic elements of the building such as the floors, ceilings and walls are all detachable from a permanent steel structure. Small cranes and robots, called crobots, are helping in the formation of new work spaces of different sizes. Thus, complete interiors can change in hours instead of months. Google increased the level of modularization and prefabrication to the highest degree possible. Instead of workplaces being strictly designed after form and function, the new Google working spaces are flexible and adaptable in that business units can change over night or evolve slowly over a few years. After announcing the new campus with picturesque renderings, Google is still figuring out the engineering of the building. In the future, Google plans to build between 5000 and 9850 new homes on its new property in Mountain View for its company employees.⁵⁶

Facebook opened its first headquarters MPK20 in 2015 only 3 years after opening its extension MPK21. Both buildings were designed by Frank Gehry and are connected with each other through an underground tunnel, which can be traversed by foot, using bicycles or a tram. Employees all sit together in large co-working spaces with only a handful of few managers being separated into small offices made out of glass walls. This mentality is supposed to reflect the Facebook community and its willingness to connect with people in an open environment. Willow Village is a future community planned by Facebook which will come complete with housing, offices, grocery stores, pharmacies and a cultural center. 1500 apartments are planned on a 24 hectare lot where 11600 m2 is intended for use as retail space. The housing is primarily planned for the employees and the families of Facebook. Facebook is imposing own house policies on their company owned apartment for their employees and are even funding the local police. Planning, policy and governmental functions are transferred from local government to private corporations.⁵⁷ These communities are not new, In the early 20th century there existed so called Company Towns built by corporations to both house and keep an eye on their employees. Ironically these Company Towns vanished in the mid 20th century due to welfare capitalism.⁵⁷

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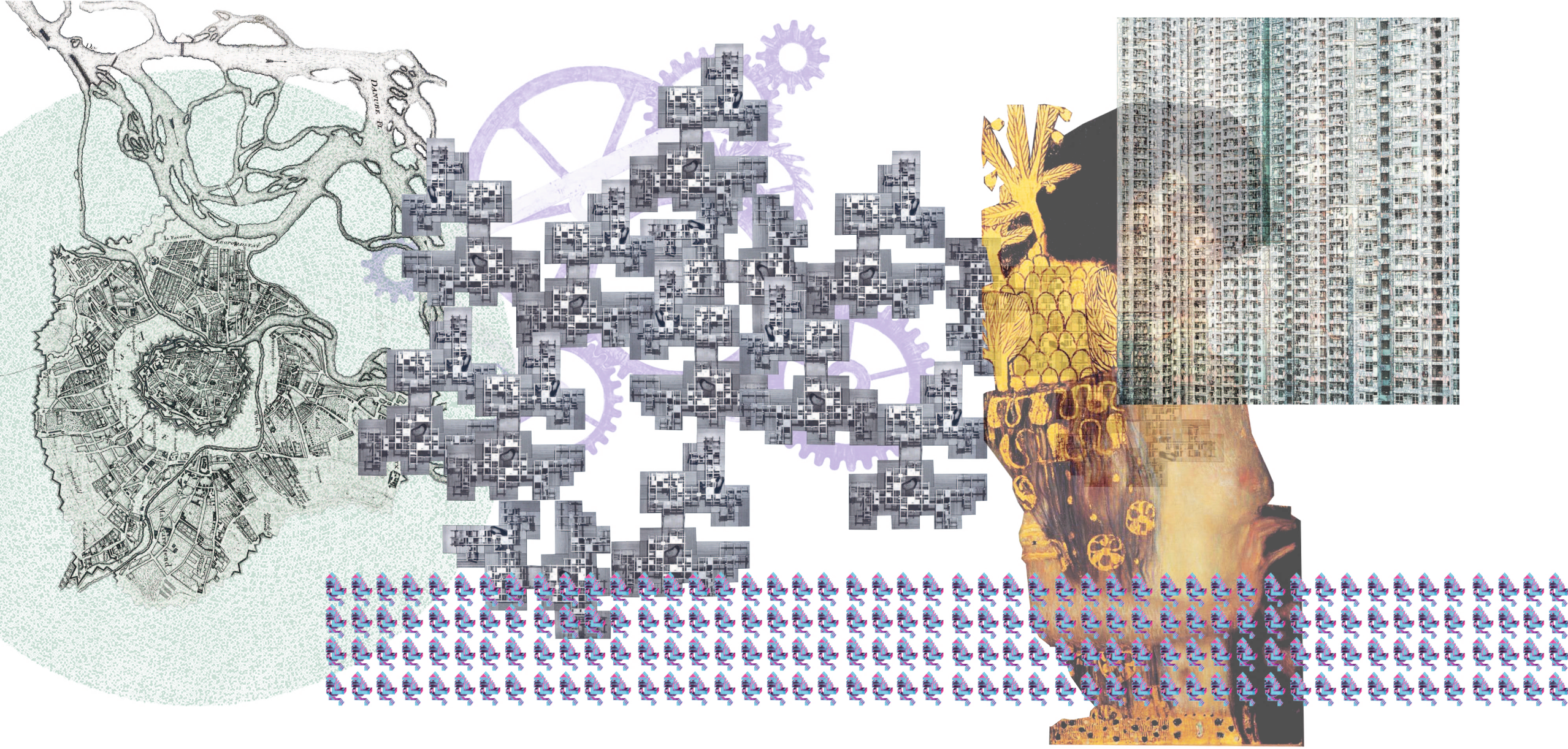
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»In infrastructure space, discrepancy may be a better tutor than certainty. The misregistration between stated intentions and undeclared activity makes more palpable active forms and the underlying dispositions they shape. Discrepancy trains a crafty political imagination to anticipate the twists, deceptions, or fictions that usually outrun or outwit utopias.«

Easterling, Keller. Extrastatecraft. 2014.

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Conclusio

The relationship between architecture and politics can be described as intimately related to the relationship between architecture and ideology. In architecture, politics can be seen as the executive and ideology as the representative. Both are recognized as a symbolic or an imaginary field of visibility of a society.⁵⁸ The relationship between utopias and ideologies is one where both similarities as well as oppositions towards one another can be found. Both are based on society and the projects they create in relation to it. However, utopias are indicators of social change and the possibility of a radically different future whereas ideologies tend to attempt to stabilize the dominant features of the present. Architecture, an inherently social art, is stabilizing the existing social uses and their possible future developments, thus applicable to both utopia and ideology.⁵⁹

Only a handful of utopian projects have been realized over the course of time. This has multiple reasons. The dimensions of large scale utopian projects of the 18th century had a huge impact on the public. The message it often sent had a disturbing character of monumentality en permanence. The projects were considered unbuildable in any kind of way. The utopian ideas of the first half of the 19th century were centered on social and political movements. Projects from this period did not sufficiently address the practical aspects of the realization of the designs. In addition to unrealistic planning, the utopian concepts were also universal in ambition and therefore risked to look abstract and lacking in credibility. In the 20th century, the merging of utopian perspectives with mainstream political ideas and economical agendas becomes apparent. Whilst the first half of the 20th century was marked by totalitarianism and therefore a more political ideology, in the second half of the 20th century, the orientation towards an economical agenda is more pronounced, as evidenced by the development neoliberalism and a global economic market. Utopias started to lean towards sustainable problem solving projects in the 90's due to the recognition of the negative effects of the globalization and the resulting climate crisis. The

question is asked: Is it possible to find a solution to a problem while engaging within it at the same time? To think of utopias with a sustainable character against the current backdrop of the climate crisis and globalization, a way to operate outside of the mechanisms that have created this problem in the first place needs to be found. The creation of sustainable utopias therefore requires the involvement of anti-neoliberal ideas.⁶⁰ A direct influence of the neoliberal development of society on architecture is the more common use of the word starchitect, used to describe famous or high profile architects.⁶¹ Today's architects experience the additional role of promoting not only their architecture but also themselves on the market. The Guggenheim effect was generated by the construction of Frank Gehry's museum in Bilbao, a poor sparsely populated fishing town in Spain which regained financial self-sufficiency due to the museum's promotion and tourism. To a certain degree, this cements the idea that the architecture of certain starchitects has become a trademark to cities. At this point it is nearly impossible to think about architecture without economical politics.⁶² Another promoting factor of today's architecture is the visual advertising. The visual representation of architecture and utopian projects or concepts has always been an important aspect in broadcasting them to the public. From Boullée's dramatic pencil drawings to huge models such as Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City and the collages from Superstudio, architectural utopias often used strong methods of visual communication. With the development of CAD programs architects gained a new way of presenting future projects through computer generated renderings. Computer aided designs allows for the rendering of realistic looking picturesque landscapes in a short amounts of time. How much can and should the architect rely on media and to what extent do architectural visualizations have to relate to reality? The interaction of architecture and utopia has always been a relation of image and practice.

The determination of the importance of utopian projects cannot rest on their implementation. Whether a project

was built or not is of lesser importance than the ideas the project communicates. Most of the built utopian projects have failed in hindsight due to their lack in spontaneous regeneration or in autocracy in moderating. Utopian projects can much rather be seen as the starting point to a discussion in which the creator invites the viewer to engage in a conversation in which he wants to question certain opinions, ideas, habits or traditions. The purpose is to bring new ideas into conversation and challenge present and future problems with innovative new thinking.

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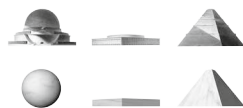
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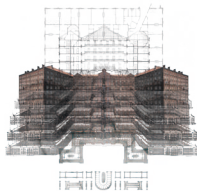


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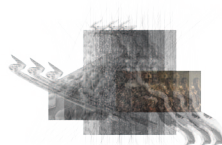
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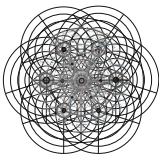
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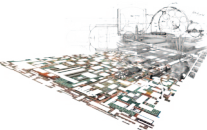
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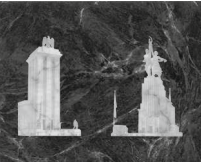
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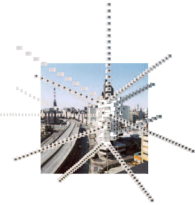


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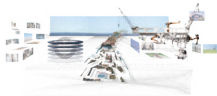
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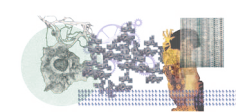
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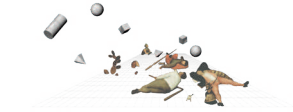
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Architecture and Utopias

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