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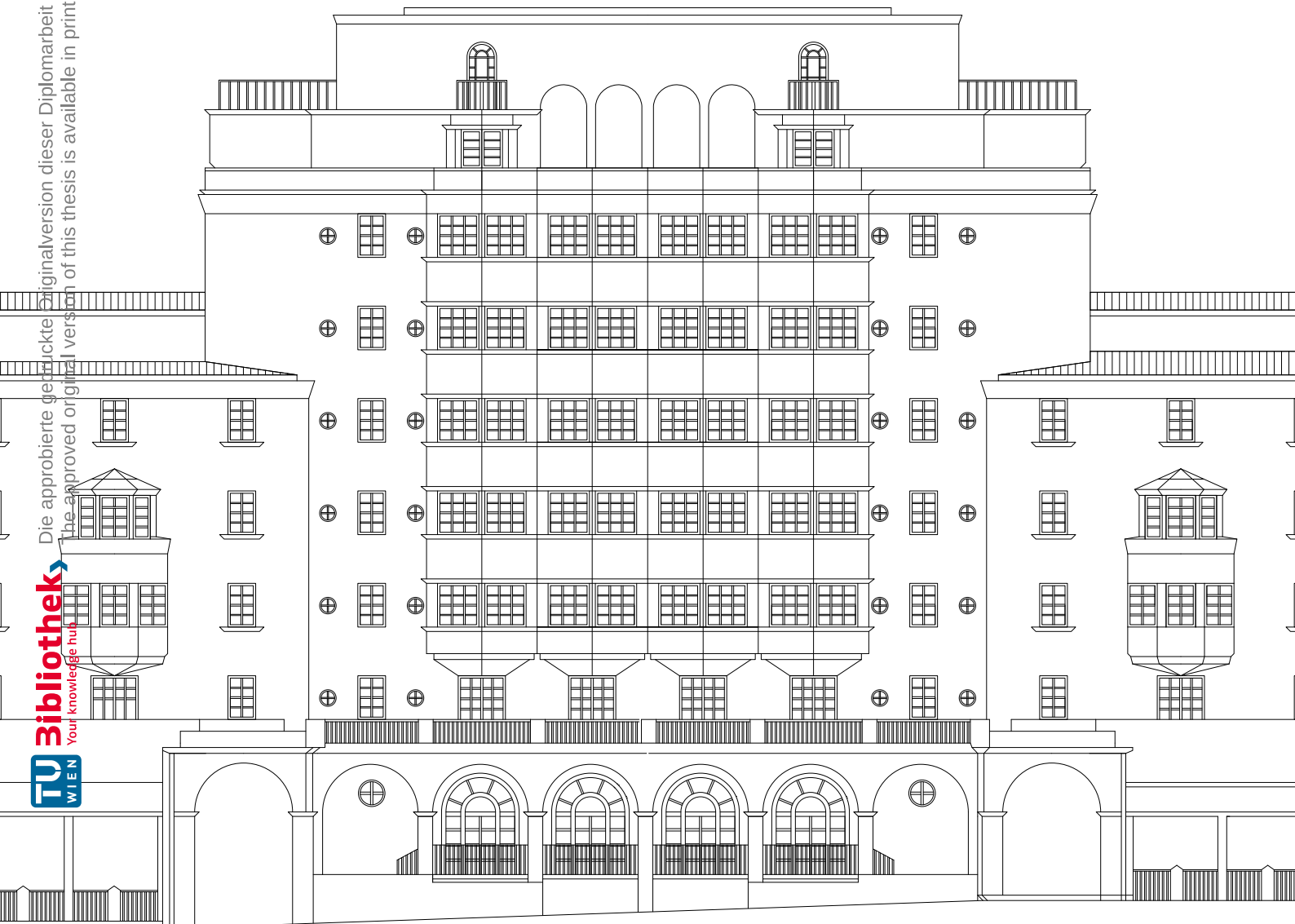
A Journey Through
Collective Living And
Creation Of A Housing Typology
In Red Vienna 1919-1934

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TU WIEN

DIPLOMARBEIT

VIENNA TYPE

A JOURNEY THROUGH
COLLECTIVE LIVING AND
CREATION OF A HOUSING TYPOLOGY
IN RED VIENNA 1919-1934

ausgeführt zum Zwecke der Erlangung des
akademischen Grades eines Diplom-Ingenieurs unter der Leitung von

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von
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Wien, Mai 2023

to my father

The Red Vienna period was a time of great cultural vitality, with a thriving artistic scene that included writers, artists, and architects pushing the boundaries of traditional styles and forms, which was also a period of political activism in the city, with workers and intellectuals debating the direction of society and the role of the state in promoting social justice. Overall, the Red Vienna era is remembered as a time of progress and innovation, when ordinary citizens had a genuine say in shaping their city and their lives. Despite its many accomplishments, the era was cut short by the rise of fascism, which eventually resulted in the suppression of the city's progressive movements and the dismantling of its social and cultural programs.

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SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

DICTIONARY

BETTGEHER: financially disadvantaged person, who rents a bed for only a few hours a day to sleep
                            for a relatively smaller fee

GEMEINDEBAU: municipal housing complex (plural, *Gemeindebauten*)

GEMEINDEWOHNUNG: municipal apartment (plural, *Gemeindewohnungen*)

SDAP: social democratic worker's party

SIEDLUNG: group of similar, smaller residential houses with gardens on the outskirts of a city

ZINSKASERNE: 19th century substandard quality dwellings, intended often for workers

ABSTRACT (EN)

Affordable, humane housing has been a widely debated topic for not only today, but for the past two centuries. The first comprehensive studies on this fundamental human right, which still remains unsolved in its true sense, began after the horrendous living conditions that emerged following the industrial revolution. Such architectural effort to design collective housing to improve living conditions, paved the path to social housing for Vienna, which was one of the worst cities in Europe in terms of housing at the turn of the century. Also known as Red Vienna era, in the 1920s, the Austrian capital, underwent extensive construction efforts which culminated in the erection of more than 400 structures, notably comprising over 60,000 social housing units colloquially referred to as *Gemeindebau*. Vienna currently stands as the unparalleled European city with the number of municipal housing complexes available. Distinguished by its uniqueness and affordability, the Viennese *Gemeindebau*, became a distinctive architectural typology of its own. The objective of this thesis is to examine the degree of alignment between Vienna's *Gemeindebau* buildings and their original principles and objectives, as well as to explore their present-day significance. The research methodology involves a comparative analysis of different *Gemeindebauten* in Vienna, examining how these are laid out delving into the depths of its architectural anatomy. The historical development of *Gemeindebau* typology in Vienna is also explored, including the role of key players in the movement and the major milestones in its evolution. In addition, the study aims to critically assess the *Gemeindebau* by analyzing its detractors and comparing these to other social-collective housing initiatives. Ultimately, this analysis will provide insights into the advantages and limitations of the *Gemeindebau* as a typology as it will try to answer questions such as *"How did the principles and objectives of the Municipal Housing Movement in Vienna influence the design and construction of Gemeindebau buildings?"* and *"What are the key features of the Viennese Gemeindebau as a distinctive architectural typology, and how do these contribute to its uniqueness?"*

ABSTRACT (DE)

Leistbarer und menschenwürdiger Wohnraum ist nicht nur heute, sondern auch seit den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten ein breit diskutiertes Thema. Die ersten umfassenden Studien zu diesem grundlegenden Menschenrecht, das in seinem wahren Sinne noch immer ungelöst bleibt, begannen nach den katastrophalen Wohnverhältnissen, die sich infolge der industriellen Revolution entwickelt hatten. Architektonische Bemühungen, kollektiven Wohnraum zur Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen zu gestalten, ebneten den Weg zum sozialen Wohnungsbau für Wien, das um die Jahrhundertwende eine der schlimmsten Städte Europas in Bezug auf Bereitstellung von Wohnraum für die Arbeiterklasse war. In den 1920er Jahren, auch bekannt als die Ära des Roten Wiens, erlebte die österreichische Hauptstadt umfangreiche Baumaßnahmen, die in der Errichtung von mehr als 400 Gebäuden mit über 60.000 Wohnungseinheiten gipfelten, welche umgangssprachlich als Gemeindebau bezeichnet werden. Wien steht derzeit als unübertroffene europäische Stadt mit der Anzahl der verfügbaren kommunalen Wohnkomplexe. Der Wiener Gemeindebau, der durch seine Einzigartigkeit und Erschwinglichkeit einen besonderen Stellenwert einnimmt, entwickelte sich zu einer eigenen architektonischen Typologie. Das Ziel dieser Arbeit besteht darin, den Grad der Übereinstimmung zwischen unterschiedlichen Gemeindebauten Wiens, ihren ursprünglichen Prinzipien und Zielen sowie ihre Bedeutung in der Gegenwart zu untersuchen. Die Forschungsmethodik umfasst eine vergleichende Analyse verschiedener Gemeindebauten in Wien, die untersucht, wie diese angelegt sind und in die Tiefe der architektonischen Anatomie des Gemeindebaus vordringt. Des Weiteren wird die historische Entwicklung der Gemeindebau-Typologie in Wien, einschließlich der Rolle wichtiger Akteure und der wichtigsten Meilensteine in ihrer Entwicklung untersucht. Darüber hinaus zielt die Studie darauf ab, den Gemeindebau kritisch zu bewerten, indem seine Kritiker analysiert und mit anderen sozial-kollektiven Wohnungsinitiativen verglichen werden. Letztendlich liefert die Arbeit Einblicke in Vor- und Nachteile des Gemeindebaus als Typologie, indem solchen Fragen wie: *"Wie haben die Prinzipien und Ziele der Gemeindebau-Bewegung in Wien das Design und die Konstruktion der Gemeindebau-Gebäude beeinflusst?"* und *"Was sind die wichtigsten Merkmale des Wiener Gemeindebau als eigenständige architektonische Typologie und wie tragen sie zu seiner Einzigartigkeit bei?"* untersucht werden.

INTRODUCTION:
HOUSING FOR PEOPLE, NOT FOR PROFIT

Instead of being limited to severe casualties and traumatic experiences, the pandemic has accompanied many social impact and changes whose effects are felt globally. Impoverishment and the homelessness triggered by it among these were leading components during pandemic and post-pandemic period. Housing, which has been recognized among the most critical determinatives of physical well-being since the beginning of the modern public health movement, has always been disrupted throughout history during pandemics, war, and post-war periods. This parallelism has not only continued throughout history but has also shown constant fluctuations with social economic development and the injustices brought along by globalization. In other words, the pandemic brought to light how one of the main causes of health and wealth disparities in our world is the persistent lack of safe and affordable housing. Even though the homeless are in the lowest class of the class and access to housing pyramid, the housing problem constitutes a social situation that is too significant to be reduced to them alone. Pandemic has shown people all around the planet how inadequate housing conditions are and how unequally right to housing has been distributed. Although the lockdown process made the life of a certain class comfortable and liberated working conditions, for the great majority, it caused difficulties such as lack of personal space,

forced evictions, unfit climatic conditions, as a result of full or semi privatization of service providers in many countries, uncontrollably billed expenses such as gas, water, electricity etc. All of these not only highlight, even in the 21st century, how undeveloped our housing solutions are, but also strongly underline the importance of social and affordable housing in urban context. Even though living humanely is not a luxury but a basic human right, the need that the poor have the most difficulty in meeting due to the economic barriers comes as housing after access to food. Article 25[1] of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted at the 10 December 1948 session of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, also defined housing as a fundamental human right. In addition to this recognition, another convention, which defined the right to housing as the basic condition for an adequate standard of living is the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 16 December 1966.[2] Meeting the need to affordable and humanely shelter also increases the quality of life of the person in general, as it would increase the freedom of spending for the needs other than housing. Particularly in urban settings, well-designed affordable housing developments can have a significant positive impact on the neighboring communities. Affordable housing benefits locals, promotes

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1   Article 25.1: *"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control."*

2   Article 11.1: *"The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing, and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importa of international co-operation based on free consent."*

social interaction, eases crowded conditions, raises the value of nearby properties, draws in businesses and employment, and lowers crime rates, If the housing supply is left to free market conditions, purchase and rental prices tend to increase continuously due to the ever-increasing population, decreasing urban lands and scarce resources. Therefore, the development of social housing is the most essential way of intervention in the housing market for the poor since it has the power to prevent excessive pricing that may occur owing to the housing market's supply and demand imbalance. In other words, the type of housing known as social housing is shielded from the market forces and individuals who are in charge of the financialization and commodification of the housing sector.

Since many different sub-headings such as "social housing", "public housing", "affordable housing", "council housing" or "subsidized housing" have emerged today, these addresses different residential solutions. Occasionally the notions of social housing and public housing in particular are considered to be synonymous by many as both are dwellings offered by governments to the public. However, there is a distinction between the two, with social housing aiming to bring anyone in need of suitable housing together, regardless of their background for a reasonable price, regulated by the government. The first step in the investigation of how social and public housing differ from one another, is to ask the question "Who is permitted to reside here?" Unlike

many public services carried out in states -with the exception of states directly governed by socialism- social housing programs have never been aimed at all segments of society in history. Peter King, who is considered a pioneer in the area of the social philosophy of housing, in his explanation, has illustrated this situation with the following example:

"At its height in 1976 social housing catered for only a third of households and by 2004 had declined to around a fifth. This can be compared with health and education, where state provision accounts for around nine out of ten households." [3]

In order to have a better understanding the social housing movement in Europe, first of all, it is necessary to have a good grasp of the conditions and requirements of the period. The first state-based/supported activities to meet the need for affordable housing started in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the early days of World War I, almost 9 out of 10 of households lived in private rental apartments, with most of the rest being owner-occupiers.[4] The war and the devastation it brought not only killed millions or destroyed cities, buildings and streets, but also brought profound social and demographic changes. In addition to all these destroyed housing units, As the population began to gather in certain hubs, an inevitable increase in the number of people occurred. This atmosphere, where the housing problem was felt most severely and the homelessness figures increased so much, pushed the countries

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3   Peter King, *Choice and the End of Social Housing* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 2006), p. 29.
4   Peter King, *Choice and The End of Social Housing,* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 2006), p. 53.

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to housing production. Belgium, which enacted the Housing Act in 1889[5], was followed by the Netherlands in 1901[6] and England in 1919[7], respectively. As can be seen in the light of this information, this trend towards social housing has primarily occurred in countries that have industrialized in earlier years. In other words, it can be understood that the addressees of social housing in general are poor workers living and working in bad conditions. As in all these countries, a new housing movement for the lower income group would begin also in Austria, whose situation after the First World War can be almost described as "martyred on the battlefield".

5   Sien Winters, "Flemish Housing Policy and Outcomes: New Directions after the Reform of the Belgian State?,"
        Housing Finance International, Autumn 2018, p. 37.
6   Anja van Heelsum, *Case Study on Housing Amsterdam*, Netherlands, accessed April 1, 2022,
        https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254897107_Case_study_on_housing_in_Amsterdam_The_Netherlands. p. 10.
7   "Council Housing," UK parliament, accessed November 8, 2022,
        https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/towncountry/towns/overview/councilhousing/.

OVERVIEW - SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

1. TYPOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF COLLECTIVE LIVING

The first part of this study, which examines Gemeindebau as a building typology and its evolutionary process, focuses on the historical evolution of the courtyard concept and the emergence of ideal communal-collective living ideas. The industrial revolution and the subsequent historical process are discussed in the context of architecture and housing, while notions such as worker housing, ideal housing, collective living, company towns, and garden cities are defined. The examined examples, their successes and failures, historical data, evaluations, and both small and large-scale plans drawn by the author are analyzed to understand how all these ideas and initiatives have laid the architectural groundwork for the future century. This analysis prepares the reader for the main topic, the communal housing of Red Vienna.

2. PATHWAY TO GEMEINDEBAU

The second chapter, which starts with the last half-century of the monarchy, takes on the task of a comparative architectural analysis of the period's housing typologies, accompanied by a historical narrative. The architectural narrative begins with the Ringstraße and the new urban planning scale, then examines worker housing, bourgeois housing, and finally analyzes the Jubiläumshäuser, which can be called a social housing experiment, during the monarchy period. The analysis is conducted using archival data, official information, plans, and photographs to explore the existing architectural typologies and to delve into how the municipal housing program became a necessity. Since the context of discussion is the housing typology and architectural production of Red Vienna, in order to better establish the roots of this architectural context, the study addresses the Marxist ideology and architectural vision of Austro-Marxism, which formed the ideological basis of the Social Democratic Party's architectural policy. This lays the foundation for many references that will be made in the later sections of the study. The information obtained from reading municipal publications, council sessions, and newspapers of the period, as well as the insights from prominent figures like Eve Blau, Helmut Weihsmann, Hans and Rudolf Hautmann, who have written about the period in the following years, have been taken into account, and the process of creating this new typology has been thoroughly investigated.

3. TYPOLOGICAL ANATOMY OF MUNICIPAL HOUSING

This section delves into the typological aspects of municipal housing in Vienna, examining various elements that contribute to the design and functionality of Gemeindebau. The research investigates the urban context, materiality, the courtyard, amenities, and typological versatility of these housing complexes. The chapter examines municipal housing through contexts such as positioning and urban fabric, treating the structures as integral parts of urban planning. While exploring morphological differences, the concepts are further solidified through visual aids and categorizations prepared by the author. The courtyard, one of the main elements of municipal housing, and the shared facilities that form the cornerstone of collective living are discussed through historical photographs, allowing for an examination of the social dynamics, usage patterns, and spatial arrangements they create. The housing units, which come in different forms and sizes for various user groups, undergo a multi-layered analysis through typological studies, plans, internal

4. DEBATES AND REFLECTIONS ON VIENNESE MODEL

This section examines the analysis and comparison of reactions to the housing production carried out by the municipality, focusing on the proceedings of the period's council sessions, political campaigns, and international architectural journals and publications. It also provides important insights into understanding the opposing architectural ideas of that era. From the author's perspective, these criticisms are addressed under two main headings: populist-political and functional-modern architectural concerns. The section not only presents the criticisms but also discusses their consequences, shedding light on reactive architectural production.

5. VIENNESE CASE STUDIES

Case Studies, solidify the accumulated knowledge through direct examples, takes on various housing complexes of Red Vienna and analyzes them through floor plans, sections, elevations, photographs, and other visual materials. These analyses not only provide information about the housing complexes but also contribute to a better understanding of the process of creating a typology through them. Carefully selected examples representing different architectural approaches and morphologies are analyzed on one hand, while on the other hand, they are compared with each other, offering a comparative examination.

6. INTERNATIONAL CASE STUDIES

This section examines both the direct inspiration of Red Vienna and the parallel or subsequent collective architectural alternatives, using plans, sections, elevations, photographs, and other visual materials. While presenting the reader with various alternative approaches, it also highlights the success of the Viennese typology as a comprehensive package through multiple analyses and comparisons.

7. EXCURSUS: DAS NEUE FRANKFURT

Following the criticisms from proponents of German modernism, this section focuses on the parallel architectural production of these individuals in Frankfurt during the same period. Rather than a chapter, it serves as an excursion from Vienna to Frankfurt. This excursus aims to highlight the key features, goals, and impact of this influential project, as well as to draw comparisons to the Red Vienna model. Understanding the New Frankfurt, a housing program based on the Existenzminimum concept, is valuable not only for better contextualizing the criticisms towards Vienna but also for observing two different approaches within the general architectural trends of the era.

8. CONCLUSIO

This section, which can also be considered as the final of the study, not only demonstrates the dark progression towards the end of Red Vienna through historical findings but also analytically explains the key findings of this approximately 15-year period architectural experiment. After explaining with the example of Vienna, the question posed at the beginning of the study, how a typology is created, it also presents the approach of similar political tendencies towards housing typology by comparing it with Vienna. As the section seeks to answer how "red" Vienna is today in architectural terms, as it celebrates its 100th anniversary, also presents the arguments of the opposing side in the fight against Gemeindebau while making an effort to respond to them.

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PART 1

TYPOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF COLLECTIVE LIVING

The first part of this study, which examines Gemeindebau as a building typology and its evolutionary process, focuses on the historical evolution of the courtyard concept and the emergence of ideal communal-collective living ideas. The industrial revolution and the subsequent historical process are discussed in the context of architecture and housing, while notions such as worker housing, ideal housing, collective living, company towns, and garden cities are defined. The examined examples, their successes and failures, historical data, evaluations, and both small and large-scale plans drawn by the author are analyzed to understand how all these ideas and initiatives have laid the architectural groundwork for the future century. This analysis prepares the reader for the main topic, the communal housing of Red Vienna.

EVOLUTION OF COURTYARD

In retrospect of architectural history, courtyard houses have been traced back to a time prior to 5000 BC.[8] The courtyard, taking various forms, has played a significant role in both human and architectural history. As an intermediate space that bridges the gap between indoor and outdoor life, the courtyard has facilitated the experience of *"being outside without going outside,"* as evident in *Gemeindebau*. In essence, this area that merges indoor and outdoor features can be classified as a semi-open space that exists between the inside and outside. Similar to other architectural components, the courtyard has been constructed and adapted to serve diverse purposes and conditions across various locations throughout time, and it has persevered to this day. Gemeindebau constructions that followed "rental houses" employed courtyards to establish a luminous and ventilated ambience.

The courtyards offered various benefits, such as enabling light infiltration from multiple building facades, enhancing ventilation, providing defense and security, limiting sound propagation in both directions, and ensuring privacy. The earliest known instances of such typology were first identified in the Middle East and Asia, and the first appearances in Europe were recorded in Knossos in 2000 BC.[9] Initially appearing in Peristyle and Atrium houses as an essential architectural feature, the courtyard was later manifested in multi-courtyarded houses where these two variations coexisted. Archaeological excavations conducted in Pompeii indicate that nearly every house in the region incorporated at least one courtyard, with some houses featuring up to four courtyards. This attests to the courtyard's significance in the urban planning and interior architecture of Pompeii.[10] Following the Umayyad forces' conquest of the

8   Donia Zhang, "Courtyard Houses around the World: A Cross-Cultural Analysis and Contemporary Relevance," in *New Approaches in Contemporary Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. Hourakhsh Ahmad Nia (İstanbul: Cinus, 2020), p. 23.
9   Karl Ludwig, Wohnhöfe - Hofräume: Gestaltung, Nutzung, Bepflanzung(München: Callwey, 1987), p. 12.
10   Donia Zhang, "Courtyard Houses around the World: A Cross-Cultural Analysis and Contemporary Relevance," in *New Approaches in Contemporary Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. Hourakhsh Ahmad Nia (İstanbul: Cinus, 2020), p. 25.

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Iberian Peninsula in 711, Islamic culture exerted its influence over the region for a span of roughly eight centuries. In this new geographic location, the courtyard, a key component of Islamic architectural traditions, rapidly spread. Despite Islam coming to an end in 1492, courtyard as an architectural element gained a key role in spanish building culture. Further, the courtyard as both culture and architectural element, extended to a wide range of geographical areas as a result of later Spanish colonial efforts. While such conditions persist in the Western regions, it is noteworthy that the significance of the courtyard has experienced notable amplification in the Eastern territories, with courtyards becoming a central element in urban planning, particularly in China during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Returning the spotlight back to the West, later, courtyards became a feature of religious buildings, especially monasteries, and were also constructed in special buildings such as educational and government institutions, and palaces, effectively *"moving up in class"*. Thus, the courtyard, which was present in every home before Christ, became a luxury, and during the period following the industrial revolution, people were forced to live in very small courtyarded homes or buildings, in crowded masses under very poor and unhygienic conditions. During a period in which living standards had plummeted, social thinkers sought solutions, turning to the courtyard as a central element in their utopian housing designs that promised liberation and they tried to reorganize life around it once again, but this time for everyone.
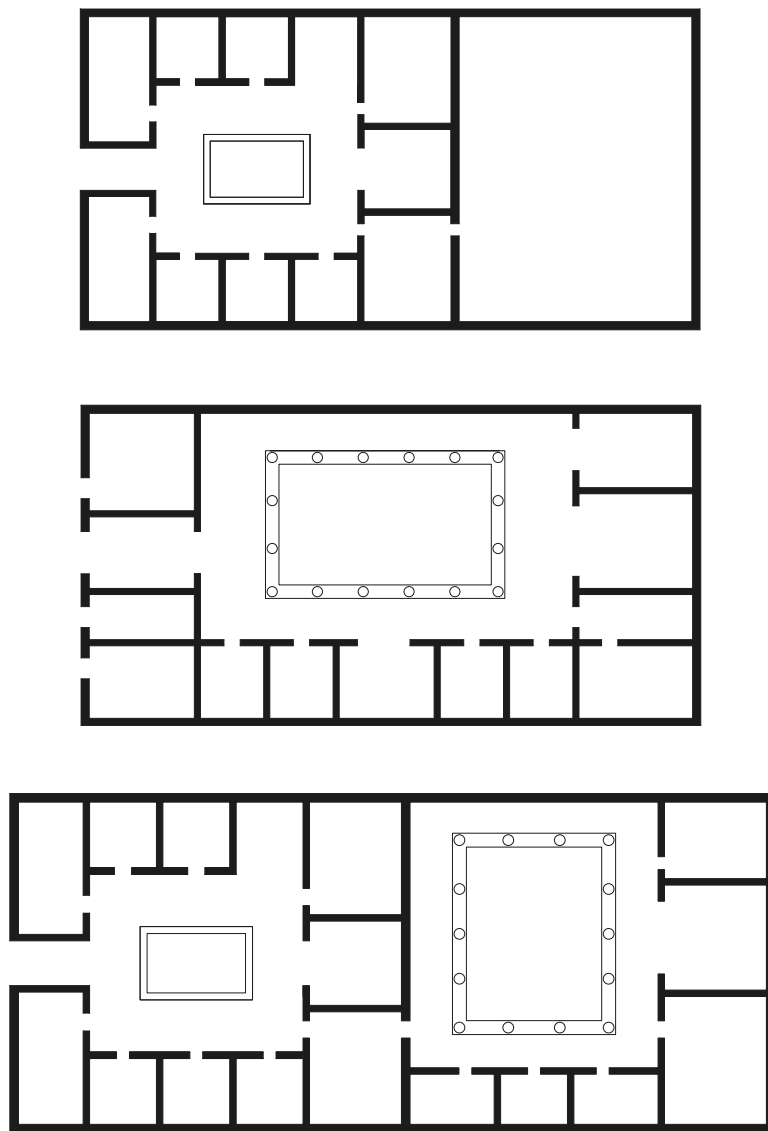
Figure 1.01: House with peristyle (top), atrium (middle), peristyle and atrium (bottom)
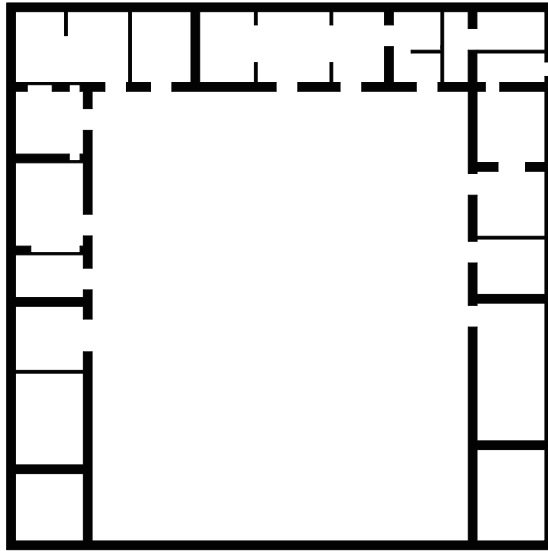
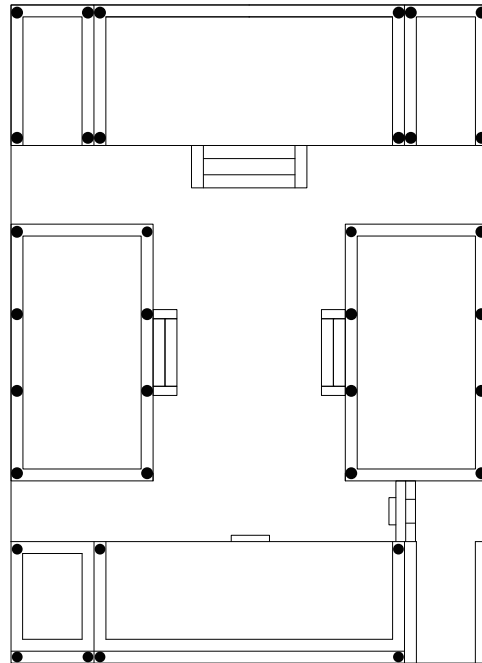Figure 1.02: Andalusian house with patio (Madīnat az-zahrā, Córdoba)

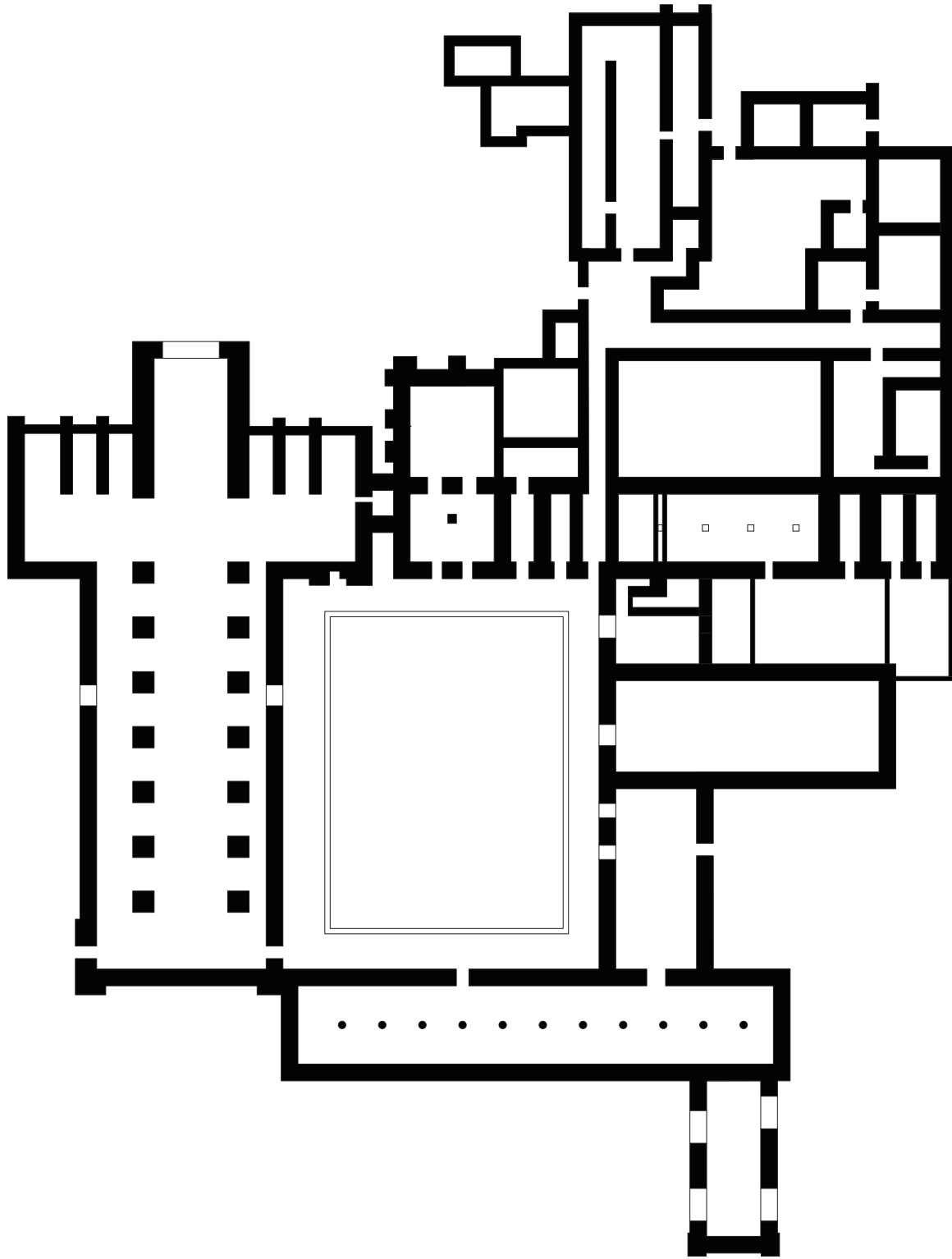Figure 1.03: Chinese courtyard house, siheyuan

Figure 1.04: Monastery with courtyard (Kirkstall Abbey, Leeds)

UTOPIAN COLLECTIVE TYPOLOGIES THROUGH HISTORY

"Until the end of the last century[11] *(19th), the house was not among the areas of activity of the architect. For the architect to take an interest in the house, it was necessary for the owner to be among the most privileged sections of the city and for the commissioned house to be at the scale of a palace, palazzo, villa, mansion, farm, or pavilion. Whether in Western Europe, on the shores of the Mediterranean, or in Anatolia, the houses of merchants, tradesmen, craftsmen, and wage earners, that is, the average person, were built according to the habits accumulated by building craftsmen over centuries. [...] Until the population explosion in the cities in the 19th century."*[12]

The collective living, that we know today, owes its genesis to the industrial revolution and the subsequent urbanization process. Starting from the the 18th century, socio-economic transformations emerged, which yielded far-reaching repercussions one hundred years later. The concept of collective life were shaped by the thinkers who wanted to respond to the radical changes that occurred rapidly during this era as well as the problems they brought with. Despite the fact that these responses were labeled as *"utopian"* and many efforts were unsuccessful -as some could not even have been realized- the utopian socialist models had a persistent impact on the communal living developments of the 20th century, exerting significant effects. As these early architectural-social experiments influenced many subsequent ideas and served as instructive models, they contributed to the emergence of new typologies such as company towns, garden cities, even the central-kitchen house projects and indirectly helped shape Red Vienna.

Industrialization facilitated a swift migration of rural inhabitants to urban centers, while agriculture was supplanted by factories, ultimately transforming the definition of the labor force. This process engendered a marked population

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11   19th century
12   Ihsan Bilgin, "20. Yüzyıl Mimarisi Barınma Kültürünün Hassas Dengeleri İle Nasıl Yüzleşti?" *[How did 20th Century Architecture Confront the Delicate Balances of Housing Culture?]*, *XXI Tepe Mimarlık Kültürü Dergisi [XXI Tepe - Journal of Architectural Culture]*, May-June 2000, p. 110.

boom, with the United Kingdom' vital role in this population growth.

Most left-wing factions sought to tackle the problem of inadequate housing that plagued Europe at the turn of the 20th century, drawing inspiration from the first Communist housing theory by Friedrich Engels's "The Housing Question." In 1842, the young philosopher Engels visited Manchester and toured the city. Despite being in his early twenties, he was deeply affected by the terrible living conditions in the city and drew the houses (and the streets) where the workers lived. While the construction industry could not meet such a high demand, wealthy property owners took advantage of the housing shortage and confined workers to crowded housing in poor conditions. People were living in overcrowded, very cramped and narrow houses, in dark and unhygienic conditions, and were working until they die. According to Engels *"miserable condition of the working-class is to be sought, not in minor grievances, but in the capitalistic system itself."*[13]

Figure 1.05: Friedrich Engels

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13 Friedrich Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England, trans. Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky (New York: John W. Lovell Company, 1887), p. Appendix II.

Figure 1.06: Dudley Street, a Victorian slum in London, 1856

Figure 1.07: Workers' slums, London, 1856

street

street
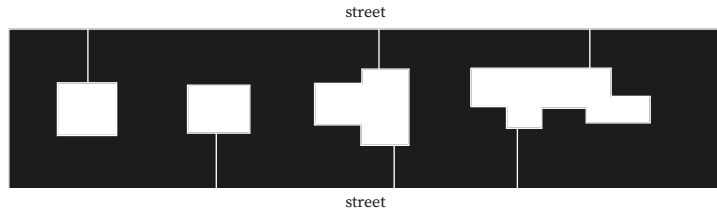
Figure 1.08: English working-class dwellings during the industrialization

street

street

street

third row of cottages

middle row

back street

first row, with courts

Figure 1.09: Three rows of working-class dwellings during the industrialization

Figure 1.10: English working-class dwellings from above

Phalanstère

French efforts to find a solution to the housing problem date back to the dawn of capitalism. Charles Fourier, who is considered one of the founders of utopian socialism, introduced the Phalanstère philosophical-architectural concept in his 1822 work.[14] This complex, consisting of a series of bu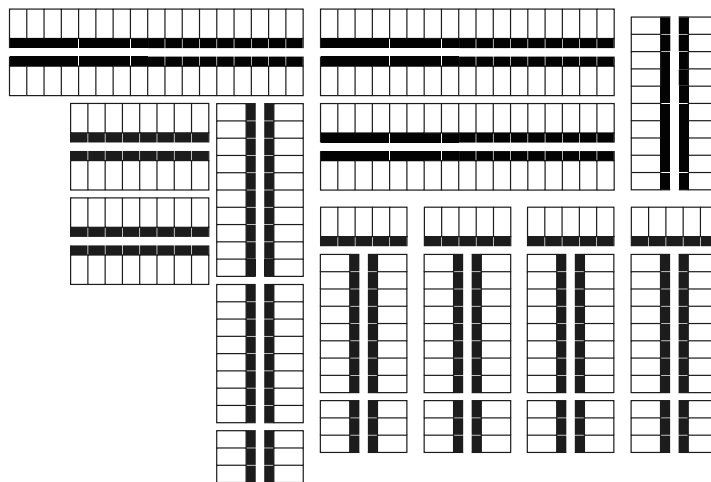ildings, was a utopia that could house 1620 people[15], spread over a vast area of four floors that were carefully designed to meet different needs. For example, the main building of the Phalanstère was a place where the whole community came together and many common activities took place. This building had sections designed for different purposes, such as libraries, theaters, restaurants, dance halls, and other entertainment areas. People could socialize and interact with other members of the community in these spaces. The additional parts of the Phalanstère are intended for habitation, and are tailored to each family's unique requisites.

An iconic point of the architecture is the circulation paths called *"Rue-Galerie,"* which continues from *péristyle continu*. The building was designed in a way that its residents could handle all their work without going outside, and almost all the roads were connected to each other with glass-covered collective circulation paths. Academic Martin Doll defines this area as a *"communication medium"*[16] because Fourier considered the internal circulation areas of the building as the place where people would meet and communicate, so he emphasized that these areas should offer a bright, vital atmosphere as much as possible. Following this, the residential entrances were directed inward, facing these bright areas. Thus, while the building was closed like a fortress from the outside, it became transparent towards the inner courtyards and provided a beautiful atmosphere. Schools were available for children to acquire an education, offices were provided for adults to engage in work, and a variety of other buildings

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14   Charles Fourier, "The Phalanstery," essay, in Charles Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité Universelle*, 1822, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/mirror/c/cf/charles-fourier-the-phalanstery.pdf.

15   Jon Lang, *The Routledge Companion to Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Century Urban Design: A History of Shifting Manifestoes,Paradigms, Generic Solutions, and Specific Designs* (London: Routledge, 2000). p. 57.

16   Martin Doll, "Medientechnik Des Gemeinsinns," *Zeitschrift Für Kulturwissenschaften* 7, no. 2 (2013) p. 22, https://doi.org/10.14361/zfk.2013.0203.

comprise the complex. Apart from the way the buildings were designed, the Phalanstère project had many new ideas about how people should live together. One of these ideas was that people should share the tools they use to make things, and also divide up the work so that everyone has a job to do. They also had a system for managing their time. The Phalanstère wasn't just a place for people to live, but also a place for them to make things together. Everyone who lived there worked together and shared the things they needed to make their products. This was meant to make the production process more efficient and improve the economy. However, due to the inability to find the financial resources Fourier was looking for, the project could not be realized in France.

Undoubtedly, Fourier's proposition did not represent the sole or final contribution to the discourse surrounding the conception of an ideal dwelling and lifestyle. Throughout history, numerous architects have explored concepts such as the ideal city, ideal dwelling, and ideal life, and generated corresponding projects.

Figure 1.11: Charles Fourier
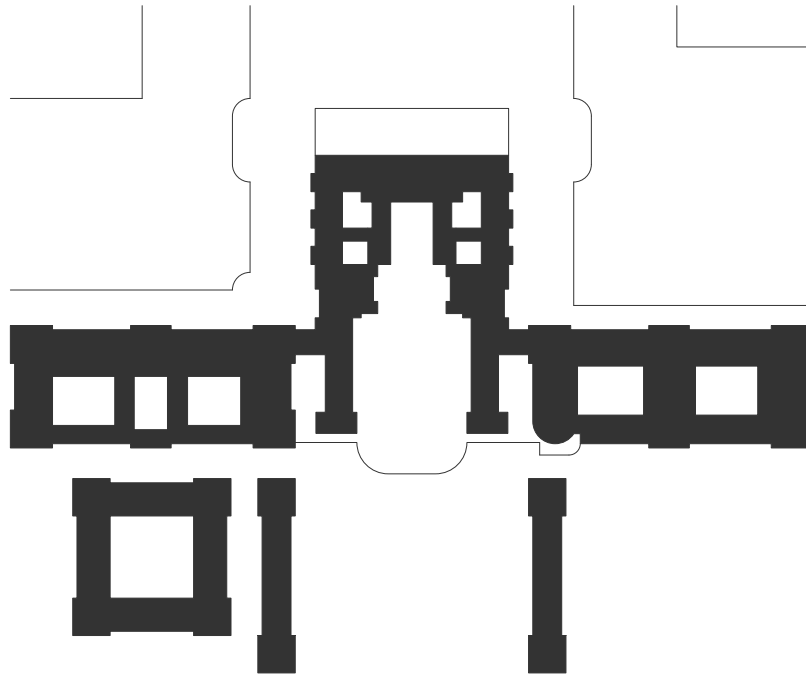
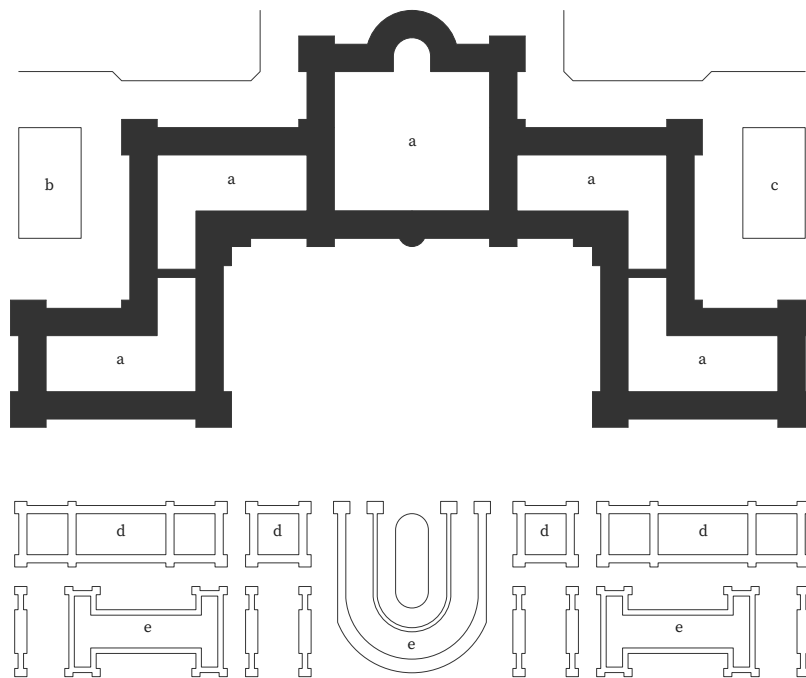Figure 1.12: Schematic plan of a baroque palace, Versailles

Figure 1.13: Schematic plan, Phalanstère
a. courtyards, b. theater, c. church, d. workshops, d. farms or stables
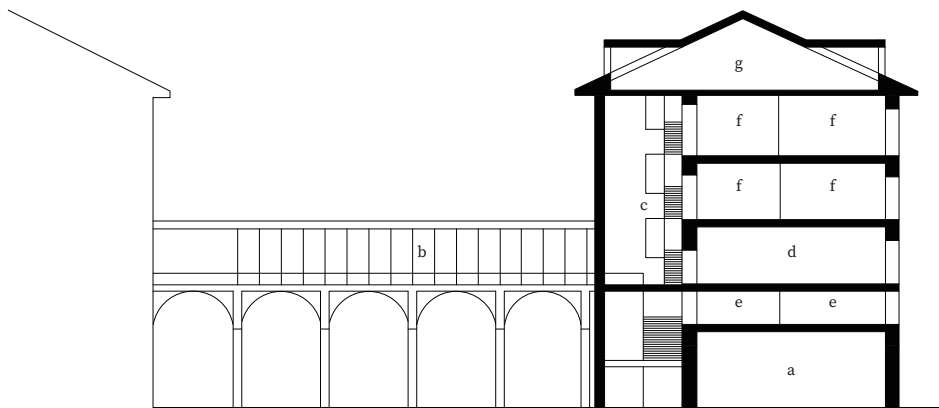
Figure 1.14: Section, Phalanstère.
a. ground-floor, b. connecting gallery, c. main gallery,
d. workshops, e. children's living quarter, f. apartments, g. rooftop

Figure 1.15: Versailles
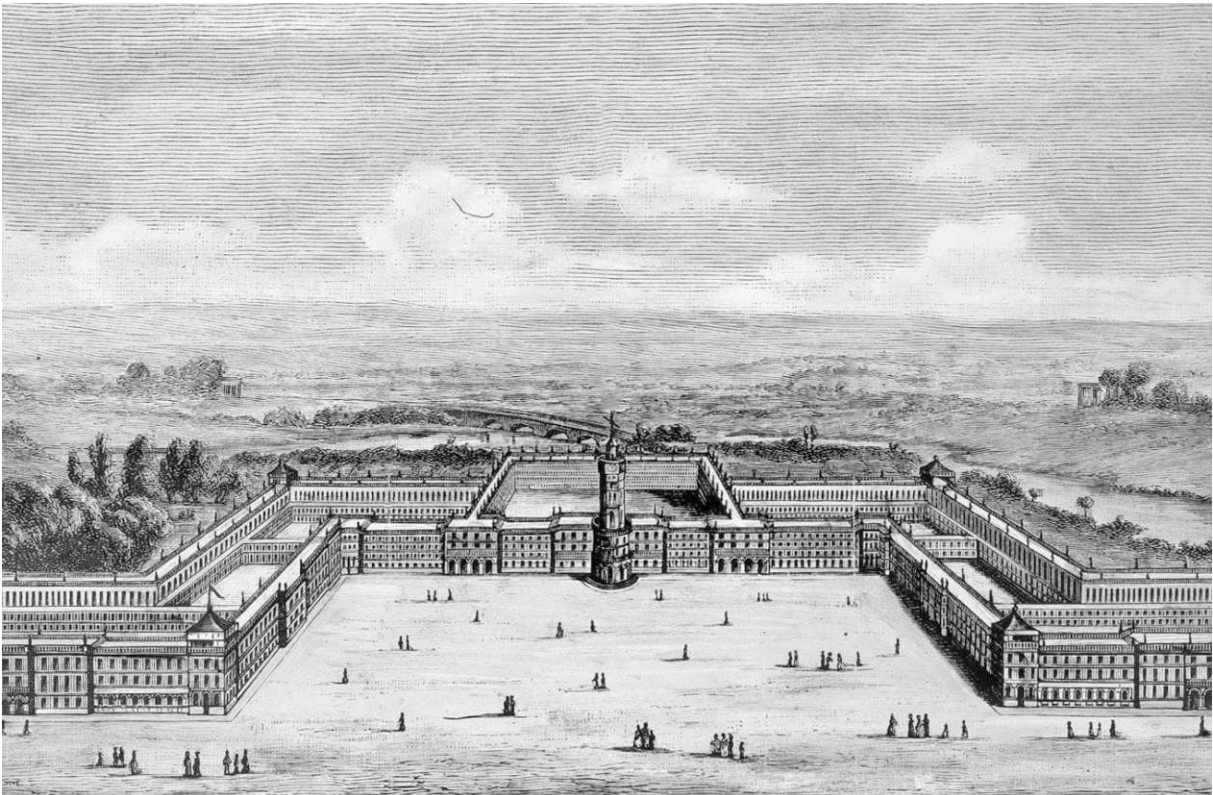
Figure 1.16: Phalanstère

The architectural design that arose from Fourier's aspiration to establish a "Versailles for the people" by means of Phalanstere, exhibiting similarities to the morphology of a palace, was not used by Fourier himself for the first time. During medieval England, a prominent prototype of housing typology emerged in the form of almshouses (also known as bede-houses), which quickly became a model, were buildings constructed as an extension of churches, especially for the homeless and elderly. These row structures, usually one or two stories high and designed in a block form, were arranged around an inner courtyard and equipped with common facilities such as a dining hall, laundry, and bathhouse. The footprint of the design can also be seen in Dom-Kommuna: Ulica Lesteva 18, which can be labeled as the first public housing built in the Soviet Union.
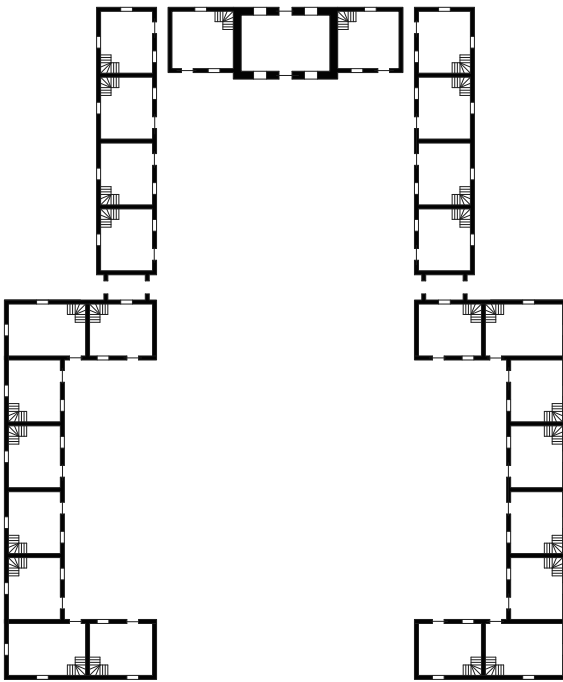
Figure 1.17: Plan, Hopton almshouse
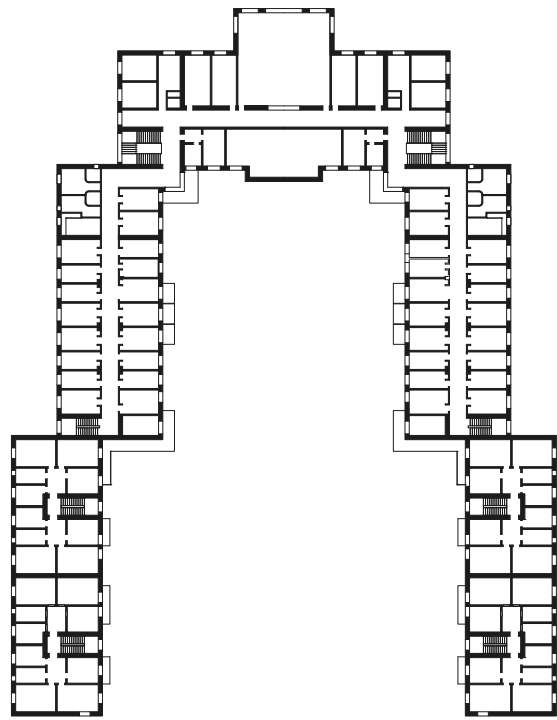
Figure 1.18: Plan, Dom-Kommuna: Ulica Lesteva 18

Cité idéale de Chaux

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, a prominent representative of 18th-century French neoclassical architecture, utilized his knowledge of architectural theory to devise plans for ideal dwellings and cities. In his *"Cité idéale de Chaux"* project of 1773-1774, he envisioned living spaces based on precise geometric forms, equipped with communal amenities, and tailored to meet the individual needs of inhabitants. Unlike the conventional urban planning approach of his time, At the very core of the project, there is neither a church nor a palace, but rather a factory that stands as the centerpiece. The production process is elevated to the heart of the design, and the radial pathways emanating from this central point serve as the defining feature of the settlement's structure. This choice reflects the deep significance of industry and innovation in shaping the community's identity and future. The objective of the project was to facilitate a communal and ecological life and enhance the overall standard of living. Nonetheless, the plan remained conceptual and was never put into practice.

Figure 1.19: Plan, Cité idéale de Chaux

Figure 1.20: Cité idéale de Chaux

Familistère de Guise

In contrast to Ledoux with *"Cité idéale de Chaux"* and Fourier with subsequent *"Phalanstère"*, by the year 1859, Jean-Baptiste André Godin, who was inspired by the Phalanstère concept introduced by Fourier about 35 years earlier, implemented a p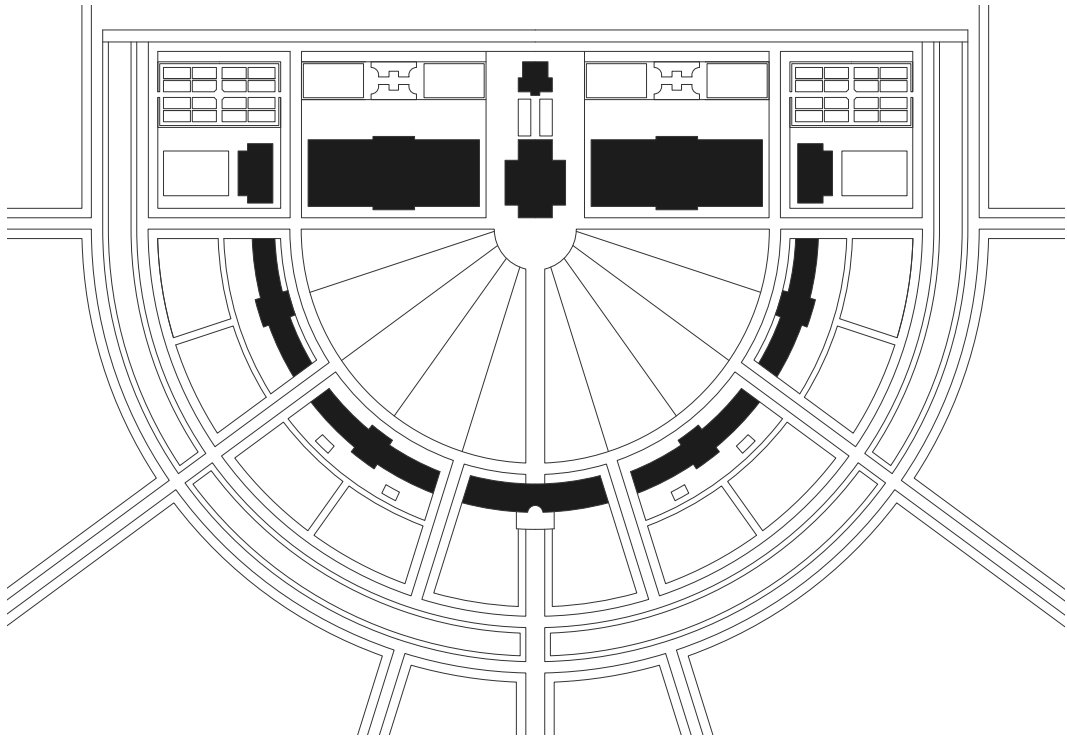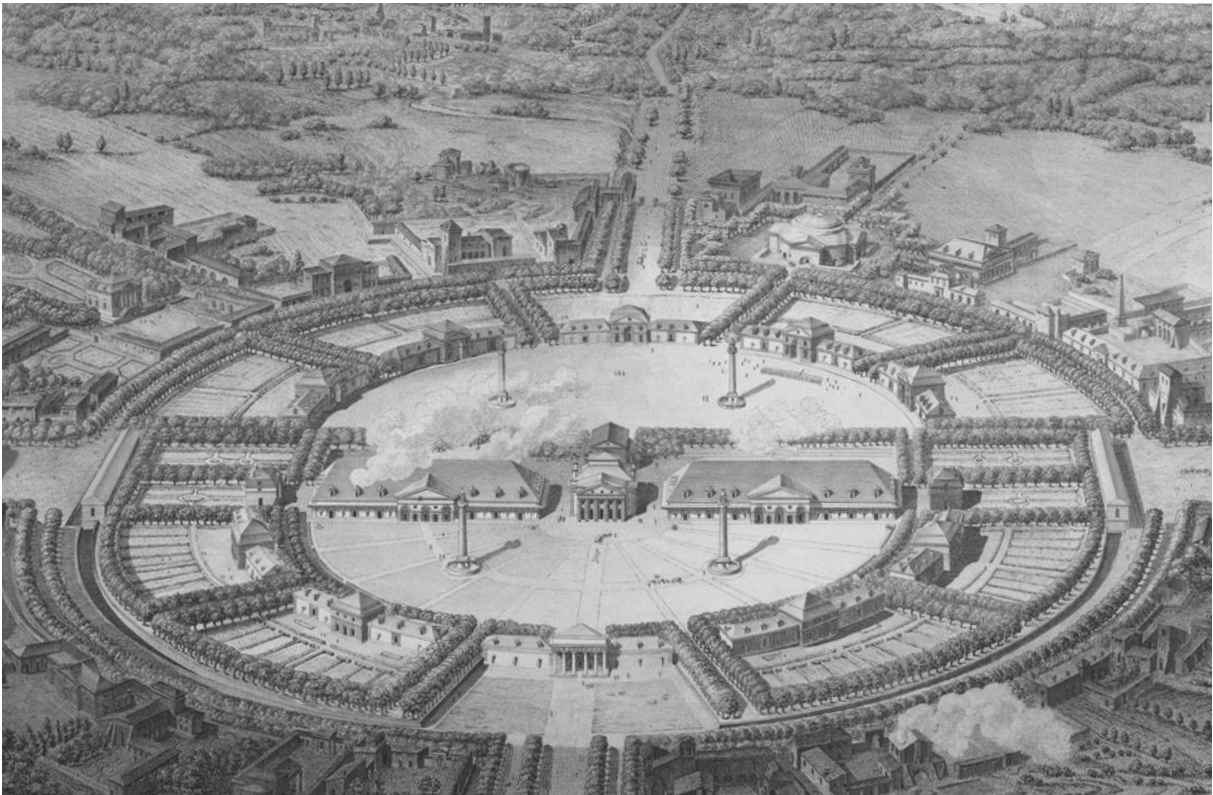roject called "Familistère de Guise". In fact, Godin was not the first person to consider realizing the Phalanstère idea. Various planners, including Ledoux mentioned earlier, implemented the Phalanstère concept in different countries, primarily in French colonies and America, during different periods of the 19th century. However, all of these examples, except for Godin's implementation, ended in failure and were not able to achieve permanence. Like the other examples mentioned, this *"social palace"* was actually a massive living complex that housed many social and educational facilities, with a potential capacity of 2000 people. While Fourier's Phalanstere has a front facade with a length around 1,2 kilometers, in the *modest* Familistère, this figure is just 180 meters. The central structure spans for a length of 65 meters and is joined by two wing structures on either side, each of which spans an additional 50 and 54 meters. The floor plan has been devised in a manner that enables the combination of every two neighbor small apartments among a total of 465, thereby resulting in the formation of a single, larger apartment.[17] The exterior of Le Familistère exhibits characteristics of standard mid-19th century French institutional architecture, constructed from decorative red bricks. However, it is the interior of the three communal blocks that truly stands out, as all the apartments are arranged in a distinctive manner behind continuous balconies on four levels surrounding spacious courtyards, which are covered by large overall roofs made of glass and timber. Godin, who also embraced Fourier's ideas about light and communication, constructed bridge-like structures out of glass to serve as circulation areas that were bright yet protected, and he placed great importance on a shared circulation area. This approach would find a place for itself in the architecture of the next century, in Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation, perhaps his most well-known work, where these communication areas were also designed to be bright in certain areas. The motivation behind this idea, which manifest itself very clear in the Familiestere project, was the

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17   Franziska Bollerey, *Architekturkonzeptionen Der Utopischen Sozialisten* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1991), p. 158.

desire not to limit the life in the building within the apartments. In relation to this, even the circulation model used inside the building was designed to support this goal. Access and circulation within the structure were created through internal access balconies.[18] However, this circulation preference, which can often be seen in Central Europe, went beyond these examples and was not limited to just circulation, but also designed as a *"social medium"*. The fact that these pathways were attached through the inner facade meant that as soon as residents left their apartments, they found themselves in the *new public space*. Therefore, it was crucial for this area not to be dull or uninviting. The structure, which served as a communal living center until the 1960s, is known as the first social housing project of the Modernist era.

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18 This circulation system preferred by Godin had also found widespread use in Austrian-Hungarian period architecture and is referred to as *"Pawlatschengang"* in German. The term comes from Czech word *"pavlač"* which means hanging access pathway attached to a loadbearing wall mostly facing inner courtyard, providing entrance to apartments. The pathways located beneath a protective glass roof in the Familistere were initially left open in the 19th century Zinshäuser. However, after the occurrence of the Ringtheater Fire in 1881 and the subsequent changes in the Vienna Building Code, this type of access was deemed prohibited. Consequently, in adherence to the new regulations, these pathways were closed and converted into access corridors, which suffered from a significant lack of natural light during the late 19th century.
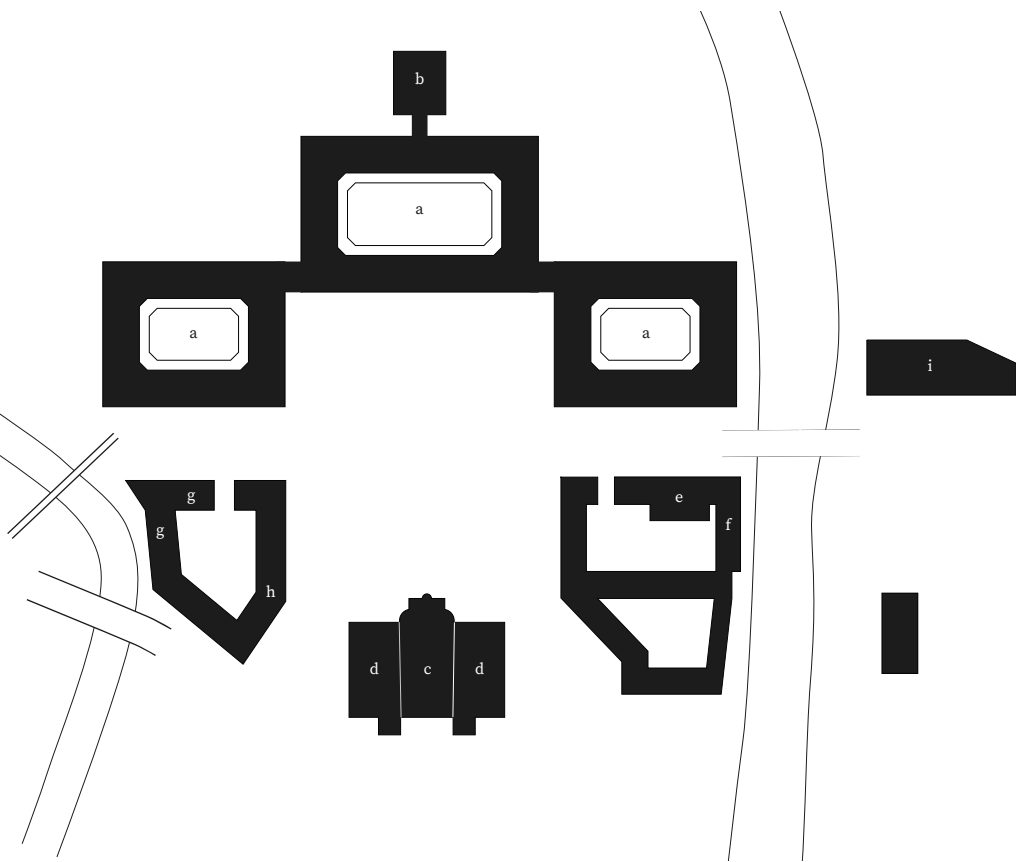
Figure 1.21: Site plan, Familistère de Guise
a. courtyards, b. kindergarten, c. theater, d. school, e.dining, f. kitchen,
g. store, h. cafe, i. laundry
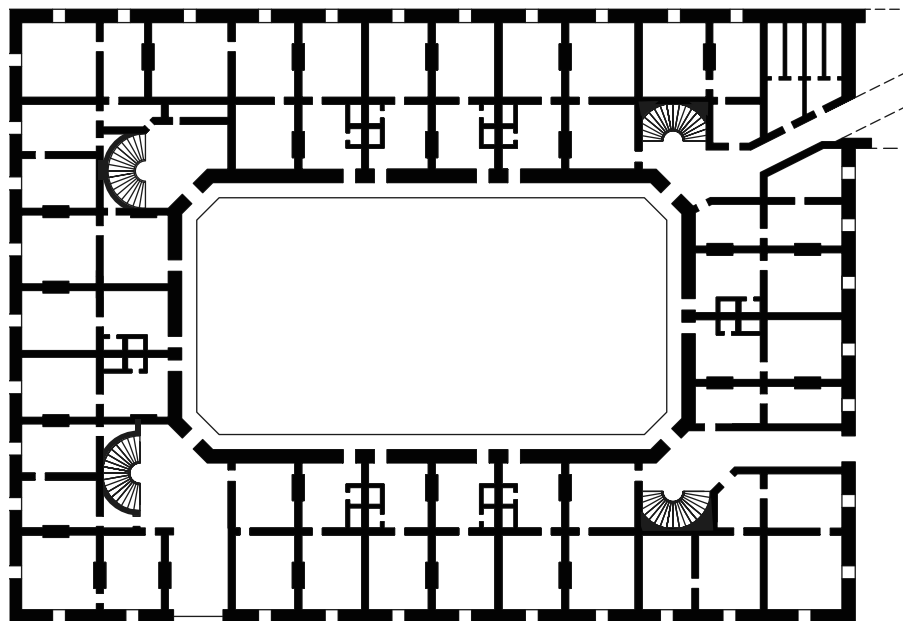
Figure 1.22: Plan, Familistère de Guise
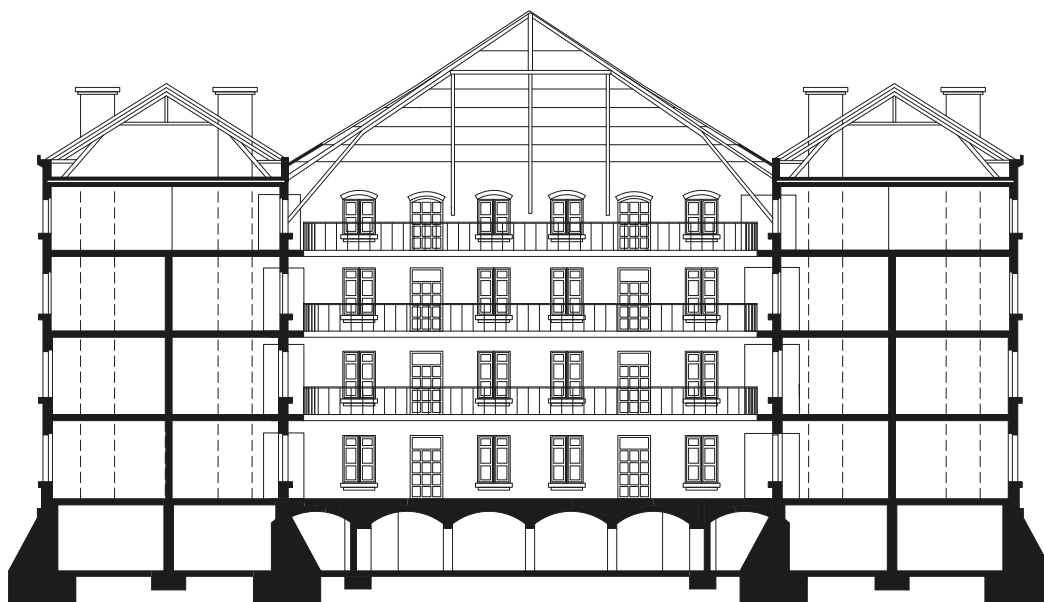
Figure 1.23: Section, Familistère de Guise

Figure 1.24: Frontal view of the central building, Familistère de Guise

Figure 1.25: Inner courtyard of the central building, Familistère de Guise

Figure 1.26: Circulation, Familistère de Guise

Figure 1.27: Inner courtyard as a social center, Familistère de Guise

New Harmony

While such conceptual and experimental architectural practices were taking place in France, similar developments were occurring on the other side of the English Channel. Welsh industrialist and social reformer Robert Owen, who pioneered the concept of cooperatives, was able to implement some of his collective living proposals. Owen posited that societal advancement hinged on enhancing the physical and social circumstances of individuals, with architectural and structural innovations playing a vital role in this endeavor. He maintained that a well-designed environment was necessary for people to enhance their quality of life. As illustrated in the Engels case mentioned earlier in this section, Owen prioritized the improvement of worker housing to address inadequate living conditions. In his view improved living conditions for workers would result in increased productivity and a greater contribution to the overall welfare of society. Consequently, Owen asserted that the architectural design of worker housing should prioritize the physical and mental health and happiness of laborers, providing necessary ventilation, lighting, and spaciousness. Furthermore, Owen contended that complexes should not be confined solely to residences but instead should be constructed near factories, featuring schools, theaters, libraries, and other public amenities. He posited that such functional housing would promote a culture of communal living and bolster community consciousness. In an effort to enhance working conditions and create an educated and healthy workforce, Owen spearheaded several groundbreaking practices at the New Lanark factory in England. However, he decided to go to the United States in 1824 to make larger-scale social reforms and founded the New Harmony project in Indiana with about 800[19]-1,200[20] people, buying approximately 30,000 acres (about 121 square kilometers) of land for $150,000 (the equivalent of about $4 million in 2021) as an ideal settlement.[21] The project focused on environmental sustainability and human comfort, with large windows for natural

19   Türker Uslu, "The Impacts of Utopias on Mass Housing Design", MS thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 1996, p. 43.
20   David Starr Jordan and Amos W. Butler, "New Harmony," *The Scientific Monthly* 25, no. 5 (November 1927): 468–70, https://doi.org/ http://www.jstor.org/stable/7936
21   Richard Gunderman, "Robert Owen, Born 250 Years Ago, Tried to Use His Wealth to Perfect Humanity in A Radically Equal Society," The Conversation, May 11, 2021, https://theconversation.com/robert-owen-born-250-years-ago-tried-to-use-his-wealth-to-perfect-humanity-in-a-radically-equal-society-158402.

light and ventilation, and all buildings following each other around a massive inner courtyard with social facilities such as a central kitchen, dining halls, a theater, an inn, schools and other educational facilities, and a library. However, problems within the community arose after about three years. Two factors stood out among these. One was the vacuum created by Owen's constant travels to different cities and countries to promote his ideas, which made itself felt in New Harmony. The other was the absence of any conditions for entering New Harmony, leading to an imbalance in the distribution of the population. As a result of the disparity between the number of intellectuals engaged in creative and intellectual work and the number of workers capable of carrying out the necessary tasks to sustain the community, the system became unsustainable and Owen sold the New Harmony land in 1928. The failure of New Harmony left behind significant debates as it was associated with a paternalistic approach. Whether intentionally or not, New Harmony, initially conceived as a social utopia, ultimately evolved into a noteworthy architectural venture that directly impacted the subsequent comprehension of workers' housing. The project was an important source of inspiration for modern architecture and urban planning and became one of the first social experiments to adopt an environmentally friendly and human-focused design philosophy. However, from a financial perspective, it also demonstrated the challenges that such an architectural approach could face.
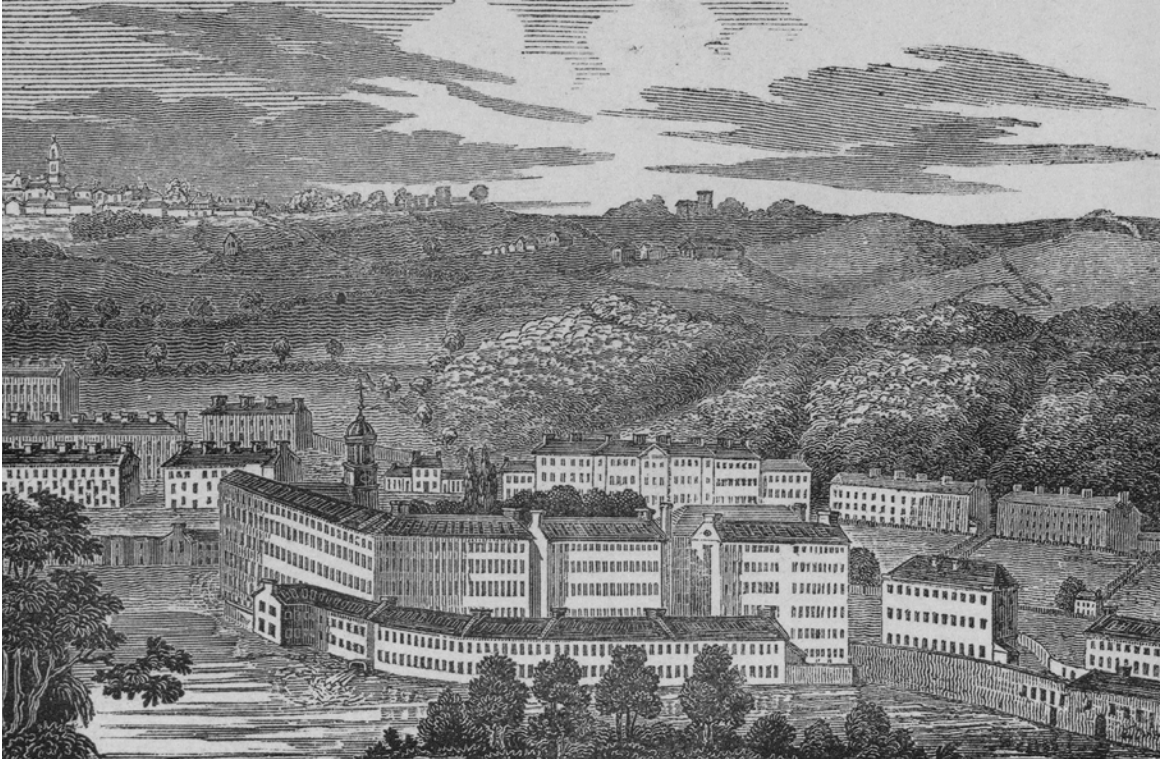
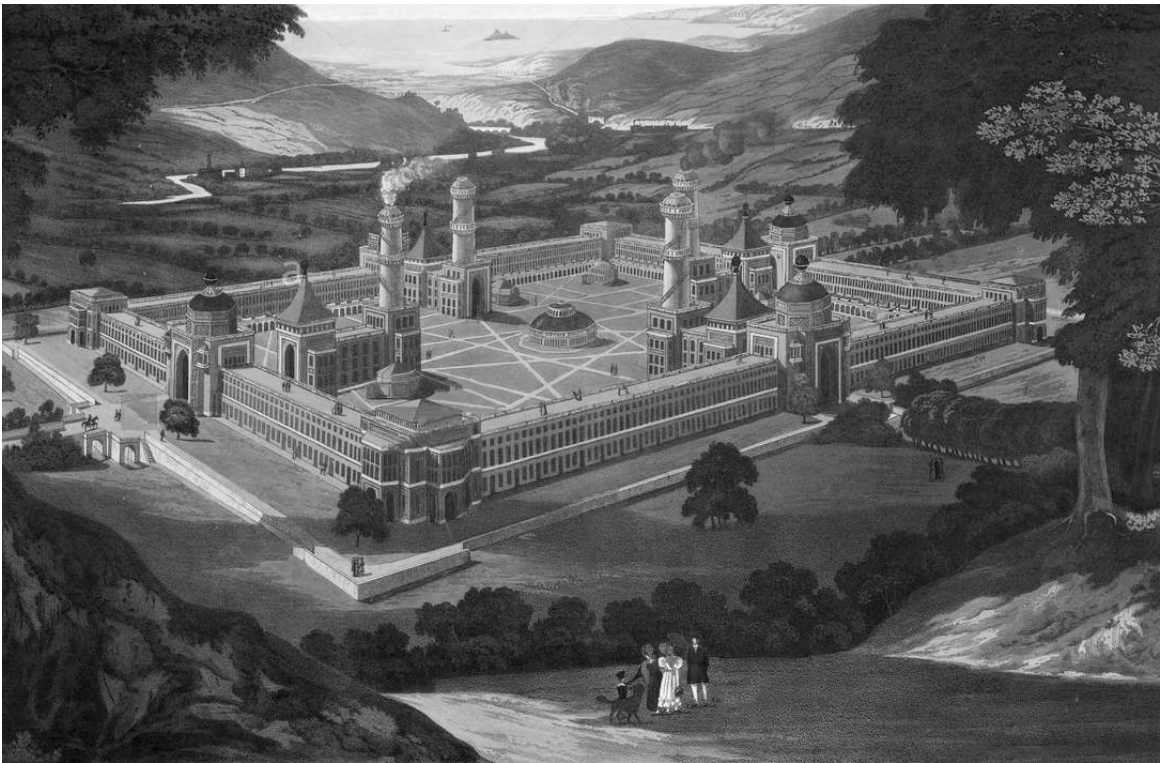Figure 1.28: Robert Owen

Figure 1.29: Factory Complex, New Lanark

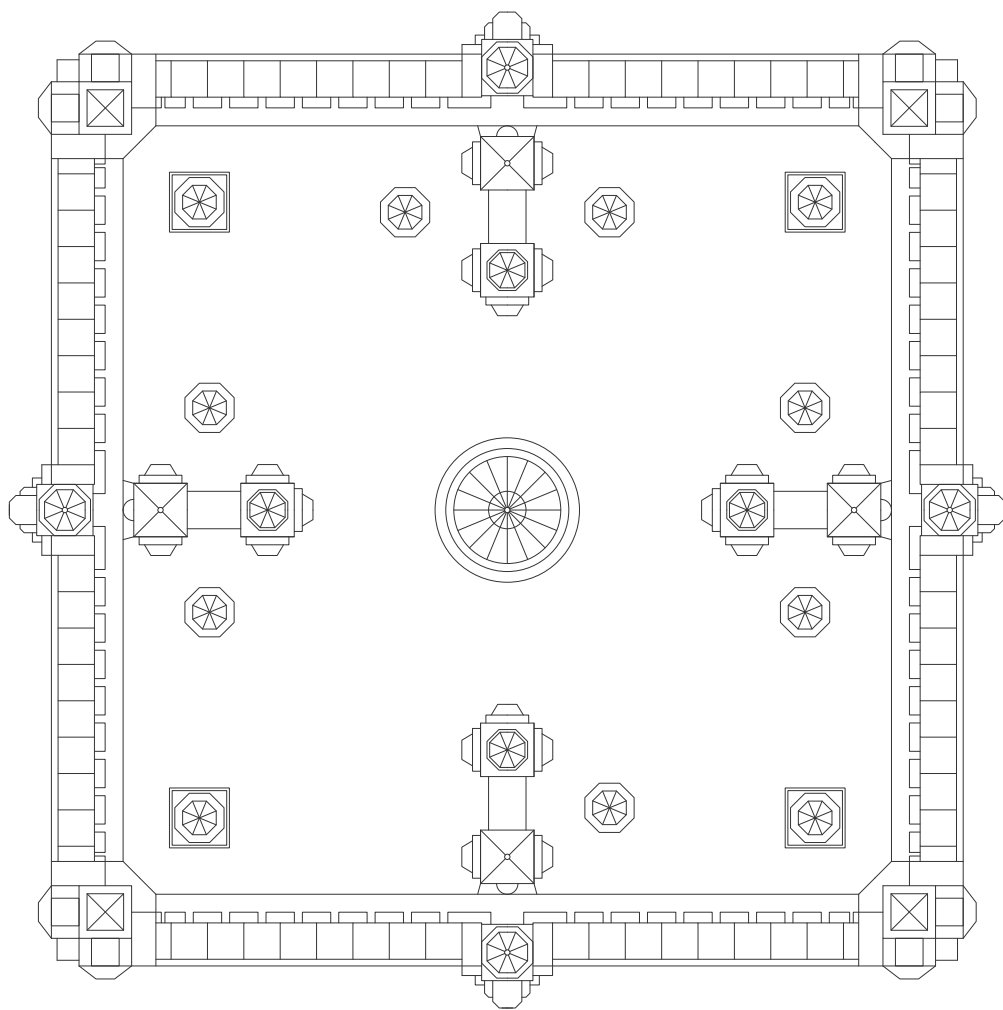

Figure 1.30: New Harmony, Indiana

Figure 1.31: Plan, New Harmony

Company Towns

In the beginning of the 19th century, factories were predominantly situated close to urban centers. Nonetheless with the increasing industrial production accompanying the industrial revolution, they began to expand. This growth brought with it the need for larger areas. On the other hand, factories located in cities were causing environmental pollution, which was increasing health problems. While the urban working-class population growth was perceived as a *problem* by the aristocracy, accommodating such migration was also proving to be a challenging task for the city. Moreover, the progression of transportation infrastructure, facilitated by industrialization, had also paved the way for factories to be moved out of the city. The migration of factories from urban to suburban areas sparked the development of a new type of architecture that catered to the needs of workers and their families. As factories moved outside the city limits, employers began establishing small suburban enclaves around them, designed to offer improved living conditions compared to those in the city. The influence of Robert Owen's ideas, initially implemented in New Lanark and later in New Harmony, was paramount during this transformation. The so-called company towns that emerged in this period embraced Owen's concepts and principles. The company towns, built in close proximity to the factories, were thoughtfully planned to accommodate various aspects of worker life, including housing, food, healthcare, education, ample green spaces, and opportunities for social and cultural activities. Similar to Owen's philosophy, the founders of these towns believed that *"happy workers are good workers."* Furthermore, during a period when production shifted from agriculture to industry almost entirely, these company towns made it possible for industrial workers to return to agriculture. Established by William Hesketh Lever and *Cadbury Brothers, Port Sunlight* in Liverpool and *Bournville* in Birmingham became among the most important examples of company towns.

0   100   200

Figure 1.32: Site plan, Port Sunlight, Liverpool - 1:10.000
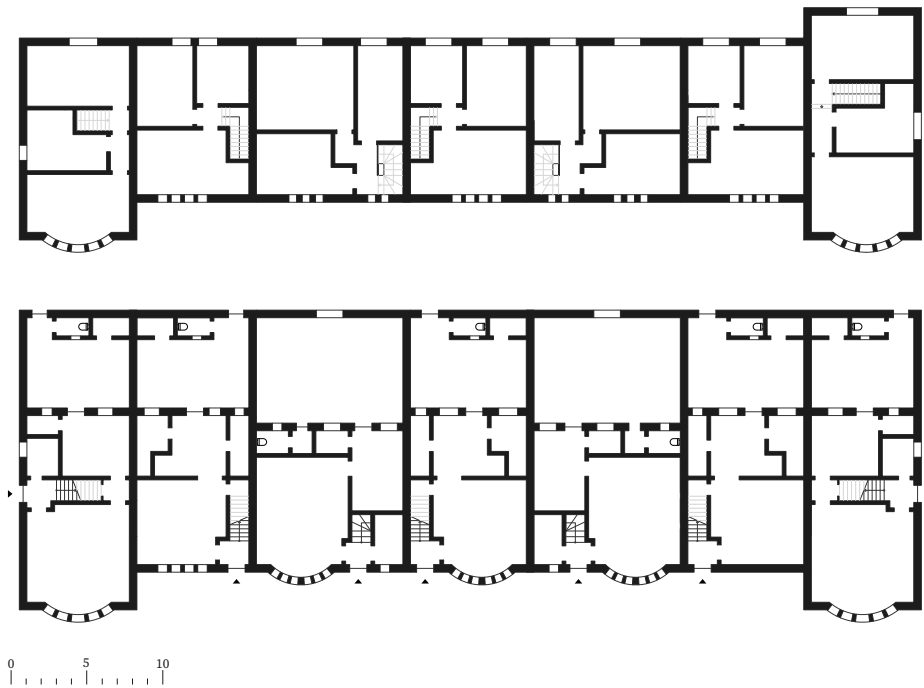

0   5   10

Figure 1.33: Plan, cottages in Port Sunlight, Liverpool - 1:500

Garden Cities

Prior to the late 19th century, a common objective among reformers, social thinkers, and architects was to curb the uncontrolled expansion of cities by promoting the migration of the working class to rural areas through utopian ideals. Simultaneously, these individuals instituted semi-open/closed systems to satisfy fundamental necessities. However, such a strategy resulted in dwellers being cut off from the city and locked behind closed systems, which also led to the loss of the advantages of city living. Urban planner Ebenezer Howard proposed that an ideal balance might be reached where the advantages of both urban and rural living could coexist. In his book published in 1898, which later became known as *"Garden Cities of To-Morrow"*[22], Howard made an ideal city manifesto through the diagram called *"The Three Magnets"*, where the two magnets named *"Town"* and *"Country"* at the top are trying to attract the *"Human"* object in the middle. The magnets were loaded with the positive and negative charges (characteristics) associated with their respective areas. The *"Town"* magnet, for instance, offeres numerous social and job opportunities, a better income, culture, science and even well-lit roads. However, it also carries negative charges like detachment from nature, high expenses,[23] housing and hygiene issues, among others. The second magnet, *"Country"*, comes with relatively good living conditions such as fresh air, being in nature, lots of natural light, along with deficiency in social consciousness, conservatism, high labor low income, and opposing characteristics.[24] Meanwhile, Howard advocated for the establishment of the third magnet named *"Town-Country"*, which prioritizes a way of life that combines the positive charges of both magnets while attempting to eliminate the negative ones

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22 Howard's manifestation book ton the Garden City movement was first published in 1898 under the title "*To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*" and in 1902 was reissued in its second edition under the familiar name, *"Garden Cities of To-Morrow."*

23 *"For instance, while the rent for an acre in rural areas is around 4 pounds, this figure can rise up to 30,000 pounds in some areas of London."* in Steen Eiler Rasmussen, Ulrike Franke, and Torsten Lockl, *London: The Unique City - Die Geschichte Einer Weltstadt* (Berlin: Bauverlag, 2013), p. 239.

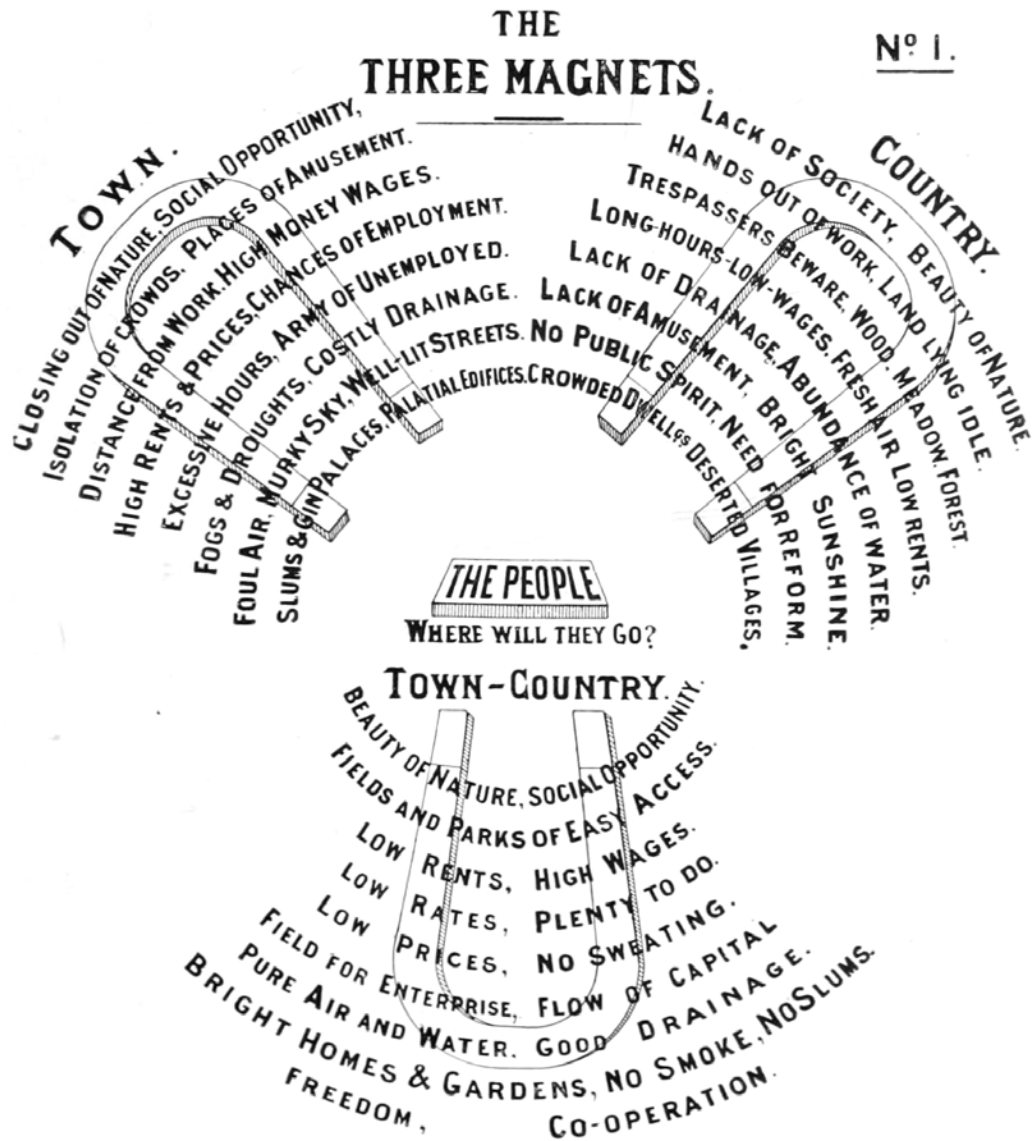24 Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1902), p. 16-17.

Figure 1.34: Diagram of the three magnets

through collaborative efforts, planning, and architectural design.

Garden City is symbolized by Howard as one main central city with 58,000 population surrounded by six garden cities with 32,000 inhabitants, each. The project is a combination model of multiple ring roads and boulevards crossing each other at varying symmetries. Each of these six cities is connected to one another and to the center through a network of highways, rail systems, and water channels, while simultaneously featuring a multitude of homes that include gardens within their respective boundaries. It is essential to develop each of the six small cities to a level that is capable of meeting the daily needs of their residents almost entirely. Unless otherwise desired, individuals should have the option to meet their social and economic requirements by remaining within their respective small cities. In contrast, the central city will have a circular layout comprising significant public buildings such as a municipality, hospital, library, theater, museum, etc. The *Central Garden* is situated in front of the public buildings, and behind them lies the vast expanse of the *Central Park*. The *Central Garden* that would serve as the project's central focal point. All boulevards, streets, and structures will emanate outward from this point. In line with the project's goal of promoting a production-oriented lifestyle, there will be a market to sell products manufactured in all of these cities. To fulfill this purpose, a circular glass structure known as the *Crystal Palace* will be positioned directly behind the *Central Park*.

The idea of relocating the proletariat from the city and offering them the opportunity to live with their families under humane conditions was also initiated by Robert Owen with New
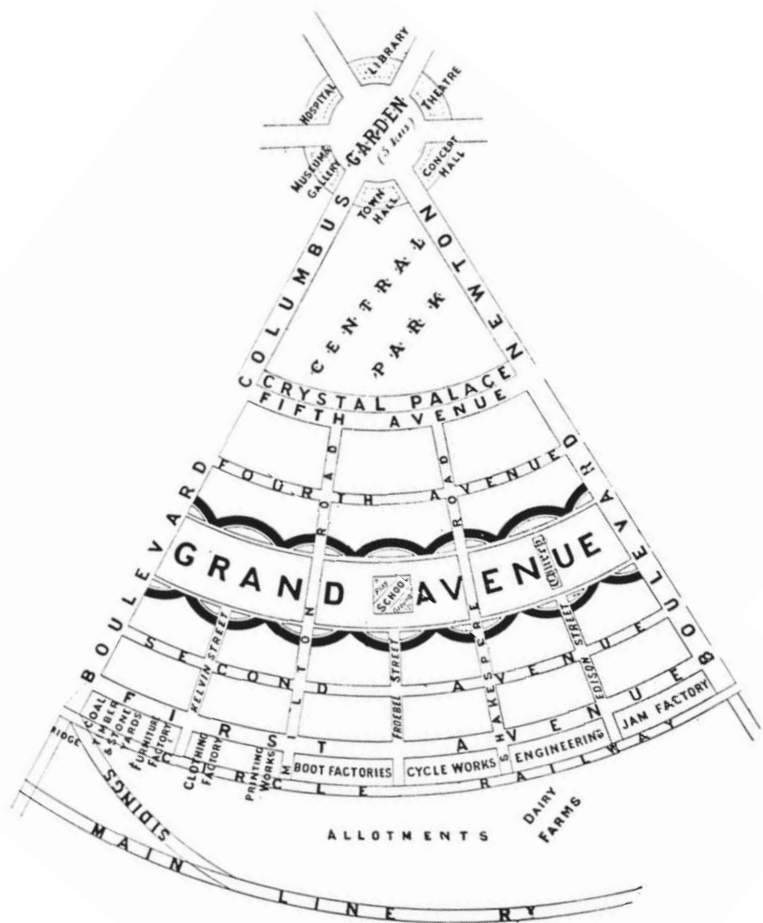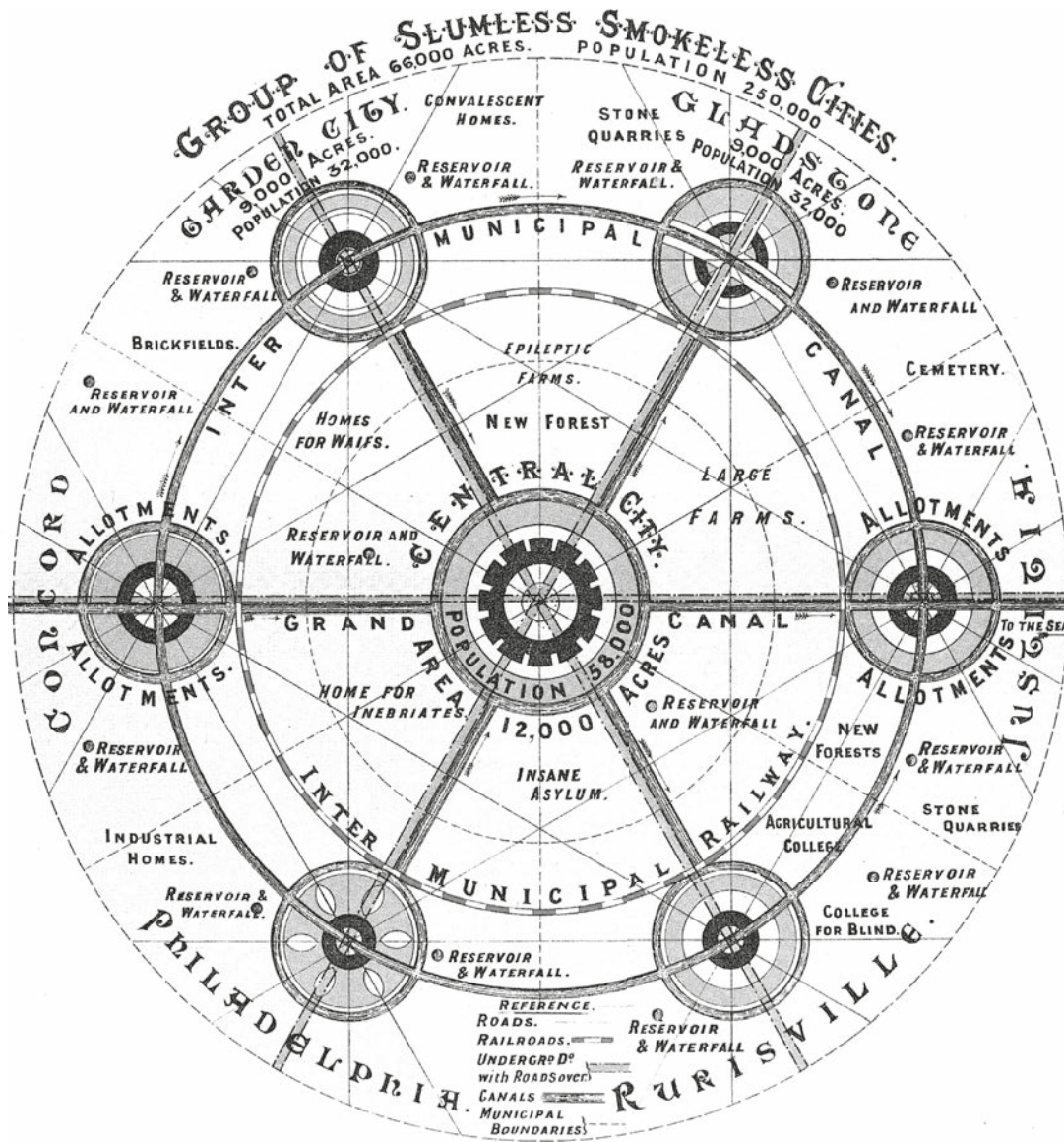

Figure 1.35: Segment of a garden city

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Figure 1.36: Schmatic diagram of garden cities

Harmony, and was later implemented through Company Towns that emerged in the second half of the 19th century. It is evident that there is an interaction between Company Towns and Garden Cities. This intellectual and design relationship is more easily recognizable when considering the founder of Bournville Company Town, Cadbury's statement:

"The Founder is desirous of alleviating the evils which arise from the insanitary and insufficient accommodation supplied to large numbers of the working classes, and of securing to workers in factories some of the advantages of outdoor village life, with opportunities for the natural healthful occupation of cultivating the soil [...] amelioration of the condition of the working-class and labouring population in and around Birmingham, and elsewhere in Great Britain, by the provision of improved dwellings, with gardens and open spaces to be enjoyed therewith."[25]

As in many examples of utopian planning, the idea that emerged from such a tightly controlled planning, which did not take into account the human aspect of the individual, was not directly put into practice, which is not difficult to predict. In 1903, Howard established a city called *Letchworth Garden City* with financial contributions from significant supporters of the Company Town concept, such as *Cadbury and Lever*.[26] The city was supposed to sustain a population around 30,000.[27] The area, which was the first garden city, aimed to to create self-contained communities that would provide a high

quality of life for their residents. Although the project has been successful in attracting people with its appeal, tax benefits, and affordable rent opportunities, as well as its wide open spaces for residents, it was not possible to keep the prices at a level that would be suitable for the working class as time passed.

In 1919, Howard established a second garden city in Welwyn, with Louis de Soissons as the chief architect. Drawing on the lessons and experiences gained from Letchworth, the development was even more successful. Welwyn, which was charmingly integrated with the topography, made good use of its geographic advantages. Both Letchworth and Welwyn deviated from Howard's ideas in some respects as outlined in his book, *"Garden City of To-Morrow,"* as they were not constructed in a utopian atmosphere, and their infrastructure (especially in Welwyn) was designed to be in harmony with the topography.

This experiment, which was initially considered utopian but successfully implemented, once again demonstrated that perfect design cannot be achieved in architecture, and that the success or failure of a project is dependent on many factors, such as the world, life, geography, region, and even sociology. Howard's idea may not have completely redefined urban planning by achieving the perfect success, but it profoundly influenced the approach to future outskirt settlement in the 20th century. These examples, particularly in Red Vienna, sparked heated debates over the design of many settlements, and the *"urban versus rural"* conflict continued for another century. Nevertheless, Howard,

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25   Lyra Dale Trueblood, " The Bournville Village Experiment: A Twentieth-Century Attempt at Housing the Workers,"
        The Arena, vol. 34, no. 192, 1905, p. 449.
26   Kristin E. Larsen, *Community Architect: The Life and Vision of Clarence S. Stein* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2016),
        p. 19.
27   Mervyn Miller, "Letchworth Garden City Eighty Years On," *Built Environment 9*, no. 3/4 (1983): p. 167.

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Figure 1.37: Site plan, Letchworth Garden City, Letchworth - 1:10.000

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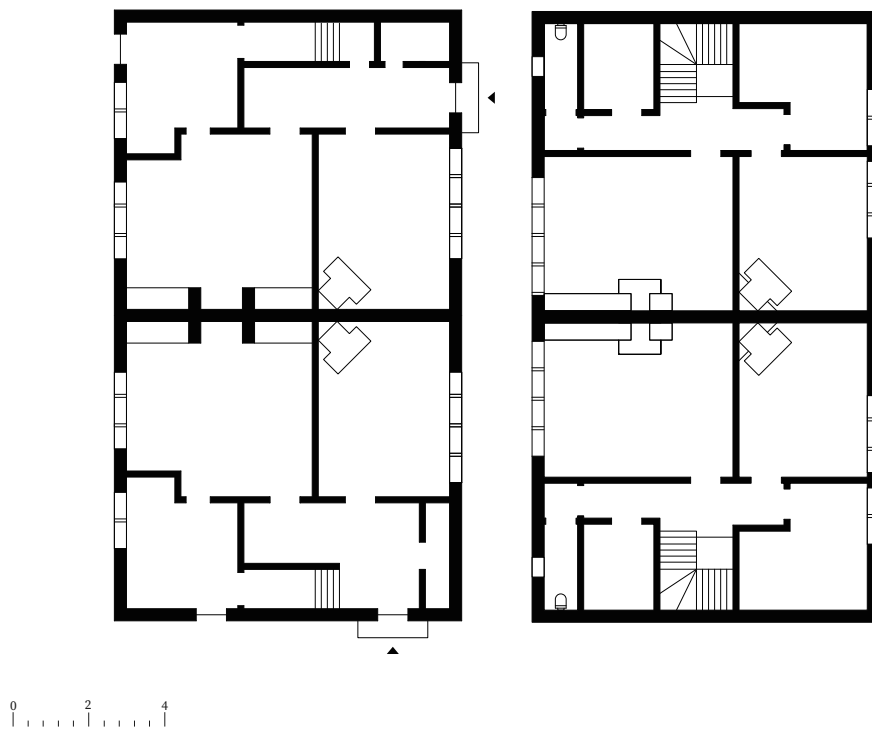
Figure 1.38: Plan, house in Letchworth Garden City, Letchworth - 1:200

by igniting this debate, had accomplished a difficult task. After all the promotion, financial assistance, a quarter century of intellectual and physical effort, the establishment of two cities, and the result of all this is the production of a housing stock that can only accommodate a total of 25,000 people...[28] The analysis of such examples would aid in our better understanding of the housing preferences of Red Vienna. During the Red Vienna period, even prominent figures such as Mayor Jakob Reumann showed interest in the settlement idea, but the reason for the backbone of housing programs always being based on Superblocks can be understood from these architectural-economic motifs, even if all political or sociological reasons would be set aside.

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28   *"Not a large number when considering that four times as many people are looking for housing each year in the greater London."* from Steen Eiler Rasmussen, Ulrike Franke, and Torsten Lockl, *London: The Unique City - Die Geschichte Einer Weltstadt* (Berlin: Bauverlag, 2013), p. 342.

PART 2

PATHWAY TO GEMEINDEBAU

The second chapter, which starts with the last half-century of the monarchy, takes on the task of a comparative architectural analysis of the period's housing typologies, accompanied by a historical narrative. The architectural narrative begins with the Ringstraße and the new urban planning scale, then examines worker housing, bourgeois housing, and finally analyzes the Jubiläumshäuser, which can be called a social housing experiment, during the monarchy period. The analysis is conducted using archival data, official information, plans, and photographs to explore the existing architectural typologies and to delve into how the municipal housing program became a necessity. Since the context of discussion is the housing typology and architectural production of Red Vienna, in order to better establish the roots of this architectural context, the study addresses the Marxist ideology and architectural vision of Austro-Marxism, which formed the ideological basis of the Social Democratic Party's architectural policy. This lays the foundation for many references that will be made in the later sections of the study. The information obtained from reading municipal publications, council sessions, and newspapers of the period, as well as the insights from prominent figures like Eve Blau, Helmut Weihsmann, Hans and Rudolf Hautmann, who have written about the period in the following years, have been taken into account, and the process of creating this new typology has been thoroughly investigated.

HISTORICAL FOUNDATION (1850-1920)

Considering that the paper is about Red Vienna, it would be erroneous to commence the investigation of the urban development activities on the city by accepting 1918, the end of World War and the Dual Monarchy, as a milestone. To fully grasp the situation in the period following the First World War, it is necessary to read the history of Vienna and Austria starting from the mid 1800s. Such an approach would prevent the reader from making adequate contextual connections, resulting in comprehension gaps throughout the analysis. The overall circumstances, as well as a number of significant initiatives nearing the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, profoundly impacted not only the Red Vienna period, but also today's Vienna.

Gründerzeit: Urban Planning and the Significance of the Ringstraße

The city as the capital of the mighty empire went through a lot of transformations in the second half of the 19th century. In terms of urban development, Vienna had reached its pinnacle as the capital of the empire following the results of 1848 revolution. Many infrastructural upgrades took place in the city under mayor Karl Lueger and solution to difficulties with electricity, water, and gas supply were offered with unfriendly anti-social tax policies. Lueger was the most prominent leader of the Christian Socials. He constructed many populist policies based on anti-Semitic foundations. Up until 1907, only men were eligible to vote, which suited conservative Christian Socials admirably. In the light of that, the party had previously had a significant impact on Vienna politics. Under Lueger's administration, in order to enlarge the city, demolition of the historic fortification walls began in 1857 as homes began to proliferate outside the municipal limits, which was also the beginning of the renowned Ringstraße project. The project's development was guided by two primary objectives. The first was to display the splendor of the once-mighty monarchy, which had erred and gradually lost authority over time. The second crucial factor was to clear the way for the representation of the new bourgeoisie, which arose during a moment when the empire was losing blood and whose arrival seemed unavoidable. Following the development of Ringstraße Boulevard, opulent representative buildings for the new bourgeois were erected. The city was constructing liberally all around, as though giving itself a new appearance and this appearance was to be defined by great structures. Nationalbibliothek,[29] Rathaus,[30] Parliament, Kunsthistorisches Museum,[31] Naturhistorisches Museum,[32] Wiener Staatsoper,[33] Börse[34] and more were built all in an eclectic historicist architectural style incorporating features from Renaissance, Jugendstil, Baroque, Classical, Gothic, which is also called as Ringstraßenstil.[35]

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29   Austrian National Library
30   Vienna City Hall
31   Museum of Art History
32   Natural History Museum
33   Vienna State Opera
34   Vienna Stock Exchange Building
35   "Architektur und Design: Die Wiener Ringstraße," Wien.Info, accessed January 3, 2023,
      https://www.wien.info/de/sightseeing/architektur-design/ringstrasse-356766.

With all this grandeur created by star architects of the time such as Heinrich von Ferstel, Gottfried Semper, Carl von Hasenauer, Ludwig von Förster and his son-in-law Theophil von Hansen, it was nearly impossible to not be amazed by it.

This circumstance, though, was only the visible side of the coin. A short walk away from these majestic representative monuments lied an unbelievable poverty and it was about to get worse. After the removal of the inner-city walls and the establishment of a prestigious urban area, known as the Ringstraße, the local aristocracy migrated to this location. In contrast, the working class residing outside of the Ringstraße began relocating towards the outskirts of Gürtel, which was previously the city's defense wall and closer to industrial centers. In doing so, the working class was also relinquishing the areas between Gürtel and Ringstraße to the bourgeoisie. By the end of the 19th century, the social classes in the city had become physical boundaries, and everyone was living lives "appropriate to their own ranks." While the Ringstraße served as a physical boundary separating the aristocracy from the bourgeoisie, the Gürtel marked the new boundary between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These differences were as contrasting as night and day, as sharp as a knife, and as opposite as poles.

Figure 2.01: Burgtheater, Ringstraße, 1900

Figure 2.02: Ringstraße, 1900

Figure 2.03: University of Vienna, Ringstraße, 1900

Figure 2.04: Imperial Council (today parliament), Ringstraße, 1900

Living Conditions in the Final Years of Monarchy

Since the second half of the 19th century, the city had become an incredible migration center. Within the large empire, which housed more than 50 million people, a huge influx of migration started from the eastern regions, such as Galicia[36] and Bukovina[37], towards the capital. During this fifty-year period, the migration movement had become so out of control that the population, which was approximately 400,000, had exceeded 2 million. Despite the efforts of the mayor Karl Lueger, to take many steps towards city planning, policies to combat poverty were almost non-existent. The housing capacities in the city were not prepared for this uncontrolled and rapid population growth, and living conditions began to deteriorate immeasurably. In addition, the state left almost all housing production to the private sector and rejected any intervention in rent-tenant conflicts, causing the housing crisis for people living under extremely difficult conditions to spiral out of control. Private property owners usually made monthly contracts with their tenants, and everyone lived in constant fear of being evicted at any moment. As a result, throughout the period, a proletarian family was constantly on the move and was moving from one shelter to another with almost no property rights. People who had a chance to put their heads under a roof sometimes shared a room with ten or more people.[38] Also for those who could not afford accommodation but still have little amount of money, they rented beds from other habitants, which was bounded to six,

eight or 12-hour periods. People came to these beds they rented after work, slept, and went straight back to work after. These were called *Bettgeher*. During this period, the number of subtenants or bed renters was almost 170,000.[39] However, there was a segment of the population who even envied those living in such terrifying conditions. For some, even sharing a bed had become an unattainable luxury. Outside of these overcrowded and poor conditioned dwellings, there was a group of people who were too poor to rent even them, mostly composed of daily workers, and they lived in forests or even in the sewer systems. During this period, Vienna was one of the worst cities in Europe in terms of housing and living. All of these aforementioned conditions, as expected, triggered the emergence and spread of epidemic diseases, such as tuberculosis, Spanish flu, syphilis as well as rickets expeditiously. Due to all of such factors, tuberculosis, a lung disease, was even referred to as the *"Viennese Disease"*. Houses with insufficient sanitary facilities were being built for low-income people, especially workers. Nevertheless, housing speculation, expensive rents, overcrowding, and homelessness were still the biggest issues of the capital.

The situation did not change at the beginning of the 20th century either. Despite Vienna becoming the fifth-largest city in the world, [40] migration did not stop and continued constantly, while housing conditions remained stagnant. In the beginning of 20th century, the population of

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36   Region, which encompasses the present-day southeastern territory of Poland and western Ukraine.
37   Region on the northern slopes of the Eastern Carpathians and nearby plains, now split between Romania and Ukraine.
38   Wolfgang Förster, publication, *100 Years of Social Housing in Vienna*, p. 3, accessed February 2, 2022,
        https://www.push-c.at/en/downloads.html
39   Hans Werner Bousska, *Wiener Gemeindebauten: Licht in Der Wohnung - Sonne Im Herzen* (Thüringen: Sutton Verlag, 2017), p. 7.
40   *"In 1910, Vienna was ranked as the fifth-largest city in the world, after London, New York, Paris, and Chicago."* in
        Veronika Duma and Hanna Lichtenberger, "Das Rote Wien," *Luxemburg*, no. 2, 2016, p. 126.
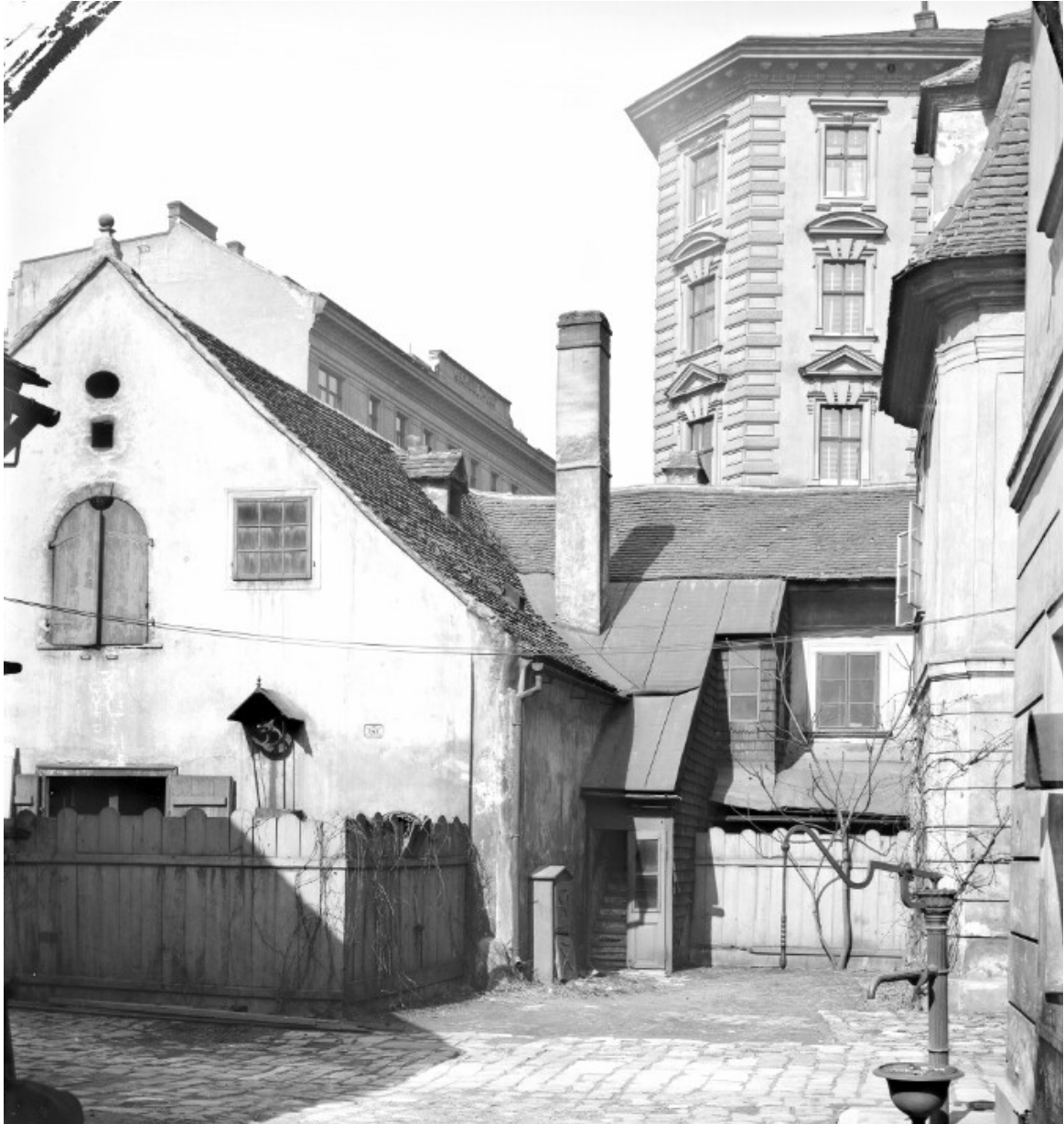
Figure 2.05: Worker settlements reaching the expanding city limits, Pramergasse 9, 1905

Vienna was above 2 million (1910: 2,083,630 and 1916: 2,239,000)[41] and 300,000 of the population was whether homeless or living in acutely poor living conditions[42]. In the year 1918, the estimated average number of homeless individuals in Vienna was around 90,000.[43] The proportion of small homes—in particular, those with just one or perhaps half a living space—can reach up to 90 percent or more.[44] 92 percent of Viennese apartments did not have their own toilettes as 95 percent did not have an indoor plumbing.[45] Timewise, 75 percent of all apartments in Vienna were overcrowded, equipped with poor sanitation,

and comprised one or two rooms. The city municipality believed that the problem could be solved by building asylums instead of improving living conditions in housing. In 1910, the city's asylum accommodated 64,222 persons, or 3.28% of the entire population, including 7,058 children. In 1912 there were 96,878 persons in shelters, including 20,071 kids. In the year 1913, the municipality delegated the majority of this social welfare to the private asylum association's initiative, which housed 461,472 persons, including 29,915 children.[46] While all these developments were taking place, the workers, whose living conditions were deteriorating day

41   Statistik Austria
42   Willi Tauber, "Über Wert, Verwertung Und Verwaltung Des Elends," 40+ Jahre Arge (Arge Wien),
       p. 83 accessed June 16, 2022,   https://www.wohnen.arge-wien.at/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/ARGE-Buch-web.pdf
43   Dijana Alic and Mladen Jadric, eds., *At Home in Vienna - Zu Hause in Wien: Studies of Exemplary Affordable Housing -
       Eine Studie Und Sammlung Geförderter Wiener Wohnbauten* (Vienna: TU Wien Academic Press, 2019), p. 22.
44   Stadt Wien, ed., *Die Wohnungspolitik Der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Deutsch-Österreichischer Städtebund Karl Honey, 1926), p. 4.
45   Wolfgang Speiser, Paul Speiser und das Rote Wien, München, 1979, p. 51.
46   Stadt Wien, ed., *Die Wohnungspolitik Der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum in Wien, 1929), p. 12.
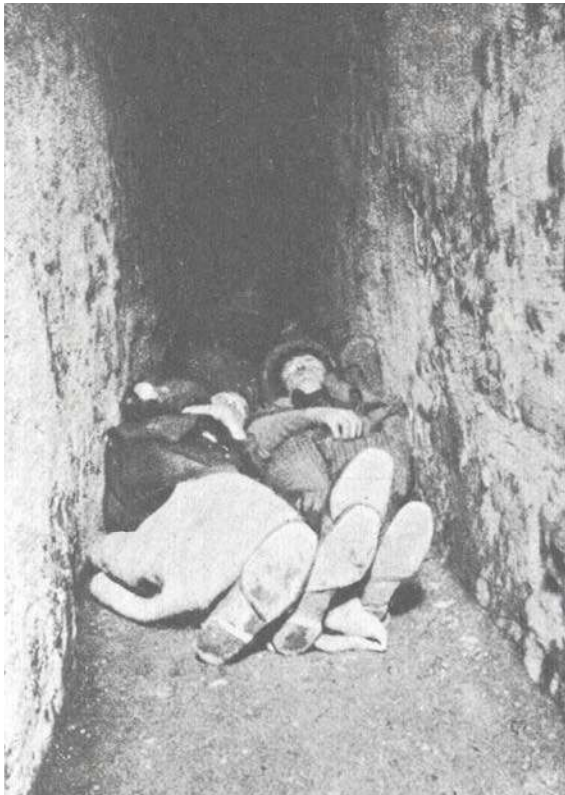
Figure 2.06: Workers sleeping in the shaft at the Ferdinandsbrücke

Figure 2.07: Workers striving for survial in unhealthy dwelling conditions

by day, were being compelled to work under appalling conditions, almost like slaves. These conditions were described by Viktor Adler as *"far worse than the inmates in Siberia"*[47] as they worked weekly in105-hour-shifts.[48] Even if the workers would be fortune enough to receive their wages, part of the payment was made in almost useless tokens, which can be redeemed at specific canteens. In other words, Ringstraße and many other projects developed in the second half of the 19th century were erected on exploitation, human rights abuses, slavery, and fatalities.

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47   Viktor Adler, "Die Lage Der Ziegelarbeiter," *Gleichheit*, December 1, 1888.
48   15 hours/day, everyday

Residential Typologies

It would not be a misjudgment to read Viennese housing typologies -in general- as chronologically evolving structures. In order to study this ongoing change more accurately, especially in the example of *Gemeindebau*, it is necessary to have a sequential inquiry on holistic Viennese housing. Typologies such as *Zinskaserne* (also referred as *Gangküchenhaus*[49] or *Bassenawohnung*[50]) as well as Viennese bourgeois apartments shall be studied first to comprehend the final form of municipal apartments.

As the population increased day by day in the city, the shortage of housing reached an alarming level that could no longer be ignored, prompting the capital administration to take action. In the design of these houses, which were intended for almost exclusively the working class and lower-income groups, the main principle was to fit the maximum number of housing units into the smallest possible area in order to maximize the number of rental units as well as the profit. Flats were relatively small and the average size was between 22-28 square meter with a maximum of 35 square meter. Such housing complexes, which were rapidly constructed particularly after 1880, were called as *Gründerzeithäuser* or *Zinskaserne*. These buildings were constructed in various variations and were generally located in areas where the city's worker population was concentrated, mainly in the western and southern regions of the city such as Ottakring,

Hernals or Favoriten. However, the quality was a complete questionable, as most of these buildings consisted of only one or two narrow rooms. These apartments were also named as *ZKK*[51] and usually consisted of one kitchen connected to one room. Nevertheless, these dwellings often became overcrowded, cramped and narrow living spaces where multiple families needed to live together. Despite the unfavorable living conditions, the working-class had to allocate a substantial portion of their income (ranging from 20-40 percent)[52] towards rent in order to secure a residence in these dwellings. Consequently, communal living arrangements became overcrowded, subletting became commonplace, and in some instances, individual beds were rented out, as detailed in the preceding section. Unfortunately, the size, ventilation, and relatively high rental prices were not the only problems of these apartments. In the Zinskaserne projects, the construction density often reached 85 percent, which meant that the apartments were partially (on the kitchen side) dark. The corridors, which were designed as the main circulation element of the building were provided light only through lightwells, (atriums), were often unable to receive enough light. Inside the flats, there was no area such as an anteroom to welcome residents entering through the entrance door. The room, which opens to the corridor and serves as the entrance room to the apartment were used as the kitchen[53]

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49   Kitchen-corridor house
50   Water basin apartment
51   *Zimmer, Küche, Kabinett*: room, kitchen, chamber
52   Peter Eigner, Herbert Matis Herbert, and Andreas Resch, publication, *Sozialer Wohnbau in Wien: Eine Historische Bestandsaufnahme*, p.4 accessed April 7, 2022,
      https://mediawien-film.at/media/uploads/documents/320_neues_wien/matis_wohnbau.pdf.
53   As it can be understood from the name *"Gangküchenhaus"*

and these were connected to these corridors with a door and a wide window. Thus, the light in the kitchen was coming from the building's corridors. However, the amount of light the corridor could receive was also questionable. An construction rate of up to 85 percent also meant that the space left for lightwells were reduced down to 15 percent. In an example where the building is assumed to be 5-storey, it becomes almost impossible for the ground floor to receive light through the corridor. During the initial half of the 19th century, these passageways were typically left uncovered, but as the century drew to a close, they began to be enclosed. Consequently, they acquired significance as windbreaks that contributed to the thermal insulation of the residential units within the building. Even though each apartment did not have own plumbing, the chimney outlet was provided in each kitchen, through which the stove could be operated, which also served as the only heating element of the aparment. The fact that some of the rooms are neither directly illuminated nor ventilated is actually a sufficient clue about the rest of the architectural expectation. In *Mietzinskaserne*, the apartments located at the each end of the building, in other say, apartments at the end of circulation corridor, were relatively bigger units, which had an additional chamber. In addition to these, many of the housing units built for workers during the Gründerzeit period lacked a source of water and toilet facilities within the apartments. In 1900, only 5 percent of the 400,000 apartments in Vienna had running water.[54]

Water and toilet needs were planned to be met through shared toilets located in building corridors and basins called *"Bassena"*. For this reason, many of these apartments are also referred to as *"Bassenawohnung"*. The location of the water source in the corridor also made it a communication center for housewives. As it became the backbone of the building's socialization dynamic, but also as a result of such vital needs being dependent on shared-use, serious disputes arose among neighbors living in these homes during this period. Considering that about six to ten people shared each apartment due to financial constraints, access to water could be a real struggle. Initially, the *Zinskaserne* were constructed with modest and unembellished facades. Subsequently, more ornamented facades were adopted, but this alteration did not tackle the persisting issues within the buildings. Nevertheless, the new facade approach was regarded as a successful measure for masking the living conditions behind the walls and improving the aesthetic appeal of the city streets.

Conversely, within the same city, albeit a distance away, a lifestyle and architecture stood in stark contrast to the *Zinskaserne*. The Viennese bourgeois apartments, resembling palace-like structures, were predominantly constructed in a similar style by the bourgeois class. The similarities between these apartments were evident not only in their facade design but also in their spatial arrangement. The most notable feature of their floor plans was the directional continuity of the principal rooms. Unlike a

54   Jörg Niendorf, "Wiener Bassena: Schöne Augenwischerei," *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, October 27, 2010,
      https://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/wohnen/haus/ortsmarke-10-wiener-bassena-schoene-augenwischerei-11055164.html.

typical home, where rooms are accessed through a circulatory path, in these buildings, all rooms are entered by passing through each other - one room closing as the other opens, and one room ending as the next begins. These rooms, unlike contemporary residential architecture, were not designed for a specific purpose, but rather had a similar layout and more classical forms. All of these rooms enveloped the exterior of the building from the inside and typically extended along the facade. This architectural style and its corresponding floor plans soon became highly standardized. In this opulent abode, which exudes a baroque aesthetic, a lengthy circulation corridor encompassed the rooms from the inside. Access to all service rooms, the kitchen, bathroom, and maid's chambers were granted through this corridor, along with small back courtyards and airshafts. The role assigned to the corridor in this layout was crucial, as it transformed into the primary element of the house. While it is evident that it functions as a circulation space in architectural terms, it also acts as a separator and a significant element for hierarchical-spatial organization. The English architect Robin Evans conveyed the significance of architecture in the arrangement of the social hierarchy within a building with the following statement::

"The passage was for servants: to keep them out of each other's way and, more important still, to keep them out of the way of gentlemen and ladies."[55]

An additional major issue arising from this architectural design is the disparity in the value of building facades. As the exteriors facing the street represent the prized visage of the edifice,
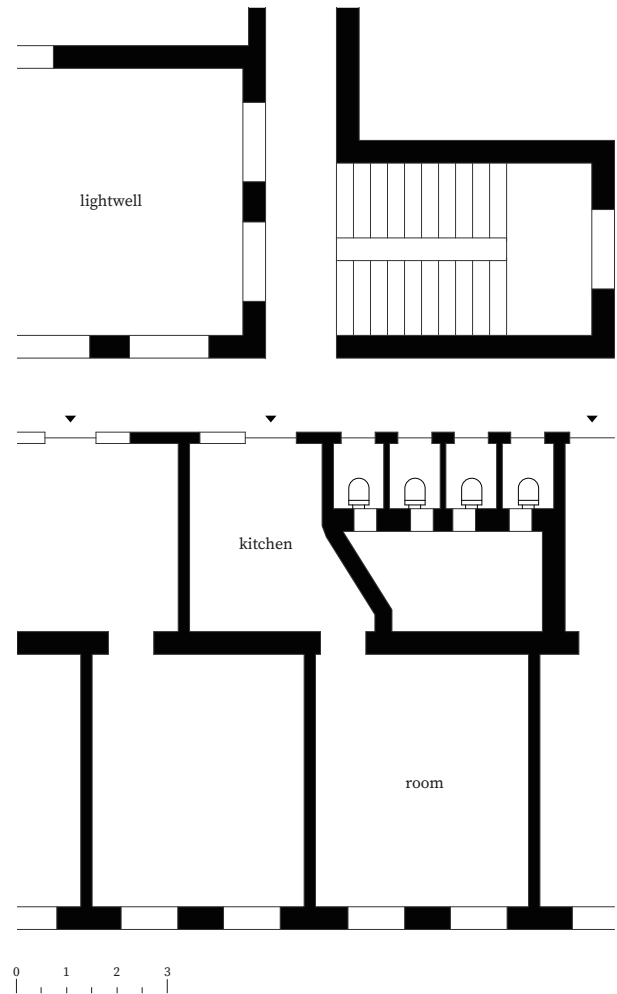
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55   Robin Evans, *Translations from Drawing to Building   and Other Essays* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1977). p. 71.

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Figure 2.08: Plan of a unit in corridor-kitchen apartment - 1:150

the windows situated on the opposite side directed towards the inner courtyard or atrium are rendered insignificant. The passageway, acting like a dividing force, cleaves the building not only physically, akin to a stage and backstage, but also divides the populace based on social classes such as employers versus employees or bourgeois versus proletarian.

There was also a third typology that existed between these two typologies, which could be considered as an emergency measure. The association *"Verein für Arbeiterwohnhäuser,"* established in 1886, implemented a project consisting of garden houses designed by Josef Unger. However, the association dissolved in 1896. Its assets were transferred to the *"Kaiser-Franz-Joseph I. Jubiläumsstiftung für Volkswohnungen und Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen,"* a foundation established in 1895 with the goal of improving workers' living standards by producing housing. In 1897, the foundation organized a competition and decided to implement a project that could be considered as the *"first social housing"*[56] on a 49,000 square meter area in Wilhelmienberg. Although the project, called Jubiläumshäuser and designed by Leopold Simony and Theodor Bach, foresaw a larger development, it could not be completed due to financial reasons. However, the Lobmeyr-Hof building, which houses 152 apartments, and the Stiftungs-Hof building, which houses 244 apartments, were completed.[57] The project, which produced only 396 apartments in total, fell far short of being sufficient to combat homelessness. Nonetheless, the buildings offered an significantly better level of comfort compared to previous worker housing, and provided a foundation for *Gemeindebau* projects. The design elements of the project, such as four apartments on one floor, the use of only 45 percent of the construction area[58] to create bright apartments, the elimination of hallway kitchens, and each apartment having its own toilet, served as a model for many of the Red Vienna housing projects.

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56   Diego Caltana, "Die Hygienische Modernisierung Wiens in Ihrer Architektonischen Und Städtebaulichen Relevanz," in *Uni*Vers*, ed. Gerald Bast, Florian Bettel, and Barbara Hollendonner (Vienna: Springer, 2010), p. 40

57   Eva Kettner-Gössler and Elisabeth Luif, "Umkämpftes Wohnen. Sozialer Wohnbau Rund Um Die Schmelz," in *Kunst Am Gemeinde-Bau: Ein Projekt Für Den Franz-Novy-Hof in Wien*, ed. Jan Svenungsson and Flora Zimmeter (Basel/Berlin/Boston: Birkhäuser, 2022), p. 63, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783035625356-017.

58   Caroline Jäger-Klein, Österreichische Architektur Des 19. UND 20. Jahrhunderts (Wien: NWV, 2010), p. 129.
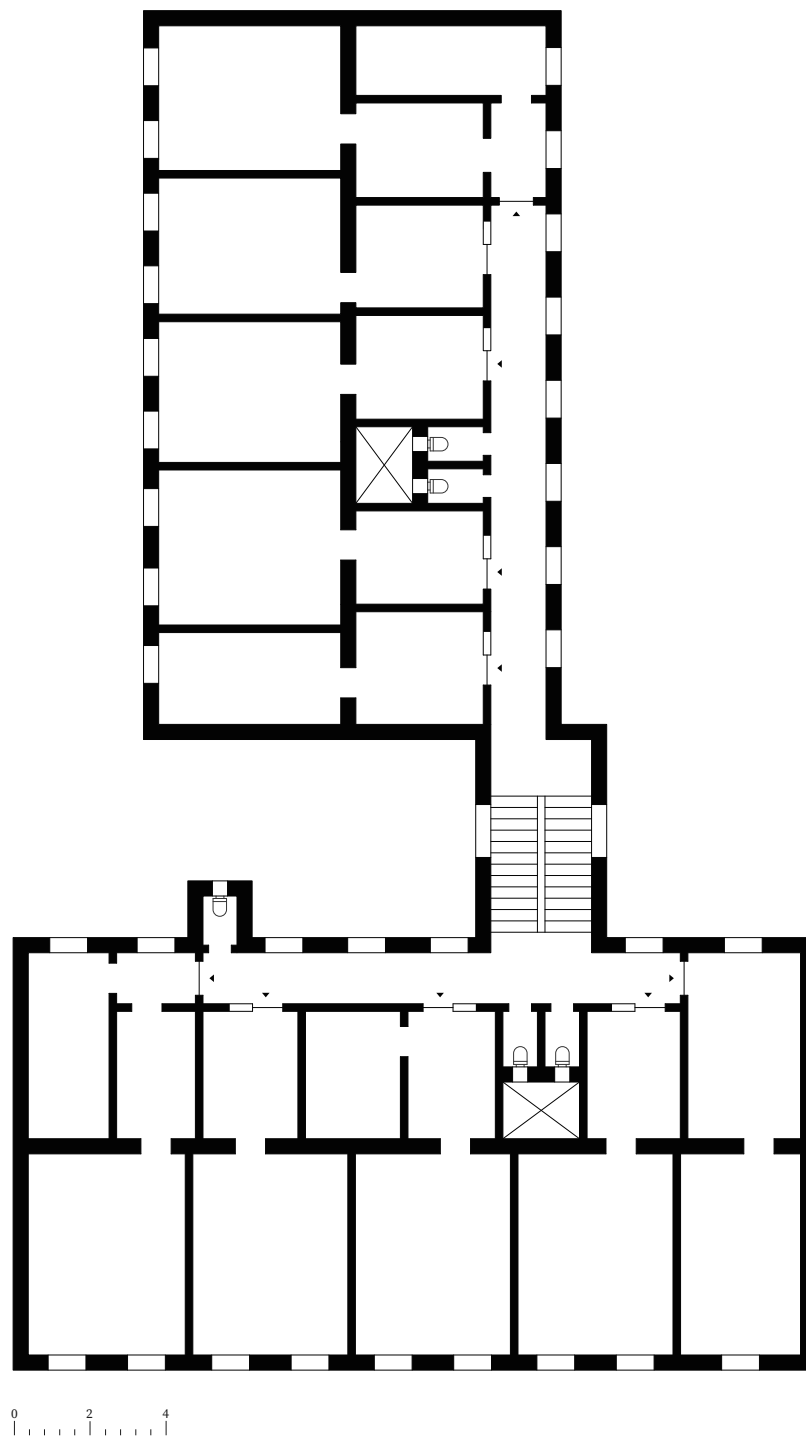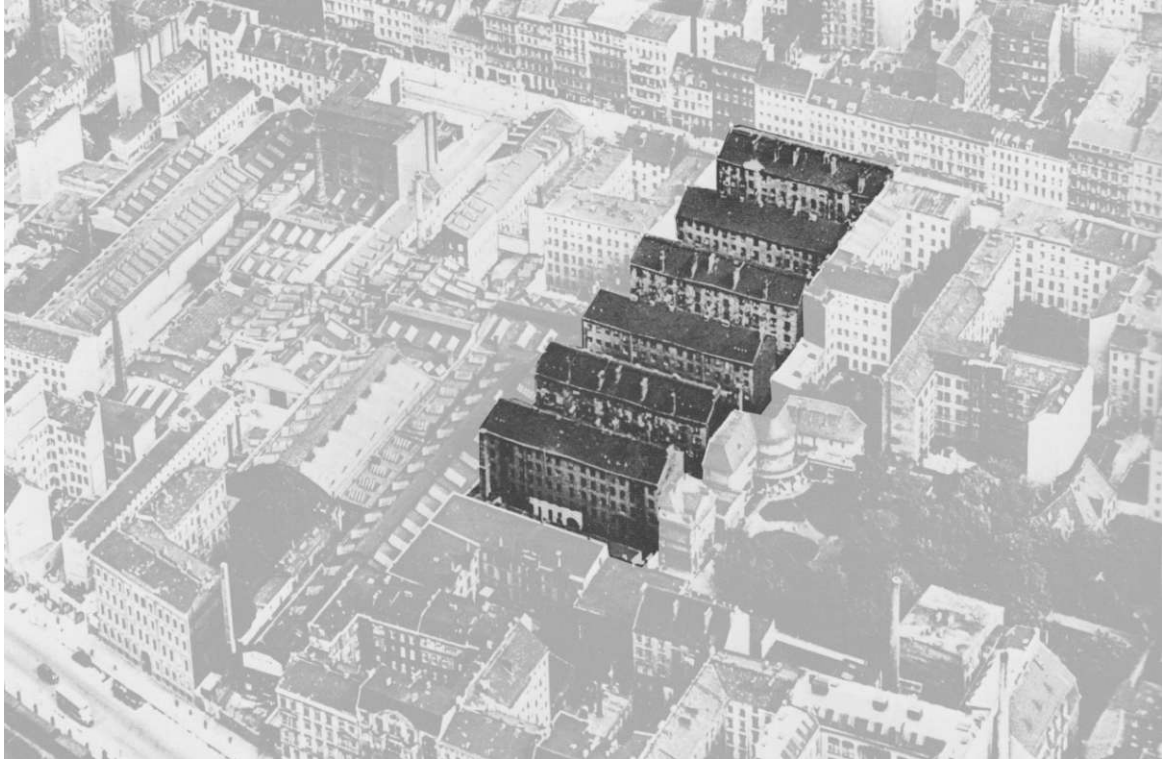
Figure 2.09: Plan, Zinshaus- 1:200

Figure 2.10: Meyers Hof, 1871
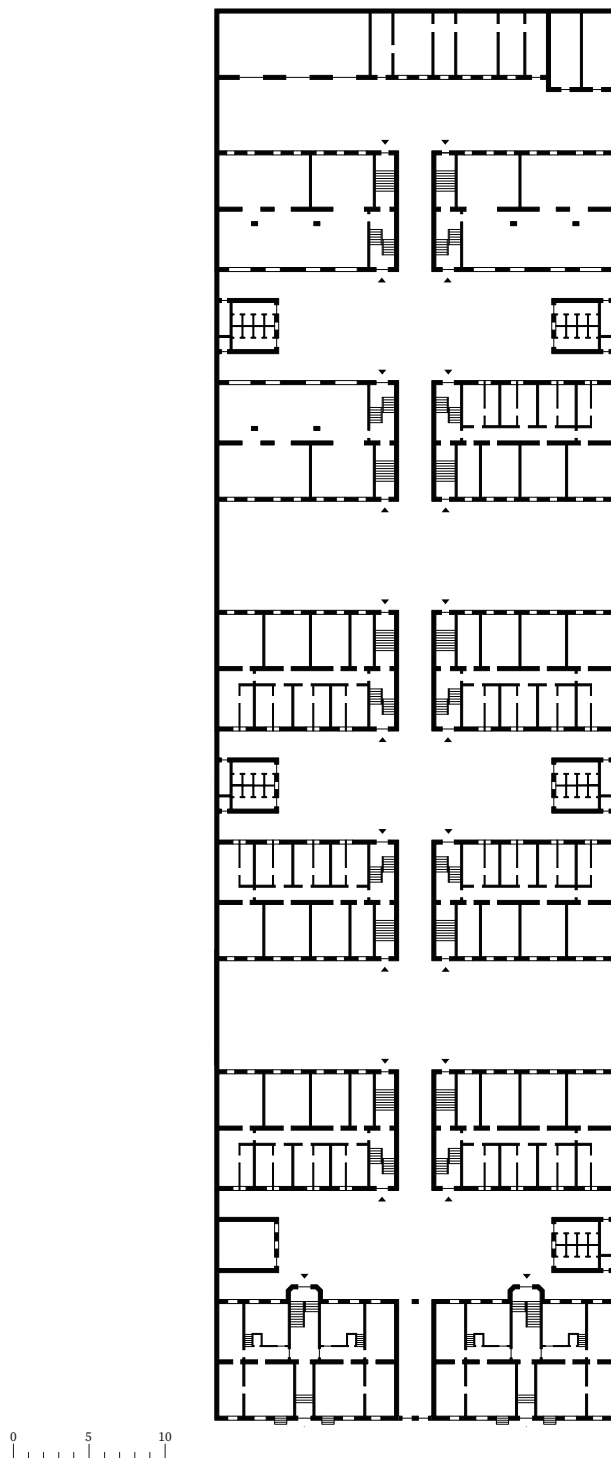

Figure 2.11: Meyers Hof, view through the courtyards

0   5   10

Figure 2.12: Plan Meyers Hof, an example for drastic density , Berlin, 1874 - 1:500

room   room   room   room   room

P

kitchen   servant room   room

servant room   main hall

kitchen   room

room   O   room

room   room   main hall
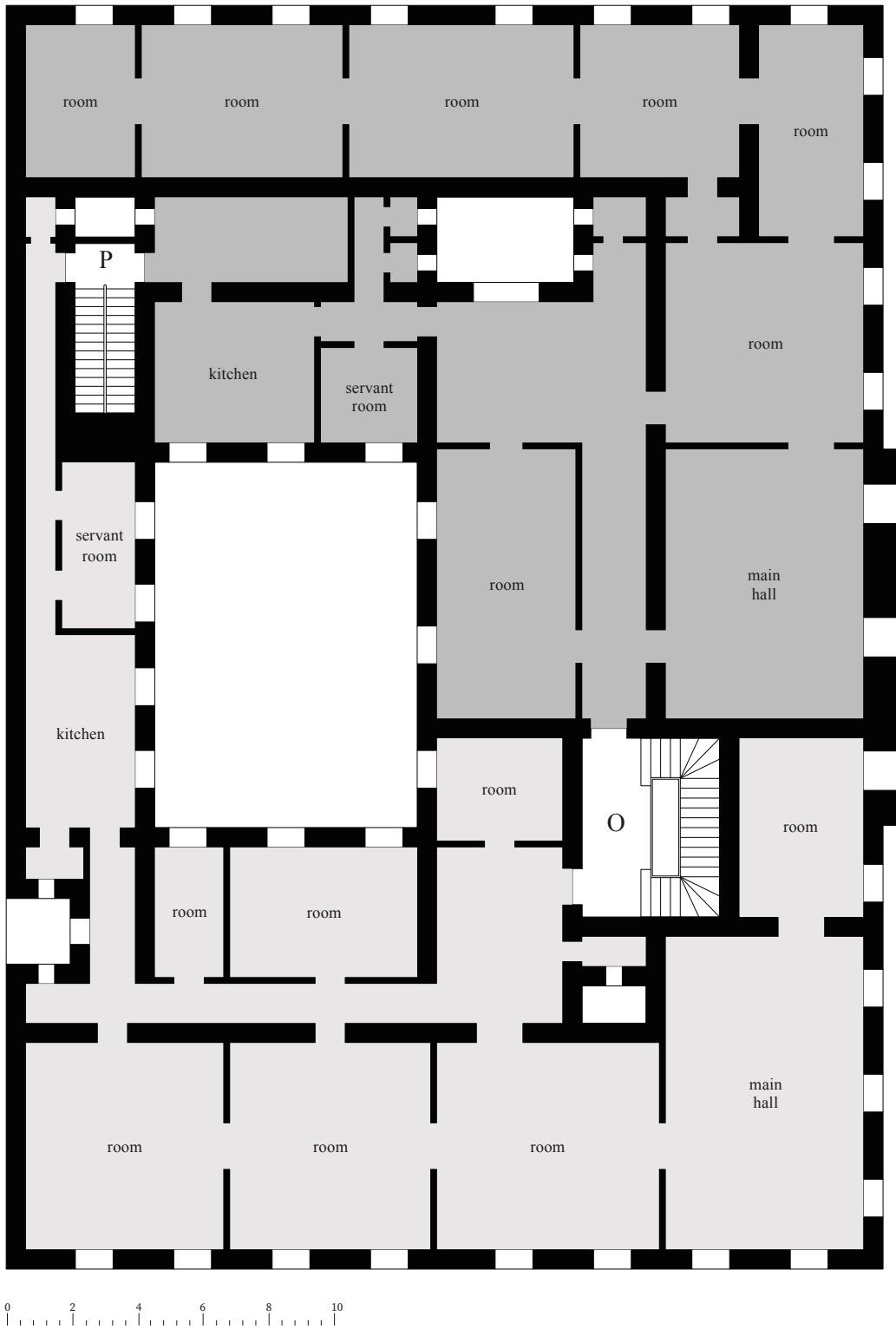
room   room   room

0   2   4   6   8   10

Figure 2.13: Plan of the third floor of a prestigious rental property on Ringstraße - 1:200
(Separate circulation for owners "O" and personnel "P")
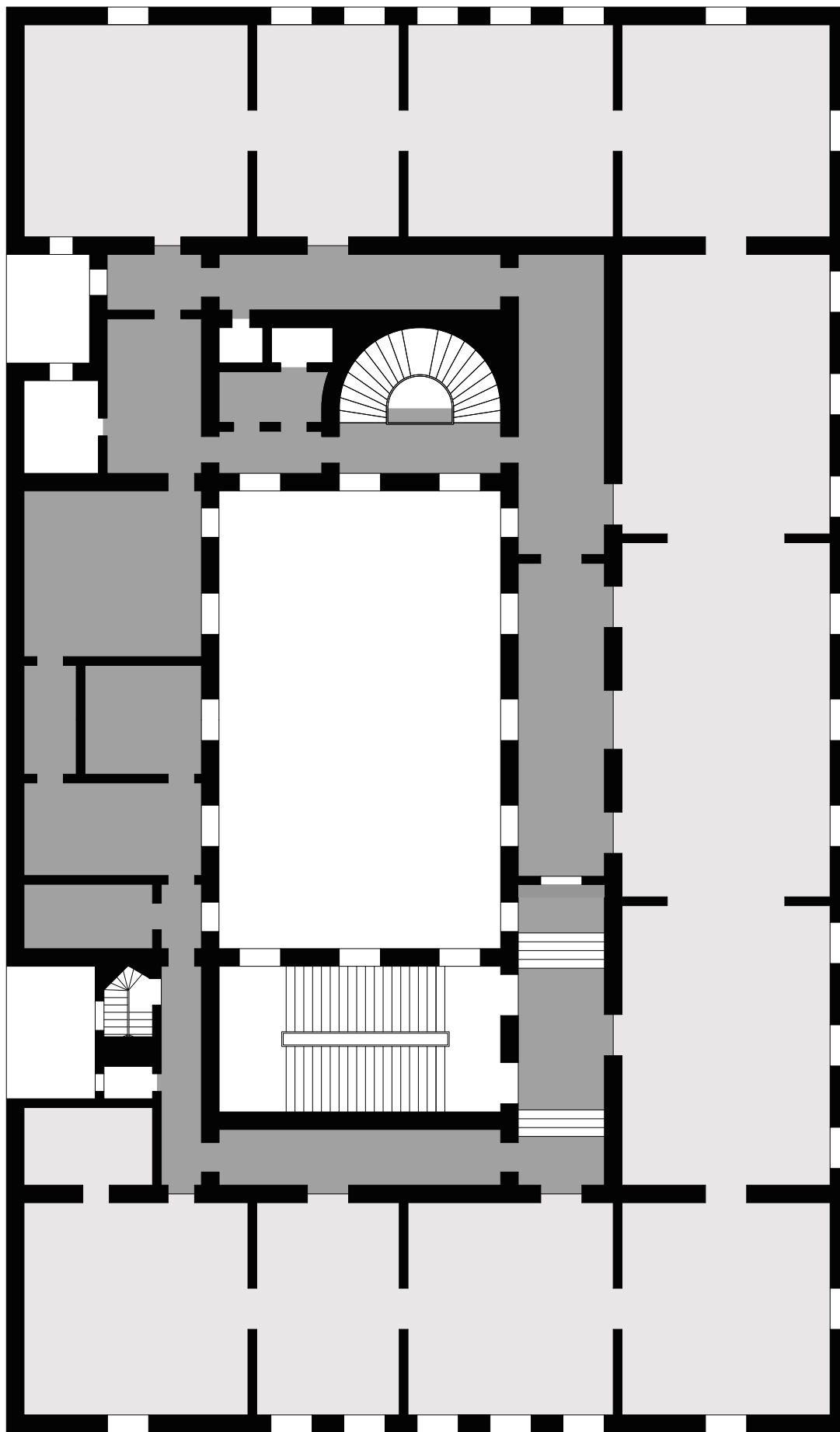
0   2   4   6   8   10

Figure 2.14: Plan of the first floor, Palais Epstein
by Theophil Hansen, 1868 - 1:200
Owner's path (light) - personnel's path (dark)

Figure 2.15: Arkadenhof, Renaissance - 1:200

Figure 2.16: Bourgeois house,
1749 - 1:200

0   2   4   6   8   10

Figure 2.17: Plan of a Jubiläumshaus, Mayerhof, 1898 - 1:200

0   2   4   6   8   10

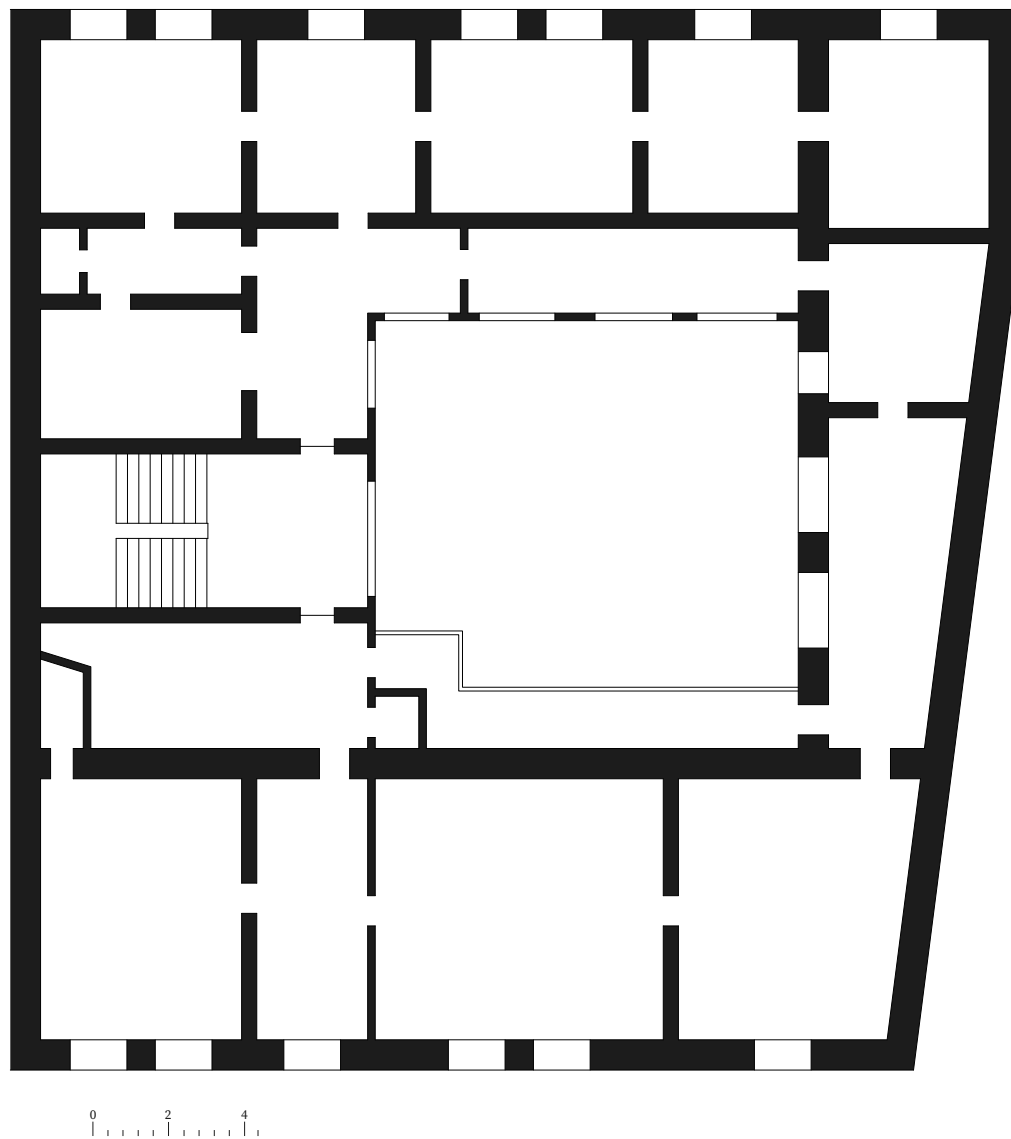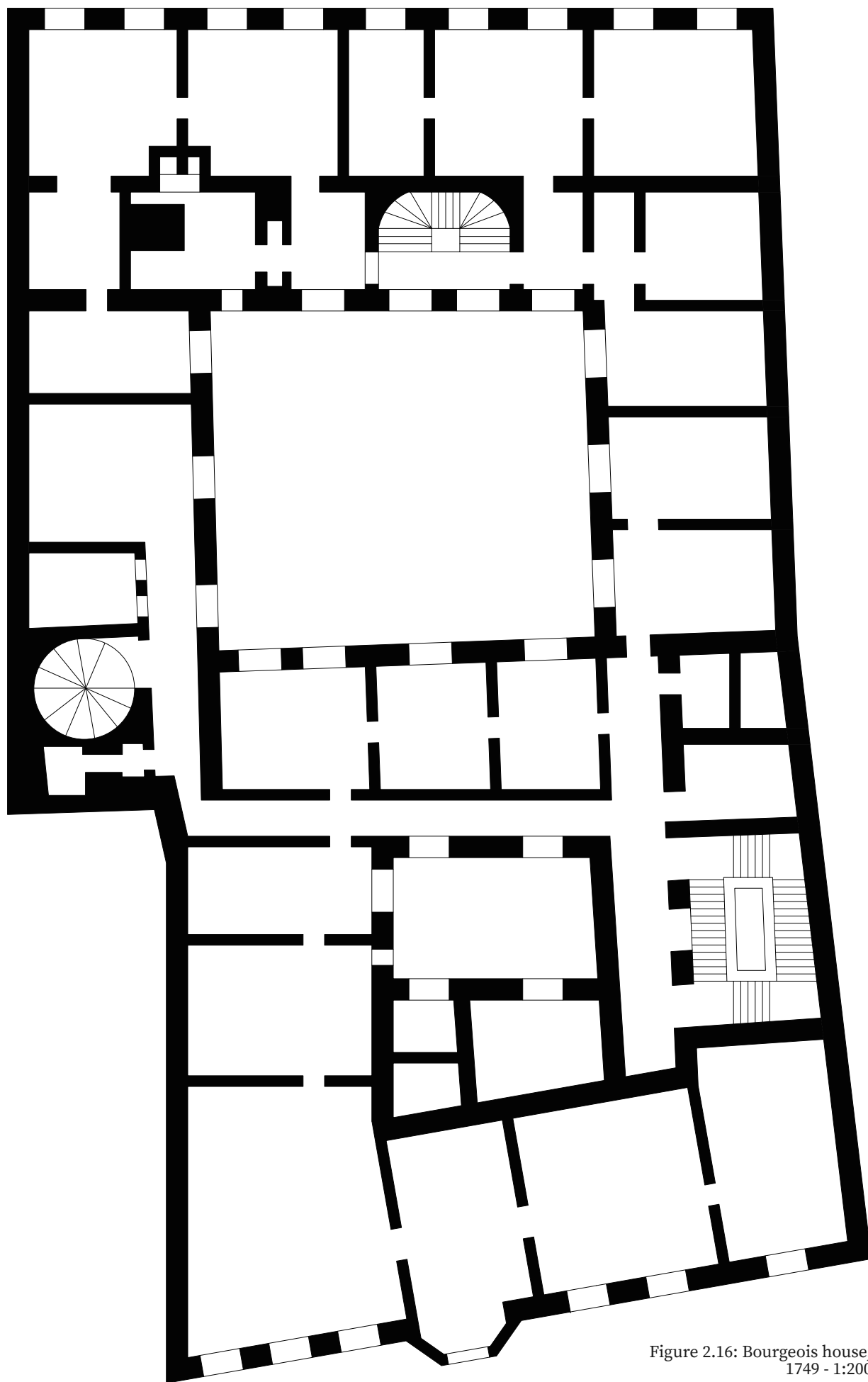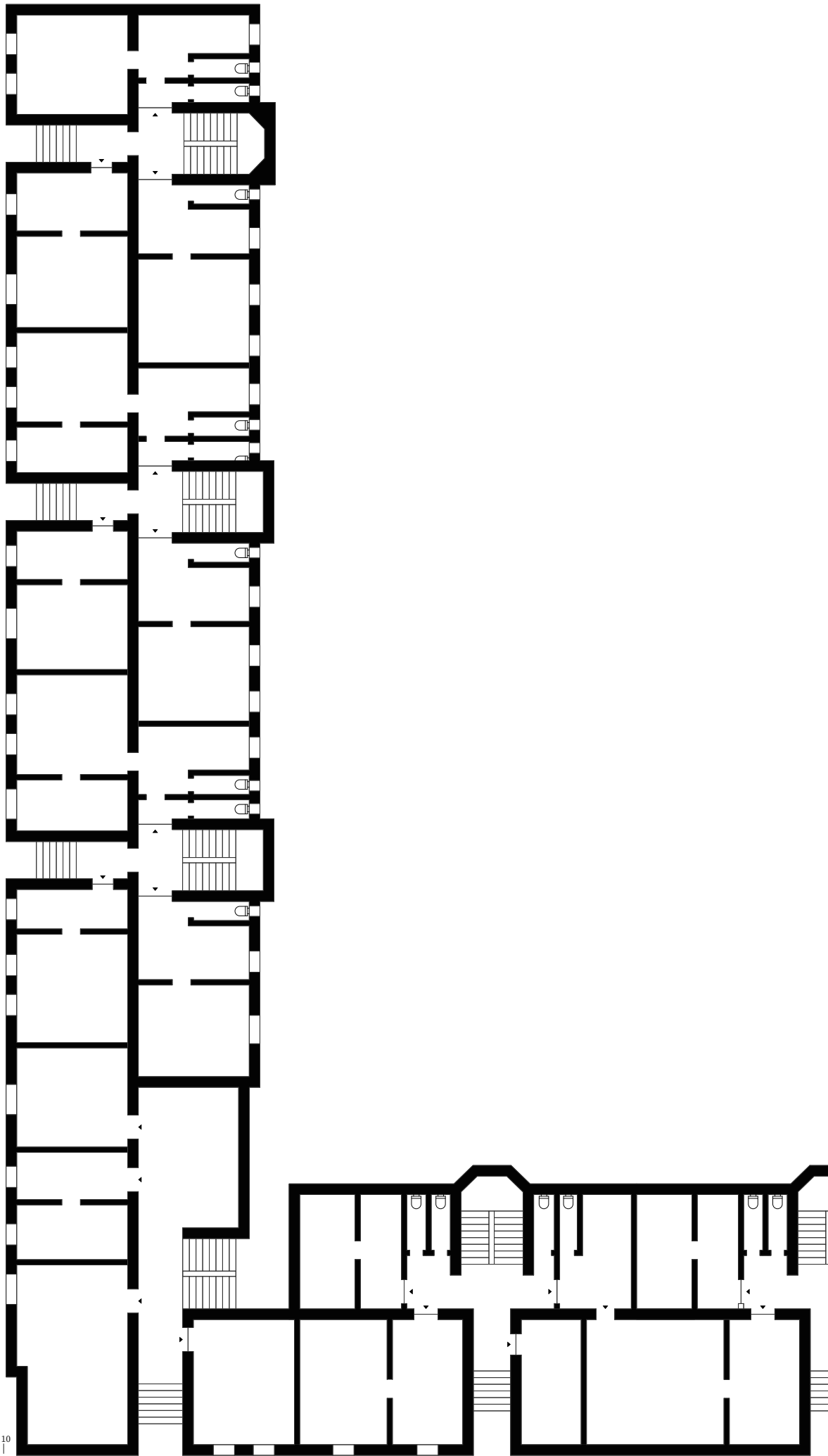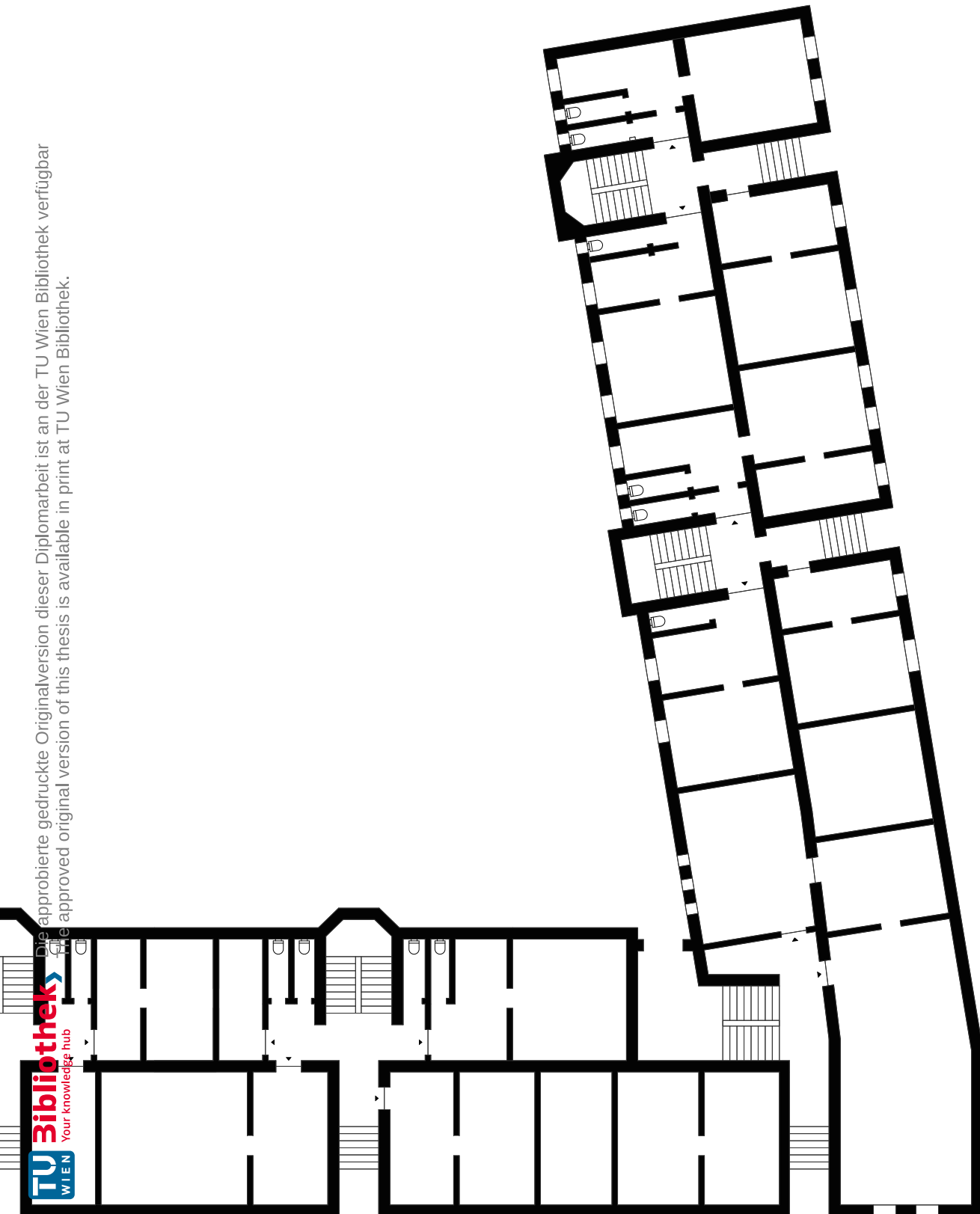Figure 2.18: Site plan Jubiläumshäuser,
1898
planned (light), built (dark)

Vienna in the First Quarter of the New Century

The French idiom *"Fin de siècle"* (literally "end of the century"), originally used at the end of the 19th century, symbolizes not just the conclusion of a century but also the end of an era. The term implies the beginning of a new, more diverse period while also signaling the end and collapse of a golden era.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, the city underwent numerous socioeconomic and demographic changes that profoundly impacted living conditions. Around 1910, the city began to flourish as a hub for intellectual, artistic, and cultural discussions while simultaneously attracting further a significant influx of immigrants, primarily

Jews, from across the empire and Europe. As intellectual and artistic production thrived and the struggle for rights intensified on one side of the city, right-wing anti-Semitic ideologies gained momentum on the other side. Moreover, nationalist-expansionist policies that swept across Europe brought disastrous consequences in 1914. Historian Erdoğan Aydın aptly characterizes this era as follows:

"By 1914, the squabbles of an unbridled war were all over the place [...] Nations were arming themselves under the pretense that others were doing the same, fueling their own nationalism by using the nationalism of others as justification

Figure 2.19: Austria before and after the First World War

[...] National and religious symbols instilled animosity among the people and caused them to blindly follow their own dictators."[59]

All of these events led to the outbreak of World War I in July 1914, which lasted until 1918 and ended with an almost total destruction of Austro-Hungarian Empire. Inherently both during and after the war, many different outcomes and problems arose. The end of the First World War had not only ended the Habsburg's dual monarchy, but also created new small states in Europe by dividing the former great empire into small single nations. Austrian dominance in Cisleithania[60] was limited and reduced to a state called the German-Austrian Republic, established on 12 November 1918. Even though this newly established state had a lifespan of less than a year, it had a significant impact on the country's future due to the first article of its constitution:

"Article-1: German Austria is a democratic republic. All public authorities are established by the people."

Constituent National Assembly *(Konstituierende Nationalversammlung)*held on February 16, 1919 was the first time that women could participate in national elections in Austria. SDAP (Social Democratic Workers' Party), despite winning the elections by receiving 40,77 percent of votes, still could not manage to obtain an absolute majority countrywide.

On May 4, 1919, the first democratic municipal elections *(Gemeinderatswahl)* were carried out with universal suffrage for all Viennese men and women above 20 years of age for the first time. SDAP achieved absolute majority with 54,2 percent of the votes, which handed them 100 of 165 seats in Municipal Council and provincial parliament *(Landtag)* of Vienna. In this way, the political hegemony of the SDAP in Vienna began.

With the election of SDAP candidate Jakob Reumann as mayor of Vienna, the city gained the title of the world's first social democratic metropolis. This election is commemorated as the starting point of Red Vienna through the history and also known as the beginning of Vienna's social democratic journey. As mayor, Reumann was largely responsible for the social reform of municipal policy of the Vienna Social Democrats, who ruled by an absolute majority.

Figure 2.20: Jakob Reumann

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59   Erdoğan Aydın, *Osmanlı'nın Son Savaşı [The Last War of Ottoman]*, (Istanbul: Kırmızı Yayınları, 2012), p. 37.
60   The northern and western part of Austrio-Hungarian Empire

The reforms in Red Vienna primarily affected urban housing and tenant protection, health, welfare, and educational system.

As the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye signed on September 10, 1919, ended the Republic of German-Austria, it also made Austria recognize the independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. In addition, Austria ceded Galicia to Poland, Croatia to Yugoslavia, Tyrol and Trieste to Italy and Bukovina to Romania. A possible future *Anschluss*[61] was also prohibited by the treaty as well as the use of the state name *"German-Austria"*. 570,000 square kilometer territory of Austria was cut down to 84,000 square kilometer. The population of 52 million was lessened to a mere six million.[62] Furthermore around two million of this population were living in Vienna alone, which was not only physically but also economically odd. Losing important agricultural and industrial areas with this treaty, Austria was left in a difficult situation economically.[63] In the book "This Age of Conflict" the situation of the great capital was explained in this way:[64] *"Vienna remained a general staff without an army, a board of directors without a company and a head without a body."* Under all these circumstances the Republic of German-Austria changed its name to the Republic of Austria, which is also known as the *"First Austrian Republic"*.

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61   An annexation of Austria to the German Reich.
62   Reinhard Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare, and Family Life in 'Red Vienna' 1919-34,"
        Oral History 13, no. 2 (Autumn 1985), p. 35.
63   Fahir Armaoğlu, *20. Yüzyil Siyasi Tarihi [Political History of the 20th Century]* ,
        vol. 1 (1914-1980) (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1992), p. 147.
64   Frank P. Chambres, Christina Phelps Harris, and Charles C. Bayley,
        This Age of Conflict a Contemporary World History, 1914-1943 (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1943), p. 190.

Contribution of Austromarxim

The downfall of the empire was a pivotal moment in history, not only for Vienna, but also for a significant region of Europe. The collapse created room for social transformation. As a result, political movements advocating for societal transformation and reform emerged, such as nationalism, socialism, and communism. The intellectual development and internationalist ideas brought by the influx of immigrants to Vienna both during the pre-war and war periods, would progress and solidify the concepts that served as Red Vienna's cornerstones. Consequently, in 1913 the city became a place where some of the most key individuals such as Joseph Stalin and Adolf Hitler, who formed the world politics of the 20th century, resided just a few block from one another.[65] Vienna was not anymore only a migration hub for workers but also it became the destination for many revolutionaries and political exiles such as Riazanov[66], Trotsky[67], Bukharin[68], Lukács[69] and Gramsci[70]. The debates regarding social issues, structural inequality, and civil rights in the city were heightened by the presence of all these people, and when diverse economic theories were added to them, the groundwork

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65   Andy Walker, "1913: When Hitler, Trotsky, Tito, Freud and Stalin All Lived in the Same Place,"
        BBC News, April 17, 2013, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-21859771.

66   David Borisovich Goldendakh: (known as David Riazanov) Russian revolutionary and historian, who is best remembered as the founder of Marx-Engels-Institute of Moscow.

67   Lev Davidovich Bronstein: (known as Leon Trotsky) Russian-Ukrainian political theorist and politician who has developed a variant of Marxism, which has become known as Trotskyism.

68   Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin: Bolshevik revolutionary and Soviet politician.

69   György Bernát Löwinger: (known as György Lukács) Hungarian literary historian, critic and aesthetician, who is one of the founders of Western Marxism along with Antonio Gramsci.

70   Antonio Francesco Gramsci: Italian journalist, linguist, writer and politician, who was a founding member and a leader of Communist Party of Italy
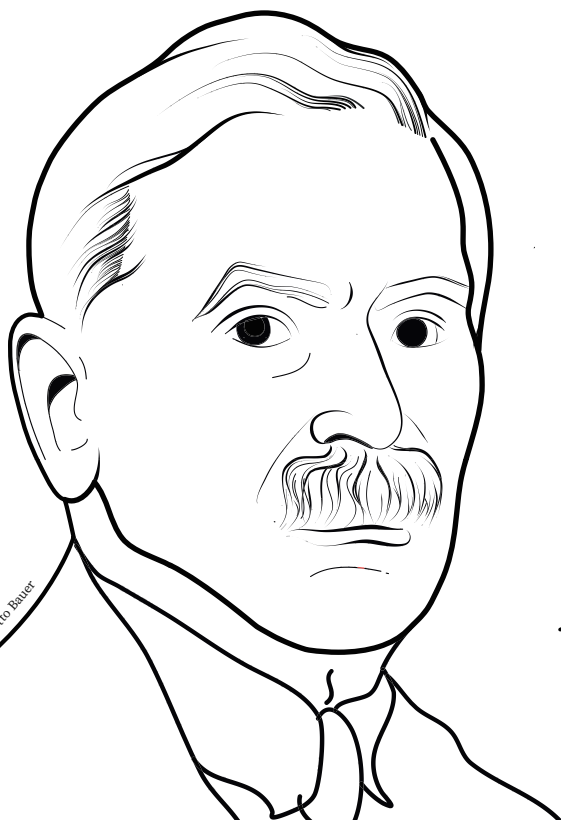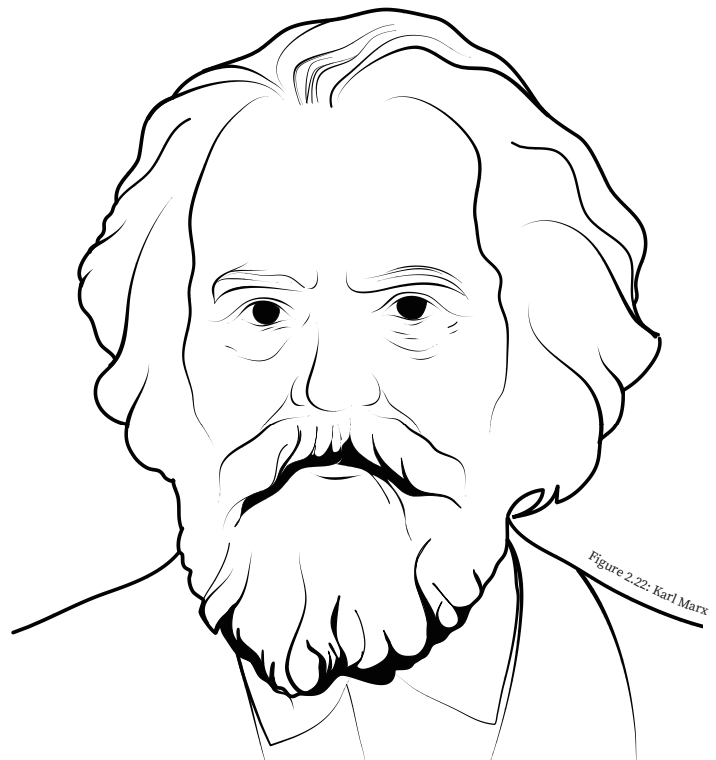
Figure 2.21: Otto Bauer

Figure 2.22: Karl Marx

for opposing ideologies like communism and neo-liberalism were being laid.

Austromarxism was a distinct form of Marxist thought that emerged in Austria in the early 20th century. The term was coined for the first time briefly before the First World War by the American socialist Louis Boudin to describe the philosophical current of a distinguished and influential group of young Austrian Marxist thinkers including Otto Bauer, Max Adler and Karl Renner. Unlike some other Marxist ideologies, Austromarxism aimed to achieve political and social reform through a gradual transformation of society, and the establishment of socialist structures. The goal was to create a socialist functioning state within the framework of capitalism. In other words, the elimination of capitalism was not deemed an absolute necessity in Austromarxist ideology. It has become customary to associate political movements and theories with individual names, such as Leninism, Trotskyism, and Luxembourgism. However, the case of *Austromarxism*, highlights the collaborative nature of this ideology.[71]

The relationships that these Austrian thinkers made with the leading marxist-communist thinkers in Vienna at the time were one of the most significant factors that fed and developed Austromarxism. In the period between 1911 and 1914, for instance, Bauer, Adler, and Renner discussed and interacted intellectually with Leon Trotsky in their nearly weekly meetings at the Café Central located in Herrengasse 14.[72]

As Marxism tended to focus primarily on economics and class struggle, Austromarxism emphasized the cultural and political dimensions of the socialist project. The Austromarxists believed that the cultural and political dimensions of society were just as important as the economic, and that the transformation of society required a comprehensive and holistic approach. Contrary to many other schools of political thinking, followed by the great success of SDAP in Vienna council elections, Austromarxism found itself a giant experimental laboratory in the capital, without the requirement of permission as well as consent of any other state institution.

Austromarxists sought to implement a holistic approach to societal reform, using architecture as a tool to improve people's quality of life. Affordable housing design was of particular concern to them, as they considered it crucial in improving working-class living conditions. Harvard University professor of the history and theory of urban form and design, Eve Blau, contends that the building program was one of the four primary areas in which Austromarxism manifested itself during the Red Vienna era.[73]

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71   Georges Labica and Gerard Bensussan, *Dictionnaire Critique Du Marxisme [Marksizm Sözlügü]*, trans. Volkan Yalcintoklu (Istanbul: Yordam, 2012), p. 69.

72   William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History*, 1848-1938 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 101.

73   The other three would be *"administrative reorganization"*, *"public health and welfare"* and *"education and culture"* from Eve Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p.37, 38, 40, 44.

MUNICIPAL HOUSING PROGRAM

Despite consolidating their power in the capital, the social democrats who made the municipal public housing program a cornerstone of their program faced many challenges and obstacles that they had to overcome. Homelessness had devastated the city, which had spiraled out of control. However, on the other hand, the state government to which they were attached hindered their efforts to implement their projects, and the municipality had neither the necessary financial resources nor physical construction areas to build so many housing units. The steps they took to overcome these problems would not only provide short-term relief to the municipality but also establish a systematic structuration for housing production until the end of the Red Vienna period.

Vienna's Independence from Lower Austria

Despite the electoral victory of the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP) in 1919, which resulted in both the Viennese government and the national government being led by social democrats, with Karl Renner as the chancellor, Otto Bauer as the foreign minister, and Jakob Reumann as the new mayor of the capital, the SDAP lost the national government the following year. The party had to find a new strategy to carry out its socialist agenda in the nation's capital after losing its ability to rule on a national level. Establishing a strategy to administer a Austromarxist social democratic city municipality under a conservative-right administration was required for this. Vienna

was at that time the capital of the state of Lower Austria *(Niederösterreich)* and Social Democrats took over a city, which was in a terrible condition. Lower Austria (including Vienna) contained the half of all the inhabitants of the Austrian Republic after the collapse of the monarchy. Compared to other six states of the country, this was an enormous number. Despite very unambiguous election victory of SDAP in Vienna, countryside of the state was predominantly conservative, which was beheld by the city as a burden to bear. Indubitably the coin had two sides. Since conservatives in rural areas did not want Lower Austria to be represented by its governor, Albert Sever, who was elected by the majority of social democratic city and provincial deputies, they backed up the idea of separation likewise.

On November 1920 the separation law *(Trennungsgesetz)* came into force separating the province of Vienna from Lower Austria. Articles 108-114 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Austria *(Bundesverfassung)* which was adopted by the Constituent National Assembly on October 1, 1920 entered into force on November 10, 1920 and defined the city of Vienna as a federal state.[74] As these progress paved the pathway for Vienna to be managed as a single-city-state it also facilitated the rapid establishment of Red Vienna.

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74   "Die Bundeshauptstadt Wien und das Land Niederösterreich," *Bundesgesetzblatt Für Die Republik Österreich*, November 10, 1920, p. 14-15.
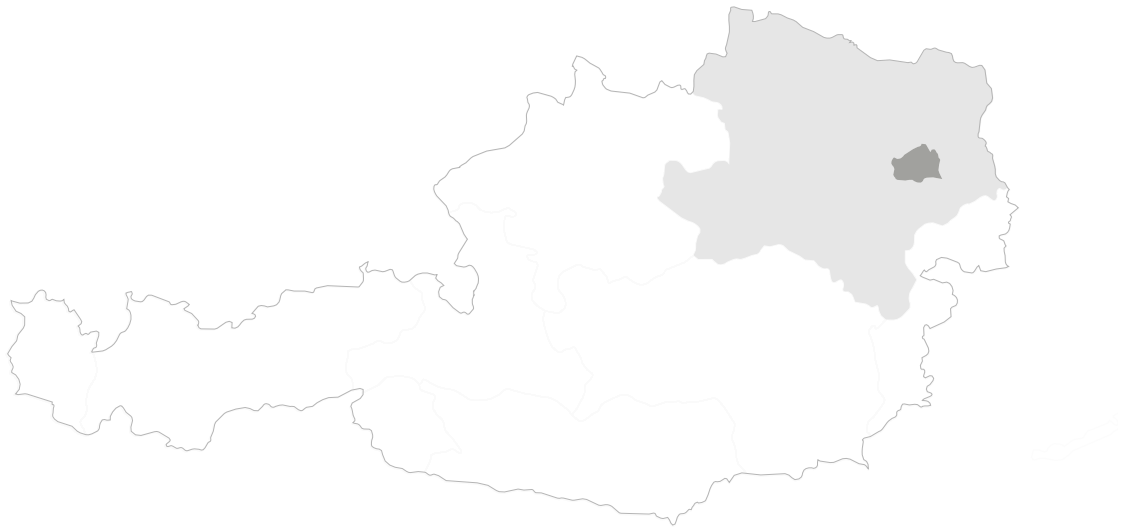
Figure 2.23: Vienna and Lower Austria after separation

Architectural Debate: Superblock versus Settlement

It is important to note that while the term *"Superblock"* can have various meanings in architecture, in the context of Red Vienna, the term typically refers to castle-like, massive and complex housing structures, which may span multiple blocks or even entire streets. These structures are often closed off from the street and feature multiple entrances and staircases for circulation purposes. Helmut Weihsmann, an architectural historian, has emphasized the significance of the superblock concept in the architecture of Red Vienna as follows:

"The superblock prevailed - in terms of both urban planning and sociology - as a centralized architectural unit and a relatively self-sufficient community center, largely independent from the rest of the city." [75]

Not only during the Red Vienna era, Superblock versus Settlement was always a subject of fiery debate. Many polticians, architects and researchers published books and articles about the discussion in Europe immediate aftermath of the war.

Perhaps due to the fact that the most prominent housing projects from Red Vienna were large complexes such as Karl-Marx-Hof etc. despite the prevalent belief that Red Vienna did not undertake efforts towards settlement housing during its era, this is not entirely accurate. Actually, Vienna was an early site for the *Siedlerbewegung* (settlement movement), particularly following World War I. Jakob Reumann, Vienna's mayor between 1919 and 1923, was himself a proponent of the settlement movement. The municipal government not only legitimized the often illegally built single- or double-story settlement houses constructed on the city's hillside or in the outskirt forests in the final years of the empire, but also provided official status and financial support for their further development, while collaborating on the creation of settlement projects.Even though the municipality did not close its doors to the settlement movement, they also did not consider it possible to build all these new apartments in this way. Moreover, it is essential to consider an important factor at this juncture. The type of housing referred to as "Settlement" in this discussion does not refer to the same concept as the Garden-City, which, contrary to what was initially expected, has only managed to appeal to a specific segment within England's bourgeois atmosphere. In the Viennese context, the term Settlement denotes modest dwellings constructed to fulfill a more straightforward typological requirement. During the years of war, as a result of the difficulties in access to food and nutrition that arose in the city, the movement rapidly spread, planned settlements that could be used for agriculture and units had much larger areas compared to the houses themselves. This area, akin to a field, was integrated within the housing fabric. In essence, the underlying motivation was centered around achieving self-sufficiency without severing ties with the urban environment. It was a much simpler approach, focused on overcoming daily life challenges, in contrast to Howard's ideas in England. It resembled a spontaneous intervention movement rather than an architectural endeavor or artistic

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75   Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 114.

pursuit. Although the idea of garden city has great advantages, large-scale detached housing projects could only find a place for themselves in richer western countries. In the industrialized countries of mainland Europe, these examples are not found on a massive scale. The fact that the income levels of some workers in these countries are different from the workers in the USA or England has positioned the detached and garden house projects such as garden city above the economic power of the workers in Austria.[76] Names such as Otto Neurath[77] and Hans Kampffmeyer[78] were staunch advocates of the garden city movement. The establishment of an independent municipal unit called *Siedlungsamt* (Vienna Settlement Office) in 1921 and the appointment of prominent figures such as Kampffmeyer and Loos to manage it could be viewed as an indication of the municipal support for the *Siedlungsbewegung*.[79]

However, Franz Musil, the Urban Planning Director of the City of Vienna at the time, mentioned that the lack of infrastructure and public transportation in the outer districts of the capital made it impossible to implement the satellite town projects,[80] which are the housings built around the city established in connection with the main city and built in order to reduce the burden of the city while increasing the comfort and living standards of its residents. Planning of such settlements cannot be considered only as building buildings. For a settlement to be

truly successful and find its value in life, under such circumstances, where the infrastructure (particularly in terms of transportation) was inadequate it must also be socially and economically at least semi-independent from the city. The fact that green areas are incomparably more than the city has to offer its residents a different lifestyle from the city, and in addition, the people who live here must spend their lives without being dependent on a city. However, once again, it would be unjust and erroneous to categorize Siedlung solely as an architectural-housing approach, and to exclusively link it to Howard's Garden City concept. This is because *Siedlung*, in contrast to Howard's vision, does not prioritize the preservation of urban culture. If *Siedlung* were to lose its urban character, it would fail to serve as a viable alternative to the city, resulting in a lack of distinct individual-spatial identities among its inhabitants. This would be incompatible with the Austromarxists' goal of creating a new working class.

Given the urgency of the housing crisis in Vienna, adopting such a settlement approach would have required finding large land parcels and establishing new infrastructure services, such as sewer, water, gas, and electricity distribution systems, as well as highways and roads. Instead of connecting these points with the city with transportation networks, it has been a more reasonable option to build large structures called superblocks close to (or directly

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76   Stadt Wien, ed., *Die Wohnungspolitik Der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum in Wien, 1929), p. 32-36.

77   Otto Neurath was an Austrian philosopher of science, sociologist and political economist who is one of the leading figures of Vienna Circle. Neurath is a member of Social Democrats during Red Vienna period and secretary of the Austrian Association for Settlements and Small Gardens. After Austrian Civil War, he did not come back to Austria and spent the rest of his life on exile until his death on 1945 in England.

78   Hans Kampffmeyer was a German *"Garden City Movement"* activist. He was the head of Austrian Association for Settlements and Small Gardens between 1919-1920. He worked together with Adolf Loos at the municipal Siedlungsamt.

79   Anna Stuhlpfarrer, "Die Wiener Siedlerbewegung," Werkbundsiedlung Wien (Stadt Wien), accessed March 10, 2023, https://www.werkbundsiedlung-wien.at/hintergruende/siedlerbewegung.

80   Franz Musil, "Hochbau Oder Flachbau?," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, October 12, 1926, p. 6 and Franz Musil, "Sollen Wie Die Untergrundbahn Schon Jetzt Bauen?," *Arbeiter Zeitung*, July 8, 1927. p. 8.

within) the city. From an economic perspective, tall buildings and densely built blocks saved more land and were cheaper than family homes with terraces.[81] Although the construction areas selected for superblocks in the city did not offer as large green areas as in the garden-city projects or settlements, municipality's plan was to create green areas of unprecedented size to their inhabitants. Furthermore, in addition to the aforementioned information, the reduction of economic fluctuations, particularly in the year 1923, brought about a sense of being able to transition to a more stable system, thereby enabling the financing of mega-block construction. This created an atmosphere where hyperinflation could be relatively contained and the food supply chain became more established, leading to a potential shift in housing and planning priorities. The systematic construction of permanent blocks, which held significant importance in the urbanization of the proletariat, took precedence over temporary rural shelters and became a viable proposition.
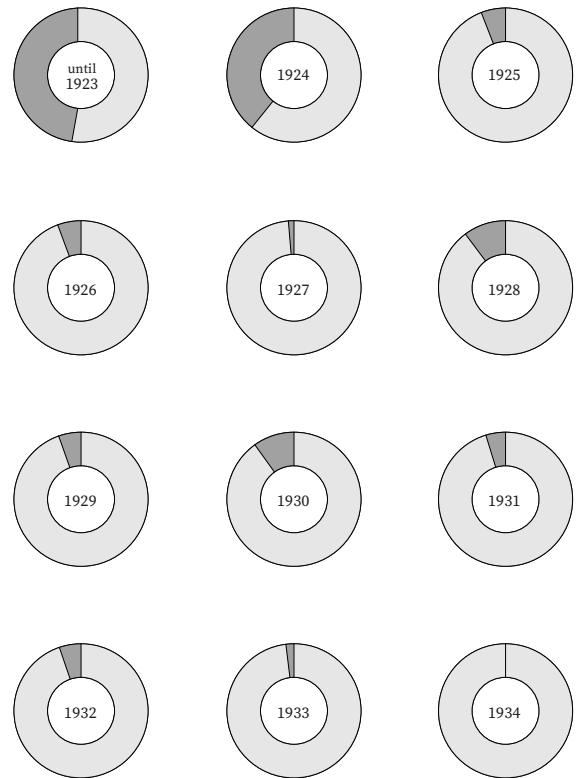
Figure 2.23.2: Diagram, correlation between built superblocks (light) and settlements (dark)

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81   Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 117.

Financing of Architecture and Establishment of Building Areas

Before the war 75 percent of the tax revenues of the City of Vienna derive from the building tax *(Wohnbausteuer)*. These taxes, on the other hand, made up about 40 percent of the rental income. As tenants living in small apartments began to pay exorbitantly high rents, this tax burden was too much on them.

Undoubtedly, the fundamental base of SDAP's implementation of its policies in Vienna was created by taxes. Two major figures, who played pivotal roles in finance politics during this era. Robert Danneberg and Hugo Breitner, are still today considered as *non-architect-architects of Red Vienna* and its housing policy. Robert Danneberg was the president of Viennese *Landtages* between 1922-1934 and the writer of the housing policies of the party as well as co-writer of its taxation policies. In his book *"Zehn Jahre Neues Wien"*,

Danneberg explains the importance of taxation on the financing of Red Vienna as:

"After the First World War, the social-democratic municipality had to set up a completely new tax system. This task was even more difficult because the Christian Socials had left empty coffers behind in May 1919, which hardly included the next month's salary. Expenditure rose rapidly as a result of currency devaluation, while income could not keep up with the old system and the old administration, out of demagogic considerations, did not want to make any more increases." [82]

In the creation of the new taxation policy, Danneberg worked together with the social democrat city councilor for finance, Hugo Breitner, who later became the iconic figure of the taxation politics of Red Vienna. The tax was even unofficially called as *"Breitner-Tax"*.

As it was mentioned in the previous part of the study, after Vienna became an independent state, there was no obstacle preventing the city from making its own laws. It was time for the SDAP administration in the Vienna City Council to implement the promises made. The municipality would strategically follow a path of majorly high-rise buildings and megablocks. However, there were serious obstacles in front of them financially, because these constructions meant a serious financial burden due to their massive size and to be built all over the city. Greatest benefit of being a separate Austrian state was, in this context, undoubtedly the

Figure 2.24: Hugo Breitner

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82   Robert Danneberg, *Zehn Jahre Neues Wien* (Wien: Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1929), p. 11.

power to make fiscal laws, which became the time of birth for Red Vienna. A significant part of this financial burden was eliminated with the housing tax enacted on January 23 and levied from February 1, 1923 by the efforts of Breitner. Both the party and municipal administration considered that going under large debts would be a waste of money for the future, believed that all expenditures could be solved by taxation. The fundamental goal of socialist tax policy, according to Breitner, was to exempt people as much as possible from tax on their important expenses. While luxury taxes were applied, indirect consumer taxes on basics were reduced as far as possible. Activities such as visiting nightclubs, brothels, cabarets as well as the use of goods and services such as cars, horses, dogs and servants were classified as luxury consumption and taxes were imposed on people benefiting from these products and services. Tax rates for luxury and special bars were higher than those for casual and inexpensive pubs. After the Christian Socials even taxed drinking water while keeping champagne tax-free for the rich, drinking water was provided completely free of charge and the cost of public transportation was reduced by 25 percent. during the Breitner era as a result of luxury tax. Houses that were considered private property were also taxed but with a difference. Breitner first abolished the existing rent tax, which had charged all rents at the same rate, and instead introduced a new rent tax that only affected the top 20 percent of rents. In addition to these Breitner imposed 4 percent tax on the consumption of electricity in private apartments while gas consumption was taxed at only 1,5 percent.[83] The housing tax was a strong progressive tax, increasing in a certain ratio.[84] To put it another way the higher the value of an apartment got, the higher became the taxation. One other motivation for the attempt to create the entire financing through taxation rather than credit or loans was the concern of a possible future-dependence on foreign forces and bank institutions. Although the high demands could not be fully met, Red Vienna's financial policy is still considered a success with its methodic of fewer mass taxes, more taxation of the wealthy. This radically progressive taxation of real estate made the exploitation of dwellings idle which rapidly led to the collapse of private real estate market in the city. Property prices fell and it gave the city administration a big chance to acquire a large number of properties at affordable prices. By the year 1922 the land owned by the city municipality increased form 5.487 hectares to 57.670 hectares. Which made the municipality the largest landowner with more than 2.600.000 square meters of total area under their control. Between 1923 and 1931 the total amount of money spent by the Municipality of Vienna on the purchase of building land was only 66,800,000 Schilling.[85] The Breitner-Tax not only served municipal housing of Red Vienna but also stopped the property speculation but also indirectly made the city municipality a construction monopoly in the city. The taxation policy played a very crucial role in affordable

83   Hugo Portisch and Sepp Riff, *Österreich I: Die Unterschätzte Republik* (Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1989), p. 234.
84   Although the housing tax was to be paid by all owners of rentable rooms, it was staggered in such a way that the most expensive 0.5% of the objects provided 44.5% of the total output.
85   "Kommunaler Wohnbau," in *Weblexion Der Wiener Sozialdemokratie, Dasrotewien.* , accessed June 15, 2022, https://www.dasrotewien.at/seite/kommunaler-wohnbau.

housing. Therefore, it was proudly used by social democrats in their election campaign since Hugo Breitner's taxing approach made it possible to implement what is arguably the greatest successful housing program in history. Yet, in doing so, he challenged all of the *nouveau riche*[86] masses, and as a result of these acts, he became a target of hatred that was likely unmatched by any of his fellow party members. Because Breitner had experienced more threats and harassment than any other of his party colleagues. The opposition took Hugo Breitner himself directly and used him as the hate figure for the tax policies, branding him as *"Tax-Bolschevik"* or even anti-semitic portraisations of him. Before 1930 elections, during his speech at Heldenplatz Christian Social Minister of the Interior Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg even yelled: *"Only until this Asian's head rolls in the sand will triumph be ours!"*[87] With the phrase *"Asian"* Breitner's Jewish background was explicitly referenced.

The implementation of these rising taxes not only reduced the profitability of owning multiple apartments in the market but also placed the owners of undeveloped land in a disadvantaged position. Consequently, real estate speculation became unprofitable and some members of the bourgeoisie chose to dispose of their properties. As a result, the municipality was able to acquire a large and diverse number of plots located throughout the city. The tenant protection law *(will be discussed in more detail in the following section)* was another significant factor that facilitated municipality's acquisition of land for construction purposes. By ensuring low rents and preventing evictions, the policy had a number of effects that paved the way for the municipality's future initiatives. The decrease in property and real estate profitability led to a significant drop in land prices, which in turn resulted in a sharp decline in private construction activity. This created a more favorable environment for the municipality to purchase lots at lower prices, making the city the largest and only serious customer in the market. Hans and Rudolf Hautmann reported that the municipality of Vienna owned little more than 25 percent of all buildable lots.[88] City municipality also considered the social significance of the locations when selecting sites for housing construction. The new public housing buildings were intended to be *"visible"* structures in affluent neighborhoods, so that both the bourgeoisie and aristocracy could recognize that the proletarians were also city owners and had a place in the city. *(For a more in-depth analysis of the socio-economic and cultural importance of the selected location, over an example, readers may refer to the section titled "Case Study: Karl-Marx-Hof".)*

These practices could only be carried out thanks to the power of the Social Democrats in the city council. These policies and developments,

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86   French idiom (new rich): people who have recently acquired wealth or significant financial means, often lacking the
         cultural refinement or social status of traditional aristocracy or old money.
87   Wolfgang Fritz, *Der Kopf Des Asiaten Breitner: Politik Und Ökonomie Im Roten Wien : Hugo Breitner, Leben Und Werk*
         (Vienna: Löcker, 2000).p. 13.
88   Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten Des Roten Wien, 1919-1934*
         (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), p. 51.

which would open the door to establish a secure future for people of low-income and lay the foundations of Red Vienna, were seen as significant threat for the wealthy and those affected by tax policies. Anti-socialist propaganda by disillusioned monarchists, frustrated Catholic radicals, and racist German nationalists in the 1920s described the real purpose of these developments as an attempt to establish a despotic socialist power and was described as "tax and financial terrorism"[89]. Even still today on many social housings of Red Vienna period it is written "Built with funds from the housing tax."

Despite more than a century having elapsed since the implementation of Breitner's tax policies, significant lessons can still be derived from them. These policies provide valuable insights into the potential feasibility of delivering free public services through tax systems akin to Breitner's approach. They demonstrate how seemingly utopian aspirations can be transformed into tangible realities for the general populace. However, it is worth noting that relying exclusively on a tax structure centered around expenditure patterns may prove insufficient in the long run. Although global circumstances have improved since the immediate aftermath of World War I in Vienna, issues of income and tax equity remain contentious in the context of a unipolar capitalist world system that frequently generates unsatisfactory exemplifications.

Figure 2.25: "Red" Hand symbolically removing a champagne bottle from the possession of the rich, conveyed with the slogan "Breitner Taxes, that why vote for Social Democrats."

Figure 2.26: Propaganda poster of opposition against Hugo Breitner with the slogan: "Vienna! Liberate yourself from tax tyranny. Vote for Unity List"

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89   Janek Wasserman, *Black Vienna: The Radical Right in the Red City, 1918-1938* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), p. 2.

Tenant Protection

Unexpectedly, the foundations of the tenant protection law *(Mieterschutz)* were laid in 1917 in the monarchy. The onset of the First World War exacerbated tensions between landlords and tenants, with the mayor of the time appealing to landlords to show greater consideration towards their tenants. However, landlords were keen to terminate leases and evict tenants who were unable to pay their rent on time. A similar situation was experienced by a neighboring country in the northwest of Europe, where Russians during the 1910s faced significant challenges such as homelessness and an inability to afford increasing rents, which contributed to a series of tumultuous events ultimately leading to the Russian Revolution. Emperor Karl I viewed the events unfolding in Russia as cautionary signals that required careful consideration. Consequently, on January 28, 1917, the initial portion of the Tenant Protection Regulation *(Mieterschutzverordnungen)* was released. Nonetheless, the aforementioned regulation applied solely to dwellings constructed before January 1, 1917, with a maximum monthly rent of 250 Kron (equivalent to 3000 Kron/year). Initially, it was limited to a period ending on December 31, 1918; however, it was later transformed into a permanent tenancy law on October 26, 1918.[90] Following the war, landlords and tenants held contrasting political views. While landlords sought to decrease rent protection, citing inflationary pressures, tenant protection organizations reacted with widespread demonstrations. On May 1, 1922, the Tenant Protection Regulation, which was initially introduced in 1917 as a temporary measure, was reinstated with the combined support of the Social Democrats, the Christian Social Party, and the Greater German Faction.[91] Rent was segregated into three distinct components, namely the base rent *(Grundzins)*, maintenance costs *(Instandhaltungszins)*, and operating costs *(Betriebskosten)*.

This legislation played a significant role in garnering support for social democracy among the working class and substantial sections of the Viennese lower-middle class. Under the legislation, the base rent accounted for 50 percent of the maximum rent that property owners could demand. This amount was subsequently reduced to 1/28,000 in 1922, resulting in a significant decrease in the income of property owners. Compared to pre-war rent rates, property owners received only 0,000038 percent of their prior earnings, enabling the introduction of a housing tax to finance the housing initiatives of the municipality.[92] The above-mentioned factors underscore the crucial significance of the tenant protection law and its instrumental role in shaping the housing policy of Red Vienna.

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90   Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten Des Roten Wien, 1919-1934*
      (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), p. 25.
91   Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934*
      (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 33.
92   Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten Des Roten Wien, 1919-1934*
      (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), p. 112.

PROGRAM AND PLANNING

Even before 1914, the Social Democrats made significant efforts to construct municipal housing, but their plans were thwarted by the Christian Social-dominated municipal administration.[93] After taking over the city governance, solving the housing crisis in Vienna became the top priority for the SDAP, with the Austromarxists playing a significant role. The municipality was not interested in a quick fix and aimed to provide high-quality dwellings to residents. Unlike many workers' housing projects that followed, there were few examples of such projects before the construction of Vienna's municipal housing. Although Charles Fourier's Phalanstère concept, based on the Palace of Versailles, was considered too utopian, it served as an inspiration for André Godin's Le Familistère Guise. Separation of Vienna from Lower Austria provided a unique opportunity for the administration to easily navigate bureaucratic obstacles and directly address the needs of the public. The first step towards this goal was a change in tax laws that generated sufficient funds to cover the construction costs of tens of thousands of housing units. The implementation of rent protection policies and tax regulations led to property owners selling their lands to the municipality, which had met all the requirements and was now ready to start.

93   Stadt Wien, ed., "Geschichte Des Wiener Gemeindebaus," Wiener Wohnen, accessed January 16, 2023, https://www.wienerwohnen.at/wiener-gemeindebau/geschichte.html.

Housing Program

With the announcement of the first and second building program by the municipality, by the year 1934 the total number of apartments built by the city was 64.000, which accommodated around 220.000 residents.[94] These buildings were capacitywise almost large enough to accommodate the entire population of Vorarlberg and Salzburg during that period together.[95]

Before 1914, an affordable housing policy in Vienna was nearly non-existent, and only a homelessness policy was in place. As previously discussed in this study, the Social Democrats made addressing the severe homelessness in the city a top priority after coming to power in Vienna. It can even be argued that housing construction and policies formed the backbone of the SDAP's local policies in the Vienna municipality.

Despite making housing policy their primary agenda, it would be incorrect to suggest that the Social Democrats had a concrete solution or a well-developed concept for working-class housing until 1923. In the party's initial discussions and agenda presented in 1919, only minimal requirements for these residences were outlined, which did not go beyond general descriptions, such as a requirement for apartments to have at least two rooms, a living-kitchen, and adequate lighting, air, and sunlight. While the municipality administration was meticulous in addressing each point, their itemizations were based on the results of a thorough analysis rather than a comprehensive solution program. As the capital of an empire that had just collapsed, the municipality did not believe that they had the time to develop a completely new and profound architectural program after lengthy architectural, philosophical, psychological, and sociological discussions. The municipality believed that swift action was necessary, and thus private architects were commissioned, and the council opted to follow a "learning by doing" approach. Blau describes this process as *"emerged out of practice".*[96] Despite the apparent lack of a comprehensive plan, the urgency of the situation did not afford the municipality the luxury of time for more deliberate action. While the adoption of a *"learning by doing"* approach may have been criticized, it was considered by the city government as necessary means for addressing the immediate housing crisis. *(Nonetheless, the merits and drawbacks of this approach will be examined more closely and you can proceed to the "Reactions and Critics to Architecture" section of the work for the analysis of this process and the criticisms.)*

The end of inflation also marked the beginning of a new era in Vienna's social housing program. Contrary to popular belief, Red Vienna housing did not begin with the famous Gemeindebau, which was built with the top-down reform policy. Instead, there was a mass movement that came first as a bottom-up approach.[97] The housing estates which were being constructed at the time, such Metzleinstaler-Hof in 1919,

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94   Erich Bramhas, *Der Wiener Gemeindebau: Vom Karl Marx-Hof Zum Hundertwasserhaus* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1987), p. 37.
95   Statistik Austria, population in 1934 of Salzburg: 69,447, Vorarlberg: 155,402.
96   Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 176.
97   Wolfgang Förster, *2000 Jahre Wohnen in Wien* (Berlin: Jovis, 2020), p. 78.

were inadequate in their efforts to house the significant number of homeless people and can thus be viewed as only an early attempt to provide transitory respite. The collective housing projects initiated during the monarchy period and continued by the Vienna Municipality after foundation of the First Republic, proved to be very effective in allowing the party leadership to define the "requirements of the ideal housing for the proletariat" and establish specific regulations for them. *(The details of these regulations will be elaborated upon in the following section titled "Regulations".)*

On September 21, 1923, the municipality announced the First Housing Program with the goal of establishing residences that would enable urban inhabitants to lead healthy, secure, and comfortable (as possible) lives, while complying with the their rules and regulations. The Housing Program foresaw the construction of 25,000 apartment buildings in the following period. The program was scheduled for beginning in January 1924 completion in 1928, however, it was finalized two years earlier in 1926.[98] The municipality was able to construct a considerable number of housing units less than five years, which significantly elevated the living standards of the workers and surpassed their previous living conditions. Following the completion of the previous construction program and shortly after the 1926 International Housing and Urban Development Congress, which was in Vienna, the municipality announced the Second Housing

Program on May 27, 1927. The second program comprised of a total of 30,000 new, additional housing units, and by the end of 1934, a total of 61,175 units had been constructed in 348 residential complexes. Along with this, 5,257 units were built in 42 settlement housing groups, and 2,155 local stores were also constructed. The year 1926 was recorded as the most productive, with a total of 9,034 apartments being completed during that year.[99]

98   Lili Bauer and Werner Thomas Bauer, eds., publication, *Da Steht Er, Der 'Eingestürzte Bau': Presse Und Polemik Zur Errichtung Des Karl Marx Hofes* (Das Rote Wien: Waschsalon, September 8, 2010), p. 2. https://dasrotewien-waschsalon.at/fileadmin/DOCS/2017/extraausgabe_waschsalonkmh.pdf.

99   Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten Des Roten Wien, 1919-1934* (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), p. 137-138.

Regulations

After the Housing Program was announced, the city became a massive construction site with ongoing building activities. Throughout this process, several considerations were taken into account, based on discussions among architects and the experience gained from the city government's initial projects after taking office, which were not deemed of high quality. Although various individuals undertook the design task, they were all required to consider these points when creating their designs.[100] Perhaps the most important among these was the new limitation regarding the building density. The first guideline required that land use is being confined to a maximum of 50 percent of the land, which was a substantial shift from *Gründerzeit* houses, which might utilize up to 85 percent of the area. This ordinance was enacted to guarantee that occupants have adequate open space and light. Another rule stated that atriums should be avoided and only erected in extraordinary circumstances. This guideline ensured that the courtyards were big and landscaped, allowing children to play in them rather than on the street. Access to the houses was also restricted to be done from the inner courtyards, which were designed to generate a sense of community and were guarded by enormous iron gates. To ensure basic hygiene and air quality, it was mandated that all apartments be equipped with running water and a toilet. Additionally, coal stoves were replaced with clean gas stoves, further improving indoor air quality. To further ensure the occupants' privacy and quietness, a modest antechamber was needed to divide the private space from the semi-public stairway.

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100   Harald A. Jahn, *Das Wunder Des Roten Wien* (Vienna: Phoibos, 2014), p. 20.

Direct lighting was required in every room, which enabled enough lighting and electricity cost savings. The restriction of apartments per level to a maximum of four was one of the fundamental ideas imposed in projects. This was a critical measure to address the overcrowding at one floor that was prevalent in workers' tenement barracks and aimed to reduce the number of quarrels among residents. The ground floors were raised to increase privacy and prevent people from peering in from the street, and to reduce costs, the apartments' windows and doors were standardized. One creative effort entailed building kiddie pools that, whenever possible, could also double as ice rinks during the winter. This action was taken to make children's play areas available and to make the area more habitable. Also, larger complexes should come with big steam laundry facilities, and smaller projects should at least include a laundry and drying room to guarantee people had access to sanitary laundry facilities, enhancing their quality of life. The lack of bathrooms in the flats was another crucial restriction. However, where possible, central shower and bath facilities were made available. The apartments were created with loggias or balconies whenever it was feasible, giving tenants their own private outdoor spaces. This was done to give inhabitants a place to unwind, enjoy the sunshine and fresh air, and mingle with their neighbors. In order to give children a secure environment in which to play and learn, children's lounges or even kindergartens were established where it was feasible. This clause was designed to give working parents peace of mind and enhance the general welfare of kids.

Concepts

After reaching the final decision on regulations, the process of conceptual design began. Although each structure would be designed by different architects, they all had to incorporate certain design features. Considering the parallelism between the social utopias that emerged in the 19th century and the goals of Gemeindebau, it is possible to find clear connections between these two architectural and ideological approaches. Firstly, Gemeindebau goes beyond being merely a "roof over one's head," and its architectural design is based on the collectivization of life. Architecture has acted as a catalyst in the motivation to create a sense of sharing. Throughout the path from design to planning and then construction, the purpose has been to provide a better life and introduce a new way of living. Both financial and purpose-related factors have limited the new living space, leading to the collectiveization of many daily activities and their relocation to shared facilities outside the individual apartments. While life is collectivized through various approaches, a complete contrast to this can be observed within the apartments, where an unprecedented emphasis on privacy has been observed. Measures such as separating families and adding areas like entryways to create isolation between the outside and inside life have been taken to reinforce the sense of privacy, in contrast to the Soviet homes of the time. Despite the shared use of bathrooms in many early structures, the inclusion of a separate toilet for each dwelling underscores the importance that the municipality and designers have placed on sanitary facilities. One other example of reducing the size of the apartment occurs in circulation areas, which,

as we are familiar with from examples such as Phalanstère or Familistère, are designed not to be deprived of natural light. Thus, the importance Fourier attached to light continued in Gemeindebau as well. Steps were taken to increase the incoming light from the outside through expanded courtyards and window sizes. On the other hand, in the residences of the upper-class of the period, where the aim was to receive natural light in the space, examples of apartments with a subsequent room order could be observed in many cases.

Therefore, designs emerged where rooms were attached directly to each other and leaned against facades, as opposed to a classical corridor. However, these transitions were based on an approach with traditional spatial definitions rather than creating modern and pre-defined living spaces, as seen in German examples of the period. These mentioned points are discussed in detail in the sections titled "The Courtyard," "Spatial Arrangement," and "The Kitchen Conflict."

Housing Allocation

Given the extent of the housing shortage in the city, it is easy to understand how acute the need for Gemeindebau was. Along with the critical demand for housing, the number of apartments built in the first phase was obviously far less than the requirement. Furthermore, the quality of these buildings posed a challenge for housing allocation. To overcome this issue, the City of Vienna Housing Office *(Wohnungsamt der Stadt Wien)* adopted a system of placing people in homes based on the urgency of their housing needs rather than solely their economic situation. The city devised a point system for classifying applicants for housing, which prioritized families with needs and low-income individuals. Applicants for *Gemeindewohnung* were evaluated based on their level of need using this point system. Those with 10 points or more were categorized as *Class I* and considered to have an *urgent need for housing*. Those with a score of 5 to 9 were placed in category *Class II* and classified as having a *moderate need*. Applicants with fewer than 5 points were placed in *Class III*. Based on these categories, applicants were allocated housing in municipal houses.[101]

The housing allocation policy in Red Vienna impacted the social structure of the *Gemeindebauten* by deviating from traditional financial categorizations and instead implementing a point system for selecting tenants. If residents had been chosen and placed in apartments based on financial categorizations instead of such a point system, complexes could not have gone beyond being ordinary

Austrian Citizenship	1
Domicile in Vienna	1
Residence in Vienna since birth	4
Residence in Vienna since August 1, 1914	3
Residence in Vienna for more than a year	1
Newlywed (less than one year)	1
Married (more than one year)	2
Civil union	1
Each child (Under 14 years of age)	1
Each child (Over 14 years of age)	2
Seperated household	2
Pregnancy	1
War damaged	5
Disability 66-90%	2
Semi-disability less than 66%	1
Termination	5
Subtenancy	2
Bed-renters	2
Housing hygiene	1-2
Unfitness of present dewlling	5
Homelessness	5
Lack of kitchen	1
Overcrowding in dwelling	1
Illness related to present dwelling conditions	1

Figure 2.27: Housing Allocation Point System

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101   Charles Oscar Hardy and Robert René Kuczynski, *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1934), p. 92-94.

buildings instead of living structures. While being Austrian brought only one point, being more cosmopolitan Viennese, meant four points. This approach resulted in a diverse population of residents with varying sociological and demographic backgrounds, preventing the creation of homogenous communities within these social housing complexes. This approach was especially crucial given the increased xenophobia in the period leading up to and during the war. In this way, the municipality reduced the possibility of foreigners to encounter unacceptable situations like discrimination everyday.

Rents for municipal housing projects varied from 11 to 30 Groschen[102] per square meter, with an average of 20 Groschen, [103] which was influenced by various factors, including building size, location, and construction method. Alongside rent, tenants were also required to pay a housing tax. Despite these costs, the rental rates were a mere fraction of pre-war levels, totaling only 1/8 of the former cost and 1/12th of the actual construction expenses. For example, an average 38 square meter flat in the 5th District was leased for 5,70 Schillings per month, with housing taxes not exceeding 1,50 Schillings. The total rent and tax amount of 7,20 Schillings constituted approximately 4 percent of a worker's monthly income. These prices made it impossible for the private construction industry to compete. Moreover, workers residing in these dwellings were offered opportunities for rent reductions, and monthly cancellations or deferments of payments in the case of illness

or similar situations. Prior to the construction of the Gemeindebau, however, tenants who faced such difficulties were immediately evicted from their apartments.[104]

Despite the fact that the new housing options offered such great facilities, it was not enough to prevent many debates from arising in the city council. The Vienna government's implementation of a point system for housing allocation was met with criticism from the Christian Social opposition. Despite the SDAP's assertion that the point system was designed to promote fairness and impartiality in the allocation process, the CS opposition argued that the system did not accurately reflect reality. The Christian Socials alleged that the housing allocation process was a premeditated scheme, and that the municipality filled the Gemeindebauten solely with their own voters. However, it is worth noting that working-class movements during the era were largely left-leaning, not only in Austria but also in other countries. In addition, it should be noted that almost all of the residents who moved into the Gemeindebau buildings had been living in terrible conditions or even worse, struggling with homelessness just a few months earlier, and they were from the socio-economically lowest segment of society. On top of that, given that the working-class and poor populations tended to align with the social democratic left, it is plausible that even non-political residents would form alliances with a party that, for the first time in history, made efforts to address their most pressing concerns.

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102   A monetary unit in Austria, equal to one hundredth of Schilling, until the introduction of the euro in 2002.
103   Hans Hautmann, "Wien: Burg Des Volkes," Hamburg Debatte, March 7, 2012. p. 10.
104   Helmut Weihsmann, Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934 (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 38.

Influence of Otto Wagner and His School

An attempt of reading the architecture of Red Vienna without Otto Wagner would be no more than a futile effort. In order to comprehend the out-and-out denouement of urban model of social democratic city government, one shall be cognizant of the achievements and pioneering work of the Wagner-School. Many architects, who took active role in the housing program were students of Otto Wagner. Some works of Otto Wagner such as *"Die Großstadt-Studie"*[105] from 1911 linked modern architecture with the city of industrialization as well as the society of it, created groundwork of this upcoming era. Despite all this, it is necessary to look back a little further in history to understand how Otto Wagner himself and his teachings were so inspiring and shaping this period. Both architecturally and chronologically, students of Wagner School were avant-gardes of the prewar era. Wagner was a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna for 18 years. His "*Spezialschule für Architektur"*[106] was accepting only 6-7 students among many applicants and they were all men, since women were accepted into universities only after the First World War. Wagner himself believed that only very talented students shall have a chance to study in his class.[107] In this masterclass Wagner was more of a leader of an experimental lab than a typical teacher. Looking at Wagner's architectural career, it is not

formidable to see that he would be considered as an upper-middle-class architect. So how did his "special" students become interested in benefits of working class and became the pioneer designers of the Red Vienna? Yes, maybe Wagner himself was a real estate developer, a big bourgeois, who clearly had not conveyed a social housing attitude during his career but in his school, he had passed his students, how to cope with the big scale. According to Wolfgang Förster, head of Vienna Housing Research, many of the students trained by Wagner were predestined to devote themselves to the new task of large-scale municipal housing. They had experience in dealing with large building masses and at the same time knew how to set a human standard towards monumentality.[108] Most of the projects prepared in Wagner School

Figure 2.29: Otto Wagner

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105   "*The Metropolis*" was a study of Otto Wagner, which was a manifest plan for a future metropolis. It has become an icon of abstraction in urban planning, which showed an ideal plan for an (imaginary) 22nd Viennese district.

106   Special School for Architecture

107   Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 239.

108   Roland Schöny, "Wagner-Schule Rotes Wien. Architektur Als Soziale Utopie: Architektur Des Sozialen Aufbruchs," artmagazine, August 2, 2010, https://www.artmagazine.cc/content48761.html.

were large buildings with complex functions, in which urban site planning as well as conditions were taken into deep consideration. These created a great foundation for the upcoming Gemeindebau projects given to his students in following years by the municipality of Vienna. His teachings to these students were mainly focused on urban architecture. But rather than typical urban planning lessons, Wagner focused deeply on the matter of scale as well as character and organization of an existing city structure. It was a three-year school, where students start dealing with the design process of a classical Viennese apartment house in their first year. Wagner believed that this would be "the first real task they (these students) will face once they enter into professional life" as architects. The following year of Wagner School focuses on designing "a public building with, all its complicated interior planning and characteristic exterior organization." His study program for the third-year students was a true lab of experiment. Even though Wagner believed that most of his students will probably never face this task in their lifetime, it would expand their imagination by far: design assignments for imaginary buildings with "exotic problems".[109] He also taught his students about the importance of scale and ratio. The relationship between whole to parts as well as parts to parts. These can be seen clearly in almost all social housing units of Red Vienna. Without a doubt, Wagner School had an enormous meaning for architecture in Austria. Without his teachings, it would not have been possible to have these structures, which are one of the pioneers of social housing,

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109   Otto Wagner, *Moderne Architektur [Modern Architecture]*, trans. Wolfgang Herrmann (Vienna: A. Schroll & Co., 1902), p.161-162.
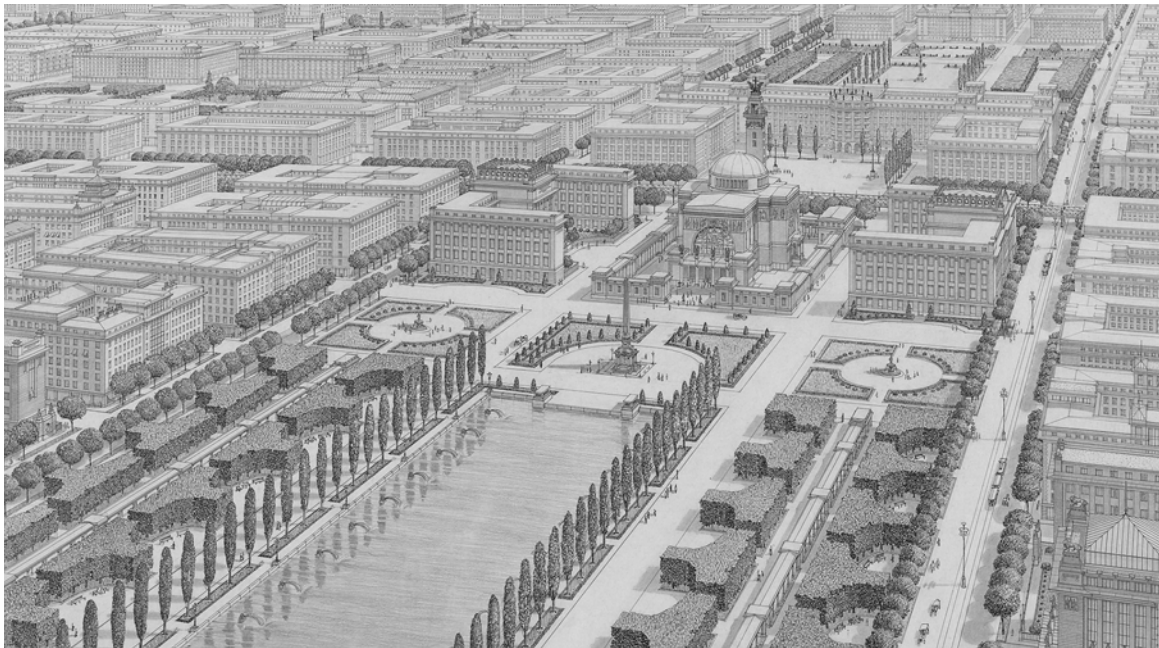
Figure 2.28: The Metropolis, Otto Wagner, 1911

that still characterize the cityscape with their delightful details and stylistic elements of the Art Deco and Bauhaus movements. Total of 23 former students of Wagner's masterclass were appointed for municipal housing projects by the city. Majority of municipal houses from 1920s was in early modern style with touches from Art Deco as well as minor romantic style elements and they were in connection with traditional *Heimatstil*. With the beginning of 1930s these were replaced as forms were reduced. Even though Otto Wagner died in 1918 and did not live the First Republic, the traces of his ideas and the Gemeindebau developing into an urban typology can be seen in examples like Hubert Gessner's Metzleinsthalerhof and the Fuchsenfeldhof by Hermann Aichinger and Heinrich Schmid. The students remained true to the idea of their master "uniformity elevated to monumentality", allowing him to touch this period, even long after his demise. Among all students of Wagner School Hubert Gessner, Karl Ehn, Hermann Aichinger, Heinrich Schmid, Rudolf Perco and Robert Oerley became the leading figures of this typology. In 1920s most of these architects were in their 40s, 50s and their architectural understanding as well as the teachings of Wagner were more established. Even though this is still a guesswork since there happens to be no evidence, the city municipalitiy's choice of architects from Wagner

School, was an architectural decision, rather than a political one.[110] It is not a hard to conjecture to make, that Wagner himself was not a socialist but architects of the Wagner School were also not a group of socialists either. Only with an exception for Hubert Gessner. Gessner was a friend of Viktor Adler, who was the founding leader of SDAP[111] and he was associated with the party leadership. He was even labeled as "the architect of SDAP".[112] After the SDAP was banned in 1934, Gessner had received no further major contracts and was even banned from the profession. While Gessner was seen as one of the inventors of the Gemeindebau typology, the inner courtyards and high-rise block structures he designed became his most characteristic design elements. He planned workers' homes, villas, banks, waterparks and workers' clubs projects as well as some masterpieces of Red Vienna such as Metzleinstalerhof, Ferdinand-Lassalle-Hof, Heizmannhof and Jakob-Reumann-Hof. Even though Jakob-Reumann-Hof was first planned as Vienna's first skyscraper, due to financial reasons Gessner had no other choice than reducing it down to eigth storeys[113] (with an additional ground floor) and still managed to create a symbol representing the "New Vienna",[114] which is considered by architectural historian Helmut Weihsmann as the *"Prototype of people's palaces."*[115]

110   Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 239.

111   Lili Bauer and Wermer Thomas Bauer, eds., Brochure: *Hubert Gessner. Architekt Der Arbeiterbewegung* (Das rote Wien Waschsalon), accessed May 16, 2022, https://dasrotewien-waschsalon.at/fileadmin/DOCS/2017/Gessner_Folder.pdf.

112   Lili Bauer and Wermer Thomas Bauer, eds., Brochure: Hubert Gessner. Architekt Der Arbeiterbewegung (Das rote Wien Waschsalon), accessed May 16, 2022, https://dasrotewien-waschsalon.at/fileadmin/DOCS/2017/Gessner_Folder.pdf.

113   Wolfgang Förster, publication, *100 Years of Social Housing in Vienna*, p. 3, accessed February 2, 2022, https://www.push-c.at/en/downloads.html p. 8.

114   Alternative term to "Red Vienna", used often to describe this period by Robert Danneberg, the president of Vienna Provincial Assembly between 1922-1934.

115   *"Prototype der Volkswohnungspaläste"* in Helmut Weihsmann, Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur Und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934 (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 221.

PART 3

TYPOLOGICAL ANATOMY OF MUNICIPAL HOUSING

This section delves into the typological aspects of municipal housing in Vienna, examining various elements that contribute to the design and functionality of Gemeindebau. The research investigates the urban context, materiality, the courtyard, amenities, and typological versatility of these housing complexes. The chapter examines municipal housing through contexts such as positioning and urban fabric, treating the structures as integral parts of urban planning. While exploring morphological differences, the concepts are further solidified through visual aids and categorizations prepared by the author. The courtyard, one of the main elements of municipal housing, and the shared facilities that form the cornerstone of collective living are discussed through historical photographs, allowing for an examination of the social dynamics, usage patterns, and spatial arrangements they create. The housing units, which come in different forms and sizes for various user groups, undergo a multi-layered analysis through typological studies, plans, internal usage areas, and newly introduced concepts in the Viennese worker housing lexicon. Additionally, the kitchen, an important dynamic in interior design during the period, is examined from various angles.

URBAN CONTEXT AND MORPHOLOGY

Vienna was named the world's greenest city in 2020,[116] *a fact that may not be immediately apparent to an observer exploring the city outside of its few districts and parks, which may appear relatively gray. However, a different perspective emerges from an aerial view of the city, revealing the city's widespread integration of Gemeindebau housing complexes with parks and green spaces throughout its various neighborhoods, contributing significantly to its status as a green city.*

Even though Red Vienna's *Gemeindebauten* are celebrated for their innovative social and architectural features, but they also represent a major accomplishment in urban planning, since the projects were more than just buildings. They were carefully integrated into the city's urban fabric, creating a cohesive and functional urban context. At the heart of the Gemeindebau was the idea that housing should be designed not as isolated units, but as part of a larger and functioning urban system. The *Gemeindebau* buildings were placed in various locations around the city, blending into their surroundings in a manner that encouraged ease of access and convenience. This urban integration enabled the residents to conveniently access transportation and other necessary services. On the other hand, with their internal gardens and facilities, the complexes from time to time functioned like a town-in-a-town, and the relationship between facilities-*Gemeindebauten*-city was organized like the relationship between cells-tissues-organs. For these reasons, Gemeindebau was

never just another mass housing project.

A total of 199 different architects planned Red Vienna's municipal housing projects. Although there were traces of its architect in each design, there were no serious style differences between the projects. The architects adhered to the norms and demands given to them by the municipality. Architecture can be influenced by various factors such as economic, aesthetic, cultural, climatic, historical, urban texture, environmental concerns, necessity, functionality, or topography, all of which contribute to the final form. In the case of Vienna, the available areas for construction were characterized by significant differences. While some lots were vast, empty spaces on the city's outskirts, providing ample space for free design, using only such sites would result in uncontrolled urban sprawl, with the city expanding outward indefinitely. Also, the decision to build *Gemeindebau* rather than settlements was also influenced also by economic factors. Despite the fact that high-rise buildings generally require more construction materials, the cost per square meter of a tall building is usually lower than that of a low-rise building, especially when taking into account the cost of land and the pace of construction. Therefore, the City of Vienna opted for multi-story buildings to minimize construction expenses, in addition to the importance of using the available land efficiently to avoid further urban sprawl. Vienna's social housing developments can be classified into five fundamental construction forms, including

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116   Johannes Pleschberger and Natalie Huet, "Vienna Crowned World's Greenest City for Its Parks and Public Transit," *Euronews*, May 12, 2020,
        https://www.euronews.com/2020/05/12/vienna-crowned-world-s-greenest-city-for-its-parks-and-public-transit.

infill development *(Lückenschließung)*, block perimeter development *(Blockrandbebauung)*, superblock, loosened superblock and dispersed settlement. The construction forms of infill development and block perimeter development, which had been in use prior to the Red Vienna era, continued to be popular during this time. These forms were appealing because they filled in empty spaces, creating a more cohesive urban environment, and they also provided environmental sustainability by completing existing structures. Additionally, these forms were advantageous because they did not require the construction of new roads, sewers, gas, water, or power lines, which would have been necessary for single residential buildings. Moreover, due to their shorter construction times, it is understandable why these forms were preferred. The block perimeter development types were widely adopted during the Red Vienna era, and were particularly favored due to their ability to integrate with the existing city infrastructure. These blocks were positioned in alignment with the streets and avenues of the city, and occupied a prominent position along the street, providing a sense of continuity and unity. The use of large inner courtyards provided space for social amenities and green spaces, while also achieving privacy by creating a barrier between the courtyard and the street. In contrast, superblocks were designed as standalone urban structures, with little consideration given to integrating them with the existing urban infrastructure and

buildings from the Gründerzeit era. Typically, they were closed to through traffic and offered a range of amenities, including residential properties, businesses, and recreational facilities. Some of the most iconic Red Vienna municipal complexes such as Karl-Marx-Hof or Reumannhof can be named as examples to these. The architectural form known as a "loosened superblock" might result from the division of a superblock with a large Hof into several smaller Hof sections or from the development's spread over a larger land, with multiple sequence of open and/or close courtyards. The dispersed settlement approach sought to create a more decentralized and community-oriented urban environment also known as Siedlung, which was not stongly preferred in Red Vienna's housing program in comparison to Frankfurt or Austrofascist-era's building program. Divergent viewpoints exist regarding the diversity in design of these projects. According to Hans and Rudolf Hautmann, the period's *Gemeindebauten* are uniform. They attribute this to the fact that all of these architects were Otto Wagner students who were eager to apply his urban planning ideals.[117] Architect Erich Bramhas, on the other hand, is of the opinion that municipal housing projects lack a distinguishing style and he divides the structures into three groups based on their design elements, namely *"conservative and traditional*[118]*"*, *"functional and modern"* and *"monumental and prominent."*[119]

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117   Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten Des Roten Wien*, 1919-1934 (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), p. 202.

118   *(Original: "Konservativ/brav")* Owing to the multiple connotations of the German term "brav," it presents a challenge to render it into English. Nevertheless, after considering Bramhas' method of filling the category with historical references and drawing a comparison to *"singing folk songs in an opera,"* the decision was made to translate the term as "traditional."

119   Erich Bramhas, *Der Wiener Gemeindebau: Vom Karl Marx-Hof Zum Hundertwasserhaus* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1987), p. 48, 50.
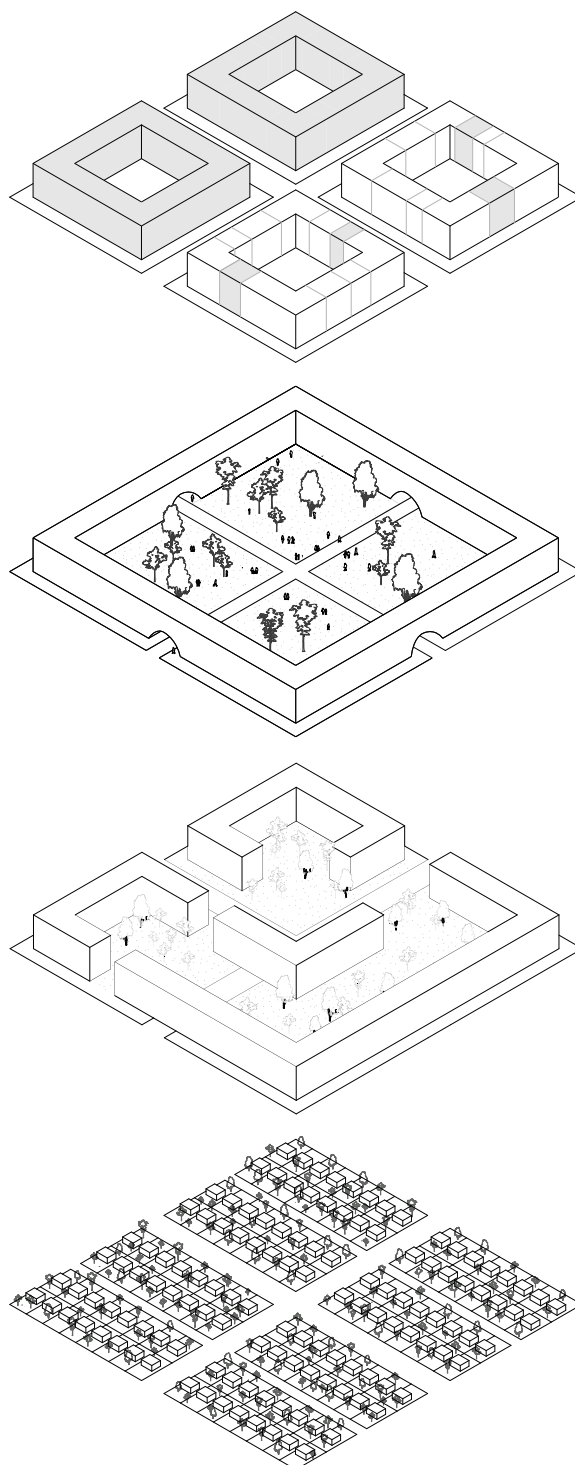
Figure 3.01: New building morphologies (from top to bottom)
1. Block perimeter development (left) - Infill development (right)
2. Superblock
3. Loosened superblock
4. Dispersed settlement
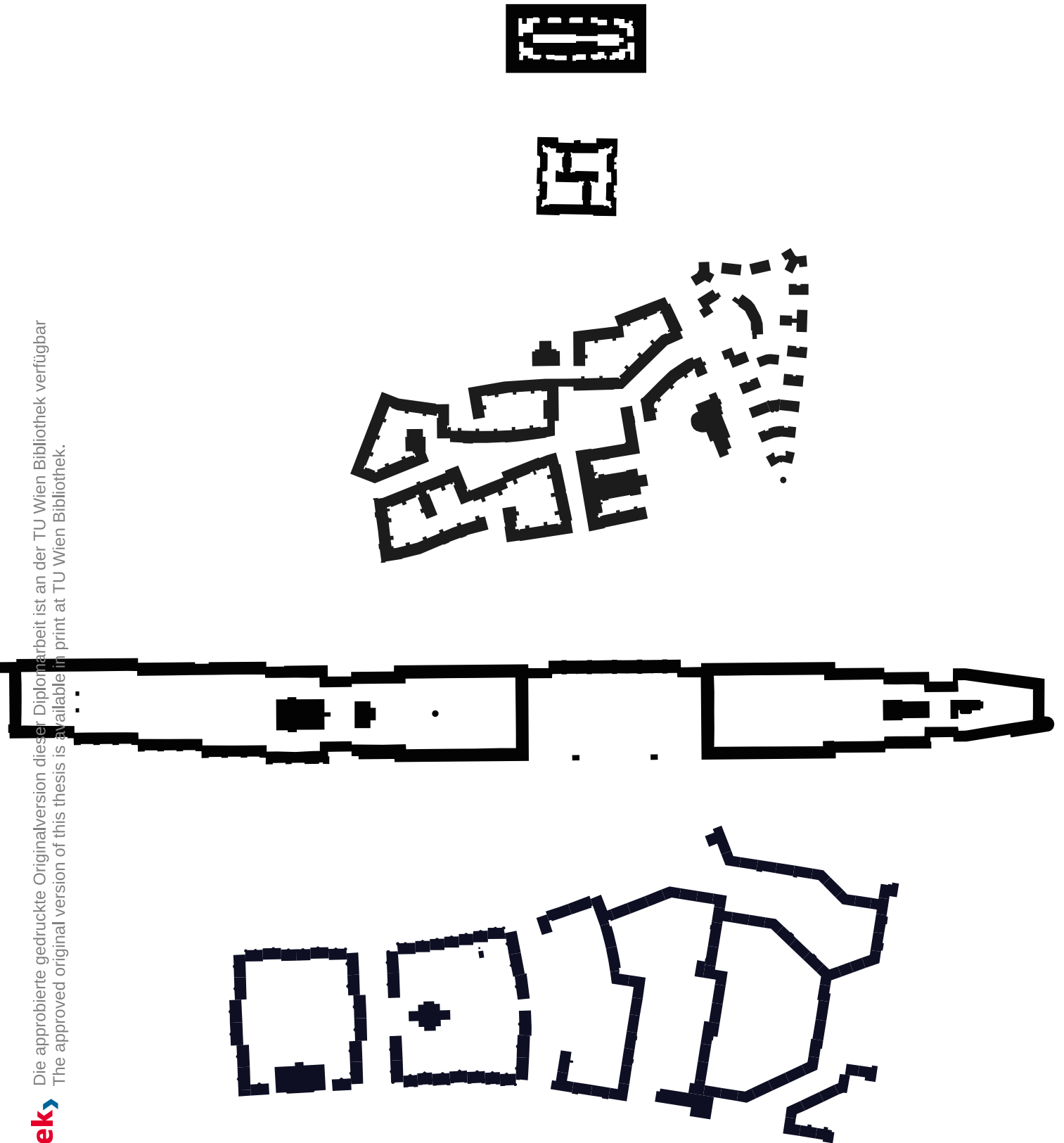
Figure 3.02: Land use comparison (from top to bottom)
Gründerzeit block, Schüttauhof, Sandleitenhof, Karl-Marx-Hof, George-Washington-Hof

Sandleitenhof (fig. 3.03-3.04) provides an example of the first category. Its short building height, winding roads spreading over a wide area and decorated facades create a romantic atmosphere. Not only the complex itself, but also the sharp and ornate portals that greet visitors as they enter each building, manage to impress from the moment one steps inside the structure. The traditional roof form is maintained in a triangular shape and supported by dormers, while (relatively) small windows at certain points would enhance the comprehension of both the project and the category. The second category, in contrast to the other two,

Figure 3.03: Inner courtyard, Sandleitenhof

Figure 3.04: Entrance to a house, Sandleitenhof

is characterized by its proximity to the modernist movements of the period. This can be well exemplified by the *Wohnhausanlage Donaufelderstraße* or *Grassingerhof* (fig. 3.05). The design of these buildings exhibits clear affinities with Viennese Modernism and Adolf Loos. The windows of the four-story building feature geometric shapes, while the facade is unadorned, with all decorations removed. Such designs tend to minimize roof slopes and utilize relatively thinner or frameless windows, emphasizing clear geometric forms and proportions. These structures often employ white or gray tones, and although they reflect the modern design principles of the period, they can be considered dull when compared to the design approach of the previous century. Karl-Marx-Hof (fig. 3.06), Reumannhof, Wohnhausanlage am Friedrich-Engels-Platz,

Karl-Seitz-Hof, along with the massive iconic complexes that are considered as "proletarian palaces" and are the first to come to mind when referring to Red Vienna, are self-explanatory examples of the third category, *"monumental/ prominent."* The scale of the grandiose forms displayed in (from time to time) horizontal and/or vertical orientations is a defining characteristic. The fundamental features of the category include large gates, towers, and squares, as well as the monumentality created by the parks, paths, and sculptures within them. These are edifices that impress it observers who enters or passes by, sometimes even overwhelming them. The third category has managed to achieve the splendor of Gemeindebau with radical color choices, the rhythmic power of architecture, and the occasional observed ornamental texture.

Figure 3.05: Facade, Grassingerhof

Figure 3.06: 12-Februar-Square, Karl-Marx-Hof

MATERIAL

In the post-war years, construction activities came to a complete standstill due to financial and material constraints, resulting in a significant rise in unemployment. The Social Democrats lacked the power to initiate large-scale construction activities upon assuming municipal control. As a result, every conceivable alternative was evaluated, and financial savings became critically important. To reduce construction costs, the municipality employed various methods simultaneously, including the purchase of material production facilities to produce their own materials, enabling direct access to resources and the ability to modify necessary materials. The reduction of brick size to 25x12x6.5 centimeters was identified as a significant cost-saving measure. While this method reduced material usage due to the thinner wall thickness, it had a lower insulation capability and subjected the material to greater stress in larger buildings. While the thickness of (respectively) main and middle walls on the ground floor typically were 51 and 64 centimeters, these figures were reduced to 38 and 51 centimeters on the upper floors.[120] The municipal administration was fully dedicated to organizing construction activities and utilized their involvement in material production to procure discounted products from private markets and transport these to construction sites using sometimes even the city's tram network.[121] This once again demonstrated the importance of the complexes being located close to infrastructure and public transportation. It could be argued that the early municipal housing exhibited relatively a low standard in terms of material and architectural quality. In these buildings, which emerged at the worst economic period after the war, every possible measure was taken to achieve maximum savings at every possible point. Despite the use of reinforced concrete structures and their ease of construction in other countries of the period, the use of reinforced concrete was greatly reduced in Red Vienna, especially in the early years. The municipality, which preferred brick as much as possible in the buildings, was motivated to do so by its efforts to combat unemployment that emerged after the war. Brick necessitated more labor and provided employment opportunities to a larger workforce. In the later years, brick has surpassed its role as a mere roofing or wall material and has also become a decorative element. Karl Ehn was able to find a use for brick in decorative purposes such as balcony openings in Karl-Marx-Hof. In a similar fashion, brick has been utilized for various purposes in different projects, serving as a means of separation, emphasis, determination, and ornamentation.

1922 was a decisive year for these housing estates built by the municipality. One of the reasons to define the structures built between 1919-1921 as "a good first aid attempt" in the earlier part of the study, was the great shortage of materials in this period. The municipality, which could not access every material, turned to substitute materials in order to solve the homelessness problem that had ravaged the city. With the announcement of housing tax in 1922,

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120   Adalbert Furch, "Die Konstruktiven Fragen Bei Den Mehrgeschoßigen Gemeindewohnhäusern,"
         in *Das Wohnungswesen in Österreich*, ed. Ludwig Neumann (Vienna: Gemeinde Wien, 1929), p. 211.
121   Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 144.

Figure 3.07: Construction of the brick outer wall, Karl-Marx-Hof

Figure 3.08: Construction of the concrete structure, Interior Design Consulting Center (BEST), Karl-Marx-Hof

the city municipality finally got the opportunity to create the financial means to promote housing activity. The municipality, which was obliged to operate with bargain materials in previous years and was far from perfection in buildings, could now organize the new houses better after this financial arrangement. As new structures arrived, softwood floors were replaced with hardwood, coal ovens were replaced by gas ovens. The power line that only went up to the entrance of the apartment in many early Gemeindebauten, was now going all the way into the apartment. As sinks were being installed in the kitchens, many projects got wooden blinds windows, some even received ventilation mechanisms. Finally, balconies and loggia were started to be built in many buildings, which were not used to be used before.[122]

The city government has never handled the municipal housing only as *"creation of places to sleep."* For them, social housing had to offer sufficient and quality living space to the people who would live in it, on the other hand, it was obliged to allow people to make a new definition of life in them. In this respect, it is perhaps possible to compare the Gemeindebau to Le Corbusier's residential architecture that functions as a living machine. In his 1923 book *"Vers une architecture"* Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier) made the statement *"Une maison est une machine-à-habiter"*[123] and defined the functionalist architectural approach. As in the Unite d'Habitation, which was built years later, many common areas, social facilities, and areas that will help the residents to produce or share together are included also in Viennese municipal housing projects.

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122   Anton Weber, "Sozialpolitik Und Wohnungen," essay, in *Das Neue Wien*, ed. Gemeinde Wien,
         vol. 1 (Vienna: Elbemühl Papierfabriken und Graphische Industrie, 1926), p. 272.
123   *"A house is a machine for living in."*

THE COURTYARD AND COMMUNAL FACILITIES

Zinskaserne, which was built very dense and solely for profit, had been engraved in the city's recent history like an architectural crime due to its poor lighting and ventilation conditions. The Red Vienna government, aiming to create the complete opposite of these conditions, placed great importance on creating spacious areas in their buildings. Although the maximum construction rate was fixed at 50 percent, in practice, many projects remained only in the range of 20-30 percent. Houses began to rise around these parks created in their midst, almost enclosing them. The wide, open and in plenty of cases truly enormous space that can be described as the most iconic element of council housing projects. These areas, originally named *Hof* (sometimes also *Innenhof*), and can be translated as *"Courtyard"*, became the beating heart of their complexes. Merely referring to Hof as a green area would overlook many aspects of *Gemeindebau*, emphasizing the presence of Hof highlights that *Gemeindebau* is not just a housing project, but also a community and social structure project. Despite being constructed over a hundred years ago, what makes *Hof* stand out as perhaps the first element that comes to mind when *Gemeindebau* is mentioned?

Hof's creation was not only intended to impress its residents or visitors but were also critical elements to provide *"more than sufficient"* amount of daylight and air. The replacement of dark lightwells, ranging from 10-15 square meters, with greenery has redefined living standards. The municipality's agenda perhaps was not only reduce the time residents spent in their homes but also to provide a space for socializing and exchanging ideas while *"leaving home without leaving house"*. These green courtyards became playgrounds for children of both the residents and outsider of these complexes. As this sentence suggests, Hof was not exclusively owned by the residents or the complex, but rather it was a open space that belonged to the public, to entire Vienna.

The creation of the *Hof* also necessitated the elimination of the circulation corridor of the Zinskaserne. *(As explained in detail previous in the section Regulations)* Access to the apartments was provided through numerous single entrance doors followed by a staircase that led to only two to four apartments on each floor. Perhaps a more important result of the corridor cancellation is to eliminate the value inequality in the building facades. Unlike old structures, rear facing apartments in Gemeindebauten were directed into beautiful, green and secure inner courtyards. This completely changed the negative perception on rear-apartments. Blau says:

"In fact, the new proletarian blocks, unlike the traditional apartment houses of Vienna, no longer had a back, but rather two fronts."[124]

Without worrying about their children, families could now allow them to play and have fun in a secure distance from the main streets, while monitoring and controlling them from the interior windows overlooking the courtyard. This enclosed, protected design prevented noise

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124   Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 202.

and dust from outside streets, creating a private atmosphere that the outside world could not disturb, while fostering a sense of social unity and feeling of partnership among residents who lived inside the complex. Over time, *Hof* became *"a fully-public but semi-open"* center where people socialized, children played, surrounded with benches, pools, trees, greenery while being all shielded from the noise and dust pollution of the outside world. Today just the greenery of *Gemeindebauten* together area double of Vienna city center and more three times bigger than the Schönbrunn Palace Park,[125] which is a great luxury that many residents around the globe, even today, can't have.

In addition, many superblock complexes had around 2,000 stores[126] and numerous social facilities within. While the apartment sizes were kept as small as possible, *(which was heavily criticized in 1926 by leading modernist architects of the time)* the social facilities were usually positioned in the courtyard of the buildings. In addition to the social facilities, carpet beating irons and sitting benches were created in these courtyards to increase the comfort of the woman, who stayed home. Once again, all of the mentioned facilities and amenities were not restricted to the residents but were open to the public. Thus, people who did not live in the building could also benefit from these. Thanks to such facilities and spaces, it became possible to realize the "growth of small apartments". This conception of different spaces was intended to transform the people living in one *Gemeindebau* into a community, to strengthen the communication and relationships

between the residents and foster a sense of togetherness. In other words, the architects went beyond the mere design of a building and, in a positive way, affected and shaped the social lives of future inhabitants. Some *Gemeindebau* were built on comparatively smaller lots than others. This circumstance consequently affected the size of the inner courtyard. Hence, while dwellings with smaller courtyards had more vital facilities[127], projects with relatively larger courtyards had many more facilities. *(These will be further illustrated later in the study when discussing the superblock case studies.)*

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125   Andreas Rumpfhuber, "Hoflandschaft," Expanded Design, accessed January 3, 2023,
          https://www.ex-d.net/work/architecture/hoflandschaft.
126   Georg Vasold and Aleks Kudryashova, "Architektur,"
          essay, in *Das Rote Wien: Schlüsseltexte Der Zweiten Wiener Moderne 1919–1934*,
          ed. Rob McFarland, Georg Spitaler, and Ingo Zechner (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), p. 517–42.
127   i.e.: Kindergarden, laundry, sitting banks etc.

126

Figure 3.09: Inner courtyard, Herweghhof

Figure 3.10: Inner courtyard, Bebelhof

Figure 3.11: Garden, George-Washington-Hof

TYPOLOGICAL VERSATILITY

Following the approval of the housing program by the city council, there were discussions and considerations on how the program would be executed. One possible approach was to entrust the process to the municipal architectural office, MA22 (Magistratabteilung 22), as was done between 1919 and 1923, prior to the implementation of the initial housing program.[128] Even though in the early periods, projects are generally given to architects, competitions have been organized in the later periods, especially with bigger scaled objects.

Size

The Municipality's precise rules and requests during the design process left little room for artistic freedom. Although strict design unity was not required, everything had to be done according to specific norms and specifications, which the architects of that period accepted. The building density, apartment size, room layout, and common facilities were predetermined. The implementation of regulatory changes in the design of social housing projects by the municipality of Vienna was evident even before entering an apartment. Unlike the structures built before, the new projects limited the number of apartments on one floor to a maximum of four, which was achieved by eliminating circulation corridors and increasing the number of building entrances and stairwells. These changes had several positive outcomes, both psychological

and architectural. In the previous Viennese working-class apartments, there were frequent tensions between neighbors due to the lack of privacy resulting from the high number of apartments arranged in narrow corridors that resembled tiny boxes, measuring only 110 cm wide. By reducing the number of apartments on each floor, the municipality successfully strengthened residents' sense of privacy and transformed their relationships with their neighbors from random strangers to natural acquaintances. The residents began to interact with certain neighbors regularly and build organic neighborly relationships through sharing common spaces and encountering familiar faces. As apartments were usually built with less than five floors, many new buildings did not have an elevator among early *Gemeindebauten*.

With the Municipal Housing Program made natural light and natural ventilation was mandated for all rooms. This eliminated the traditional *Gangküchenhaus* layout. The apartments were also required to have a WC and water supply, and the outer door opened into a foyer. These standards were considered luxurious for the time and were far ahead of their time.[129] Unlike the Bassenawohnung, the presence of a tap and running water in the apartments became a characteristic for the Gemeindebau. These apartments had their own toilets, which could be in former workers' apartments nothing more than a dream.

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128   Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten Des Roten Wien, 1919-1934*
       (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), p. 202.
129   Stadt Wien, ed., Brochure: Das Rote Wien in Zahlen (Vienna, 2019), p.42, accessed March 28, 2022,
       https://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/wbrup/download/pdf/2724320?originalFilename=true.

First completed flats were still very small. 75 percent were 38 square meters in size and consisted of only a living-kitchen and a room additional to standard WC and an anteroom. Only 25 percent of the apartments were 48 square meters in size and had an additional chamber. These figures were below the standard in western European countries of the time.[130] As a result of serious criticisms that these designs received on the international stage, the municipality took the path of increasing the size of the apartments in the second housing plan, taking these criticisms into account. The apartment sizes had increased, while the rooms had become smaller. In the following period, four different flats varying as 21 square meters, 40 square meters, 49 square meters and 57 square meters were planned. Flats with 21 square meters usually consisted of only one room and were planned for singles. These apartments had a single room with a kitchenette *(Kochnische)* with gas stove and an additional anteroom. The 40 sqaure meter flats had a bedroom in addition to the living-kitchen and sometimes even had a balcony. 49 square meter apartments could have a second bedroom in addition to the 40 square meter apartments, and also (again sometimes) a loggia or balcony. The 57 square meter apartments consisted of a chamber in addition to these two rooms.[131] Although the municipality's frugal approach to enlarging apartments was criticized again, financial reasons played a major role in this decision. Minimizing an apartment size not only actively reduced the production costs per unit but also passively increased the total number of housing units that could be produced. Despite all the criticisms, all these made a great improvement in people's living
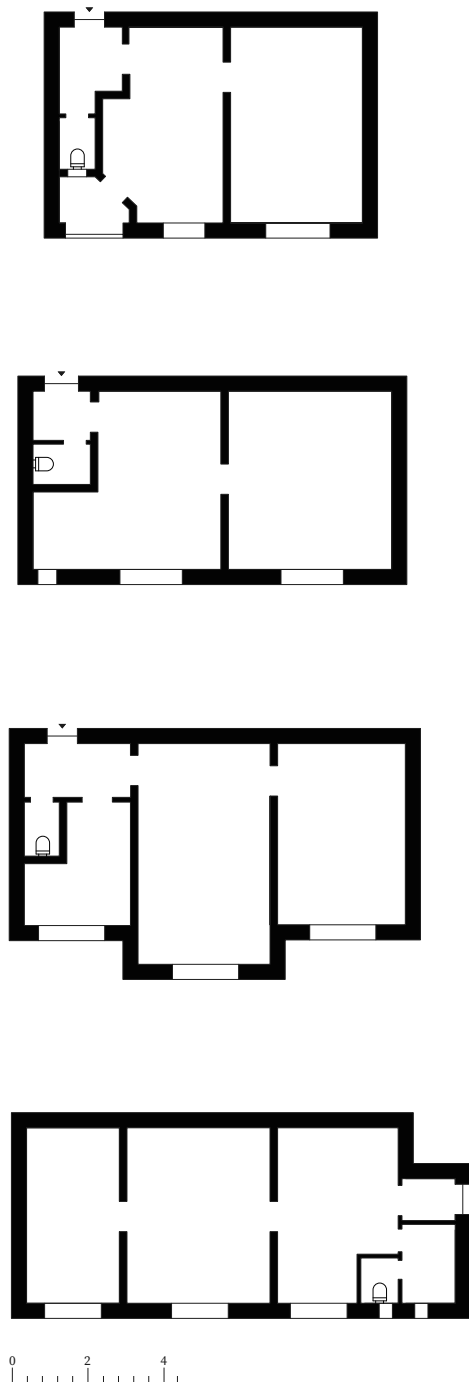
Figure 3.12: First municipal apartment types built: - 1:200 (from top to bottom) 38m², 45m² and two variations of 48m²

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130   Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann,
         Die Gemeindebauten Des Roten Wien, 1919-1934
         (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), p. 141.
131   Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann,
         Die Gemeindebauten Des Roten Wien, 1919-1934
         (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), p. 142

standards in general. A worker could afford these houses with 5-10 percent of his salary, as the rents were incomparably cheaper than pre-war rents. With such prices the actual occupancy rate of the apartments, with another say the crowd in a single unit, suddenly decreased, as there was no need for sub-tenants or beds to be rented out. With mega block projects such as Rabenhof[132], Sandleiten-Hof[133], Karl-Marx-Hof[134], George-Washington-Hof[135] and Wohnhausanlage am Friedrich-Engels-Platz[136], examples containing more than a thousand residences began to emerge.

Spatial Arrangement

During the design process of the municipal houses, both positive and negative details from the Viennese residential architecture traditions were taken into account. However, from a typological point of view, Gemeindebau is a complex issue that can lead to various approaches and interpretations. Architectural theorists and critics, such as Manfredo Tafuri, have criticized the municipality's approach to creating typologies through Gemeindebau. Tafuri claimed that the Social Democrats' approach was *"profound lack of interest in typological research, completely limited to functional minimal and could not go beyond experimental."*[137] Especially when analyzing the first period Gemeindebau projects, it would be easy to see that the houses were designed

based on *"what to avoid"* rather than *"what to create."* In other words, the municipality and architects aimed to eliminate the previous housing problems in municipal houses and create a negative image of the pre-war terrible standards to improve the living standard of the working class in a radical way. However, the questions regarding whether there was a spatial arrangement program or not were left unanswered.

Due to each building and site having its own unique and specific conditions, it would not be accurate to speak of a common spatial program for all of the Red Vienna housing. Nevertheless, certain aspects can be examined to gain an understanding of the overall architectural goals aimed for by the municipal architects involved in the program. The elimination of the corridor in *Gemeindebau* apartments provided significant design flexibility, allowing for the utilization of both facades. This was a departure from previous period residences, which often featured dark rooms and limitations in terms of the number of naturally illuminated rooms. For example, Gangküchenhhaus often had a kitchen directly accessed from the corridor, while bourgeois apartments had apartment blocks that covered the entire facade, resulting in interlocking units. The new design allowed for the creation of multiple naturally illuminated rooms, without the need for such traditional

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132   Originally named Austerlitz-Hof, built between 1925-1928 on 50.000m2 area with total of 1,100 apartments and 38 stores.
133   Built between 1924-1928 on 68,581m2 area with total of 1,587 apartments.
134   Built between 1927 – 1930 on 156.000m2 with total of 1,268 apartments, community facilities such as maternity advice center, dental clinic, pharmacy, post office, library, youth home, numerous shops, central laundries.
135   Built beween 1925-1930 with total of 1,007 apartments and 69 stores.
136   Built between 1930-1939 with total of 1,467 apartments with facilities such as a kindergarten, post office, pharmacy, bathing facilities, laudry, party club, restaurant and some small shops.
137   Manfredo Tafuri, *Vienna Rossa: La Politica Residenziale Nella Vienna Socialista* (Milano: Electa, 1986), p. 94, 97. (*Tafuri on Karl-Marx-Hof: "L'organizzazione delle cellule di tale montagna incantata dimostra un profondo disinteresse per la ricerca tipologca. [...] Gli alloggi, del resto, si basano su una successione di vani del tutto empirica e ricca di inconvenienti funzionali. [...] Il basso coefficiente tecnologico che caratterizza la realizzazione del programma viennese ha un suo correlato nella deficienza tipologica."*)

approaches. Architects utilized this advantage of having two facades to create diverse designs, and typically avoided constructing apartments that faced only north. In comparison to *Gründerzeit* apartments, reduction of the ceiling height -by up to 1 meter[138] in certain areas- did not only contributed to the planned reduction of heating costs, but also the feeling of space. By incorporating the third dimension into room planning, architects were able to not only brighten up the room, but also add a new sense of depth and defined the new volume to the space. The provision of an entrance hall measuring approximately 1-2 square meter to each apartment, irrespective of their size or location, augmented the residents' sense of privacy upon entering their dwellings. Anterooms not only provided a isolation mechanism against external noise and cold, but also filtered out noise and kitchen smells generated by the residents. This was a significant improvement over the traditional kitchen-corridor layout commonly found in working-class housing. When the door was opened, the interior of the apartment remained hidden from outer view WC in each apartment could now be accessed through this area as well. Despite each apartment having its own toilet, there was a significant detail missing from these units: bathrooms. In some cases, the bathrooms were not located within the apartment itself, but rather shared bathrooms *(Gemeinschaftsbadeanstalten)* were planned in the inner courtyards to serve this purpose. The municipality aimed to maximize usable space by eliminating hallways outside of apartments and also applied this policy to the interiors of the apartments. When it was feasible due to morphological necessities, rooms could

be accessed through the entrance hall, and in cases where it was not possible, access would be through other rooms. This plan resembled a reduced-size Gründerzeit bourgeois apartment without the central core. The removal of the corridor resulted in significant spatial-semantic effects. The circulation inside the apartment was now allocated to the rooms, transforming them into transitional spaces. This created a new hierarchy of privacy among the apartment's rooms. As the residents and visitors moved from one room to another, they were also moving from open to semi-private and from semi-private to private spaces. Additionally, the rooms without assigned specific functions became significant in terms of promoting future flexibility in usage. The preference for the living-kitchen also led to the kitchen serving as more than just a cooking space *(which will be discussed in further detail in the section "The Kitchen Conflict")*, but also as a space for living, studying, chatting, and eating. The rigid boundaries imposed on the rooms were gradually relaxed, paving the way for the establishment of a possible future flexible lifestyle through architecture. The word "possible" is utilized prominently in the previous sentence. Despite the municipality's apparent effort to design rooms without specific functions, the potential for flexible use remains a probability for the future since architects (with an exception) did not try to build these apartments with built-in furniture. *(This topic will be further discussed in the next section titled "Assets and Adaptability.")* The absence of defining functions and leaving it up to the resident's preferences is a result of the structure that allows for different purposes to be fulfilled in one rooms, since living space

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138 *"City's new ceiling height reduced from the Viennese standard of 300-350 cm to a little over 260 cm."* in Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 179.

becomes flexible because it meets the needs of all residents that change over time. Therefore, while a small-scale flexibility brought about by the open kitchen concept can be mentioned in *Gemeindebauten*, the typological flexibility still can not be compared to those observed in Frankfurt or Moscow during the same period.

The small size of the apartment buildings facilitated the use of communal facilities for daily activities, a practice that may seem challenging in the present day but was common at the time. This allowed for versatile uses of the spatial arrangement. Additionally, in accordance with the municipality's inclination towards smaller apartments, each unit was allocated an underground cellar room, regardless of its size.
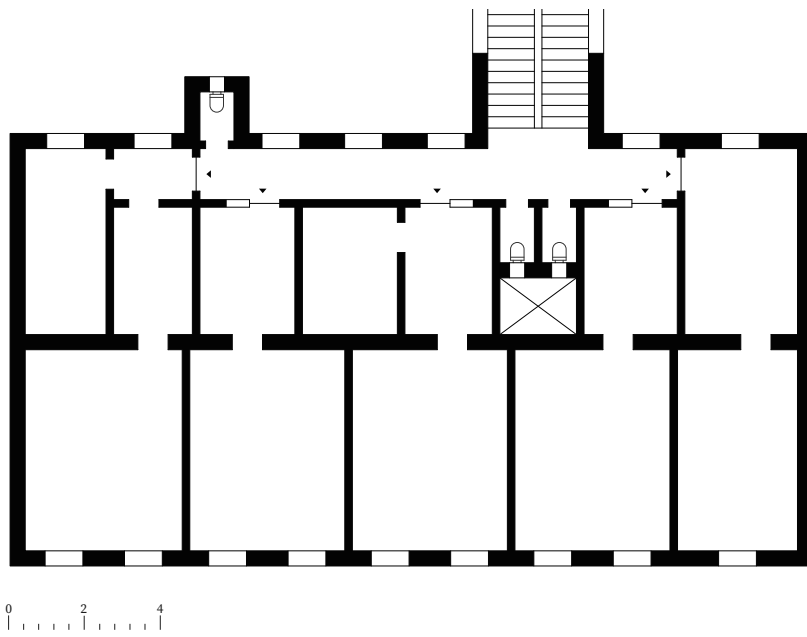
Figure 3.13: Gründerzeit types of worker dwellings - 1:200
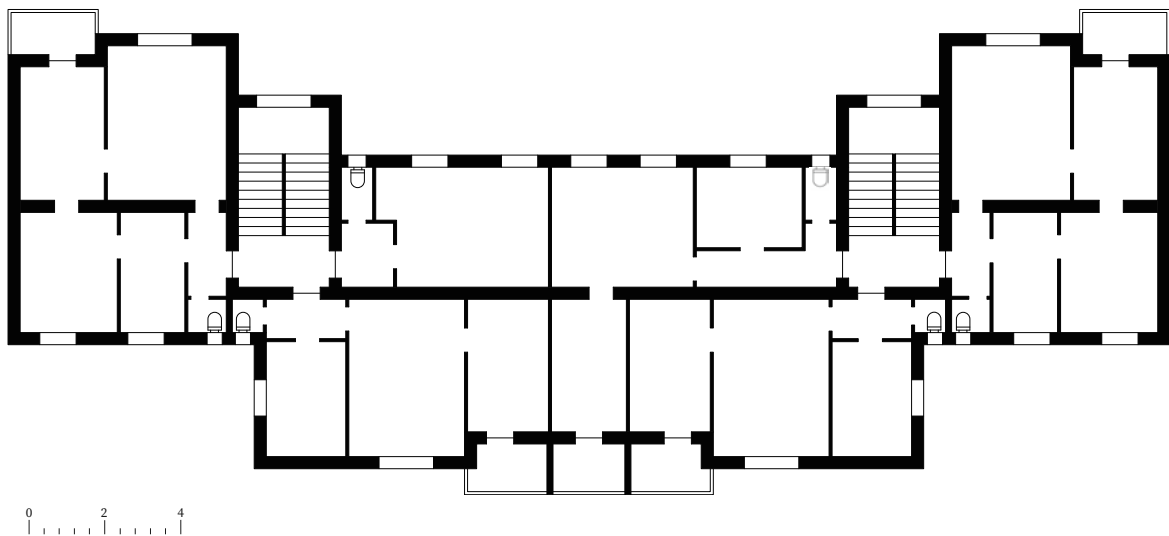
Figure 3.14: Muinicpal housing, Red Vienna - 1:200

Assets and Adaptability

As the proletariat, who until a few years ago had been compelled to share rooms with as many as 10 individuals, or even a bed with a few people, in gloomy and dank abodes, began to receive modern apartments they could finally call their own, no one had anticipated that a seemingly straightforward matter such as furniture could give rise to such profound discussions throughout the process. Hence, for the Viennese working class of the 1920s, relocating to these units was more than simply moving; it was akin to beginning an entirely new life from the ground up. This fresh start, devoid of fears such as homelessness and eviction, perhaps for the first time, allowed for the opportunity to imagine a stabile future. People who could envision the future for the first time wanted to create their own spaces. Perhaps the most important step that could be taken on this path was seen as furnishing these spaces freely. In spite of that, they saw it as nearly impossible due to the financial difficulties they were struggling with. This situation was also an important point for the municipality and heated debates among the architects and planners of the period were ongoing. It was in this very context that the municipality decided to implement an experimental project in 1924. The young architect Anton Brenner, who was 30 years old at the time, was assigned the task of designing a 33-apartment *Gemeindebau* that would be self-furnished at *Rauchfangkehrergasse 26*. Brenner is an advocate of residential rationality and is therefore closely related to the German modernist movement.[139]

Brenner's approach to apartment design was innovative for its time and aimed to provide a more efficient use of space. He attempted to redefine the use of rooms by incorporating previously unused elements such as built-in cabinets and foldable beds into each room, while separating the kitchen from the living room as a separate room, rather than utilizing the common "living-kitchen" design seen in *Gemeindewohnung* of the period. In a Le Corbusian way, Brenner himself defined the structure also as a *"Living Machine."*[140] While the use of cabinets may have reduced the flexibility of the rooms, it simultaneously supported the functionality. Furthermore, by transforming the bed into an object that could be removed during the day, Brenner facilitated the ability for this room to serve different purposes at different times of day, thus taking a step towards greater flexibility. This architectural approach, which was applied as an experiment with the aim of solving problems, brought along more questions. As the project costs increased, the municipality did not want to implement this idea again. However, on the other hand, the fact that the area was opened to multiple uses and the possibility of reducing the size of the housing also created the opportunity to balance this financial burden. Nevertheless, with all these discussions, the municipality completely withdrew from the built-in-furniture idea.

In addition to cost increases, a potentially problematic aspect regarding this idea is that it rejects the notion that apartments are in

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139   Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 179.

140   "Rauchfangkehrergasse 26," Stadt Wien - Wiener Wohnen, accessed April 13, 2023,
        http://www.wienerwohnen.at/hof/1073/Rauchfangkehrergasse-26.html.
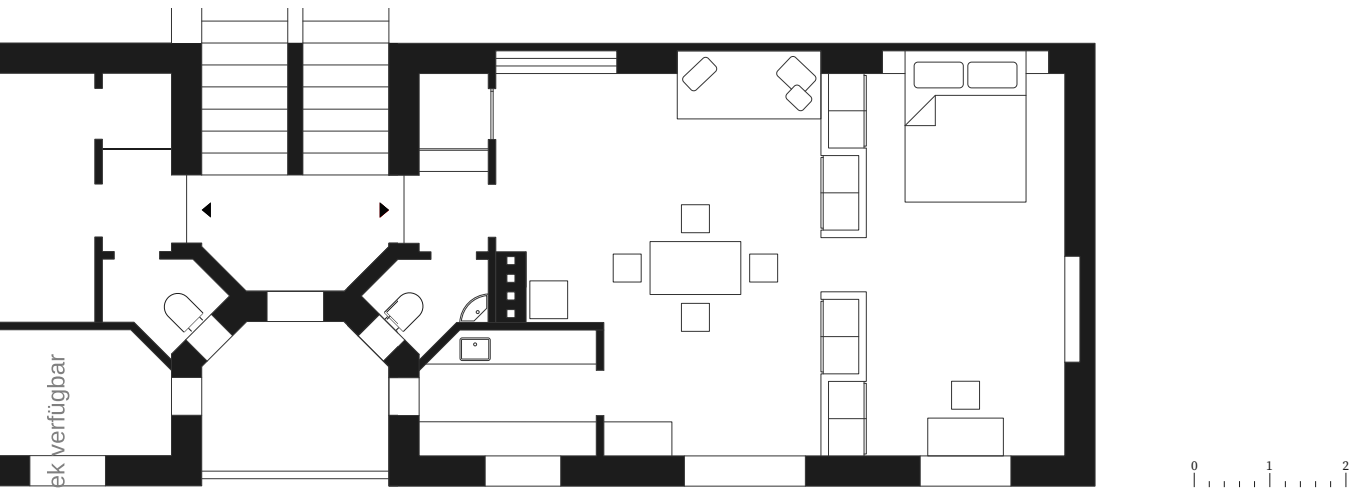
Figure 3.15: First pre-furnished apartment, Rauchfangkehrergasse 26 - 1:100

a never-ending state of change along with their inhabitants. The furniture itself, its positioning, and forms are never complete or finalized, constantly undergoing change, just like the residents herself/himself. Therefore, it is possible to find opposing views regarding their fixation. One other persisting inquiry in furnished apartments pertains to the inability of occupants to establish a distinct spatial identity owing to the absence of their personal furniture. This question remains unresolved to date. Following the abandonment of the built-in furniture concept, municipal architects were required to devise an alternative solution. Given the unaffordability of most furniture for the working class, coupled with the alterations in room height and dimensions, a complete transformation of the living space ensued, necessitating new furniture that would be appropriate for the revised dimensions of the *Gemeindebau* apartments. As a secondary approach, planners opted to directly design and offer adjustable, space-saving, multi-functional, and affordable furniture that would be suitable for the limited space of the apartments, thereby facilitating harmonious living for residents. Thus, a great opportunity could be created for new residents who had just moved in and did not have any furniture. With the initiative of Margerete Schütte-Lihotzky,[141] in the year 1922 *Warentreuhand*[142] was established, providing access to decent yet affordable furniture to people through this institution. In other words, this facility allowed proletarians to have bourgeois-like furniture. In line with this, the city established offices called BEST in various locations, including Karl-Marx-Hof, to provide free guidance to residents on how to furnish their homes according to specific conditions and requirements. The aim was to promote the modern furnishing of the modern house and the development of a new culture of

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141 Margerete Schütte-Lihotzky, "Neues Wohnen: Der Kampf Gegen Den Möbelschund," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, September 8, 1923, p. 9.
142 An organization which acted as a mediator between manufacturers and consumers, operated on the principle of creating a trust system for goods, ensuring fair pricing and accessibility for those in need.

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living with it. In terms of success, the efficacy of all of these experiences is open to debate, but it is an undeniable fact that they represent giant leaps forward. One of the significant figures of Viennese Modernism, Josef Frank, who, unlike many architects of his time, preferred settlements instead of superblocks, expressed the furnishing of the new space in a segment of the catalog of Werkbundsiedlung as follows:

"The important thing for furniture is only that it does not take up more space than its usefulness requires. It is completely irrelevant what kind these objects are, whether they are old or new. Individuals who approach the planning of a small house without bias and acknowledge only the factual conditions are capable of constructing and furnishing in a genuinely rationally, i.e. modernly."[143]

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[143]   Milena Djokic, "Carrée Atzgersdorf", MS thesis, Graz University of Technology, 2014, p. 11.

The Kitchen Conflict: Frankfurt versus Vienna

The current research highlights distinctions in kitchen design between the initial and subsequent phases of municipal apartments. Thus, this study aims to comparatively examine the underlying architectural, sociocultural, and gender-related factors that informed the utilization of two distinct kitchen models. In the former period, the *Wohnküche*, or living-kitchen, was the preferred choice instead of the contemporary German kitchen design, commonly recognized as the *"Frankfurter Küche."*[144] The preference for the living-kitchen in early municipal apartments in Vienna was driven by social and economic factors. As opposed to new German residental planning trends, which predominantly aimed to optimize privacy, the accent in Vienna was on socializing life. It was highlighted that the goal was to promote women's liberation by outsourcing household tasks to social amenities. In other words, the municipality aimed to avoid segregating women from the rest of the household during the day by implementing a modern Frankfurt-style kitchen. They also sought to prevent women from being excluded from male-dominated activities, such as discussions, and decision-making. Moreover, *"chaining women to the hearth"* was viewed as incompatible with the principles of social democracy. The aim was to transform women from mere *"helpers"* who performed housework to active participants in family activities. Adolf Loos, a significant advocate of living-kitchen, favored it over the traditional one. In 1926, he justified his preference by citing a fully modern and evolutionary perspective. According to

kitchenette

him, the living-kitchen would help women feel more comfortable in their homes and exercise greater control over their domestic lives.[145] Alongside these considerations, financial factors also played a role in the decision. The modern Frankfurt-style kitchen was not integrated into the living room, which meant a separate room was required. One of the primary financial motivations behind this choice was the municipality's inability to provide a centralized heating system for the apartments at that time. As a result, not separating the kitchen into its own independent room allowed for more efficient heating of the living space. Even if the apartment had a centralized heating system installed, the standard monthly income of a laborer would not have been sufficient to cover the heating

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144   Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 40.

145   Adolf Loos, "Die Moderne Siedlung," lecture, in *Sämtliche Schriften in Zwei Bänden*, ed. Franz Glück (Vienna: Herold, 1962), 402–30. p. 415.
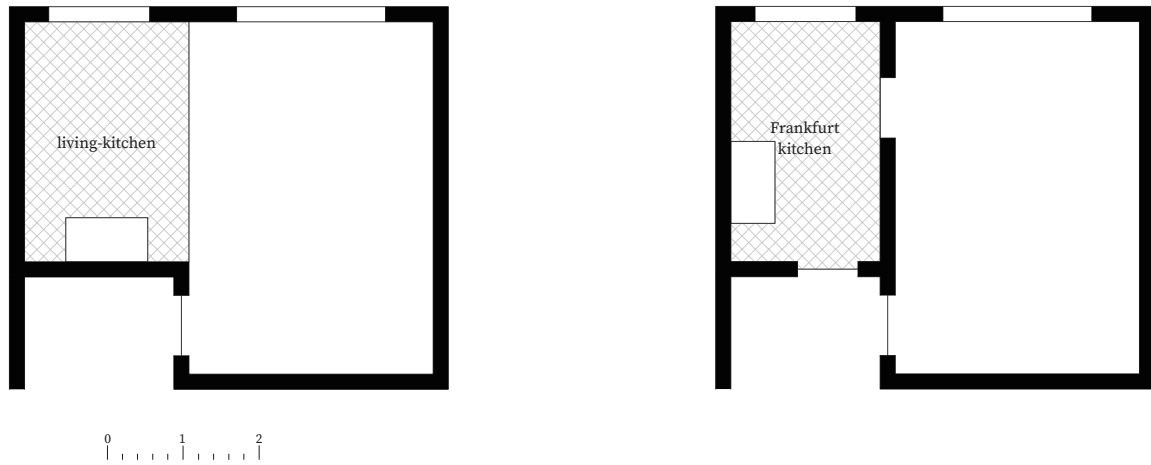
Figure 3.16: Kitchenette, living-kitchen and Frankfurt Kitchen (from left to right) - 1:100

expenses for an entire dwelling that included one or more bedrooms. The preference for a living-kitchen allowed for the coal stove to be placed in the living room, which functioned as the primary gathering space for the family. Consequently, the main living area of the dwelling did not require additional expenses for heating.[146] However, using a coal stove in the living room had several issues, including ash, pollution, and the risk of poisoning. To address this potential hazard, the municipality implemented design changes in later Gemeinderbauten. By replacing the coal stove with a gas stove, a new direction was opened up for the kitchen to function as a completely independent, second additional living space. Unlike the conventional definition of a kitchen during that period, these live-in kitchens with provided sculleries offered ample space where the family could cook, eat, work, study, and play. These areas were not only cooking spaces but also social hubs.

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146   Wanda Mühlgassner, "Architektur Des Roten Wien: Buchvorstellung," *Badener Zeitung*, July 23, 2009, p. 24 and Eve Blau, The *Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 182.

PART 4

DEBATES AND REFLECTIONS ON VIENNESE MODEL

This section examines the analysis and comparison of reactions to the housing production carried out by the municipality, focusing on the proceedings of the period's council sessions, political campaigns, and international architectural journals and publications. It also provides important insights into understanding the opposing architectural ideas of that era. From the author's perspective, these criticisms are addressed under two main headings: populist-political and functional-modern architectural concerns. The section not only presents the criticisms but also discusses their consequences, shedding light on reactive architectural production.

LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS TO SOCIALIST PALACES

Even though the living standards of the people of Vienna have been increased considerably by the majestic red castles, which the social democratic municipality has erected like monuments in every corner of the city, they have not only received enthusiastic praise from the local and international press as well as architecture society. As anticipated, the conservative opposition of the city council, the Christian Socials, engaged in a continuous campaign of criticism against the municipal administration, utilizing manipulative tactics to deflect attention from social concerns and needs, while exhibiting a lack of regard for architectural considerations. The party (CS) established several populist critical discourses and leveled accusations against the local administration such as that window openings of these municipal houses were thought to be used as gun holes in the future, SDAP populates these structures with only their supporters, these red bastions were planned just to hold crucial arteries of the city such as railroads, bridges and sewer lines. This criticism did not go beyond a populist discourse. Yes, some complexes did indeed have hard, powerful and aggressive facades that resembled a fortress. However, this was consciously done, and it was only the symbolic value of architecture. These housing projects, where workers lived, were designed in this way to serve a symbolic purpose against the bourgeoisie. But despite their strong appearance, the walls of these "fortresses" were not sturdy enough to create a defensive force. Although Gemeindebau served as a shelter for the resistance during the civil war in 1934, it could not withstand the launcher attacks of the state forces. The opposition had conflicting criticisms of these buildings. They claimed that they were as solid as defensive fortresses while also criticizing them for being unstable and hence could not be even erected (before they were built) or would collapse (after they were built.) However, criticism towards the structures were not only limited

to hardly constructive oppositional attacks. Meanwhile some important and avant-garde names of the architectural world also joined the critics based on architectural concern and counsels.[147] The common consensus was that the structures developed in Vienna could not be compared to the new satellite city projects such as Neues Frankfurt by Ernst May. Although the dwellings in Frankfurt were regarded as modern and those in Vienna as outdated, the Frankfurt Kitchen, possibly the most recognizable piece of Neues Frankfurt, was designed by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, a Viennese architect. Werner Hegemann, a German architectural critic and city planner, criticized Vienna's early Gemeindebauten for failing to achieve artistic harmony. According to Hegemann, the fact that the projects for houses erected in close proximity to one other were allocated to different architects

resulted in the creation of adjoining buildings that are stylistically diametrically opposed. He concluded that the entire municipal effort was therefore could not go beyond being *"a missed opportunity"*[148] which would reduce the entire housing program down to a simple quantitative success.

Harsh critics towards these houses were gathered generally around two main headings such as disproportionated monumentality along with technical inadequacy of theirs. In addition to all these, when the small dimensions of the first completed Gemeindebauten were also taken into account, the red bastions were subjected to harsh criticism not only by the opposition in the city hall or the Viennese circle of architects but also by the International Housing and Urban Development Congress in 1926. Director of Municipal Planning in Frankfurt am Main, Ernst

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147 Anson Rabinbach, "Red Vienna: A Worker's Paradise," Virtual Vienna, February 22, 2015,
https://www.virtualvienna.net/the-city-its-people/history-vienna/red-vienna/.
148 Werner Hegemann, ed., "Kritisches Zu Den Wohnbauten Der Stadt Wien,"
Monatshefte Für Baukunst Und Städtebau, no. 10 (1926), p. 367.

May, sees the lack of central heating system as a major shortcoming with Gemeindebauten. Also, May's objections continue with size choices and the fact that residents should buy their own ovens. Another factor that surprised the critics at the congress was the lack of private baths in many (notably the early) municipal apartments.[149] The fact that only 43 of the 1100 participants were actually Viennese at the congress.[150] Majority of the participants came from more developed western countries and did not have enough information about the problems and conditions in Vienna.[151] Therefore, they hoped to address Vienna's housing problem during the congress by offering architectural suggestions based on their own country's high standards. However, these proposals did not adequately understand the terrible misery of

the working class of Vienna before the war, and they were not sufficiently compatible with the extraordinary economic situation of the post-war Vienna. Since all these criticisms were based on strong arguments, the congress became instructive and developing for the housing policy of the municipality. Furthermore, despite all these criticisms, participants were surprised by the cheapness of the municipal apartments. These prices were too low to be normal. When calculating the rents in these residences, the price was usually between 7,60 to 9,60 Schillings, which would be equivalent to 3,4 to 4,3 percent of an average monthly income of 222 Schillings.[152]. This would be between 3-5 percent of a worker's monthly salary.

In the year 1927, with the announcement of

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149   Walter Zednicek, *Architektur Des Roten Wien* (Vienna: Verlag Walter Zednicek, 2009), p. 7.
150   Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 165.
151   Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten Des Roten Wien, 1919-1934*
       (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), p. 141.
152   Wolfgang Förster, publication, *100 Years of Social Housing in Vienna*, p. 7, accessed February 2, 2022,
       https://www.push-c.at/en/downloads.html

the 2. Housing Program with 30,000 further apartments, Vienna City Council did not ignore these criticisms and took the opposing views into consideration. As the architects changed their designs followed such guidelines, council houses built after 1927 can also be called as *"Au courant Gemeindebauten."*[153]

Municipality took rapid action and discontinued the 38 and 48 square meter apartment varieties. Instead, new typologies such as 21, 40, 49 and 57 square meter apartments were introduced to the new structures. In addition to these four different types of flats, a few additional out-of-norm (bigger in size) flats would also be included in the new buildings, which would usually be given to doctors to be used as a home-office.[154] The fact that the apartments have additional storage areas like cellars, usually placed in the basement, was also standardized in this period.

In addition, the section "Spatial Arrangement" provides Mafredo Tafuri's critiques on Gemeindabau concerning typology and function.

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153   French phrase that has been adopted into English and is used to describe someone who is well-informed, up-to-date, or knowledgeable about current affairs, trends, or developments in a particular field or area of interest. It can also refer to being familiar with the latest styles or fashion.

154   Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998) p. 198.

PART 5

VIENNESE
CASE STUDIES

Case Studies, solidify the accumulated knowledge through direct examples, takes on various housing complexes of Red Vienna and analyzes them through floor plans, sections, elevations, photographs, and other visual materials. These analyses not only provide information about the housing complexes but also contribute to a better understanding of the process of creating a typology tthrough them. Carefully selected examples representing different architectural approaches and morphologies are analyzed on one hand, while on the other hand, they are compared with each other, offering a comparative examination.

KARL MARX HOF

Figure 5.01: Site plan, 1:3000

THE FLAGSHIP:
KARL–MARX–HOF

"The tension created by the contrast between the yellow base and red figural elements on the outer shell, made the windows, repeated over a kilometer, the founding element of a modest grandeur.

It was modest because it imitated nothing but itself; it was magnificent because it had become Vienna's most remarkable building, surpassing even the imperial palaces and churches.

It pointed neither to an imaginary past nor an imaginary future, its power derived from being here and now…"

Architect Ihsan Bilgin on Karl-Marx-Hof[155]

When the terms of "Red Vienna" and "Superblock" come together, the first example that comes to mind would undoubtedly be the Karl-Marx-Hof. Located in Döbling, Vienna's 19th district, this superblock complex takes its name from the socialist theorist, economist, and German philosopher Karl Heinrich Marx. The building is also known as the People's Palace as well as Versailles of the Workers.[156] Contrary to general opinion, the Karl-Marx-Hof, although not being the city's largest Gemeindebau project, it is the icon of the Red Vienna era and its most notorious superblock.[157] Even though the city building authority *(Stadtbauamt)* had in the first place appointed Clemens Holzmeister to create a design for this project, his drafts (fig.

5.21-5.22) were not accepted by the department. Following the refusal of his ideas, which were based on dividing the site into clusters of multiple free-standing solitaire blocks within the property, Karl Ehn, the Austrian architect who was a former student of Otto Wagner, was commissioned with the realization of the project. In in the end, the Karl-Marx-Hof opened on October 12. 1930 by the mayor Karl Seitz with an immense celebration. All windows were illuminated with red lamps as thousands of red flags fluttered in the wind.[158]

Karl-Marx-Hof is built on an enormous land right next to *Heiligenstadt* Train Station. Rather than using large amounts of building land, Ehn decided build only 28,751 of the total 156,027 square meters, which was approximately 18,4 percent of the entire area.[159] In comparison, once again, the *Zinskasernen* of the *Gründerzeit* were using up to 85 percent of their designated building area. Designed as a closed residential courtyard the Karl-Marx-Hof included in the end 1325 apartments. Even though it could provide housing for up to 5000 people, the project does not take on its architectural significance basing on this. With all its facilities and thus opportunities, it created for its residents it has not only been far ahead of its time but has managed to remain an outstanding example for house planning in our time.

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155   Ihsan Bilgin, "20. Yüzyıl Mimarisi Barınma Kültürünün Hassas Dengeleri İle Nasıl Yüzleşti?" [
        How did 20th Century Architecture Confront the Delicate Balances of Housing Culture?],
        XXI Tepe Mimarlık Kültürü Dergisi [XXI Tepe - Journal of Architectural Culture], May-June 2000.
156   Although the number of people who consider Karl-Marx-Hof as the largest *Gemeindebau* project in Vienna is
        undeniable,this seems to be nothing more than a common-myth. Sandleitenhof in Ottakring which was built between 1924
        and 1928, included 1587 apartmens, thus making it the largest superblock of the Red Vienna era. Present-day, the
        biggest *Gemeindebau* is the Großfeldsiedlung located in 21st Viennese district Floridsdorf with its 5516 units.
157   Dietmar Steiner and Johann Georg Gsteu, *Architektur in Wien: 300 Sehenswerte Bauten* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien,
        1988), p. 113.
158   Harald A. Jahn, *Das Wunder Des Roten Wien* (Vienna: Phoibos, 2014), p. 116.
159   Stadt Wien, *Broschure Zur Eröffnung: Karl-Marx-Hof* (Vienna, Thlaia: Stadt Wien, 1930), p. 3.

Not only the physical qualities of the building, but also its positioning is another factor that increases its symbolic importance. The 19th district of Vienna, *Döbling*, where later the Karl-Marx-Hof was built- was a long-established, old, and affluent area. Many noble families, who resided here in the 18th century, were followed by bourgeoisie in the 19th century. At the beginning of the 20th century, before the construction of the Karl-Marx-Hof, *Döbling* was an exclusive area that still belonged to the bourgeoisie and the area consisted out of luxury real estate. For this reason, this region being chosen as the construction site for such a social/socialist castle was far more than just architectural choice but an ideological statement. Not only with its name but also with what it stands for, through the rest of the history Karl-Marx-Hof would always stay as a political hub in the north skirts of the city. These can be observed even today, almost 100 years after its construction.

As it would not be difficult to guess, such large-scaled project required great investments of materials and labor. The area chosen for construction was a previous meadow area, where an allotment garden settlement used to be. The building lot had been until the 12th century completely under the water. However, as centuries passed by, the water level came down. Natural causes made the construction a difficult endeavor as sidearms of the Danube used to pass in this area. Therefore, the load-bearing ground was at a greater depth to find, and floating concrete piles needed to be poured into the ground ahead of the construction. These conical[160] piles have a diameter of 52 centimeters and a length varying from 150 to 430 centimeters. Despite these floating conical structures, still a slight collapse occurred on a side wing during the construction.[161] This construction method and the mentioned collapse were used by the Christian Socials (CS) as an opportunity to criticize the entire municipal housing activity of the Viennese Municipality and the Social Democrats. Despite the propaganda against municipal housing led by CS was heavily based on denouncement of these projects as a waste of money and undue luxury, in the example of Karl-Marx-Hof these critics led to claims, that the complex would collapse soon. As such harsh criticisms and claims were constantly coming from the opposition, the city municipality, on the other hand, was able to implement this project for 28,640.490 Schillings, remaining below the estimated cost of 32,530.000 Schillings for this construction.[162] Although today, it cannot go beyond being a dream, the rents in the Karl-Marx-Hof at that time amounted to about ten percent of the wage of a worker.[163]

Regarding the architecture Karl-Marx-Hof is the world's longest residential building.[164] Its total length of 1100 meters can be easily underestimated. It is important to mention that this length is not just a number, but for a more

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160   Conical piles are columns tapering to a point on their lateral surfaces. Choice of this shape causes soil compaction when rammed and therefore triggers a very strong resistance of the soil. These piles were then connected at their heads by a strong concrete grid for a load-bearing effect and balacing.

161   Susanne Reppé, *Der Karl-Marx-Hof. Geschichte Eines Gemeindebaus Und Seiner Bewohner* (Vienna: Picus, 1993), p. 29.

162   Susanne Reppé, *Der Karl-Marx-Hof. Geschichte Eines Gemeindebaus Und Seiner Bewohner* (Vienna: Picus, 1993), p. 41.

163   Franzisca Rainalter, "Entdecke Wien: Der Karl-Marx-Hof," Baumeister, November 7, 2019, https://www.baumeister.de/entdecke-wien-karl-marx-hof/.

164   Even though many sources label Karl-Marx-Hof as the world's longest building, with the construction of 4,5 km long holiday resort *"The Colossus of Prora"* by Nazi Germany in Rügen, Karl-Marx-Hof can only be considered as the longest housing project in the world.

real understanding, there are three tram and four bus stops throughout the building. The structure has been erected in three phases in between 1926 and 1930. The structure has the form of an enclosed courtyard surrounded with a very low-density building. The project consisted out of two main wings, which designed both as a block development and each had an inner courtyard.

A central courtyard located between these two blocks and created a center to Karl-Marx-Hof. This area is known today as 12. February Square. Interior of these castle-like closed walls, there are green meadows and common facilities, such as two kindergartens, two main laundries, two bathhouses, a dentist, a workers' library, a pharmacy, a youth center, a post office, a party local, a mother's advice center, a TB clinic, a municipal interior furnishing and advice center[165], restaurants, waiting rooms and a total of 25 shops.[166] Though these facilities were all public and open to all. Even though western and eastern facades of this massive complex is crossed by streets at four points[167] these did not interrupt the building. As a solution to these crossings, monumental passageways with round arches were designed. These arches not only solved the issue regarding continuity of the design, but also they further strengthened the castle-like characteristics of the structure. The fort resembling complex was accompanied by colossal green areas and pedestrian pathways in four inner courtyards. As it is mentioned earlier, the debate garden city vs superblock was a very heated discussion of the time. Karl-Marx-Hof is perhaps the city's most recognisable superblock,

and Karl Ehn is listed among the top superblock architects, but it shouldn't be overlooked that the structure also successfully captures many characteristics of a garden city. Despite being a multi-story, enormous structure, it doesn't give the spectator the same sense of the harsh urban texture as Reumannhof and comparable examples. The design was functioning perfectly with its existing urban context and city structure. Even though it looked like a fortress, it was easily penetrable and most importantly, it was open for all. As it played the role of a passage for outsiders, it also became a safe and smooth shell for insiders. In particular all these enter-exits still managed to put a clear emphasis on the inside-outside contrast created by this "city in a city" complex. Equipping of the Karl-Marx-Hof is relatively minimal in relation to its size. The large bronze sculpture "The Sower" by Otto Hofner is placed on the 12. February Square in the middle of the structure. Programmatic ceramic figures by Josef Riedl are placed on the keystone above four archways. *"Freedom"*, *"Care"*, *"Enlightenment"*, *"Physical Culture"* as manifestation of Social Demoracy.

In Karl-Marx-Hof apartment plans were made in accotrdance with each family profile. The total of 1382 apartments in the complex came in 10 different (regular) variants.[168] Despite the fact that apartment types remain the same, there was a clear istinction, when it came to the sizes of these same type apartments. Susanne Reppé reasons these irregularities as follows:[169]

165   BEST: Beratungsstelle für Inneneinrichtung des österreichischen Verbandes für Wohnungsreform
166   Walter Zednicek, *Architektur Des Roten Wien* (Vienna: Verlag Walter Zednicek, 2009), p. 166.
167   Felix-Braun-Gasse, Josef-Hindels-Gasse, 12.-Februar-Platz and Halteraugasse.
168   Stadt Wien, Broschure Zur Eröffnung: Karl-Marx-Hof (Vienna, Thlaia: Stadt Wien, 1930), p. 5
169   Susanne Reppé, *Der Karl-Marx-Hof. Geschichte Eines Gemeindebaus Und Seiner Bewohner* (Vienna: Picus, 1993), p. 35.

1. Modification of the planning concept during the construction.
2. The arrengement of loggias and balconies resulted in living areas with different dimensions.
3. Numerous special floor plans in some parts of the complex, such as corners or above the passage arches led to difference in sizing.
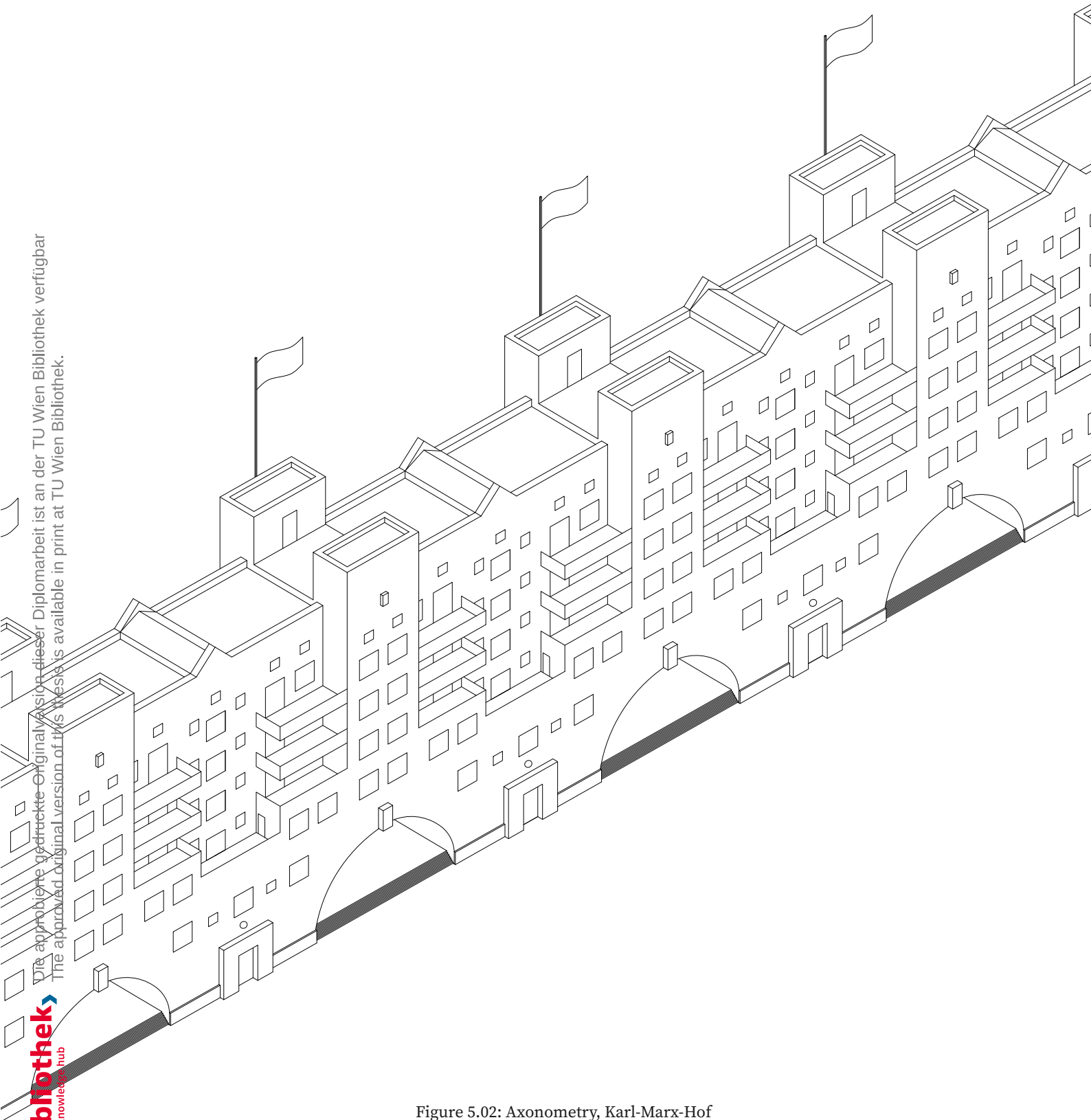
Figure 5.02: Axonometry, Karl-Marx-Hof
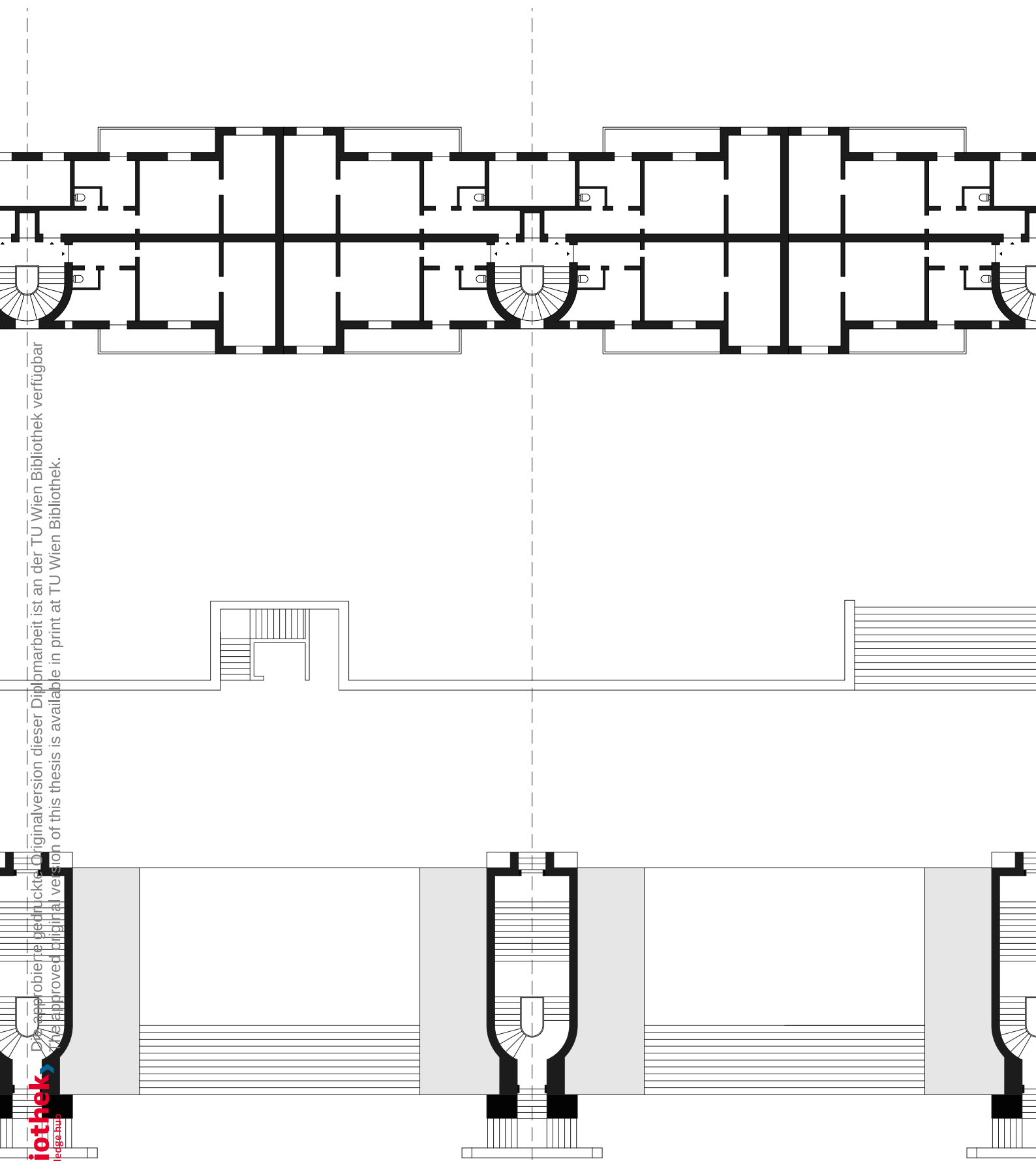
Figure 5.03: Plans of the ground (bottom)
and regular (top) floors, Karl-Marx-Hof

154

0   1   5   10   20
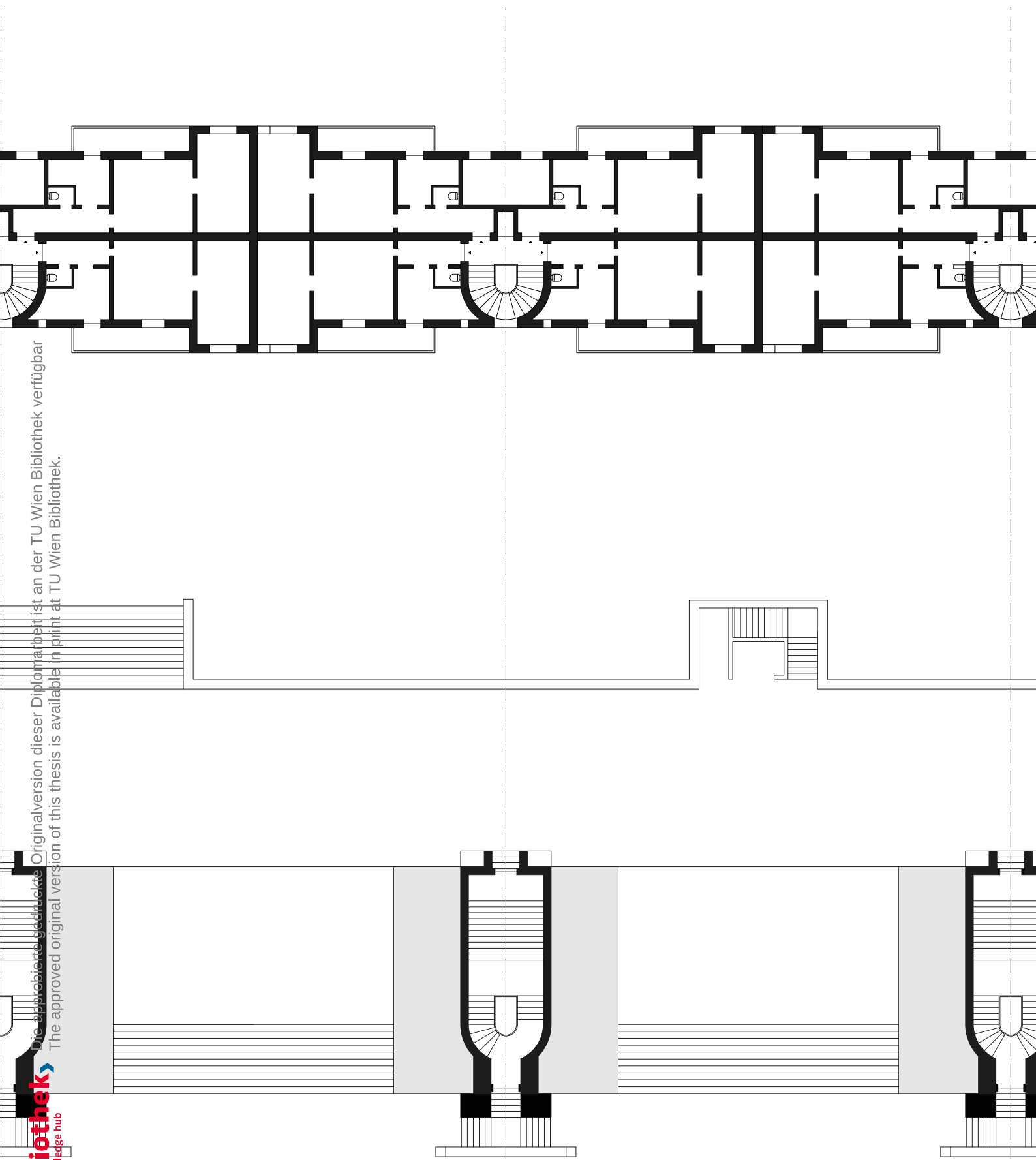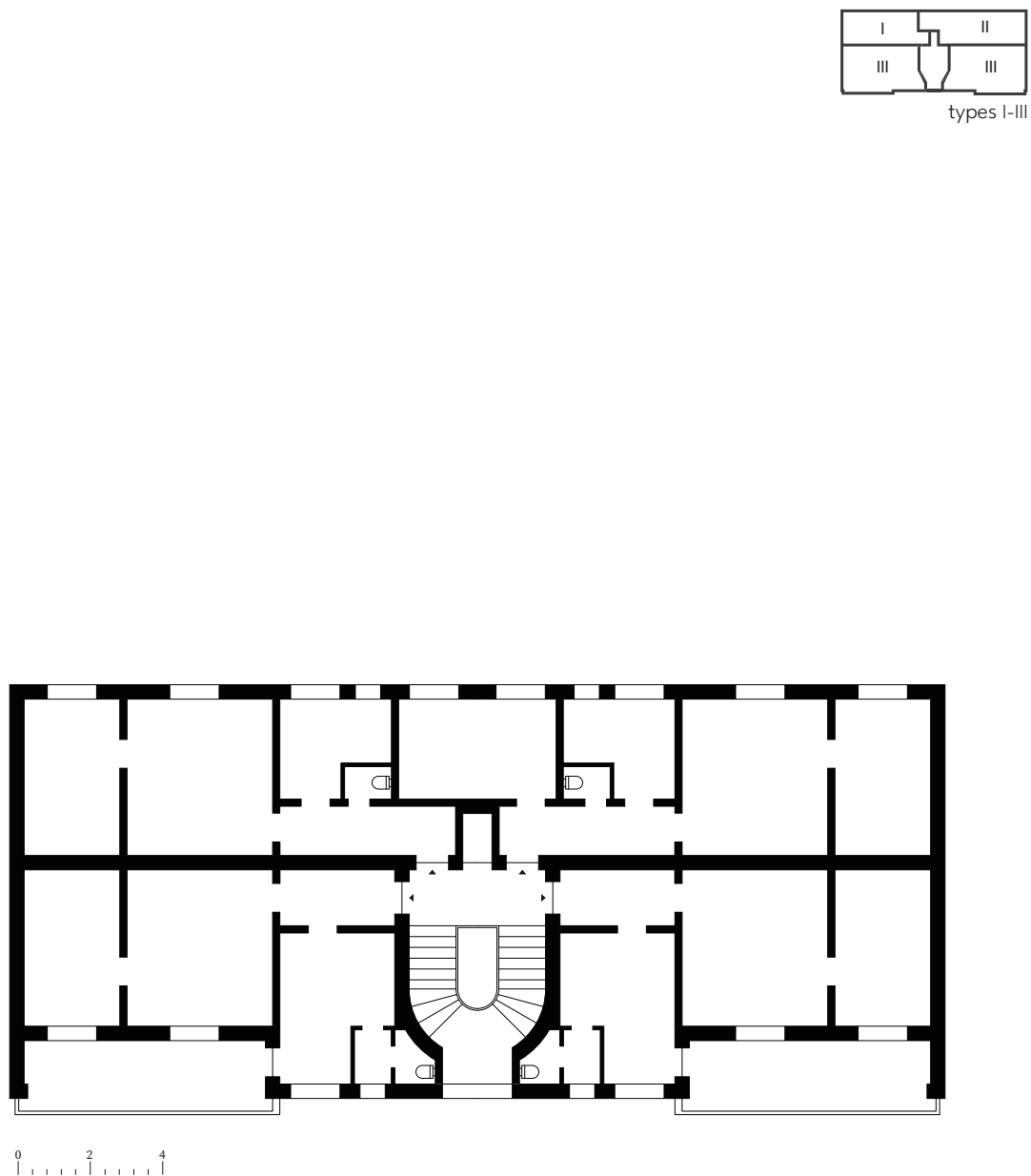
types I-III

Figure 5.04: Apartment types III, Karl-Marx-Hof - 1:200
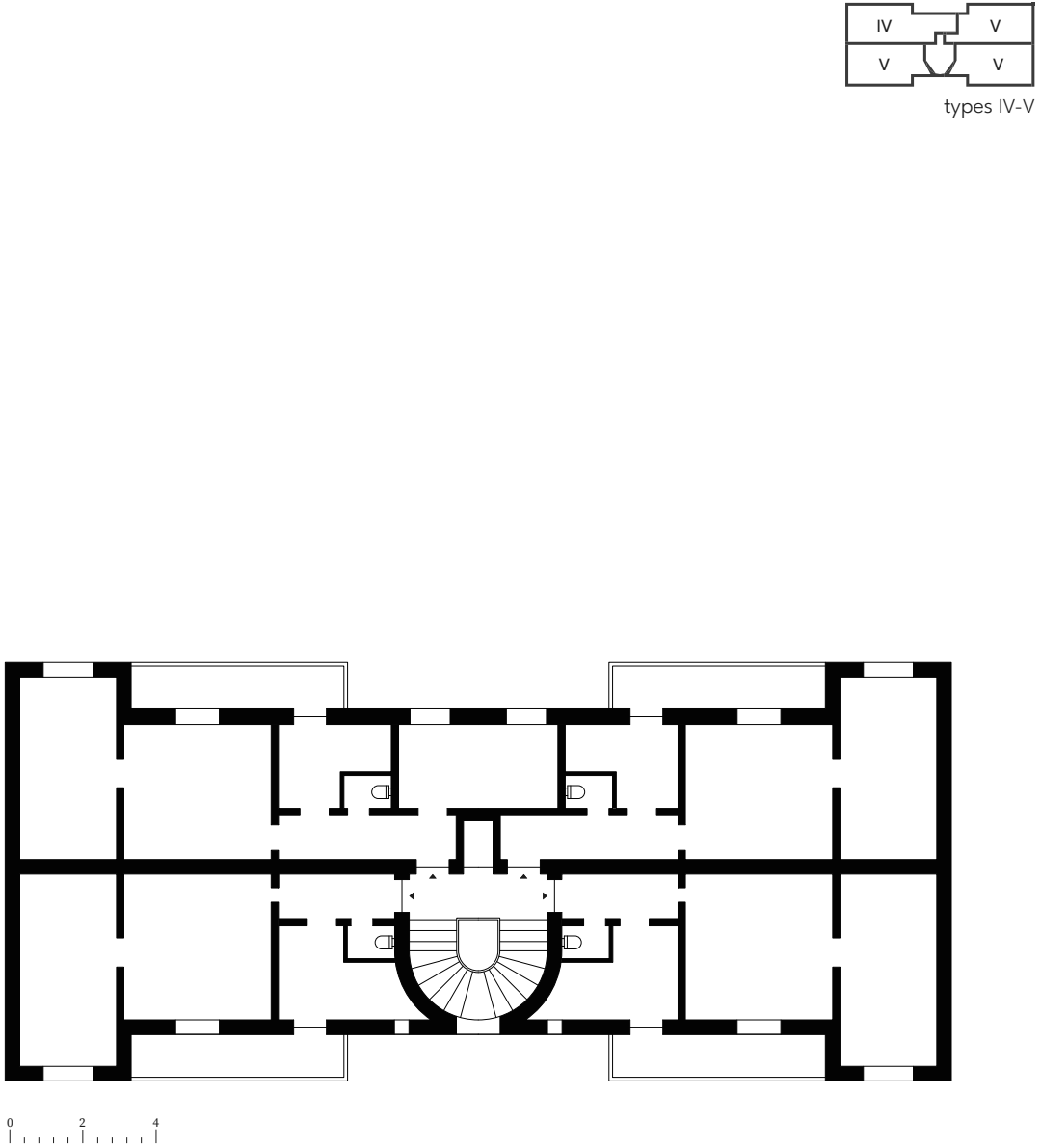
types IV-V

Figure 5.05: Apartment types I, Karl-Marx-Hof - 1:200

types VI–VII
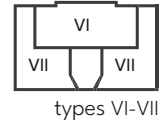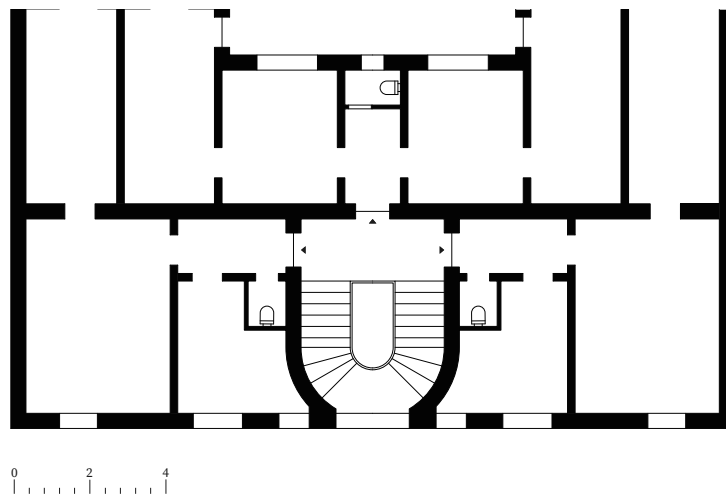
Figure 5.06: Apartment types II, Karl-Marx-Hof - 1:200

VIII | IX
X
XI
XII | XIII
XIV
XV | XVIII
XVI | XVII | XIX
XX
XXII | XXI

customtypes
VIII–XXII
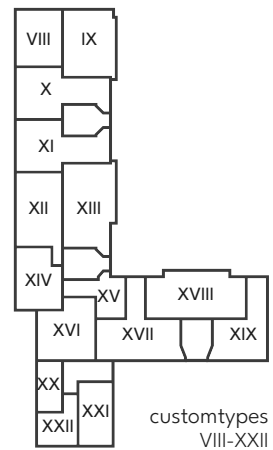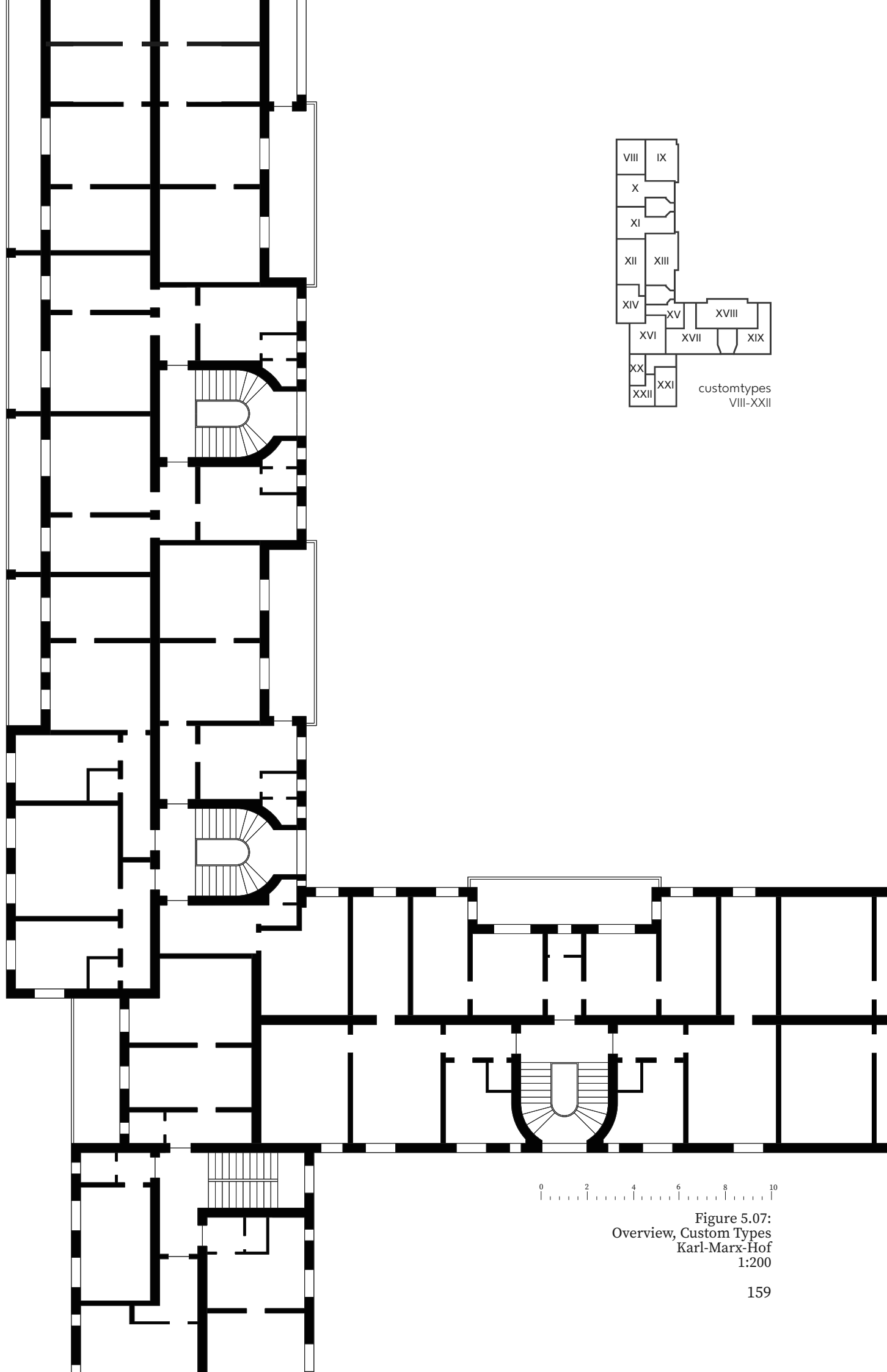
0 2 4 6 8 10

Figure 5.07:
Overview, Custom Types
Karl-Marx-Hof
1:200

159

type XXIII
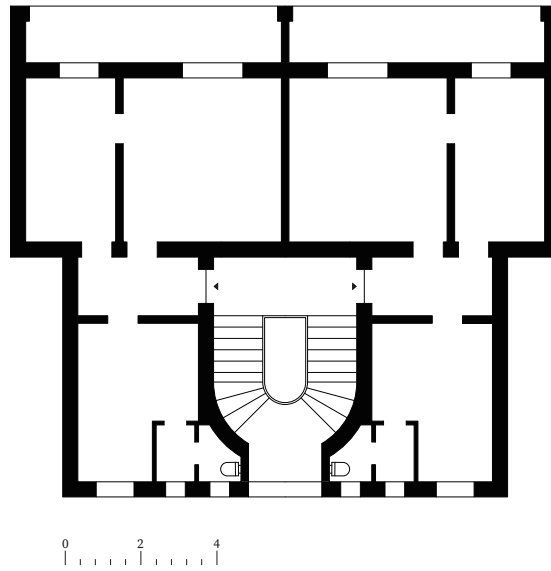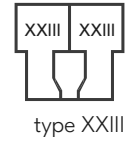
Figure 5.08: Apartment types IV, Karl-Marx-Hof - 1:200

types XXIV–XXXI
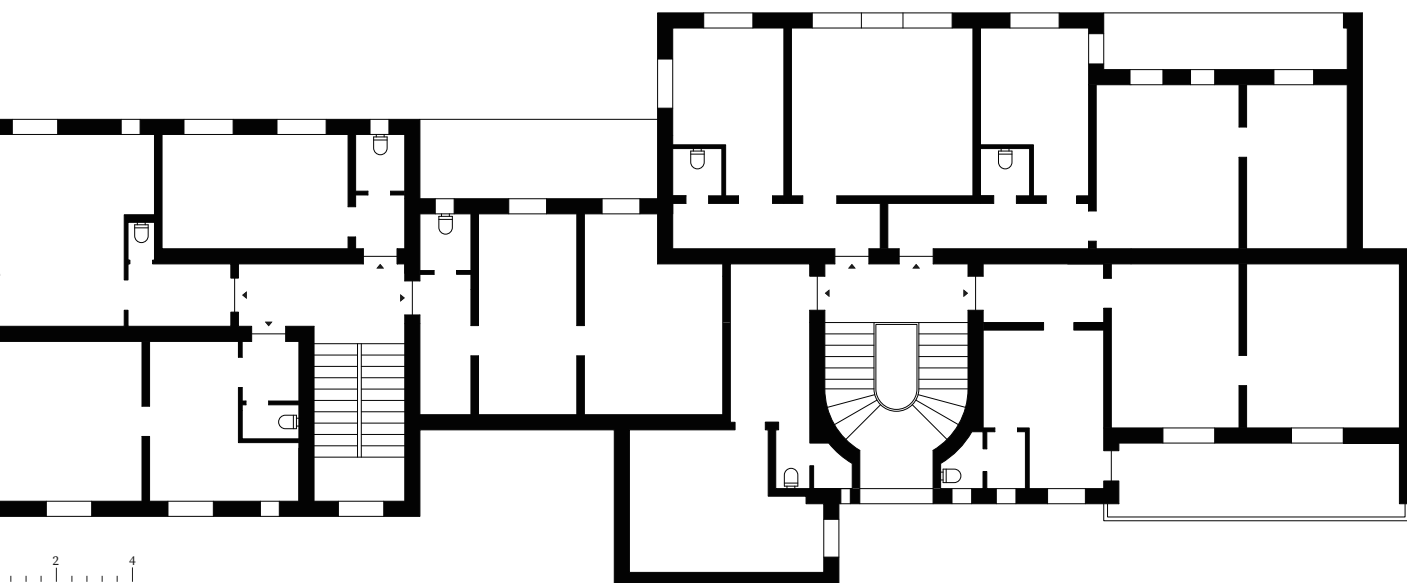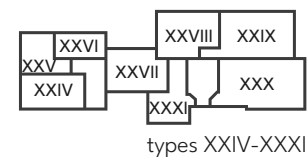
Figure 5.09: Apartment types V, Karl-Marx-Hof - 1:200
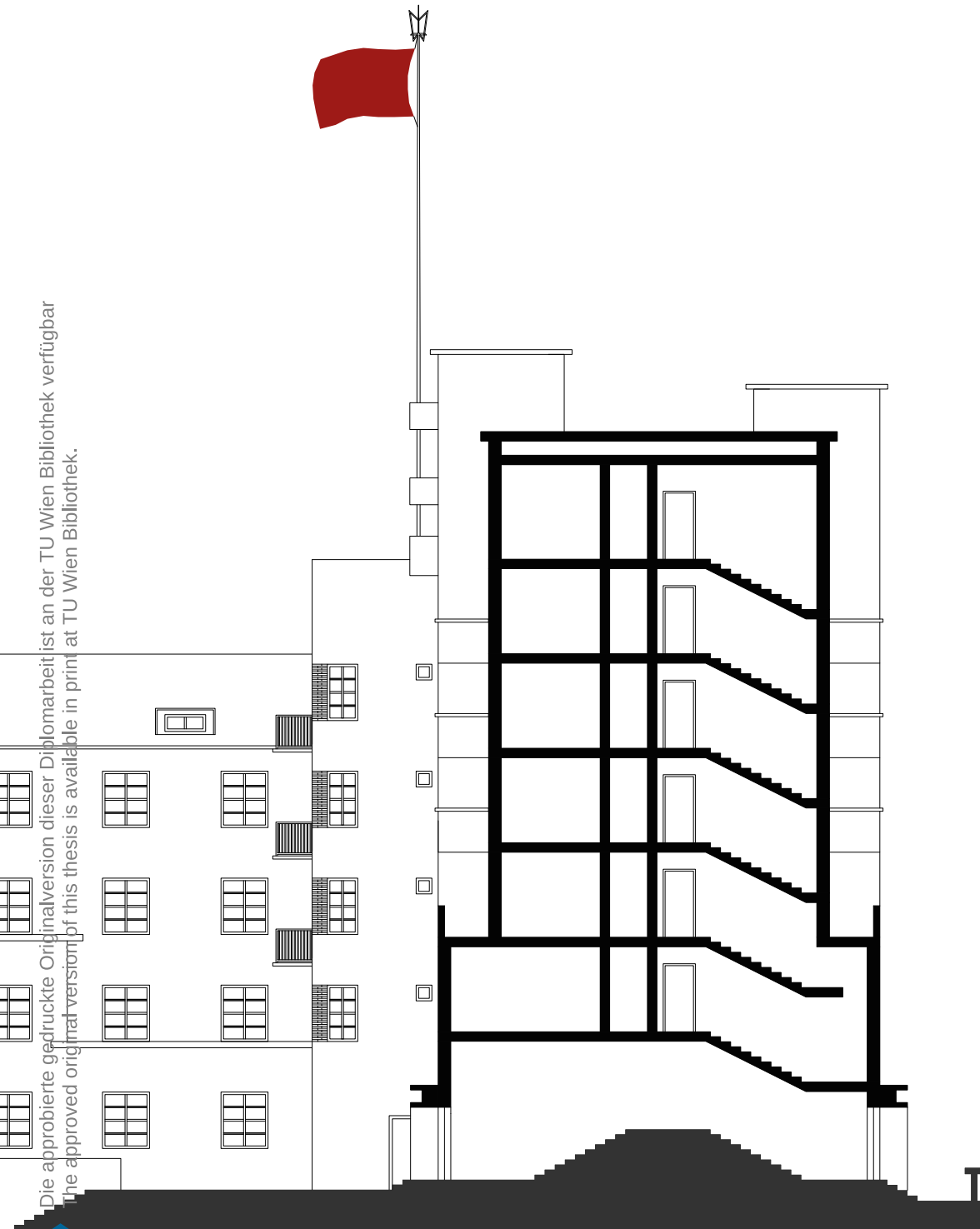
Figure 5.10: Section I, Karl-Marx-Hof - 1:200
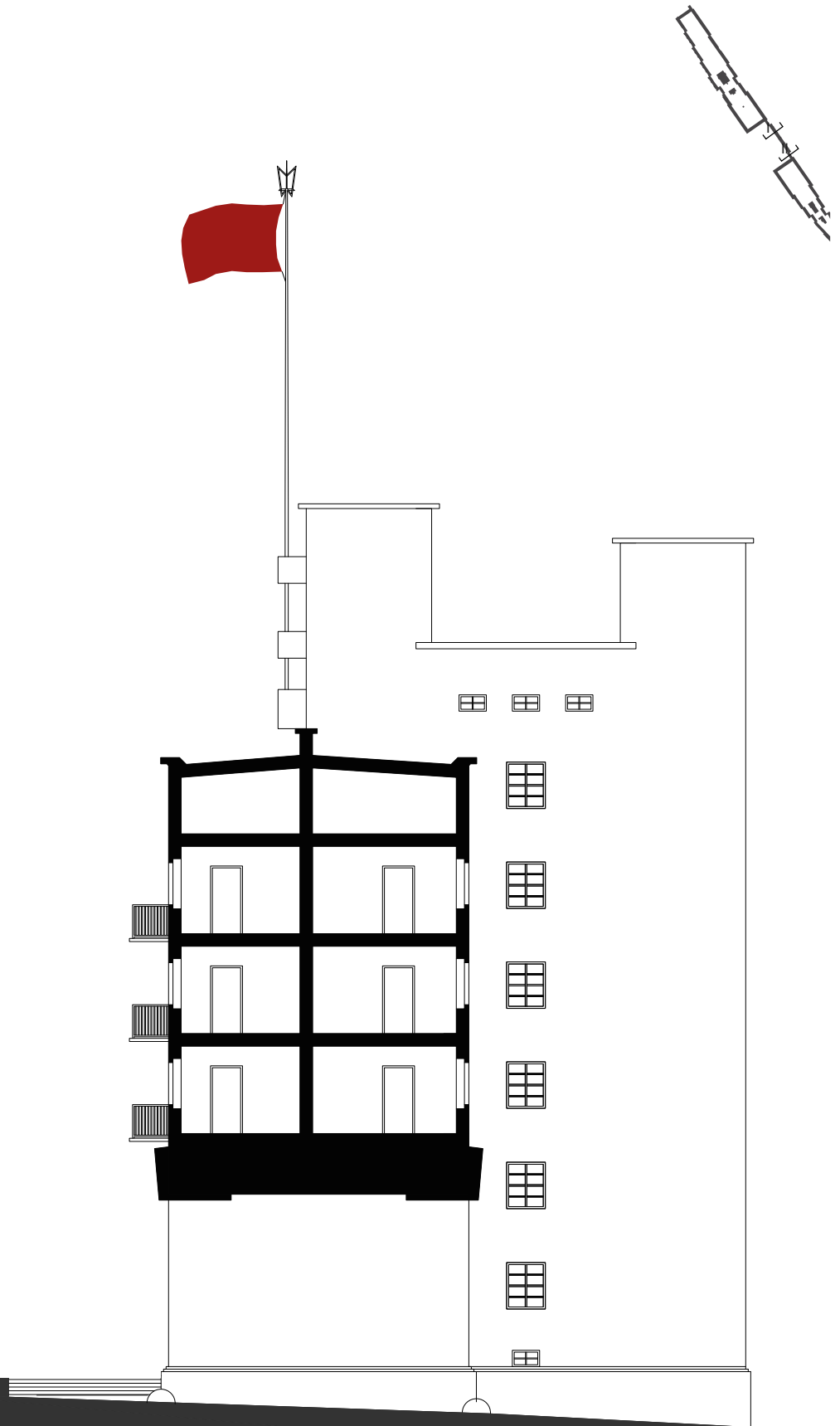
Figure 5.11: Section II, Karl-Marx-Hof - 1:200
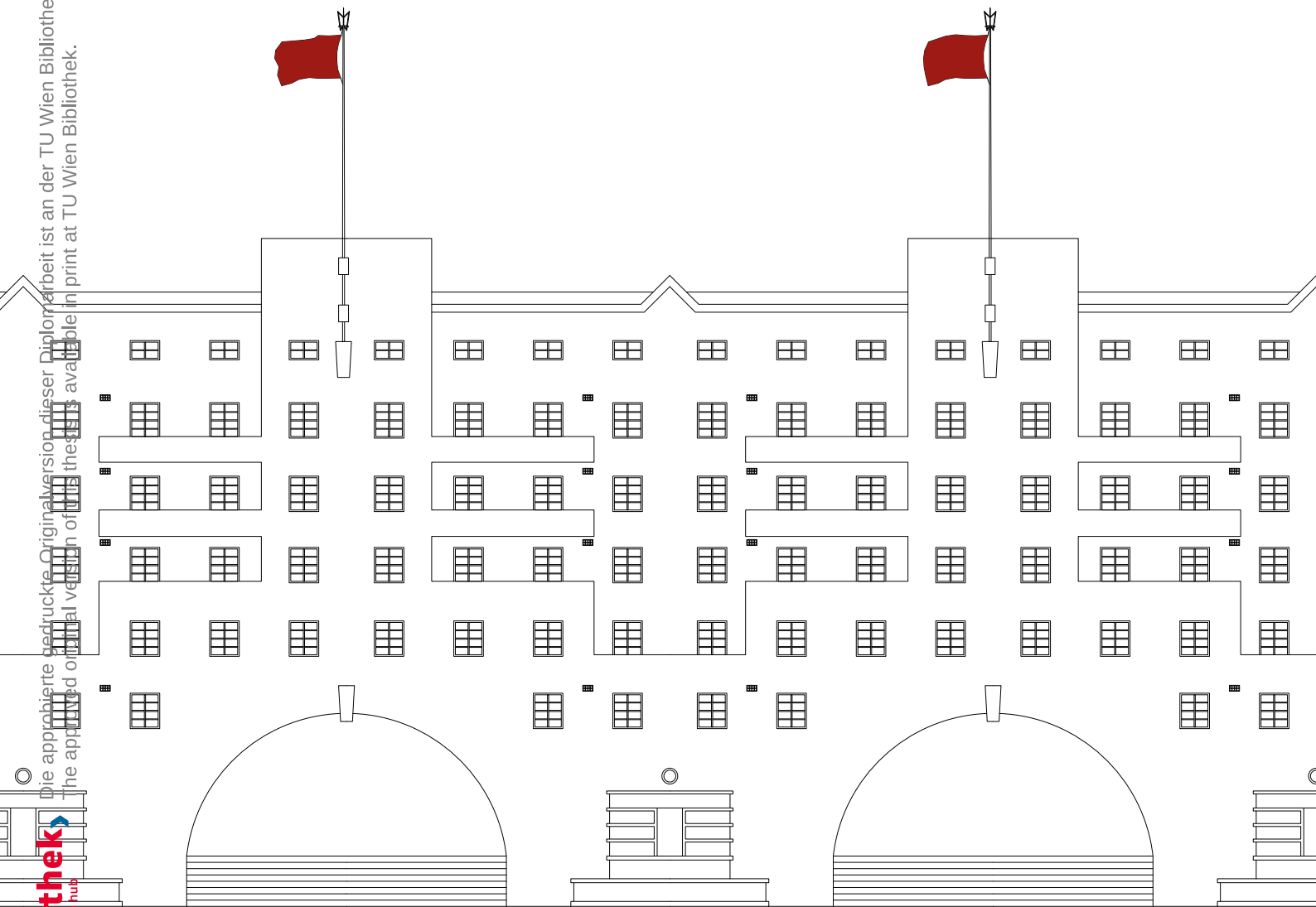
Figure 5.12: Elevation, Karl-Marx-Hof
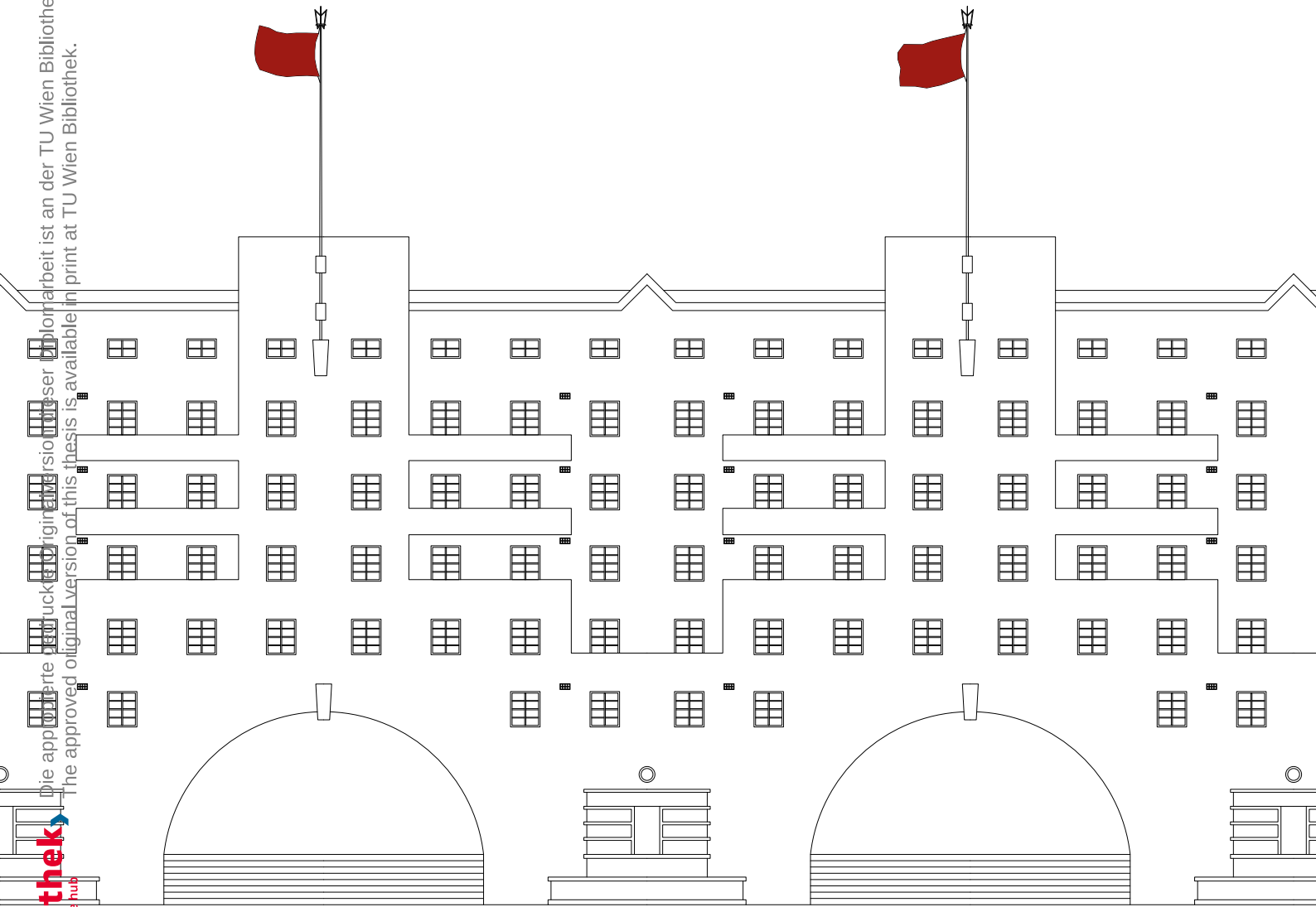
Figure 5.13: East facade during construction, Karl-Marx-Hof

Figure 5.14: East facade after completion, Karl-Marx-Hof

Figure 5.15: Inner courtyard, Karl-Marx-Hof

Figure 5.16: Mayor Karl Seitz giving speech at opening, Karl-Marx-Hof

Figure 5.17: Ceramic sculptures on arches

Figure 5.18: Kindergarten of Karl-Marx-Hof

Figure 5.19:Arches, Karl-Marx-Hof

Figure 5.20: Facade of side structures from inner courtyard, Karl-Marx-Hof
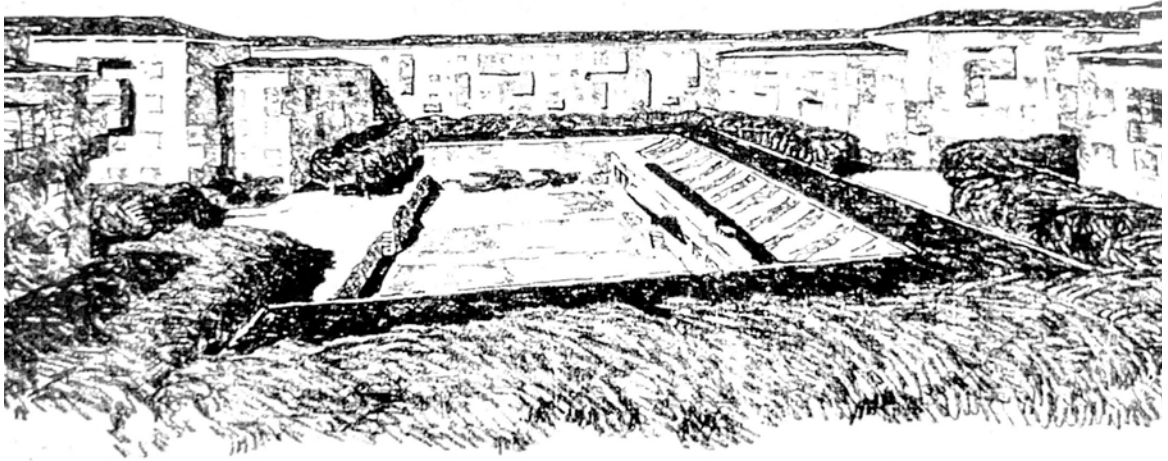
Figure 5.21: Initial idea of Clemens Holzmeister, interior courtyard
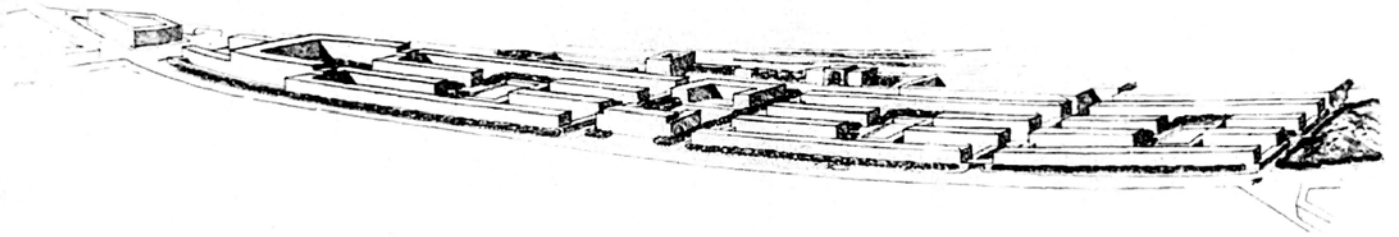
Figure 5.22: Initial idea of Clemens Holzmeister, land use
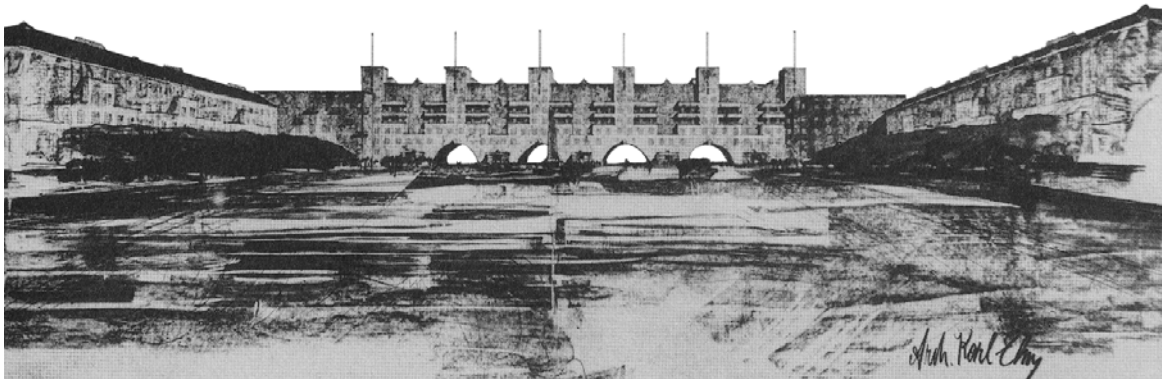
Figure 5.23: Built idea of Karl Ehn, Karl-Marx-Hof

REUMANN-HOF

Figure 5.24: Site plan, 1:3000
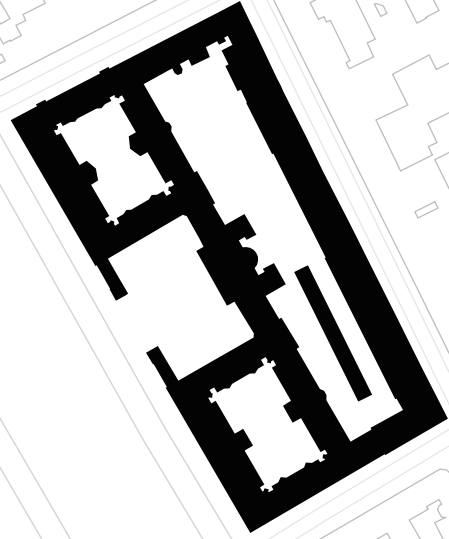
THE RINGSTRASSE OF PROLETARIAT: REUMANNHOF

A massive, imposing structure with towers, courtyards, fountains, arcades, flowerbeds and an intimidating, 180 meter long facade but most importantly a cour d'honneur…[170] All these elements make it clear why this structure was previously described by Weihsmann as the "Prototype of the people's palaces."[171] The building consists of three parts and is situated so as to surround a series of courtyards designed in the form of gardens with its high, robust walls. Of these three parts, two are completely enclosed, as the one in center only semi-enclosed, creating the cour d'honneur. The facade of the street courtyard and the three street fronts are painted exclusively in light yellow plaster from the base to the main entablature. The building resembles a colossal monolith in the urban landscape rather than being an ordinary social housing for all these reasons. Reumannhof, which takes its name from Vienna's first social democratic mayor Jakob Reumann, became an iconic structure for Vienna's freshly journey of social housing. After the announcement of the First Housing Program, which envisaged the construction of 25,000 apartments in 1923, the task of building this land in Margaretengürtel 100 was given to Hubert Gessner from Wagner School. The construction of the building started in 1924 and was completed in just 2 years. Using only 5.173 of the total lot of 12.823 square meters, Gessner created sizeable open space (roughly 51 percent of the entire area) compared to the Gründerzeit buildings. These examples were inspiring about how this percentile could be pushed to the limits in some future projects, such as Karl-Marx-Hof. The side wings of Reumannhof are six stories tall, but the main part, placed on the central axle is a nine-story structure.

Although a huge complex emerged when the project was completed, the original idea of the architecture was very different from that. Originally, the building site was intended for several streets, whereby the block of flats would have been divided into several parts. However, this was not realized, and the decision was made to have a uniform architectural design in three blocks of flats.[172] The duality inherent in Hubert Gessner's architecture -a seemingly provocative and powerful exterior which is actually meant to satisfy residents' desire for shelter and retreat- can be found in all large apartment blocks under SDAP administration, just like the one designed by Karl Ehn, the Karl-Marx-Hof. Gessner's original idea for the site was to build Vienna's first true high-rise 40 meters high structure. However, regarding the number of floors in Gessner's initial idea, different sources lead varying figures. Although Weihsmann[173] reported that Gessner initially wanted to build this structure with 16-storey, according to Blau[174] and Web Lexicon of Social Democracy[175] by SPÖ (Social Democratic Party), the figure appears to be 12. Although

170   (German: Ehrenhof) *"is the principal and formal approach and forecourt of a large building. It is usually defined by two secondary wings projecting forward from the main central block"*, definition from, James Stevens Curl, "Cour d'honneur," in *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
171   Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 221.
172   Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 221.
173   Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 222.
174   Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 253.
175   "Reumannhof," in Weblexion Der Wiener Sozialdemokratie, Dasrotewien. , accessed July 10, 2022, https://www.dasrotewien.at/seite/reumannhof.

some journalists and experts advocated a high-rise solution to the city's housing shortage and traffic problems, majority rejected this idea, especially for Vienna. The common point that many of these criticisms met was that skyscraper as a typology was not a suitable choice for such a city like Vienna, unlike New York.[176] In one of his interviews Gessner defended himself by saying "Just because one house has six floors more than another, it actually shall not be called a skyscraper. The term 'high-rise' would be more correct. Previously, such projects were unfeasible under the provisions of the building code."[177] However, on top of all this, when the economic concerns arising from the cost of such a high structure are added, the project could not have the budget to place elevators. After the criticism of Christian Social Ludwig Biber *"Is it usual somewhere in a city to impose the requirement on the residents to reach such high living spaces by stairs?"*[178] city council member Franz Siegel announced the cancellation of the high-rise project and the number of floors should be reduced. Thus the high tower designed by Gessner for Reumannhof was never built. Another issue where sources differ from each other is about the total number of apartments in this complex. While it has been written in "Das Neue Wien"[179] that the building consists of 472 apartments, the figure occurs to be 450 according to Michael Schmidt[180] and 478 according to Joachim Schlandt.[181] Apartments at Reumannhof usually consisted of 2 or 3 rooms

between 25 and 65 square meters. In addition to this, each flat had an anteroom with direct sun light, cabinet and balcony or loggia. The entire residential complex includes a total of 30 shops, a central laundry room, a kindergarten and a restaurant. With all these comfort elements, municipality did not step back to mention that this project was a statement of the 'new living' and the 'new Vienna.' It was even stated in the opening broschure of Reumannhof as follows:

"The building offers another special attraction. If you don't shy away from walking the eight floors of the middle building and stepping out onto the roof terrace there, you can enjoy a wonderful view of Vienna, an impression that you won't soon lose from your memory."[182]

Reumannhof, which is much more than an ordinary *Gemeindebau* with its architectural language, also has a very important place in Austria's political memory. In the civil war that took place in 1934, this structure also served as a fighting base for the left paramilitary forces (Republikanischer Schutzbund).[183]

176   "Mein Wolkenkratzer," *Der Tag*, February 2, 1924, p. 3
177   "Die Erste Wolkenkratzer in Wien ," *Der Tag*, January 10, 1924, p. 7.
178   Lili Bauer and Werner Thomas Bauer, eds. Exhibition: Hubert Gessner. Architekt Der Arbeiterbewegung
         (Das rote Wien Waschsalon), accessed August 26, 2022,
         https://dasrotewien-waschsalon.at/fileadmin/DOCS/2017/hubertgessner_waschsalonkmh.pdf.
179   Gemeinde Wien, ed., *Das Neue Wien*, vol. 3 (Vienna: Elbemühl Papierfabriken und Graphische Industrie, 1927), p. 58.
180   Michael Schmidt, *Die Wagner Schule in Wien*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Echomedia, 2020), p. 42.
181   Joachim Schlandt, "Die Wiener Superblocks," *Das Werk : Architektur Und Kunst = L'oeuvre : Architecture et Art 57*, no. 4
         (1970): 221–26, https://doi.org/http://doi.org/10.5169/seals-82176.
182   Gemeinde Wien, *Broschure Zur Eröffnung - Die Wohnhausanlage Der Gemeinde Wien: Reumann-Hof* (Vienna, 1926), p. 10.
183   Kurt Stimmer, ed., *Die Arbeiter von Wien* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk Verlag, 1988), p. 124.
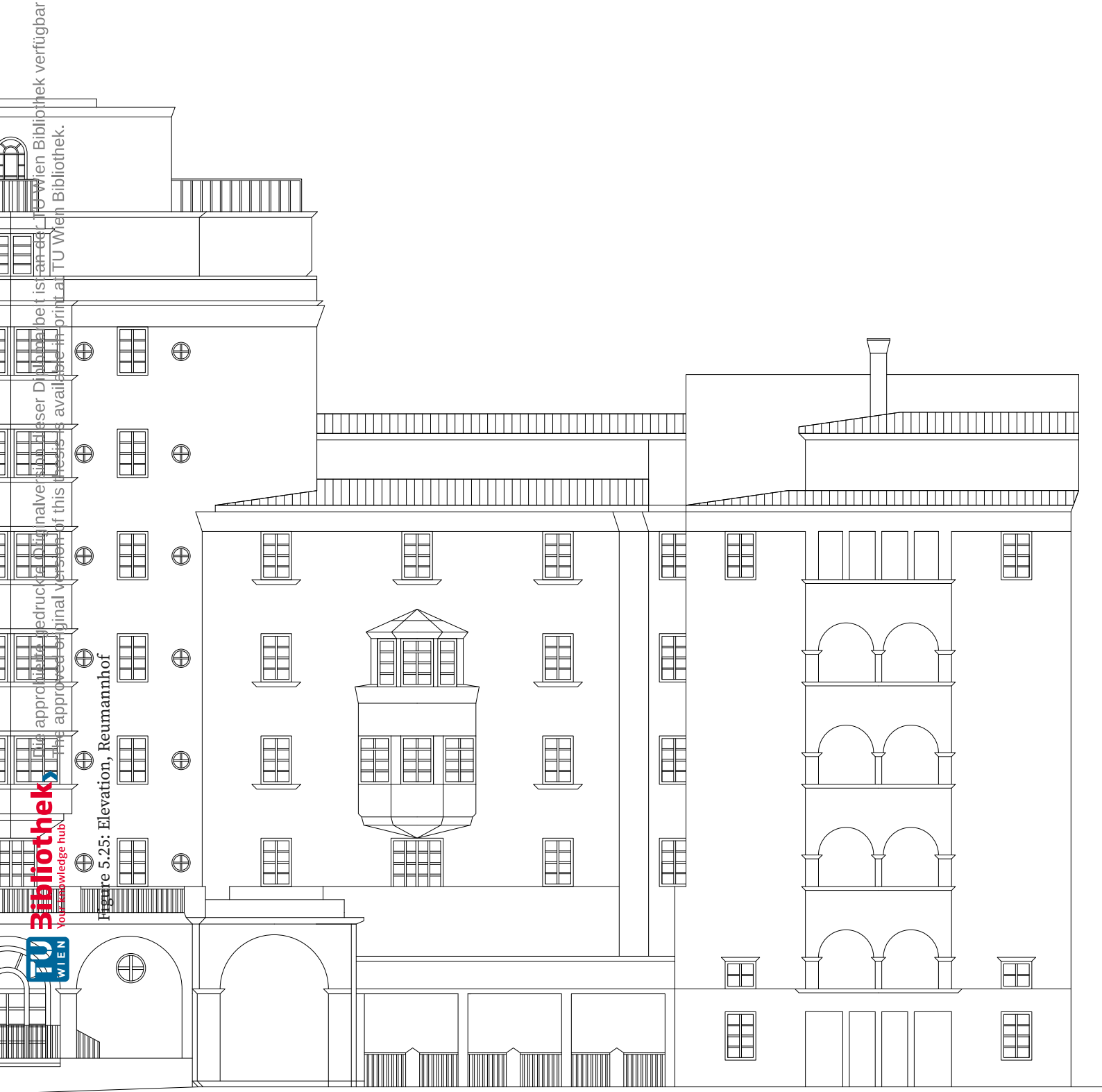
Figure 5.25: Elevation, Reumannhof
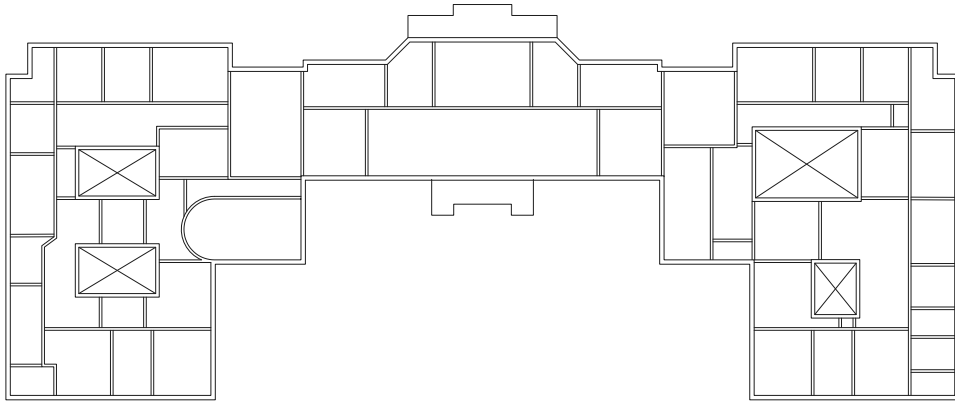
Figure 5.26: Schematic plan, Schönbrunn
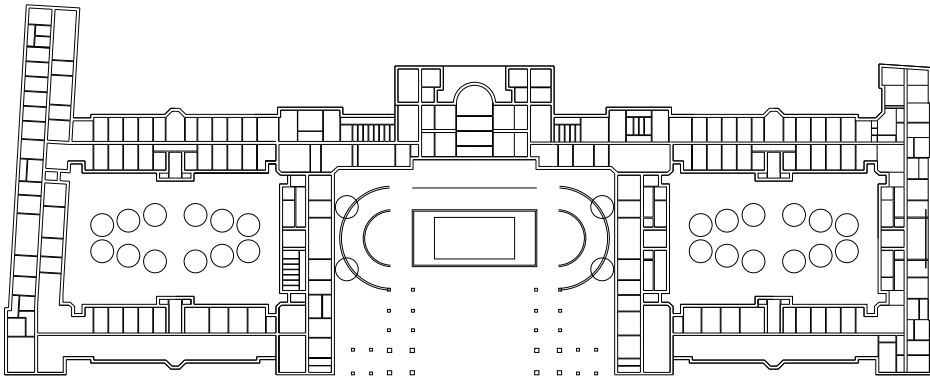
Figure 5.27: Schematic plan, Reumannhof

types I-IX
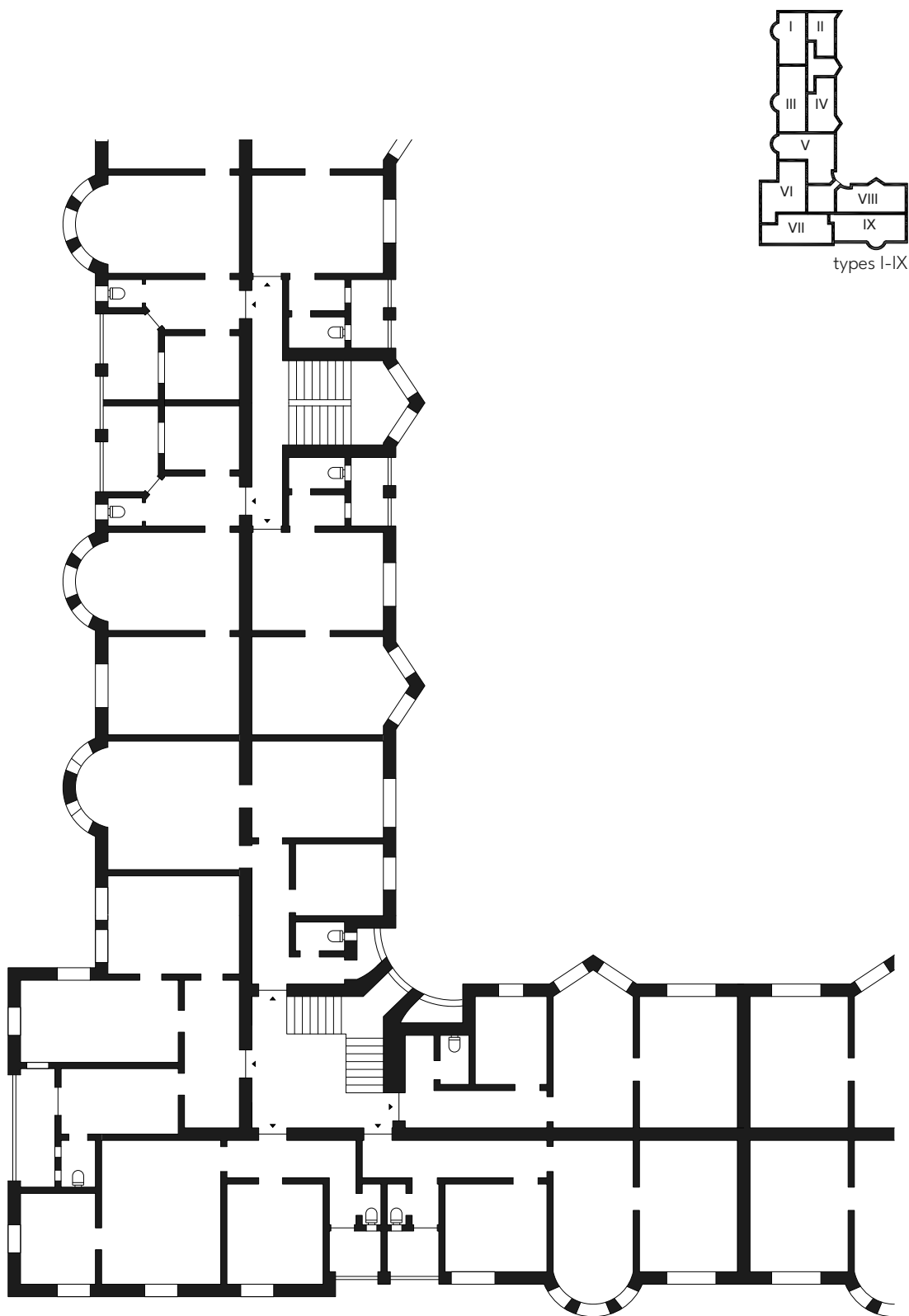
Figure 5.28: Plan, apartment types, Reumannhof - 1:200
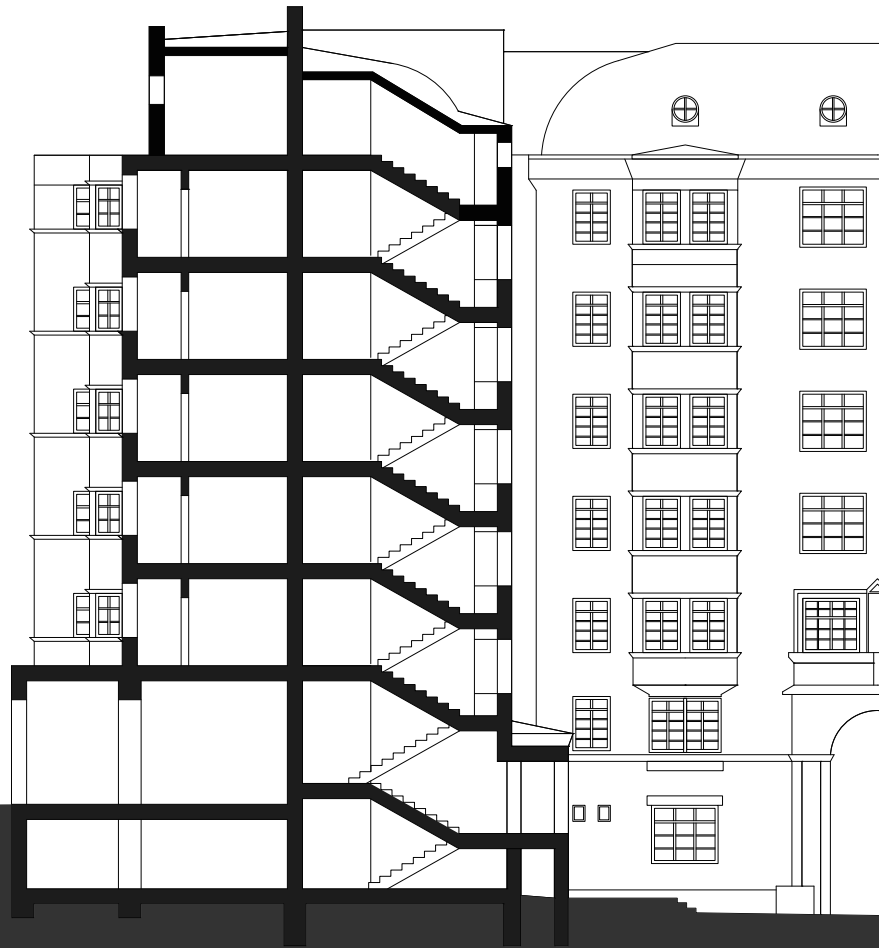
0   2   4   6   8   10

Figure 5.29:
Section, Reumannhof
1:200

0   2   4   6   8   10
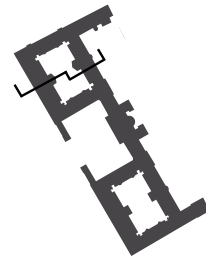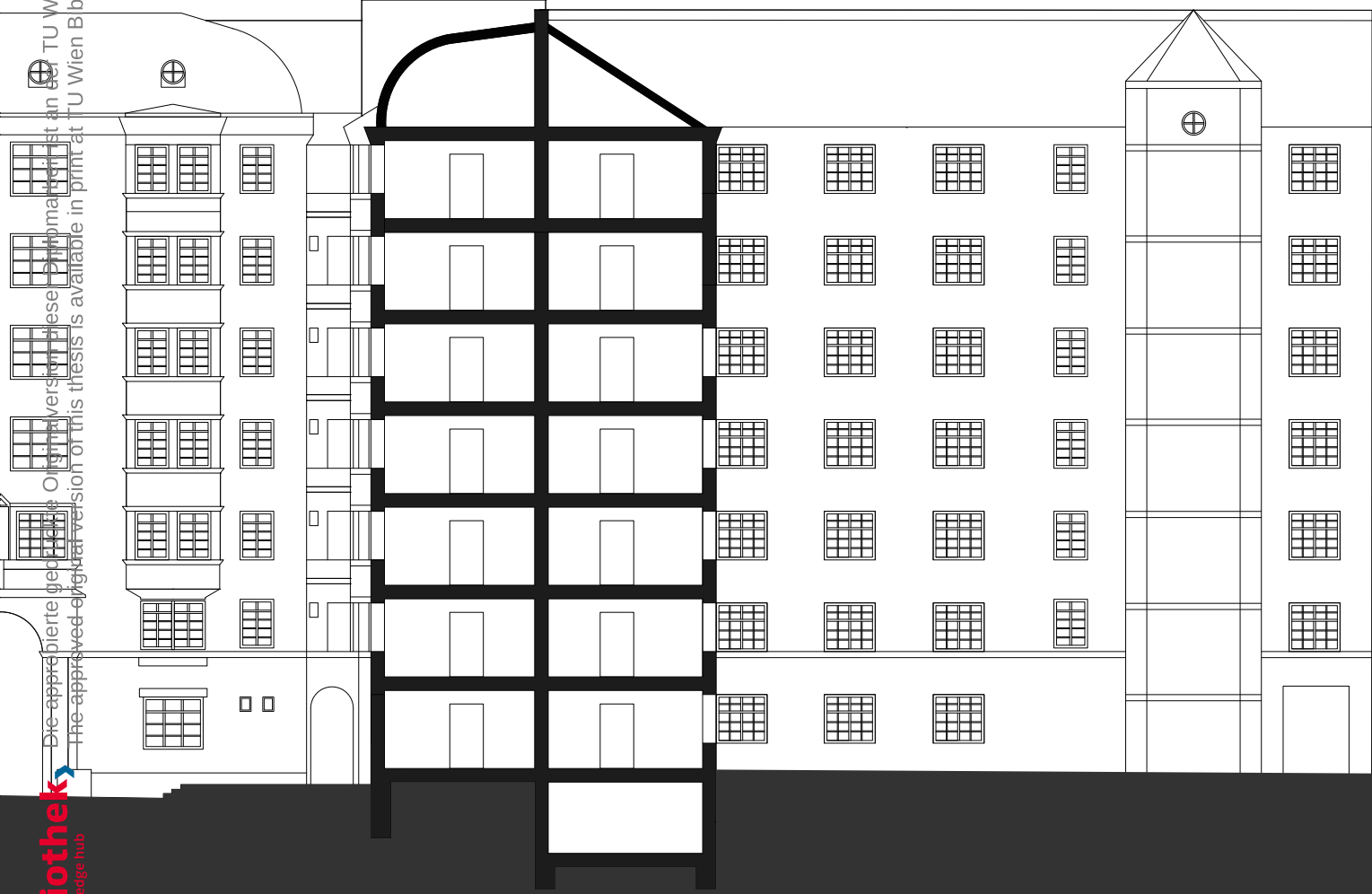
Figure 5.30: Central structure, Reumannhof

Figure 5.31: Cour d'honneur, Reumannhof

Figure 5.32: View from Haydnpark, Reumannhof

Figure 5.33: Left wing structure on Margaretengürtel , Reumannhof

Figure 5.34: Cour d'honneur, Reumannhof

Figure 5.35: Pergolas in cour d'honneur, Reumannhof

Figure 5.36: Mayor Karl Seitz behind the bust of Jakob Reumann at openning ceremony , Reumannhof

Figure 5.37: Waterbasin in the cour d'honneur, Reumannhof

Figure 5.38: Terraces, Reumannhof

Figure 5.39: Inner courtyard, Reumannhof

Figure 5.40: Solders arriving at Reumannhof during civil war, 1934

SANDLEITEN
HOF

Figure 5.41: Site plan, 1:3000

THE LOOSENED GIANT: SANDLEITENHOF

At the end of the road that extends from the city's center to the west and gradually changes into paths on the slopes of the Wienerwald and mountains, right in the workers' neighborhood of the period, 16th district Simmering, one of the most significant creations of Red Vienna, welcomes you… Between Nietzscheplatz and Matteottiplatz, between Sandleitengasse and Rosenackerstrasse… The largest, the biggest and the most populous one… Wohnhausanlage XVI., Sandleiten…

At the building lot, which was an old vineyard, located near the Ottakring sand mines of the time, was bought in 1915-1916 by Christian Social City Municipality of Vienna. Despite being Vienna's largest Gemeindebau, it would be misleading to evaluate the complex solely on its size and unfair to its architectural significance and originality. The Vienna City Administration held a competition for the design of this complex, which will be constructed on a sizable 86,220 square meter land area.[184] The construction area, which slopes radically to the northwest[185] gave designers a difficult time during planning process. The project of Emil Hoppe, Otto Schönthal and Franz Matuschek won the competition after a "challenging evaluation."[186] These three architects were all the students Otto Wagner. They were given the southern section of Rosenackerstraße by the municipality to excecute their plan. Parts I-IV of the Sandleitenhof project are now made up of this segment. The task of

constructing the northern section was given to two architecture duos. These were Sigfried Theis - Hans Jaksch and Franz Krauss - Josef Thölk. The design for the kindergarten and library was directly by Municipal Department 22 of Vienna Municipality. This colossal project's construction began in 1924 and was finalized in 1928 after a total of five construction stages. When it was completed, the 1587-apartment structure could accommodate about 5000 people, making it the biggest Gemeindebau of the Red Vienna era. Despite accommodating quite so many residents, the architects only built 28,5 percent of the overall area, which left a sizable portion of 71,5 percent of the building lot plain. Undoubtedly, many of the projects executed during Red Vienna exhibit the sharp design language of modernist architecture. Building facades feature rectangular shapes and 90-degree turns, while the arrangement of buildings and masses on the building lot is accomplished through the use of right angles. The forms and lines utilized in these projects are notably precise and well-defined. Despite the Wagner School affiliation of the architects, Otto Wagner was not the only source of inspiration for the design. When the complex is analyzed, it becomes clear that Camillo Sitte's urban planning ideas, such as winding streets, large, green open spaces and courtyards were taken into consideration by its creators. The comprehensive planning implemented in Sandleitenhof creates a sensation of being within

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184   Gemeinde Wien, ed., *Das Neue Wien*, vol. 3 (Vienna: Elbemühl Papierfabriken und Graphische Industrie, 1927), p. 96.
185   *"The land slopes 26 meters from south to north." (translation by author)* in Gemeinde Wien, ed.,
         Wohnhausanlage Sandleiten: Garten- und Bäderanlage am Kongressplatz im XVI. Bezirk (Vienna: Thalia, 1928), p. 5.
186   *"Each of the invited architectural communities gave their best efforts, and it was hard for the jury to make the decision." (translation by author)* In Gemeinde Wien, ed., *Wohnhausanlage Sandleiten: Garten- und Bäderanlage im XVI. Bezirk* (Vienna: Thalia, 1928), p. 5.

a city village, as one navigates the property. The complex, while primarily consists of 2- to 5-story buildings and looks mostly in a similar style with country houses, also includes a 7-story high-rise structure. The architects gave equal importance to the distribution of light and air as they were conscious of the size and the conditions of the area they were working with throughout the design process. To achieve this, they decided to open the building to the street as much as possible. This method gave the Sandleitenhof its distinctive morphological charcteristics, which sets it apart from many other buildings, as it differs from other structures in that it is an open-sided residential complex with its atypical courtyard shape rather than a closed one with a surrounded inner green space. The courtyards and the street are not strictly segregated as it was in many other such complexes. Small squares and green spaces are scattered throughout, and it is open on all sides. The Sandleitenhof offers the sense of being an independent tiny town with the parish church of St. Josef, library, laundry, kindergarten, and more. Also, stone staircases connect the buildings, which are situated at various heights, giving the residential building's many components an almost castle-like appearance. In addition to its position from above to the city center and all the cosmetics of the structures, naming the squares and streets surrounding the complex with the names of recently killed socialists such as Giacomo Matteotti, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg gave the building the spirit of a socialist citadel. The complex included 17 buildings in total and 15 of these were created only for residental use[187] and Sandleitenhof offers, in addition to the more than 1500 apartments, great number of communal amenities. These can be listed as 75 shops, a restaurant/coffee house, three studios, 58 workshops, 71 storage units, three bathing and laundry facilities, a people's library, a pharmacy, three daycare centers, a post office and a cinema/ theater hall.[188] Despite its diverse mix of styles, including baroque, expressionist, art nouveau-like, and cubist shapes, the Sandleitenhof is unquestionably one of the most fascinating municipal housing estates in Red Vienna. In addition, this complex included numerous other small and large side elements. The Matteotti-Fountain and terraces, which are situated on Matteottiplatz, display a definite Italian and Renaissance influence. Heinrich Scholz created figurative sculptures for the arch located above one of Sandleitenhof's main entrances. (Nietzscheplatz 2) As the creation of Wilhelm Fraß *"Pillar of Cheerfulness"* and the sculpture of Josef Riedl *"Child"* are both placed in Sandleiten Kindergarten; in the public library, which is still in operation today, there are murals of Arthur Brusenbauch, where the works of different artists such as Trude Schiebel and Hilda Goldwag no longer exist today. Soldiers and police troops stormed Sandleitenhof on February 12, 1934—the day that the Austrian Civil War is generally regarded as having begun. The soldiers were repelled by an unanticipatedly huge counter-resistance and necessitated significant backup. Resisters (KPÖ and Republikanischer Schutzbund supported by SDAP) had to retreated from the complex as they realized that they could not continue by fighting and the Sandleitonhof was handed to Emil Fey, the head of Heimwehr.

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187   Gemeinde Wien, ed., *Das Neue Wien*, vol. 3 (Vienna: Elbemühl Papierfabriken und Graphische Industrie, 1927), p. 97.
188   "Sandleiten," in *Weblexion Der Wiener Sozialdemokratie, Dasrotewien,* accessed July 6, 2022,
         http://www.dasrotewien.at/seite/sandleiten.
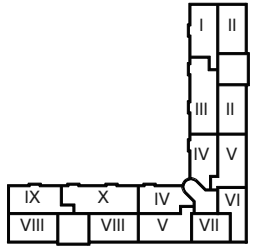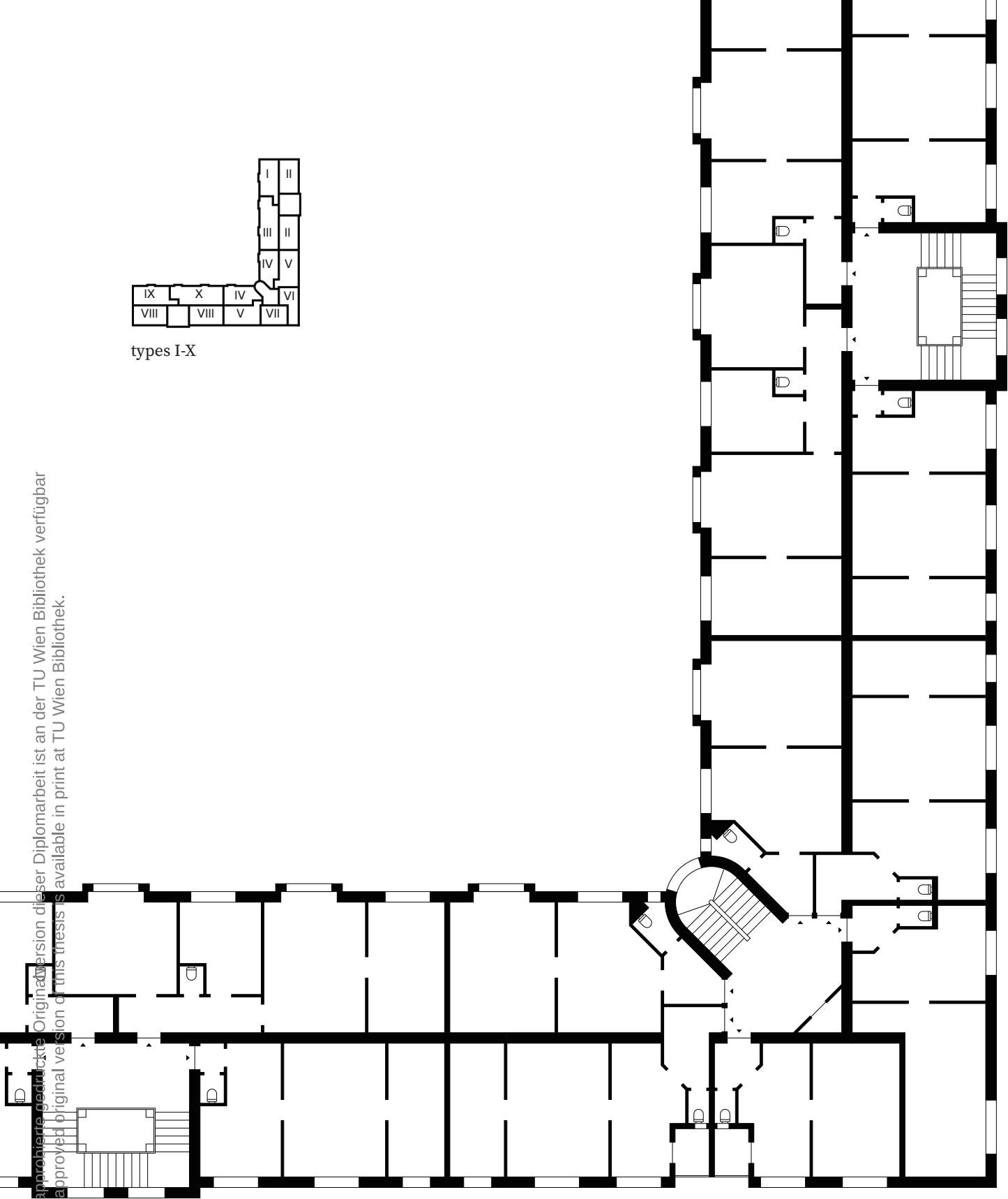
types I-X

Figure 5.42: Overview, apartment types, Sandleitenhof - 1:200
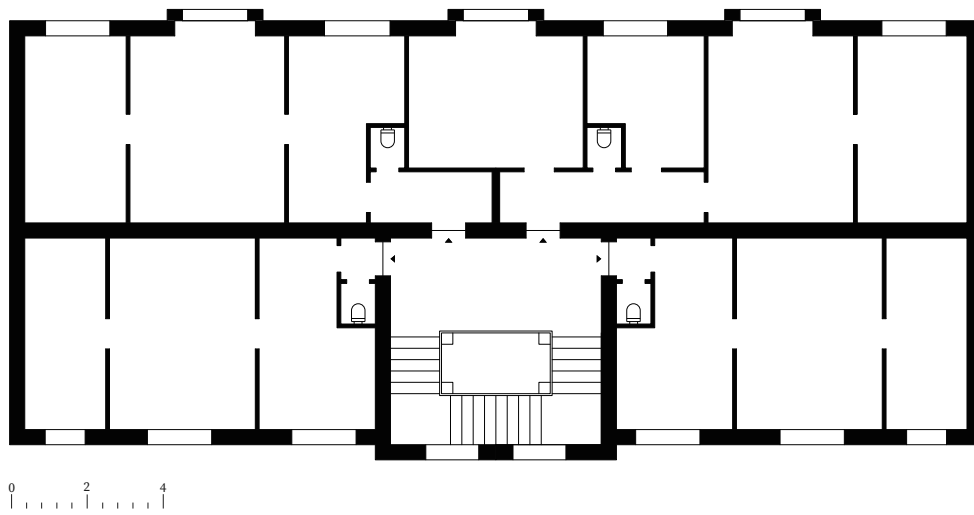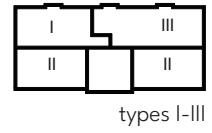
types I–III

Figure 5.43: Apartment types I, Sandleitenhof - 1:200

types V–VII
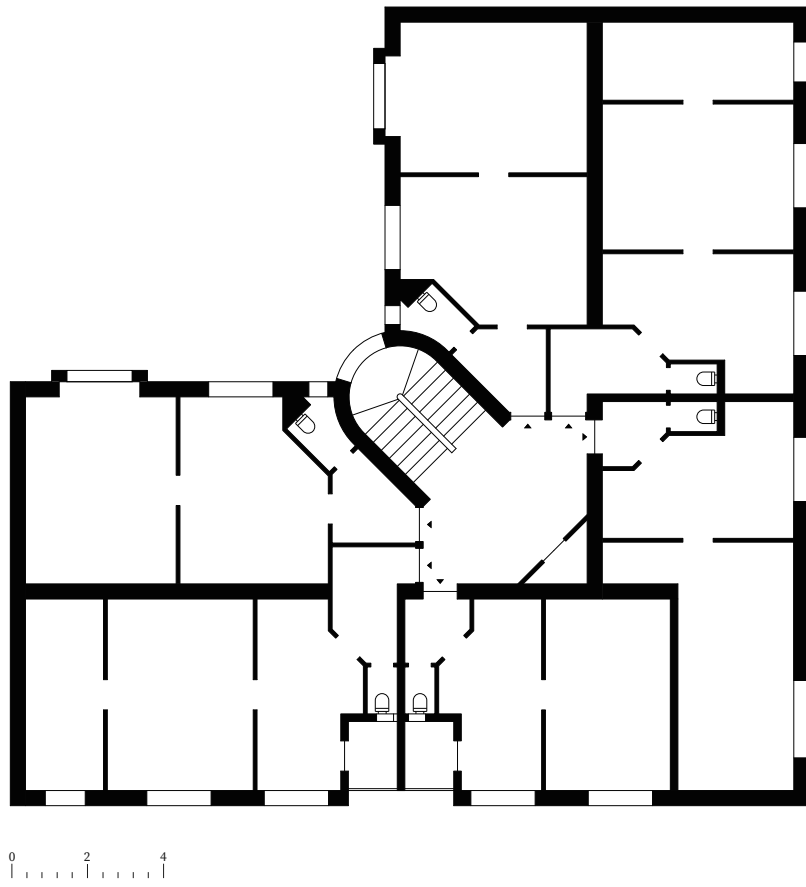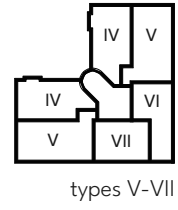
Figure 5.44: Apartment types II, Sandleitenhof - 1:200

types X–XII
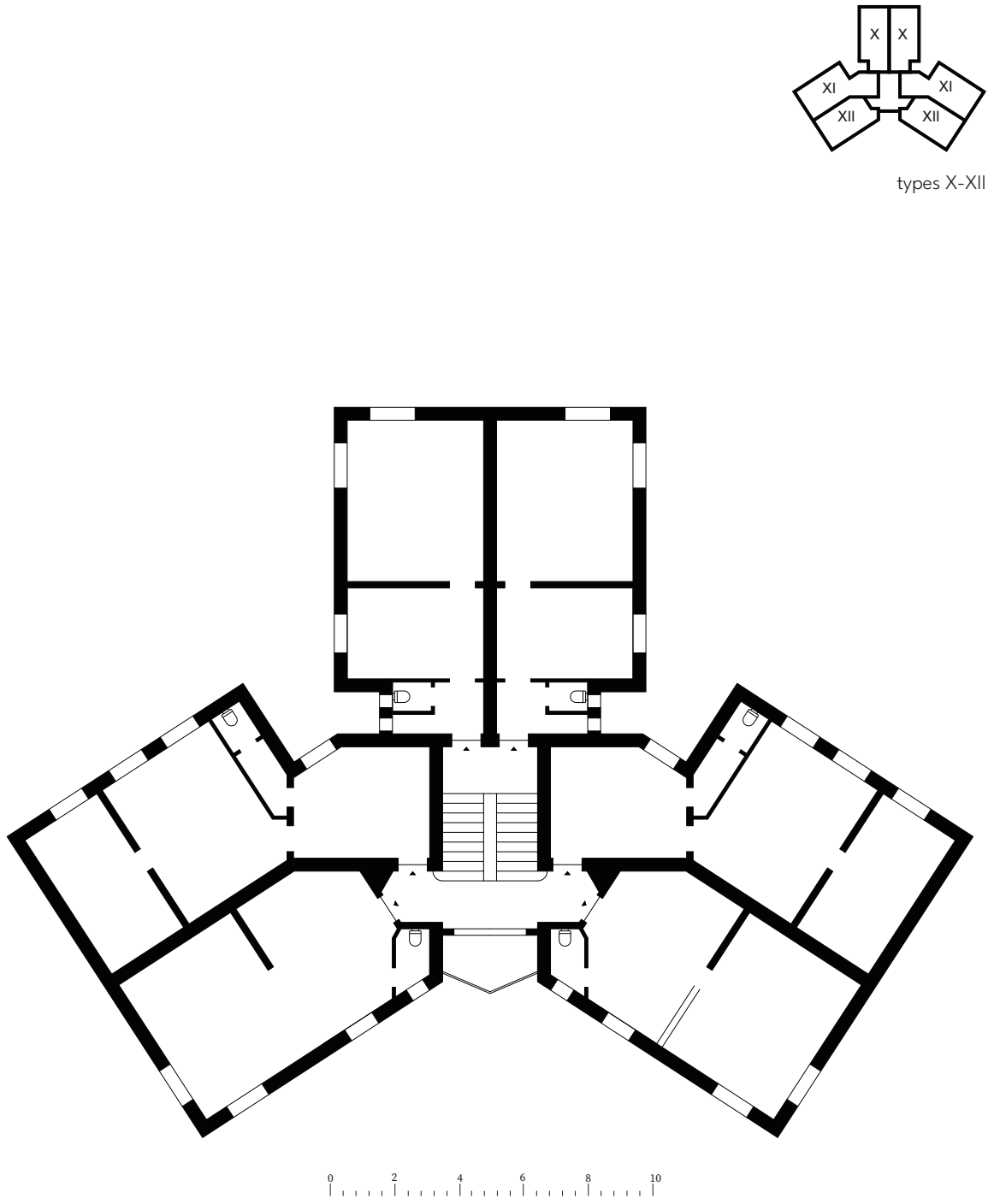
Figure 5.45: Apartment types III, Sandleitenhof - 1:200

Figure 5.46: Section I, Sandleitenhof - 1:200
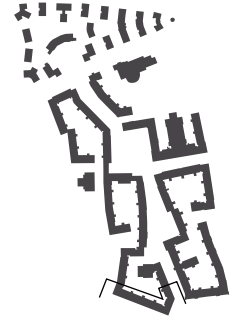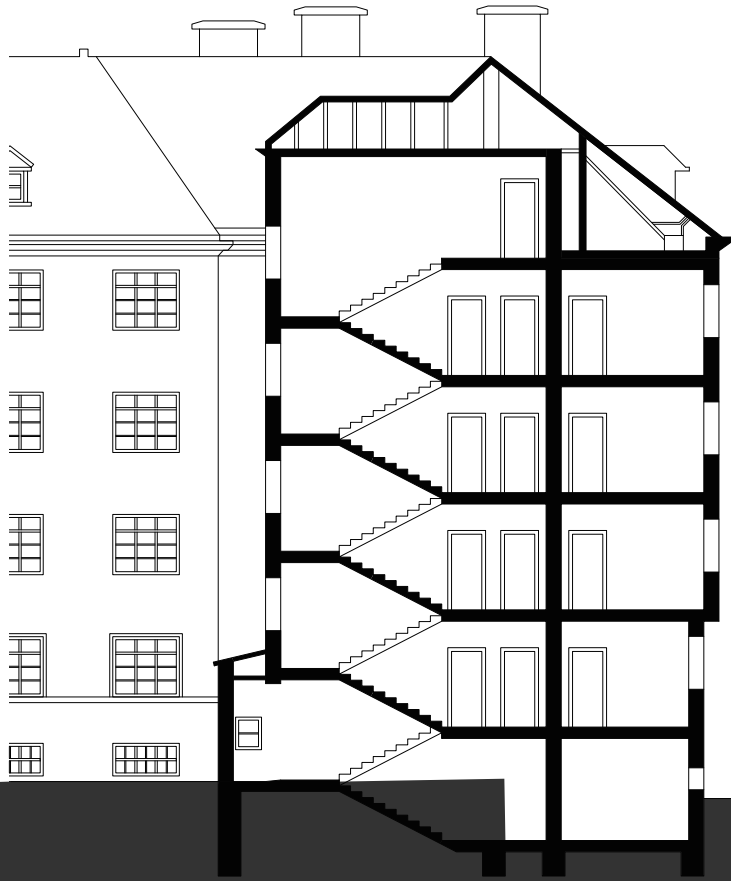
Figure 5.47: Section II, Sandleitenhof - 1:200

Figure 5.48: Elevation, Sandleitenhof

Figure 5.51: Inner courtyard, Sandleitenhof

Figure 5.52: Complex library, Sandleitenhof
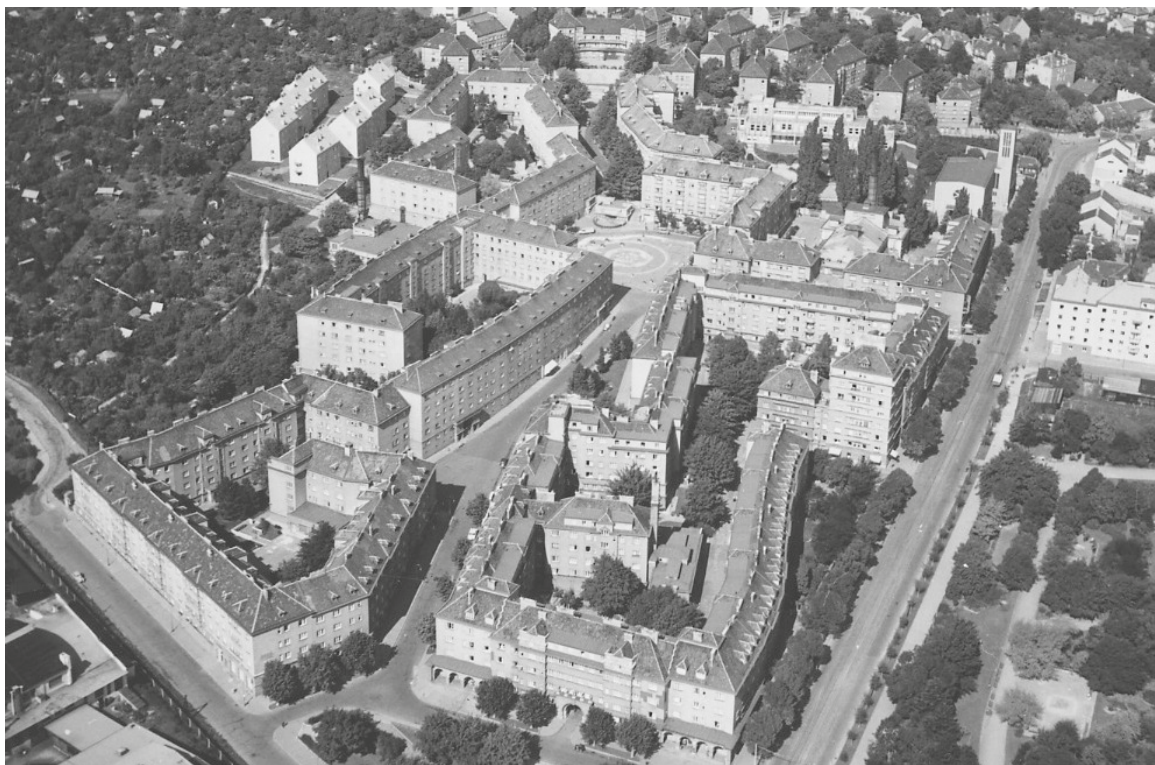
Figure 5.49: Areal view, Sandleitenhof

Figure 5.50: Facade Rosenackerstraße, Sandleitenhof

Figure 5.53: Sandleitengasse 47, Sandleitenhof

Figure 5.54: Communal laundry, Sandleitenhof

WINARSKY HOF

Figure 5.55: Site plan, 1:3000
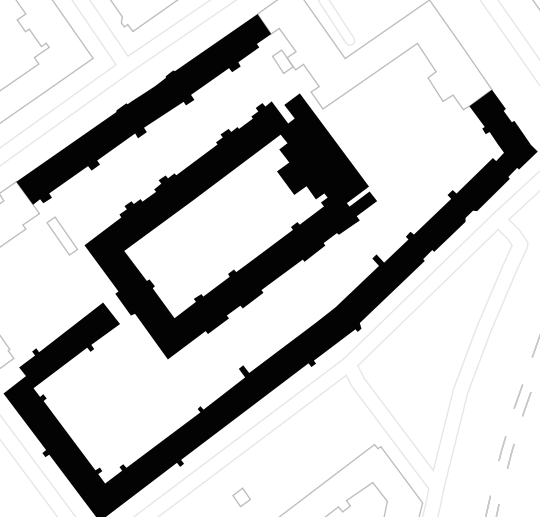
THE COLLECTIVE WORK: WINARSKYHOF

Gemeindebau Winarskyhof, was realized between 1924 and 1926 with the participation of prominent designers such as Peter Behrens, Josef Frank, Josef Hoffmann, Oskar Strnad, Oskar Wlach, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, and Franz Schuster. The complex which accommodates 760 apartments got its name from the social democratic politician Leopold Winarsky. In comparison to the other projects of the time, stands out from other Gemeindebau projects due to its unique design, which was collaboratively executed by star pioneers of the modernism movement, as indicated by the mentioned names. Located in the 20th district, Brigittenau, adjacent to the railway and bordered by *Kaiserwasserstraße, Pasettistraße, Stromstraße and Vorgartenstraße*, the original construction plan for the complex, designed in 1923 involved a division of the entire site into three blocks and the initial design employed a very strict perimeter approach. The project is situated in Brigittenau, the 20th district, and like many other Gemeindebau complex, is adjacent to the railway.

The initial design in 1923 foreseen a typical, strict perimeter approach, and the plan involved dividing the entire site into three blocks. The plan was designed based on the classical courtyard logic, with attention given to pre-existing structures such as hospitals and schools on these blocks. The remaining space within the blocks was to be filled directly in a manner to create an inner courtyard. In 1924, the architects made changes to the plan in order to unify main two blocks that had been divided by the central street *(Leystraße)*. To achieve this, the central axis located on Leystraße within the complex was raised from ground level to a height of two stories at points where it intersected with the street. This allowed the main axis to be integrated into the urban fabric as a transitional passage element. The approximately 200-meter-long passage, along with the design at the point of transition and such a wide span, has monumentalized the complex. With the new plan, the classical courtyard formation observed in many Vienna municipal housing units is no longer present. Instead, different combinations of structures and hofs are observed within the complex, as a *Hof within Hof*.

Upon entering the complex via *Kaiserwasserstraße*, now known as *Winarskystraße*, individuals are first greeted by a narrow yet longitudinally extended intermediate courtyard. The broad and high passages created within the structures awaken the observer's desire to progress, and after passing the second building, one arrives then in the central courtyard. The architects who designed the complex by sharing different blocks rather than working in a common team have created a mixed complex where their subjective styles can be observed together. Weihsmann, in light of this circumstance, appraises that *"it presents a direct opportunity to compare the quality and distinctions of individuals and designs."*[189] The complex houses a kindergarten, a library, a "Hall," and several shops and workshops in addition.

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189   Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 419.

After visiting Winarsky-Hof in 1927, the German author, politician, and even former president of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, whose lifespan was less than a month Ernst Toller, wrote these in his article published on Arbeiter Zeitung: *"In along with parquet flooring throughout each room and a central washing and drying unit, every housing unit has a kindergarten, library, assembly hall, movie theater, and conference room. Just imagine how much it means to the proletarian woman to know she can leave her child at home, put her laundry in one of the electrically powered wash cauldrons, and finish menial tasks that would otherwise take two days in a few strokes. To see what the city has produced, all one needs to do is look at the old working homes in the city."* [190]

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190   Ernst Toller, "In Einem Wohnhaus Des Sozialistischen Wiens," *Arbeiter Zeitung*, March 20, 1927.
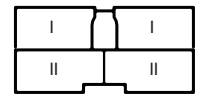
types I-II
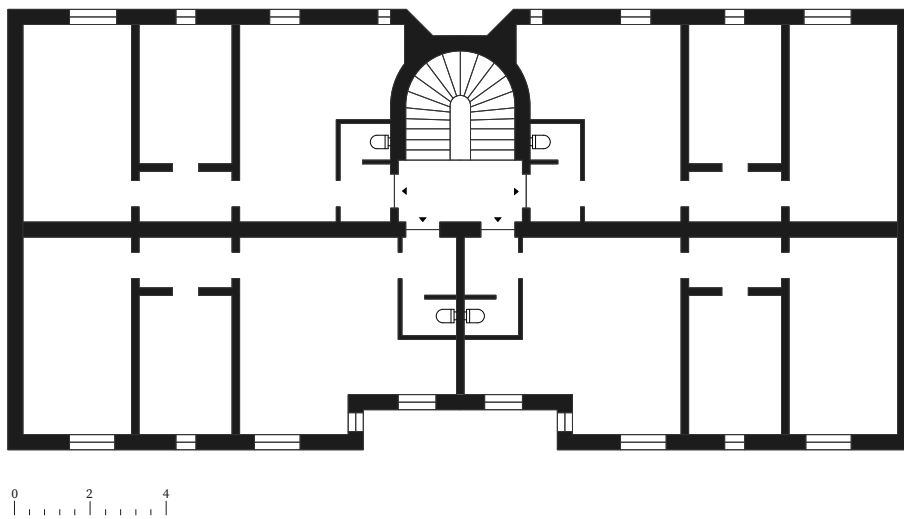
Figure 5.56: Apartment types I, Winarskyhof - 1:200
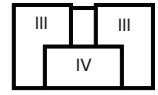
types III-IV
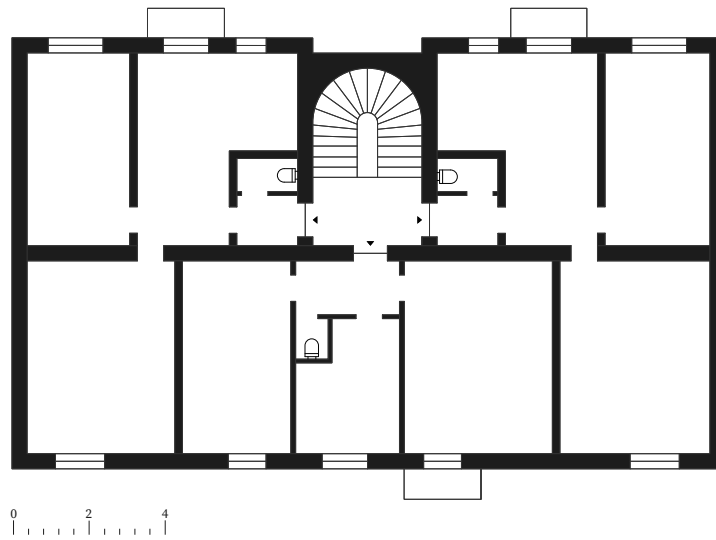
Figure 5.57: Apartment types II, Winarskyhof - 1:200

V	V
VI	VI
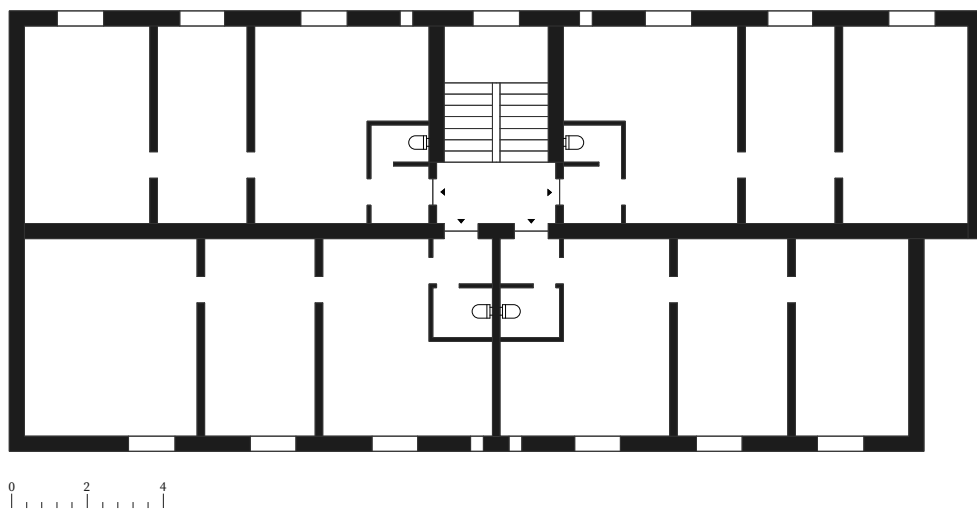
types V-VI

Figure 5.58: Apartment types III, Winarskyhof - 1:200

types XII-IX
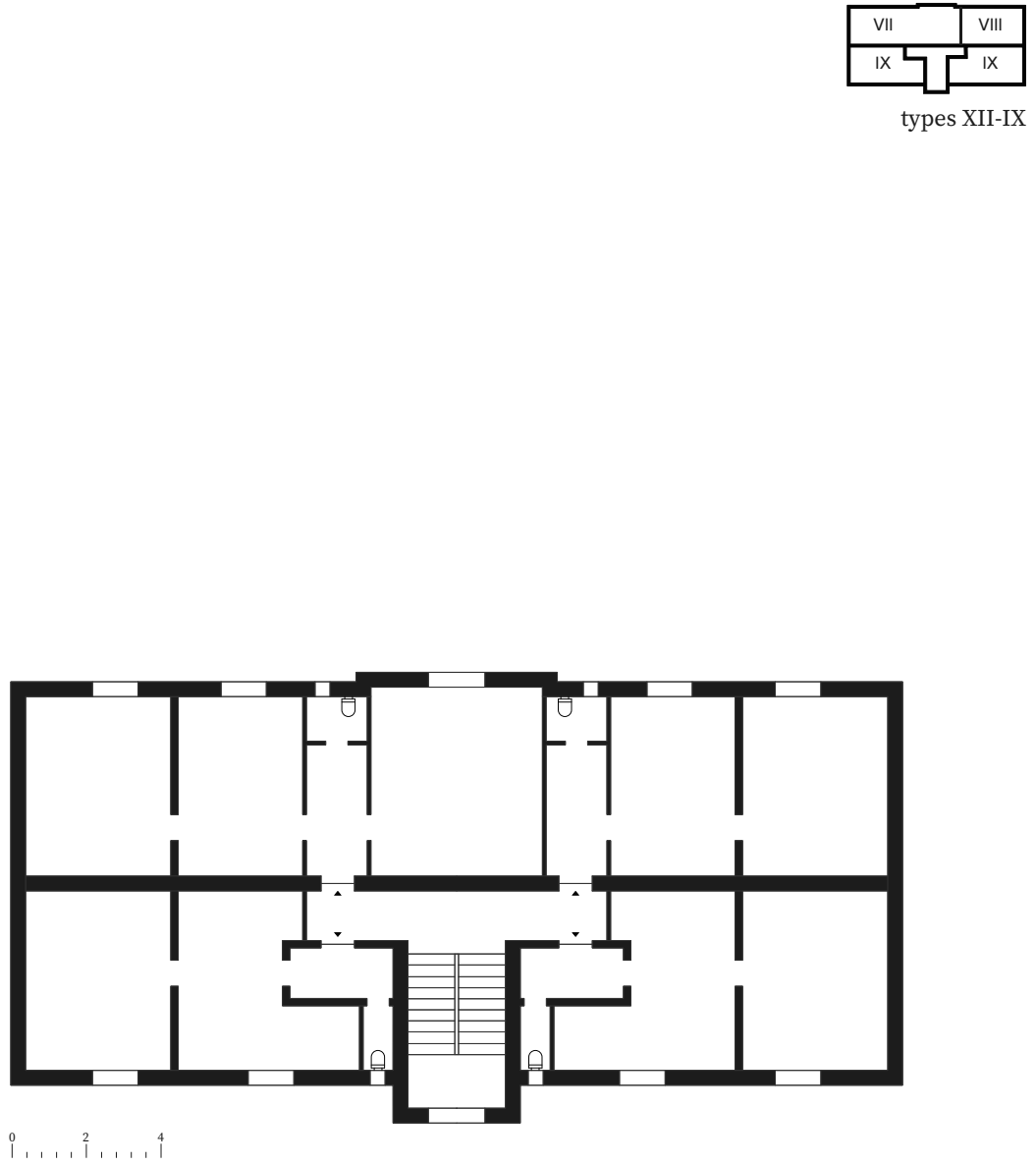
Figure 5.59: Apartment types IV, Winarskyhof - 1:200

types X-XI
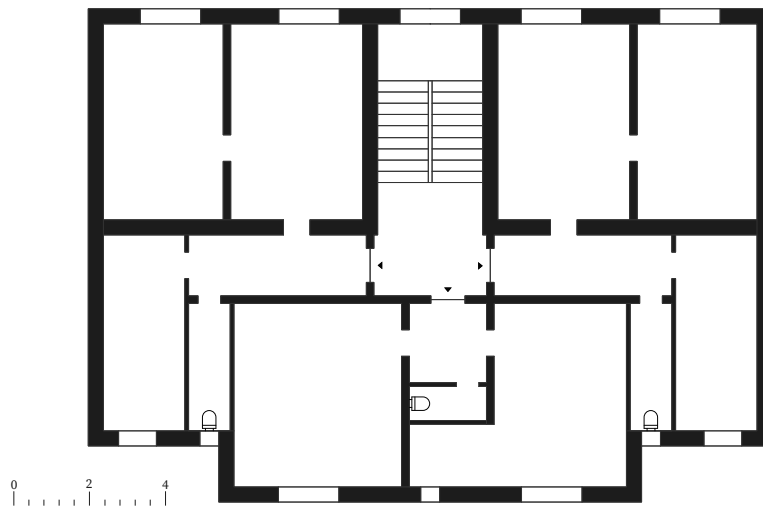
Figure 5.60: Apartment types V, Winarskyhof - 1:200
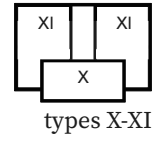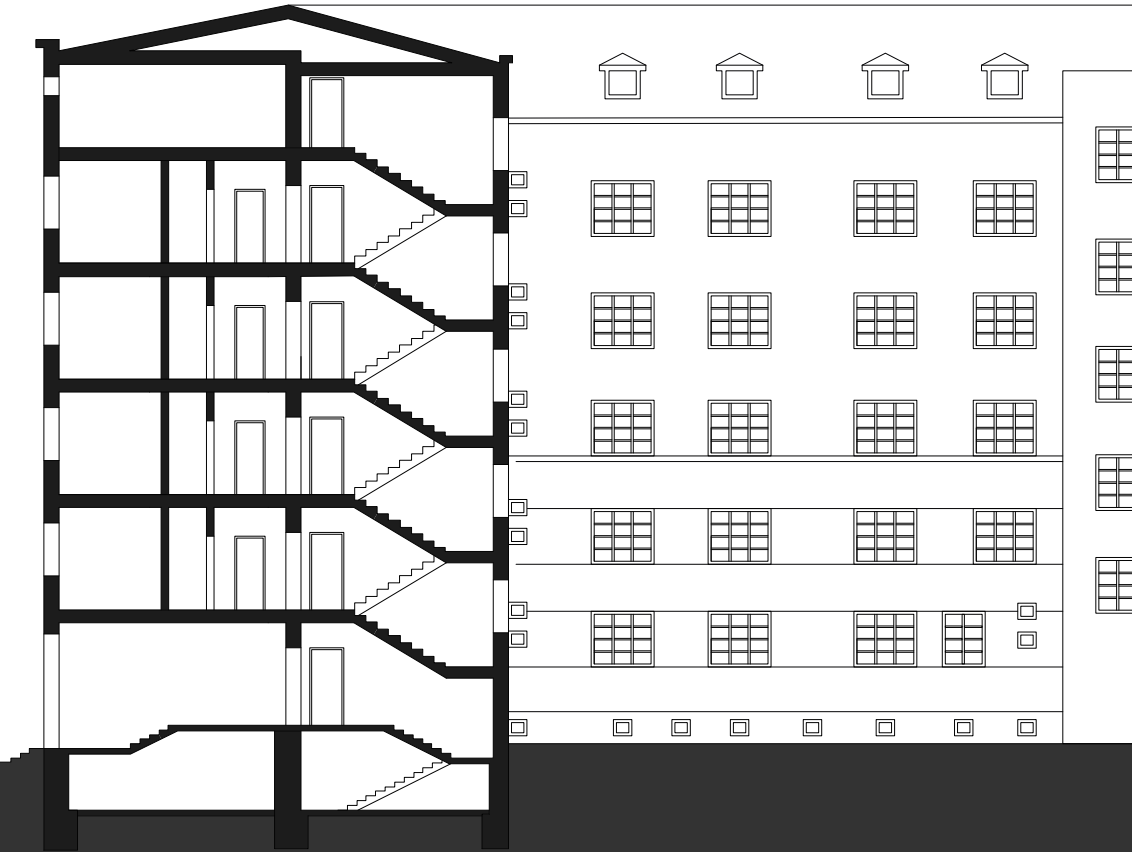
Figure 5.61: Section I, Winarskyhof - 1:200

0   2   4   6   8   10
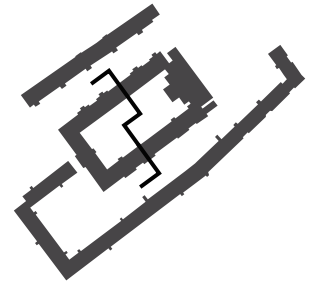
Figure 5.62: Section II, Winarskyhof - 1:200

0   2   4   6   8   10
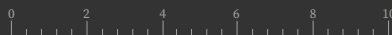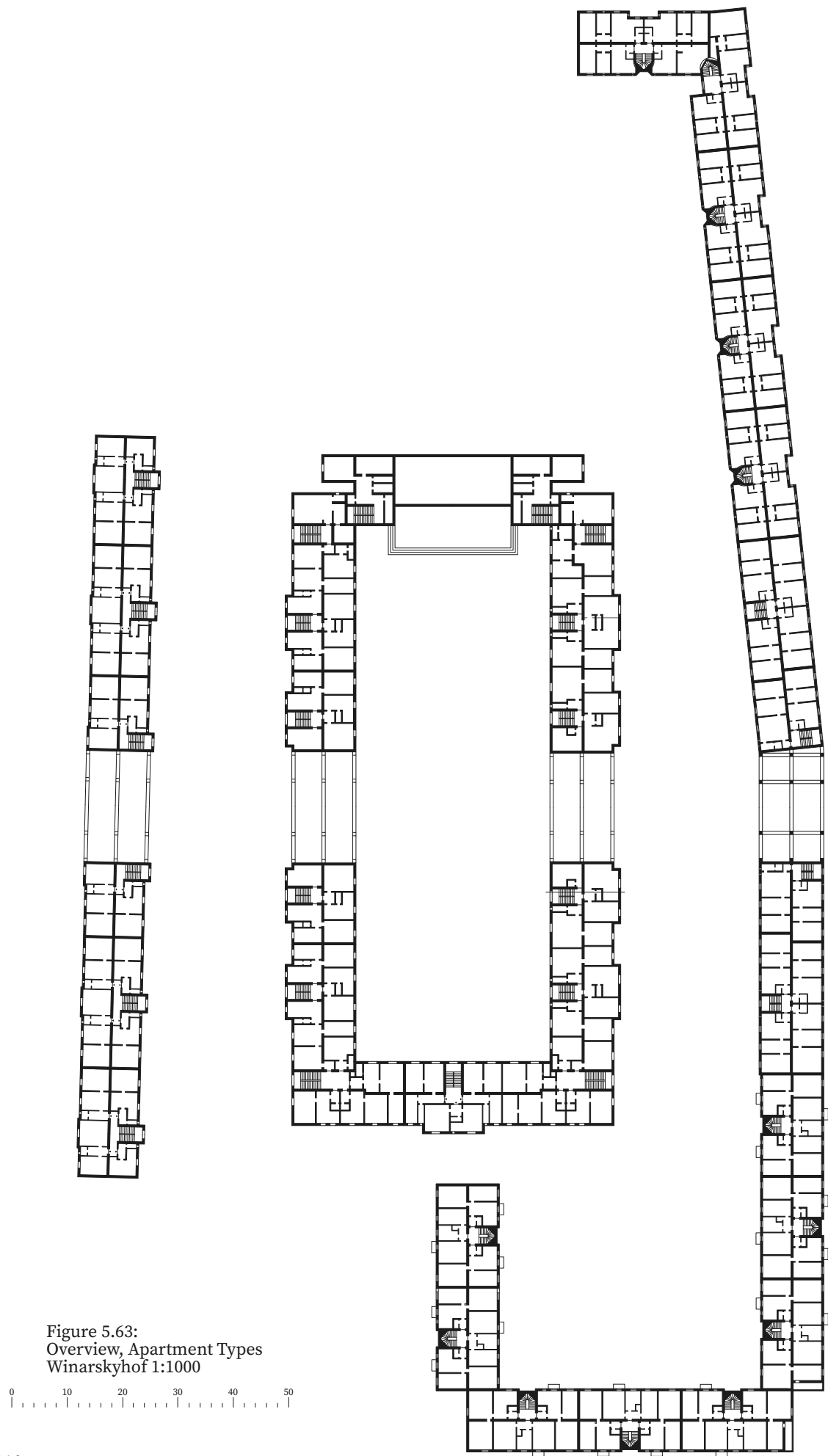
Figure 5.63:
Overview, Apartment Types
Winarskyhof 1:1000

0   10   20   30   40   50

Figure 5.64: Passage through Leystraße, Winarskyhof

Figure 5.65: Inner courtyard, Winarskyhof

Figure 5.66: Inner courtyard, Winarskyhof

Figure 5.67: Facade along Pasettistraße, Sandleitenhof

Figure 5.68: Inner courtyard, Winarskyhof

214

Figure 5.69: Complex library and event hall, Sandleitenhof

Figure 5.70: Facade along Winarksystraße, Winarskyhof
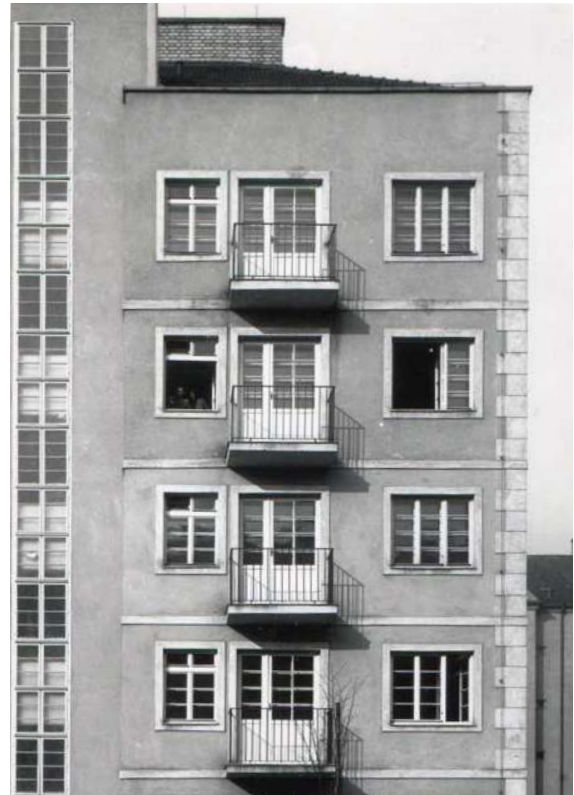
Figure 5.71: Facade, Winarskyhof

KARL SEITZ HOF

Figure 5.72: Site plan, 1:3000
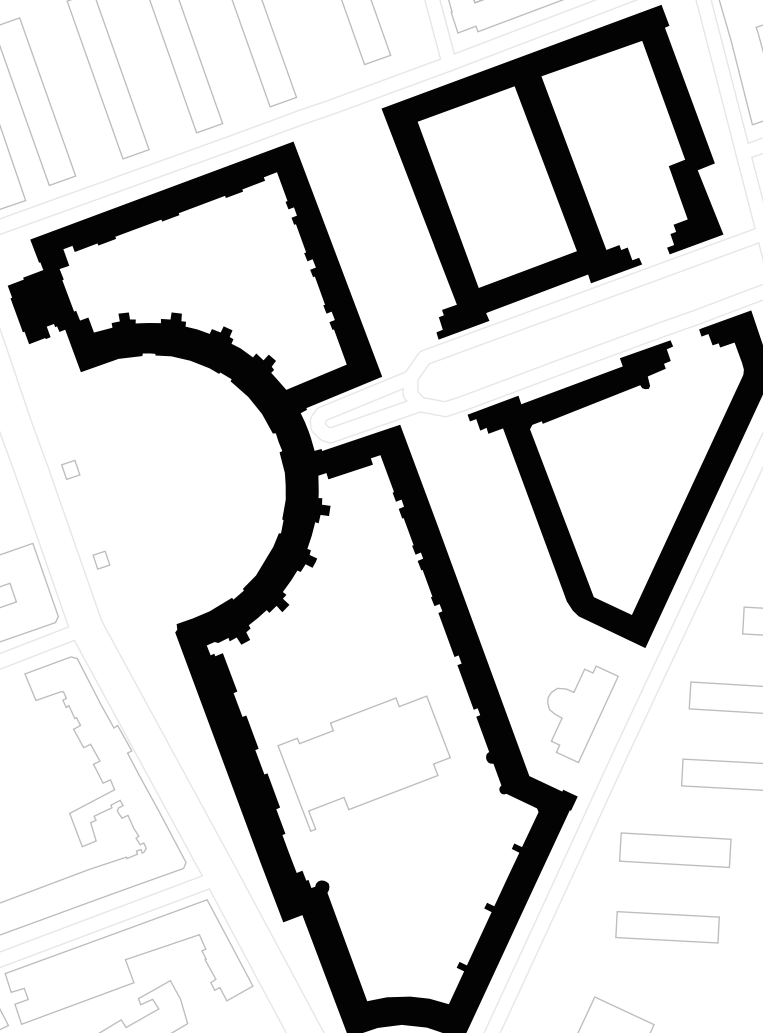
THE PALACE ON THE DANUBE:
KARL-SEITZ-HOF

Following the establishment of Reumannhof, named after the initial mayor of the Social Democratic era, Jakob Raumann, the task of designing a complex in honor of his successor, Karl Seitz, was entrusted to no one but Hubert Gessner, *"the architect of the party…"* The aforementioned assertions may potentially be misleading as the project was initially a garden city project with the name *"Gartenstadt Jedlersee"* (until 1951) and emerged from a result of a competition held in 1925, featuring prominent participants such as Karl Krist, Robert Oerley, and Huber Gessner. The edifice, possessing a partially circular configuration, has established itself as a notable exemplar of grandeur in residential architecture, housing around 5,000 residents in its 1173 units.

The architectural style employed in the construction, bearing resemblance to, was intentionally created. As explained with examples in earlier sections of the paper, the semi-circular structure creating *Karl-Seitz-Platz*, serves as a *cour d'honneur*, extending a ceremonial welcome to visitors at the complex's entrance. In the complex, which can be described as a loosened superblock, the circular central structure, features an arc that elevates the building from the ground level at its center. This design element is reminiscent of the *Karl-Marx-Hof* and requires the dissolution of the first three floors. Also like the side arches of the *Karl-Marx-Hof* or the main axis of *Winarskyhof*, this opening serves not only pedestrians. The balcony situated directly above this transitional area evokes the image of the *Hofburg* and *Heldenplatz*. Despite the fact that

the building appears to observers as having a dominant and one-piece presence when viewed from the Karl-Seitz-Platz, behind this initial facade, it is comprised of different sections that are geometrically defined by solid forms and are divided into distinct parts that follow each other harmoniously.

The project, which is limited to a construction rate of only 41 percent on a 25,320 square meter total area, with high greenery rate can be seen as a hybrid between a garden city and a superblock. Another significant aspect of the building is its association with the First Housing Program, which was announced in 1923 with a goal of completing 25,000 units within five years. As Karl-Seitz-Hof was completed in 1926, it became home to the 25,000th apartment constructed under the social democrats. The Karl-Seitz-Hof presents a multitude of elements, including finely crafted iron gates strategically placed between the courtyards, exterior doors of its each building in a diverse range of colors, embellishing decorations encircling these doors, and a clock tower that towers above the ninth floor. With the rotundas situated within the complex and the colonnaded structures at the entrance of the kindergarten, the open spaces bear traces of ancient Greek architecture. This remarkable array of features gives the impression of an open-air museum. In addition, the complex houses various facilities including a sports hall located at different points within the inner courtyard, a communal laundry, bathroom facilities, a kindergarten, a restaurant, a café, and several shops.

Just like Karl-Marx-Hof, also Karl-Seitz-Hof, was one of the locations where intense conflict took place during the 1934 civil war. The *Republikanische Schutzbund* fired a machine gun from the Clock Tower of the complex and the Federal Army retaliated from Floridsdorf Bridge and eventually captured the complex. In 1951, the residential complex was renamed *"Karl-Seitz-Hof"* in honor of the former Mayor of Vienna. A bust, crafted by Gustinus Ambrosi, was commissioned for this purpose and placed in the semi-circular square.
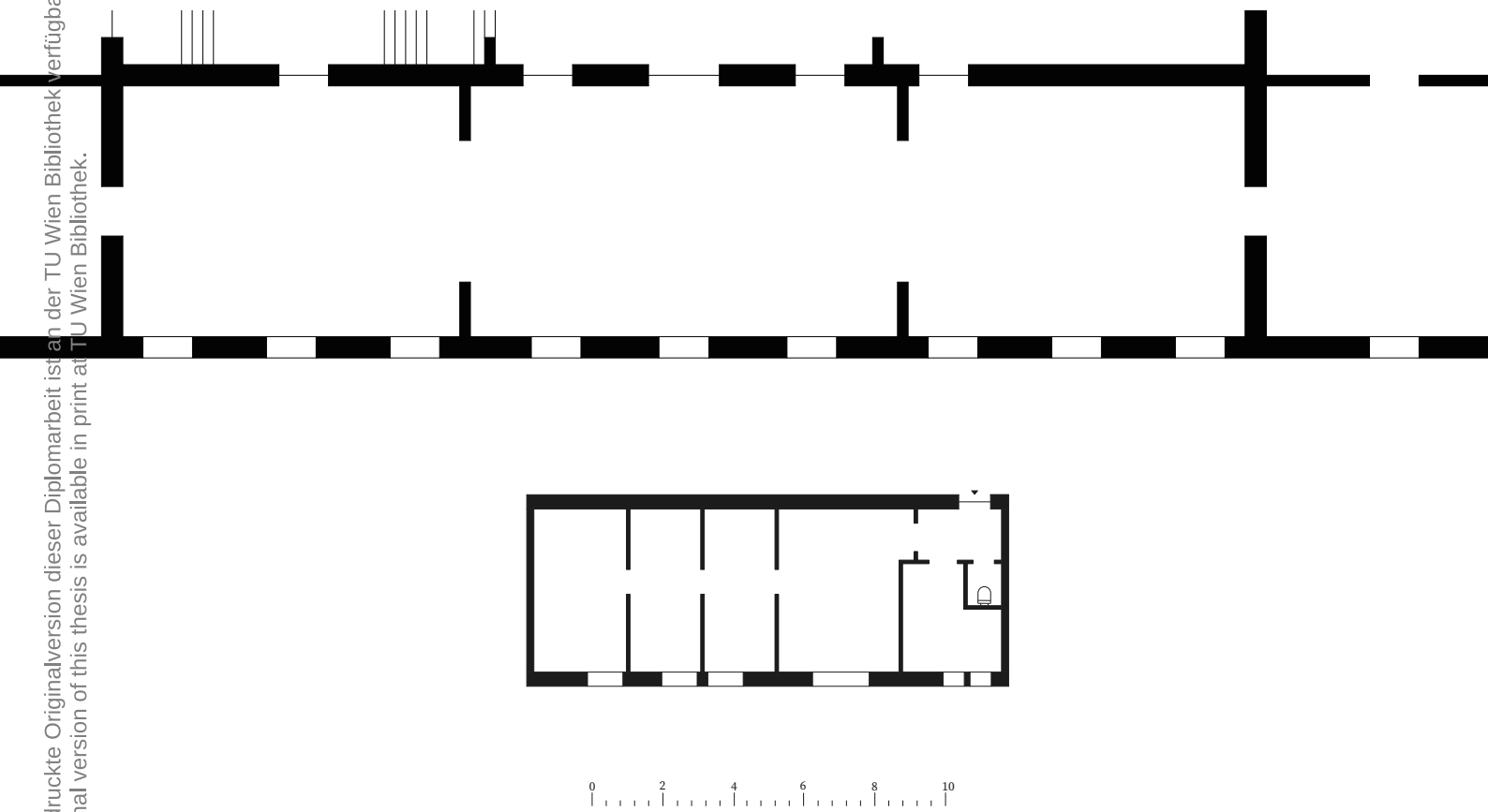
Figure 5.73: A simple unit in Karl-Seitz-Hof (bottom) in comparison with late 19th century palais (top)
1:200
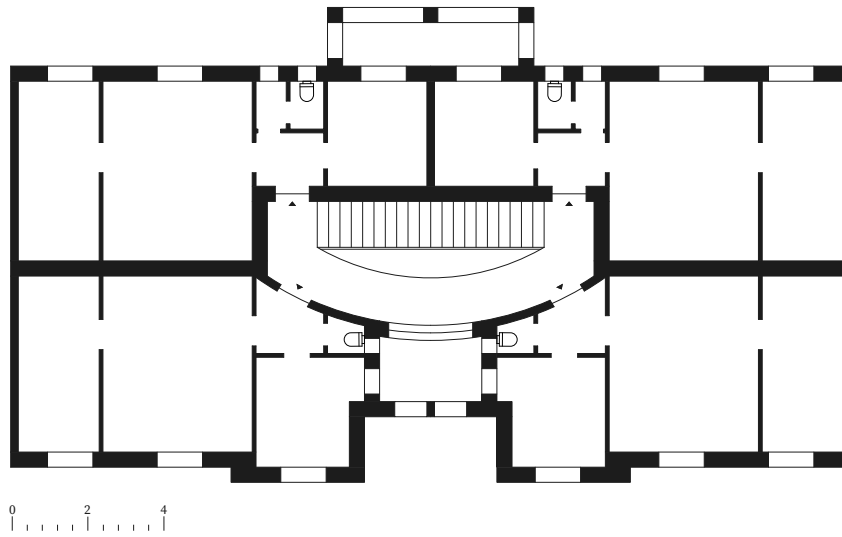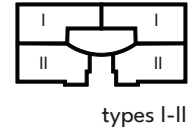
types I–II

Figure 5.74: Apartment types I, Karl-Seitz-Hof - 1:200

220

types III-IV
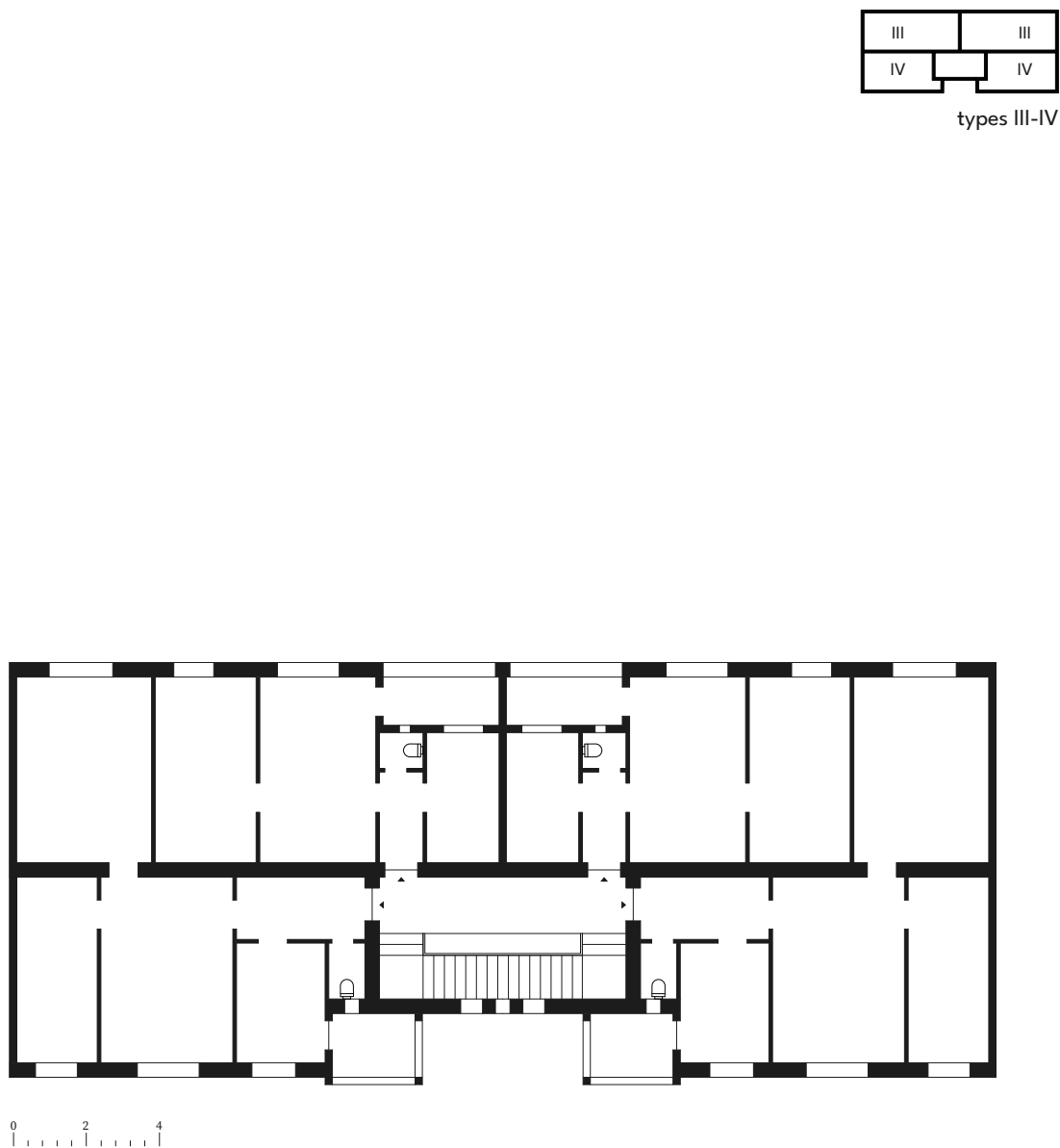
Figure 5.75: Apartment types II, Karl-Seitz-Hof - 1:200

Figure 5.76: Cour d'honneur, Karl-Seitz-Hof

Figure 5.77: Mayor Karl Seitz at the foundation stone ceremony , Karl-Seitz-Hof

Figure 5.78: Fassade, Karl-Seitz-Hof

Figure 5.79: Clocktower, Karl-Seitz-Hof

Figure 5.80: Inner courtyard behind cour d'honneur, Karl-Seitz-Hof

Figure 5.81: Sports hall , Karl-Seitz-Hof

Figure 5.82: Ornamentation, Karl-Seitz-Hof

Figure 5.83: Arched passages, Karl-Seitz-Hof

HEIM
HOF

Figure 5.84: Site plan, 1:3000

THE FANTASY: HEIMHOF

Although it is undeniable that the Red Vienna period's architectural tendencies gave the kitchen a lot of attention, in certain cases this enthusiasm has gone to maximum. In the process following the pursuit of social-utopian designs, the most crucial factors that shaped architecture were perhaps the desire for social engineering and economic trends. The desire to push the boundaries of collective living brought along questions such as, *"If a communal kitchen can cook meals for 50 families, why should there be 50 different kitchens in 50 different apartments for 50 different families?"* Following this process, a radical transformation initiative called "Central-Kitchen-Houses" was implemented, especially in Central European countries such as Germany, Denmark, and Austria. One of the most well-known examples of these experiments was the project Heimhof, which is also known as *Einküchenhaus* (central-kitchen house or literally one-kitchen-house)). The Heimhof project's original concept, which allowed for downsizing of each flat through the shared kitchen, was prompted by financial concerns. In terms of Red Vienna projects, Hiemhof is significant not only because of its experimental background but also because its foundations are based on bourgeois-liberal ideas instead of social democratic ones. The famous Heimhof on Pilgerimgasse, built between 1921-1922, is actually an expansion of the original Heimhof project, which was begun in 1911 before the war, was constructed for single women without children at *Peter-Jordan-Straße 32-34*.[191] The architecture of the Heimhof

project was entrusted to Otto Polak-Hellwig, a renowned architect with a track record of rigorous and rational housing planning. The bourgeois origins of the idea can be seen in the architecture as well, with its facade design following the typical conservative architectural language.[192] In the initial construction phase, the original design language was maintained, resulting in an outcome that diverged from the social democratic architectural language prevalent in the Red Vienna projects. Polak-Hellwig was known for his expertise in creating practical spatial arrangements within confined spaces. Among Polak-Hellwig's past projects was the design of small kitchenettes, which were Vienna's basic version of the renowned Frankfurt Kitchen, an iconic design created by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky. He implemented his expertise in working within narrow spaces in the *Bergsteiggasse 28* project, located in the 17th district. Polak-Hellwig's vast experience in designing functional and efficient living spaces played a pivotal role in shaping the design of Heimhof. The Project first featured 25 one- and two-room mini-flats, without a kitchen. These were supported by a common dining area, laundry facilities as well as the backbone of the design, a central communal kitchen. This kitchen was so large that it did not need to be expanded even during enormous scaled future expansions. In addition to the central kitchen, the roof terraces created as common areas for use by all. The building featured vertical shafts that had not been used in the Red Vienna housing projects up to that time, which were used as garbage chutes

191   "Heimhof," in *Weblexion Der Wiener Sozialdemokratie, Dasrotewien,* accessed May 1, 2022,
          http://www.dasrotewien.at/seite/heimhof.
192   Daniel Maslowski, "Der Heimhof in Wien - Die Geschichte des sozialen Experiments ,Einküchenhaus'", MS thesis,
          Vienna University of Technology, 2017, p. 27.

or food elevators. Each apartment had its own tap and toilet, while room sizes ranged between 25-30m². From an objective standpoint, it is evident that the Social Democrats have chosen to embrace and expand upon the bourgeois-liberal ideology that predates their administration due to their pursuit of social engineering, in addition to their financial concerns and saving endeavors. The Heimhof, on the other hand, adhered admirably to Bauer's four-year-old proposal for partial socialization.[193] The burden of housework on women was attempted to be lessened through professionalisation of services by personnel working at the complex. Following its takeover by the municipality in 1924, the project underwent significant expansion stages with the aid of municipal subsidies by 1926, by architect Carl Witzmass. Despite the increase in the number of units to 246, units remained still as one and two-room apartments. With the expansion of facilities, the number of personnel employed on site also grew, with each floor having dedicated staff rooms. This style of living proved to be well-suited for singles and couples without children. Residents had the option to have their meals in the communal dining hall or in their units of their own units, depending on their preference. Despite its an interesting concept, Heimhof has ultimately proven to be suitable for only a limited segment of the target group. Presence of a diverse range of personnel in a single building has resulted with rising expenditures. Despite its initial effectiveness, the project was eventually discontinued, and not other alternatives to Heimhof were constructed

and such notion of professionalizing housework vanished into history under SDAP administration during Red Vienna.

However, in 1934, when the Austrofascists came to power, Heimhof was perceived as a communist endeavor aimed at undermining the traditional family structure and subsequently terminated.[194] The communal facilities were repurposed as storage space. As Heimhof ultimately ceased to exist as a fantasy experiment, it went down in Vienna's architectural history as a try that is still mentioned today.

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193   Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture: 1919-1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 52.
194   Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 342.

"The Tenant Committee is authorized to open central kitchens, central laundries, play and study spaces for children, common dining halls, and reading rooms in every house and block to suit the needs of women [...] in this approach, households will be somewhat socialized: many duties that are currently done independently for each household will be handled collectively for many families in the future.

Working women will no longer be forced to dual work at work and at home. When the mother goes to work, she will no longer have to care for her children, as the nanny provided by the building will do the caretaking. Finally, men will discover a more comfortable home as a result of this partial socializing of the household. While today's worker must spend his free time in the same room that serves as the kitchen, toilet, and children's playroom, tomorrow there will be reading rooms, game and entertainment halls where he can experience all of this fun in his own home and also spend his free time comfortably unlike today as he is commonly running from the uncomfortable house to the inn."

Otto Bauer on a life form in which housework is delegated to professional staff instead of enslaved wives.[195]

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195   Otto Bauer, *Der Weg Zum Sozialismus* (Berlin: Verlagsgenosschenschaft: Freiheit, 1919), p. 23-25.

229

bath

central kitchen

central dining hall

0   1   5   10
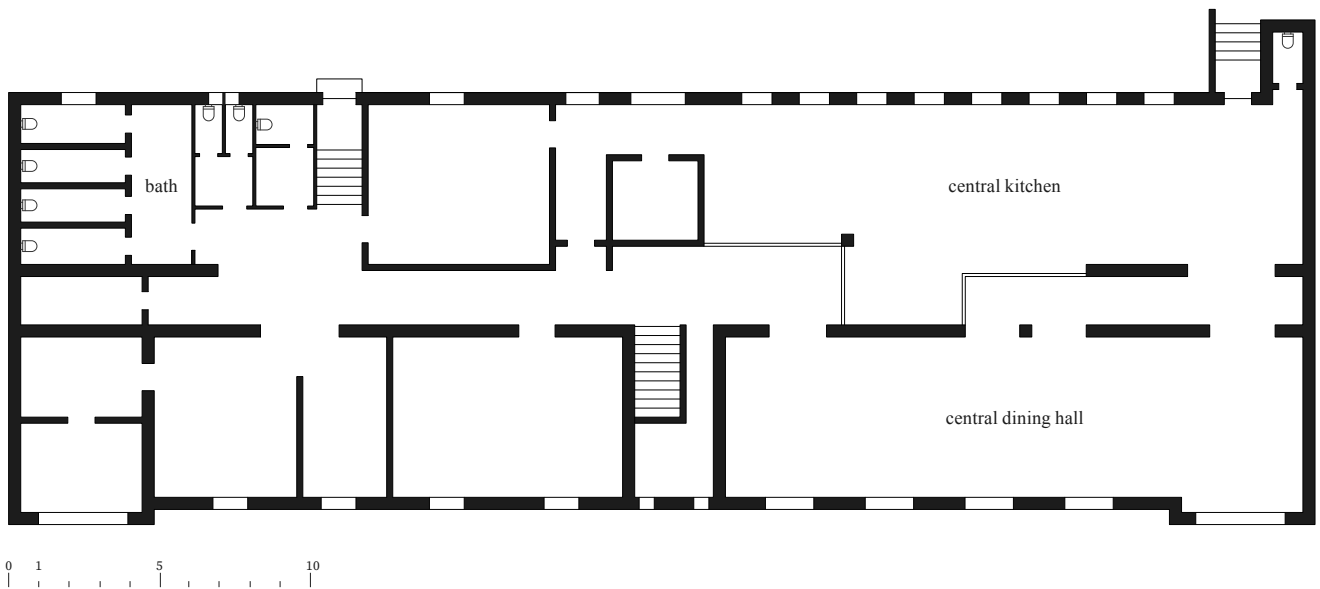
Figure 5.85: Dining floor, Heimhof - 1:250
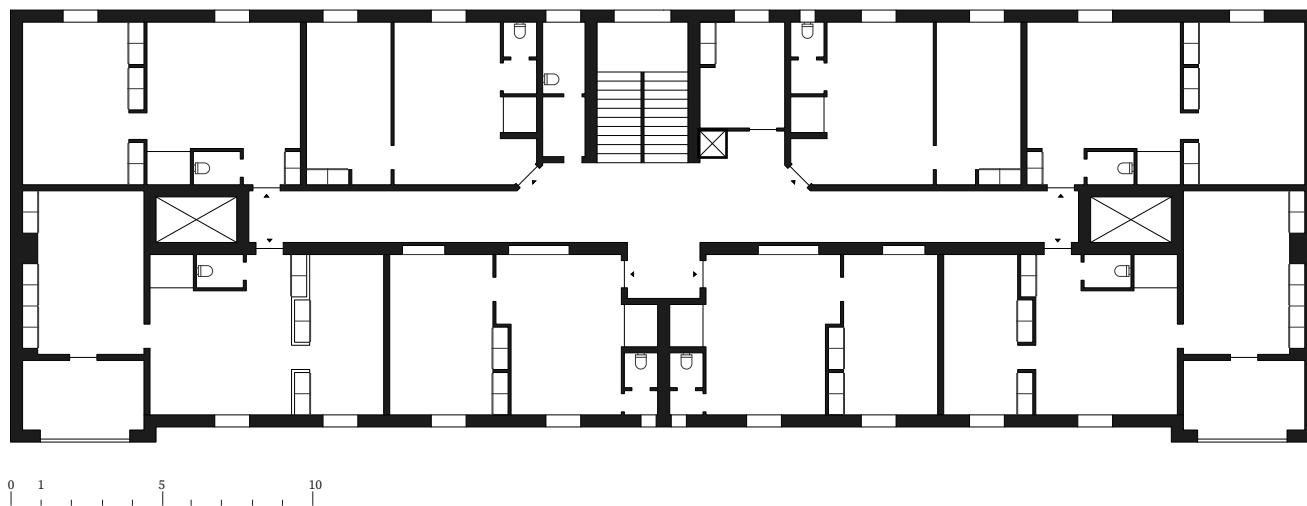
Figure 5.86: Regular floor, Heimhof - 1:250
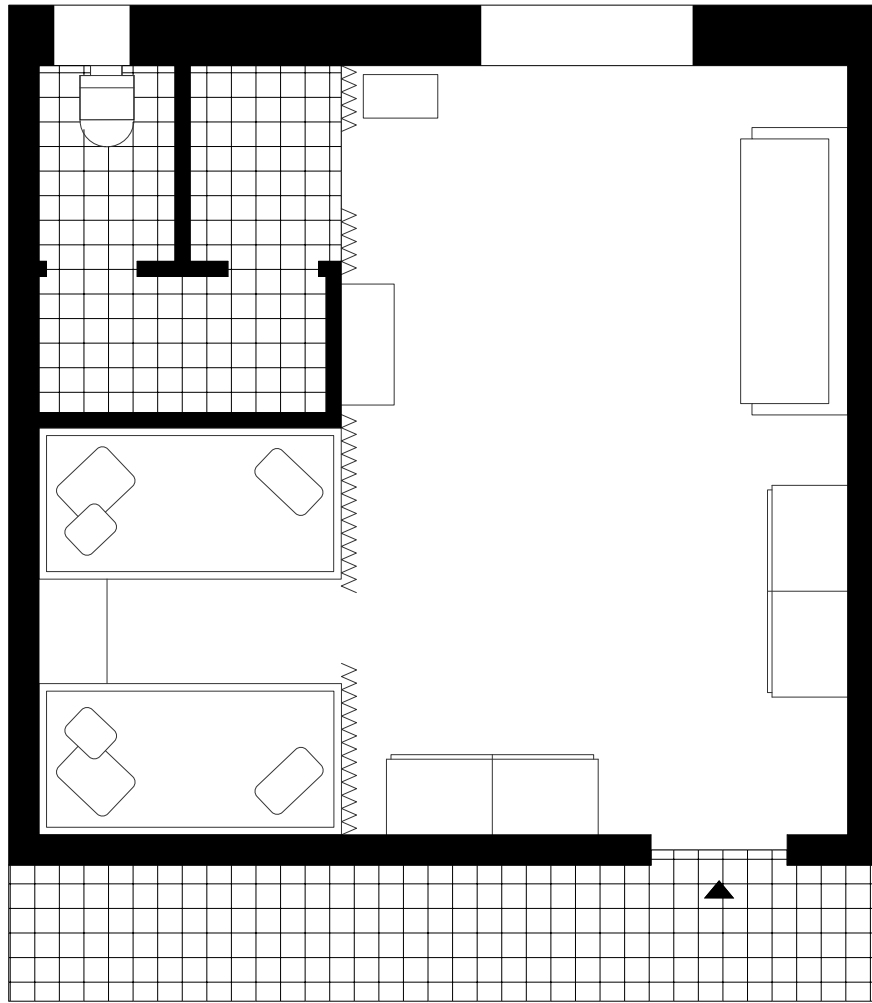
Figure 5.87: Plan of a unit, Heimhof - 1:50
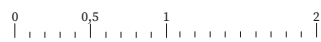
Figure 5.88: Heimhof

Figure 5.89: Main kitchen, Heimhof

Figure 5.90: Dining hall, Heimhof

Figure 5.91: Rooftop terrace , Heimhof

FURTHER TYPOLOGICAL PATTERNS

SCHÜTTAUHOF

Designed by Alfred Rodler, Alfred Stutterheim and Wilhelm Tremmel, Schüttauhof is a distinctive apartment complex in Vienna's previous 2nd (current 22nd) district, stands out as a departure from the typical Gemeindebau formation. This impressive structure, which was built between 1924 and 1926, was the largest residential complex with 309 apartments in Vienna's 2nd District at the time it was completed. The record was later overtaken by the Goethehof in 1930 with its 727 units.[196] The complex spans a nearly square lot, effectively varied from the conventional design of Gemeindebau. Even though like many other municipal housing complexes, the design starts with the enclosement of the building parcel as the first step, later It takes an unusual approach by splitation of the main courtyard into two by a central building block, creating two L shaped inner courtyards, one on each side. The distinctive move which created relatively smaller open spaces, it also helped the building to house more apartment types than classical stocking. Although there are apartments of 40-50 square meters in the complex, the average apartment size is limited to 35 square meters.[197] The departure from the traditional layout of four flats per floor found in Vienna's Gemeindebauten was one of Schüttauhof's distinguishing characteristics. Instead, this building had six units each floor, increasing the housing capacity of the complex. The accessibility of adequate natural light was another example of careful architectural considerations, since 14 separate staircases were positioned in such a way as to receive a fair amount of sunlight. Notably, Schüttauhof's interior decor also favoured a different style. A beneficial design element according to the requests of the Viennese municipality, the anteroom, was occasionally left out of units. Instead, inhabitants entered directly into the living room-kitchen. Numerous expressive elements, such as triangular and polygonal oriels, form the street and courtyard facades of the complex. Additionally, the facades facing the internal courtyard and the exterior street were distinct from one another by their different colors (courtyard exterior red and white, and street exterior orange and white), which enhanced the complex's visual appeal and character. With 3316 square meters built on a 6695 square meter site, the building density was kept at 49.5 percent,[198] meaning architects almost hit the limit set by the regulations. Schüttauhof, like many other municipal buildings in the city, included a number of services on its grounds, including nine stores, a center for pregnancy counseling, a kindergarten, a common bath, a laundry facility, and a library.

196   Lili Bauer and Werner Thomas Bauer, ",,Wiens Schönstes Goethe-Denkmal"," Der rote Blog, April 10, 2022, http://der-rote-blog.at/wiens-schoenstes-goethe-denkmal.

197   Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien - Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Wien: Promedia, 2002), p. 3448

198   Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien im II. Bezirk Kaisermühlendamm, Schiffmühlenstraße (Vienna: Chwala, 1926), p. 5
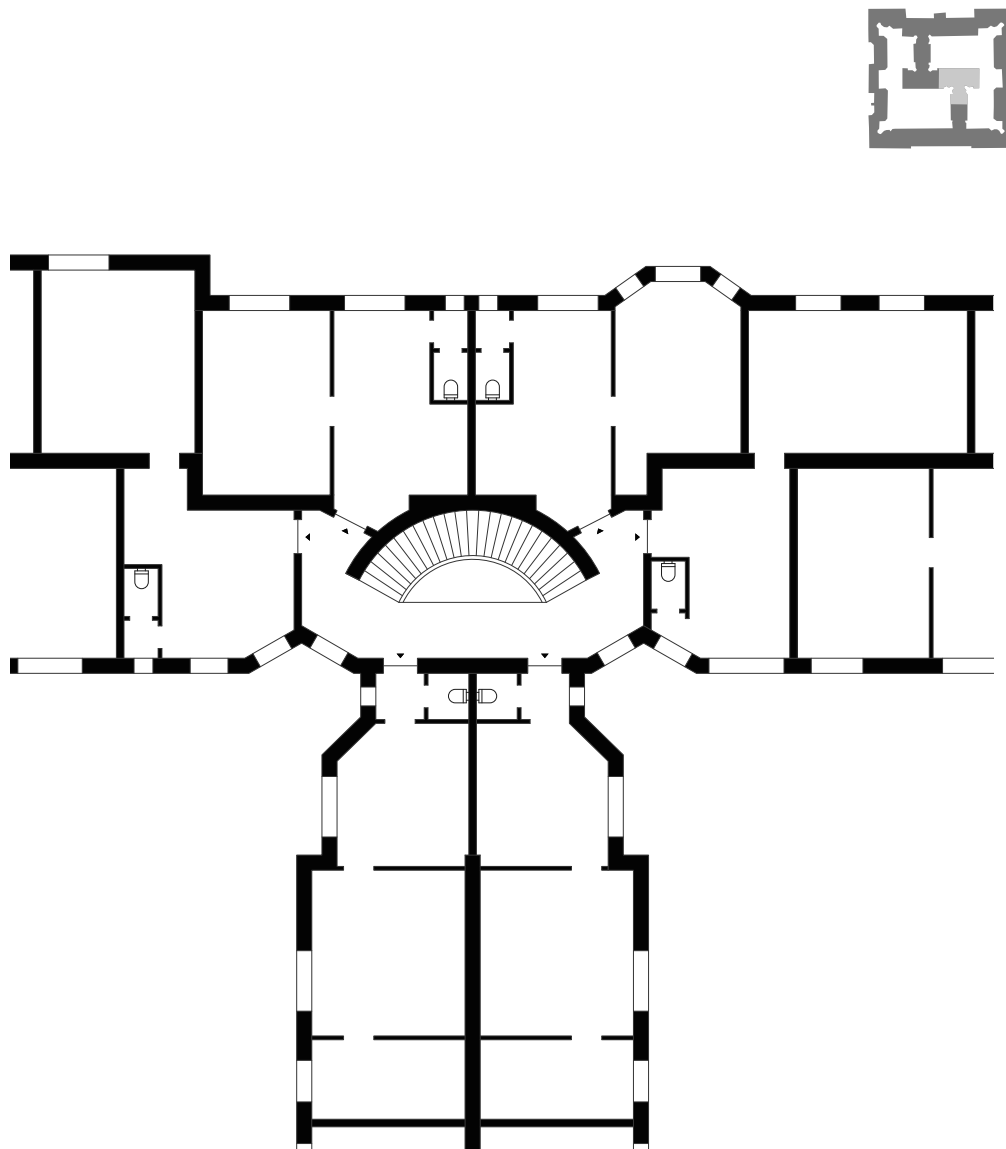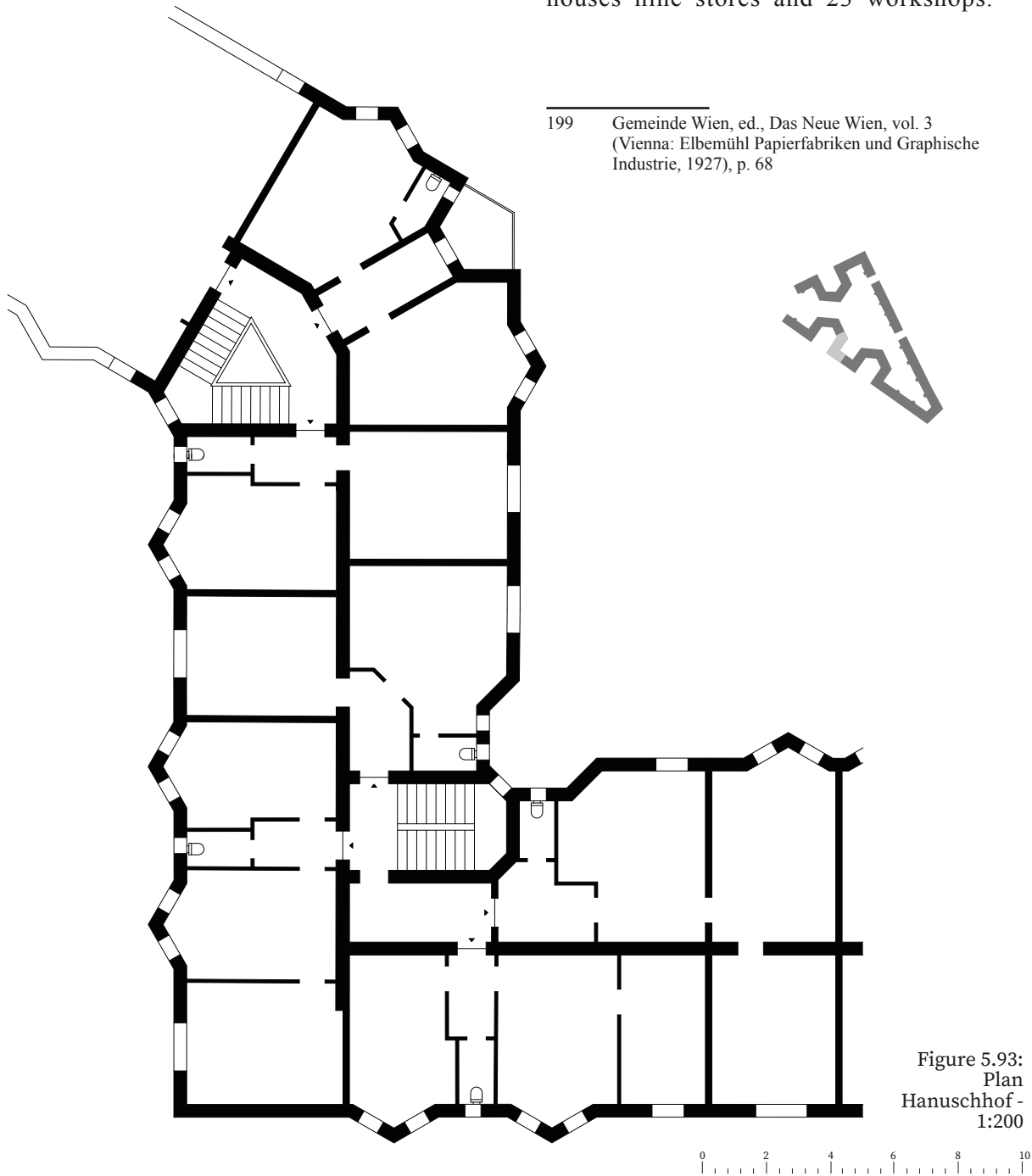
Figure 5.92: Plan, Schüttauhof - 1:200

0   2   4   6   8   10

HANUSCHHOF

Hanuschhof, designed by Robert Oerley, has 434 apartments on a triangular land in the 3rd district. The unusual geometrical shape that comes with the effort to use the space in the best way has made the building special, with its form, curling like a snake. Therefore, the inner courtyard behind the curling facade has an unusual semi-circular green area. About 40 percent of the north-eastern facade on the edge of the Danube has been lowered in height, allowing the residences in the rest of the complex to see the Danube and indirectly the Prater Forest. At the same time, this building played an important role in increasing the amount of light received by the courtyard. Communal facilities are housed inside this low structure. The complex houses nine stores and 23 workshops.[199]

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199   Gemeinde Wien, ed., Das Neue Wien, vol. 3 (Vienna: Elbemühl Papierfabriken und Graphische Industrie, 1927), p. 68

Figure 5.93:
Plan
Hanuschhof -
1:200

JULIUS-POPP-HOF

The Julius-Popp-Hof, adjacent to all the Gemeindebau of Margaretengürtel, the Ringstraße of the proletariat, was designed in 1925 by Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger. Undoubtedly, the most interesting part of the building is its eastern facade, which draws a zig-zag. Although the building is a separate complex with 402 apartments, it was handled by the architects Schmid and Aichinger together with Matteotihof and Herweghhof.[200] The main reason for this is the harmony created by these three structures together. Projects combined have a construction percentage of 46.2 percent, using 12,33 square meters of the total construction land of 26,68 square meters and house a total of 952 residences.[201]

200   Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger, Heinrich Schmid, Hermann Aichinger : Zivilarchitekten Z.V. ;
       Entwürfe Und Ausgeführte Bauten (Vienna: Elbemühl Papierfabriken und Graphische Industrie, 1931), p. 21.
201   Die Wohnhausanlage Der Gemeinde Wien Im V. Bezirk: Margaretengürtel 76, 78, 80, Margaretengürtel 82 (Herwegh-Hof),
       Fendigasse 36, 37 (Matteotti-Hof) (Vienna: Thlaia, 1928).
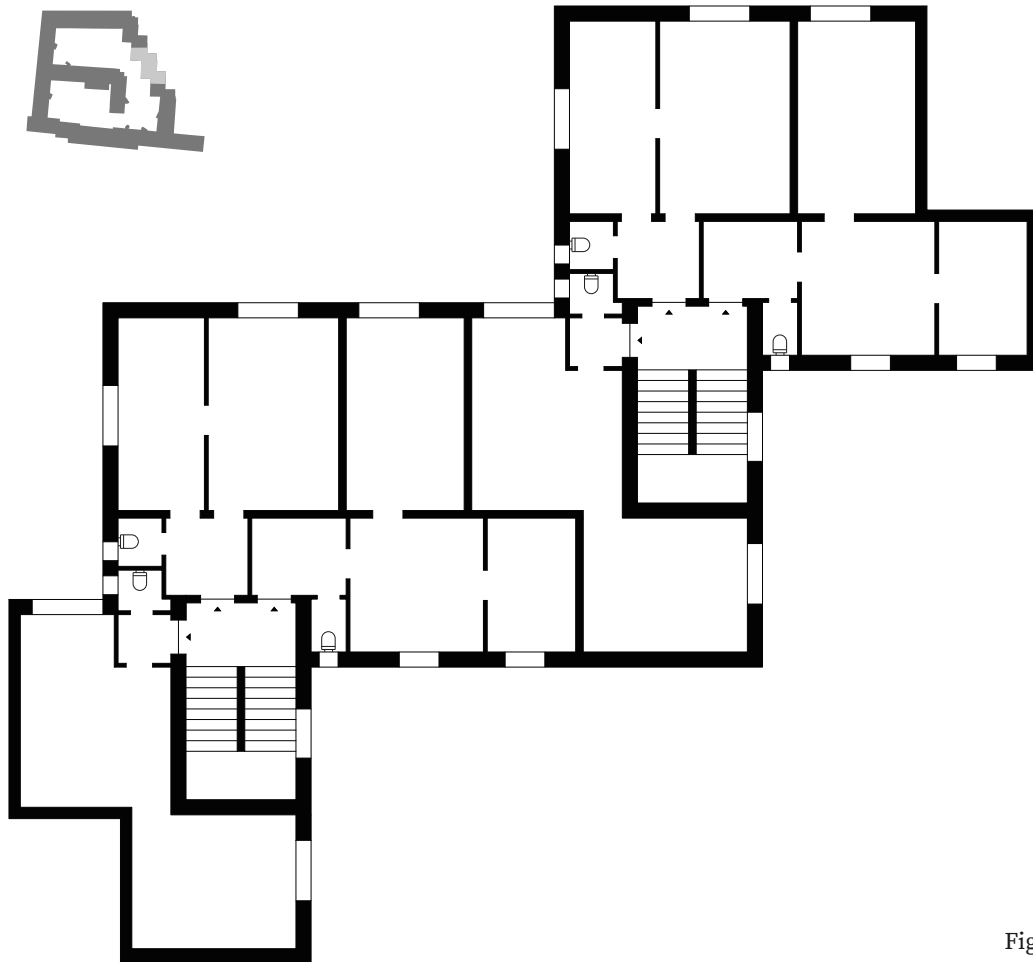
Figure 5.94:
Plan,
Julius-Popp-Hof - 1:200

PROFESSOR-JODL-HOF

Professor-Jodl-Hof was created in 1925 by Rudolf Perco, Rudolf Frass, and Karl Dorfmeister. It is located in the 19th district of Döbling, a short stroll from Karl-Marx-Hof, its neighbor. The structure, which has 271 apartments, evokes images of Hanuschhof and Julius-Popp-Hof. In order to make better use of the land on which it is located, the building exhibits a triangular extension on the east facade, in contrast to the triangular recess of Hanuschhof, and on the other part of the same facade, the structure has an irregular arrangement between the building volumes, making them layed in different angles. With its tower and castle-like form in general, the complex, which has a strong expressionist manner, is able to leave an enduring mark on observers. The structure that Döblinger Gürtel passes through is also similar to Winarskyhof in this respect. The project has a 44 percent construction rate and includes 10 shops, a workshop, and a shared restroom.[202]
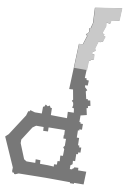
Figure 5.95: Plan, Professor-Jodl-Hof - 1:200

0   2   4   6   8   10

202   Die Wohnhausanlage Der Gemeinde Wien Im XIX. Bezirk: Professor Jodl-Hof, Sommergasse, Döblinger-Gürtel, Guneschgasse (Vienna: Chwala, 1926), p. 6
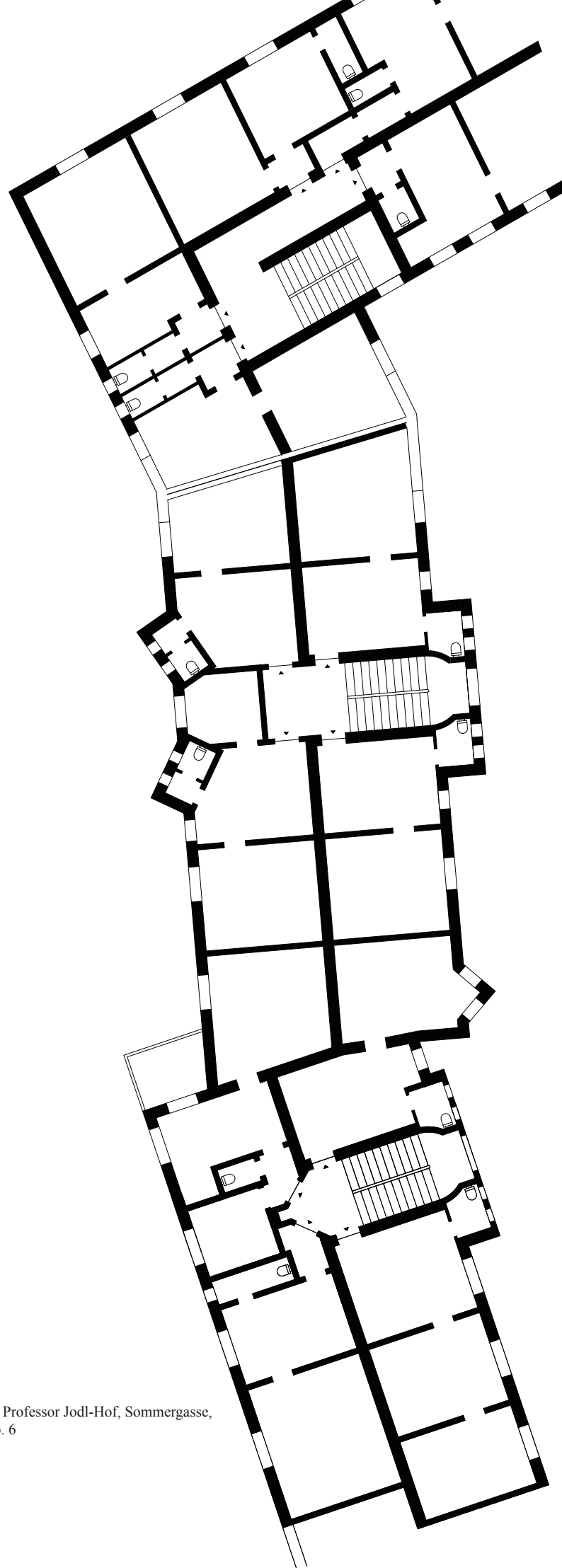
METZLEINSTALERHOF

The complex can also be described as the first proper municipal housing in the city. Even though the initial planning started during the World War under monarchy it could be completed in 1925 under the social democratic city administration. Hubert Gessner, who took over and finished the project, whose design had been started by Robert Kalesa, at the end manage to create a model for many Gemeindebau structures in Vienna. While the structure, which Kalesa had initially planned and finished in 1920, only had 101 flats, 143 further apartments were added with Gessner's completion of the project.[203] Metzleinstalerhof, which serves as the first demonstration of the shift from commercial to collective dwelling, features a kindergarten, a shared restroom, a laundry room, a library, and workshops. Projects such as Metzleinstalerhof, Reumannhof, Matteottihof, Herweghhof, Julius-Popp-Hof succeeded in forming

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203   Metzleinstalerhof : Erbaut von Der Gemeinde Wien in Den Jahren 1923 - 1924 / Arch. Hubert Gessner (Vienna, 1924).
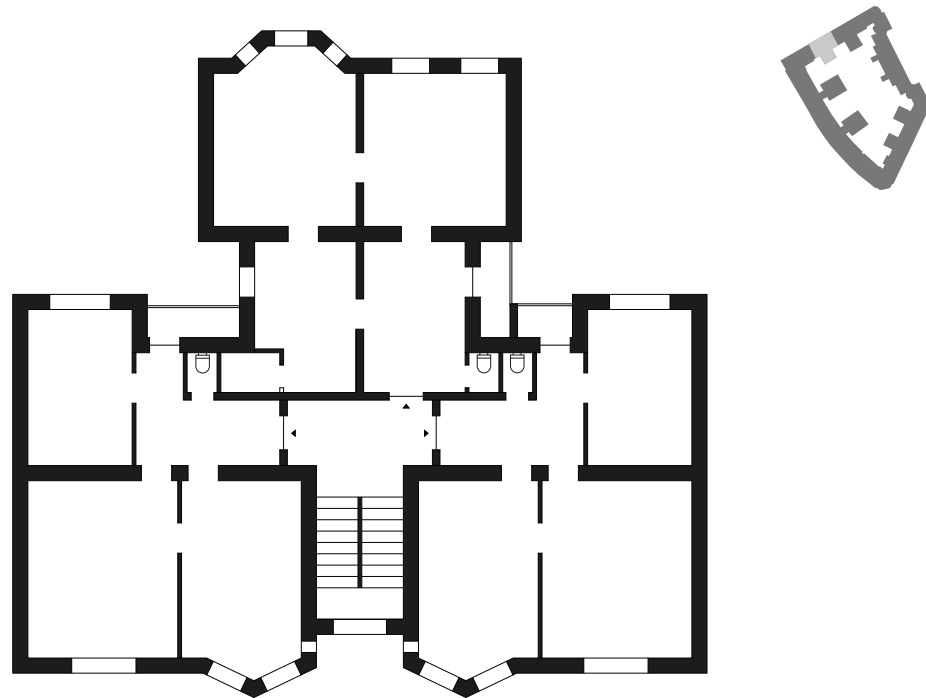
Figure 5.96: Plan, Metzleinstalerhof - 1:200

PART 6

INTERNATIONAL CASE STUDIES

This section examines both the direct inspiration of Red Vienna and the parallel or subsequent collective architectural alternatives, using plans, sections, elevations, photographs, and other visual materials. While presenting the reader with various alternative approaches, it also highlights the success of the Viennese typology as a comprehensive package through multiple analyses and comparisons.

CLIMAT DE FRANCE

Figure 6.01: Site plan, 1:3000
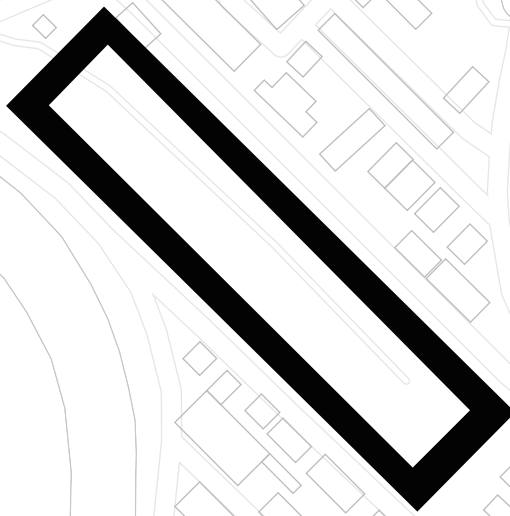
1957
ALGIERS, ALGERIA
CLIMAT DE FRANCE

"One way to know a country is to know how people die there."[204]

Would it be possible to say the opposite of the quote often attributed to Albert Camus, who was born in Algeria at the beginning of the 20th century? Can, *"how people live there"*, also be *"a way to know a country?"* Architecture encompasses more than mere arrangements of materials and spaces. Throughout history, it has frequently served as a medium for conveying the socio-political context and circumstances of the area in which it is situated. An exemplary instance of this can be seen in Fernand Pouillon's Climat de France project, erected in Algeria in 1957. In 1830, Algeria was colonized by France and remained under French rule for approximately 130 years. The 1950s marked a period of political instability in Algeria, during which Jacques Chevallier, the governor of the capital, invited Pouillon to declare him as the chief architect and embark on several large-scale housing projects in the country. This provided Pouillon a platform to showcase his urbanistic ideas.

During his previous years, Pouillon was privileged to work with Auguste Perret, a French pioneer in the field of reinforced concrete architecture, on the La Havre project, which equipped him with extensive knowledge of materials. Pouillon successfully leveraged this knowledge in the implementation of vast-scale social housing schemes. This monumental complex comprised of 4,500 apartments, an educational institute, healthcare facility and a market could house as many as 30,000 occpants. The complex continued to captivate its observers even six decades after its erection.

The construction site was located on a sloping hill overlooking a valley, making it a challenging terrain to work with. To overcome the problem of the site's large scale, Pouillon opted to break down the complex into multiple areas and distribute them in a fragmented manner. He also established an orthogonal grid system to support this approach. This grid not only served as a tool for organizing the site but also provided transportation routes between the low and high parts of the land despite the topographical conditions. However, this required significant land balancing and stabilization, which took 18 months to complete.[205] As a result of these efforts, two different pathways emerged. The first consisted of lines parallel to the slope of the hill and formed the main walking paths, while the second comprised of stairs and paths descending from the high section to the middle and low sections, providing connections between the platforms where the buildings were located. Following a long construction period, the result was truly remarkable. Despite sharing similarities with prior morphological counterparts, the structure stood apart from them all in terms of its monumental nature. The raw concrete surfaces were distinct yet

204   Oktay Balcı and Cengiz Ağ, "Before Epiphany: An Assessment of Donald Trump's Crisis Leadership on the Eve of the Covid-19 Pandemic," *Erciyes Akademi*, June 29, 2022, p. 741, https://doi.org/10.48070/erciyesakademi.1103913.
205   Tom Avermaete, "Climat De France," *Invention, OASE*, December 2007, p. 120.

harmoniously integrated structures. They appeared to be separate projects, even though they were part of the same undertaking. The rebellious fighter against its own topography, with its sharp, geometric forms, also contributed to the structure becoming an icon. The project encompasses three distinct variations of housing. These include *double exposure*, ranging from 40-50 square meters, *single exposure*, measuring 30 square meters, and a unique type of dwelling referred to as *particular solution*. The apartment buildings of the particular solution type were positioned to encircle an inner court.[206] Each of these types was designed with a multi-use focus and almost all equipped a balcony. The apartments generally featured two or three rooms, with a living-kitchen area, and an anter-area containing a WC and shower. The windows of the units were wide, allowing ample natural light to flood the interiors, relatively narrow windows were utilized in circulation areas.

In the middle of this vast project that spans over a large area lies a monumental structure called *200 Colonnes*, which can be described as the heart of the project and perhaps referred to as a *monumental-housing* structure. This structure consists of 200 symmetrical columns with a square cross-section of "one meter by one meter" placed at equal intervals around an inner courtyard, surrounded by a 233-meter-long and 38-meter-wide brutalist building. The influence of different periods of courtyard architecture can be clearly seen in the structure.

As the central element can also be interpreted as a large peristyle or agora, it also bears traces of Andalusian courtyards and former monasteries as well as utopian housing complex designs from the 19th century.[207] The method of using architecture as a tool for shaping society, which has its roots in Fourierist-Owenist approaches and can also be seen in Red Vienna architecture, was adopted by Pouillon in the project. The roof surfaces were designed as collective areas, with the intention of providing social spaces for women's lives. Pouillon believed that architecture cannot be separated from its use and inhabitants, and therefore considered activities such as hanging and drying laundry to be complementary elements of the building's facade. However, the intentionally narrow stairs, which were designed to increase privacy and monumentality, ultimately failed to be revolutionary followed by residents not using the area created for them. Within the Climat de France project, a standardized approach was taken by Pouillon through the implementation of modular stone panels that enveloped the load-bearing walls located along the buildings' perimeter. Pouillon had previously developed this methodology in 1948, which incorporated the use of natural stone panels as a mold for substandard concrete that lacked reinforcement. It's worth noting that reinforced concrete was exclusively utilized in the creation of the basements and staircases.

206   Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 152.

207   Atilla Yücel, "Modernizm Döneminde Toplu Konut Mimarlığı: Hayaller Ve Gerçeki Sanayi Devriminden İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrasına" *[Mass Housing Architecture in the Modernism Era: Dreams and Realities from the Industrial Revolution to the Post-World War II], Mimarca [Architecturally]*, September 2017, p. 119.

*"Is it a success or a failure I
could not say... Nevertheless,
I am certain that this
architecture was without
contempt. Perhaps for the
first time in modern times,
we have installed human
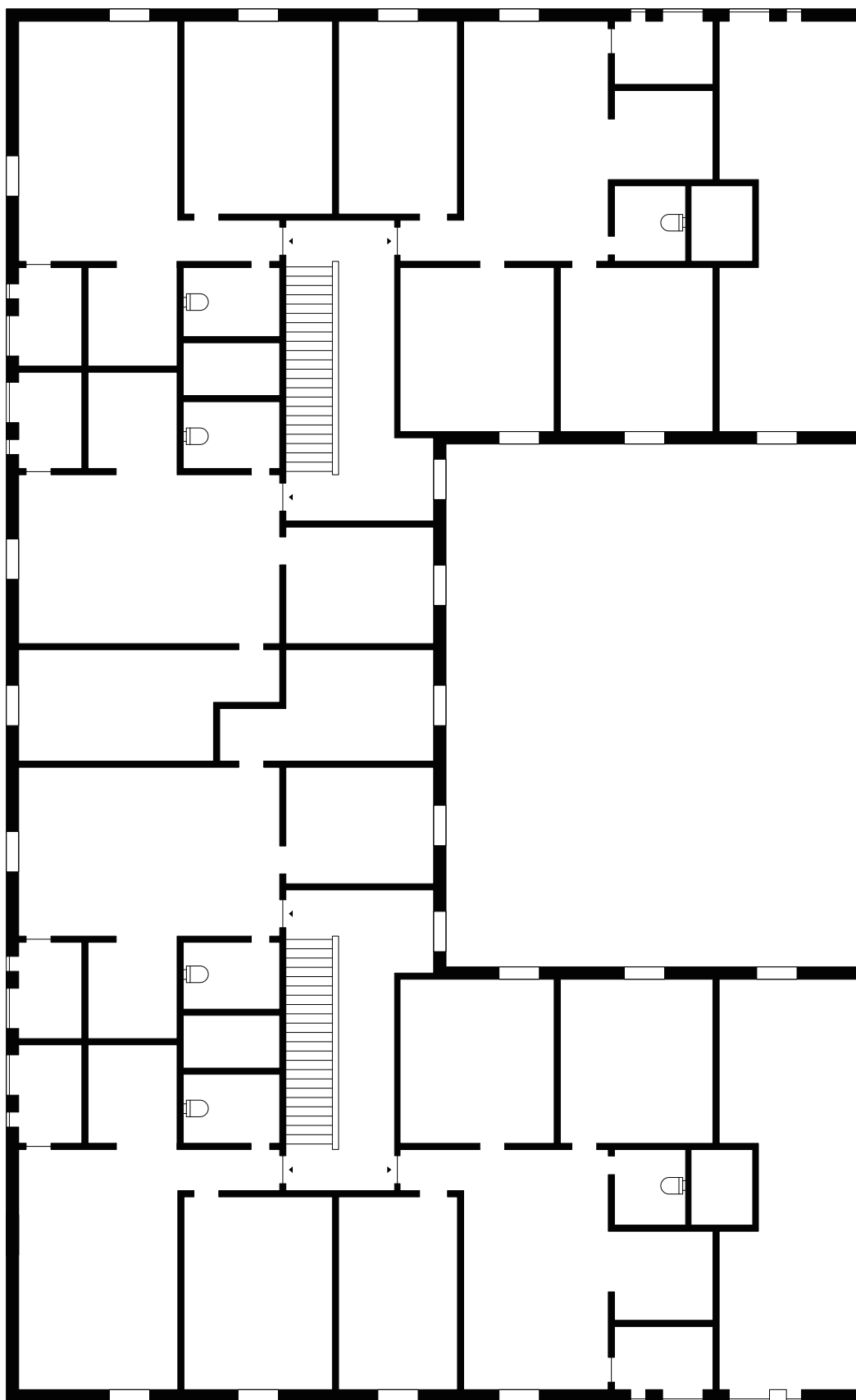beings in a monument."*
Pouillon on Climat de France

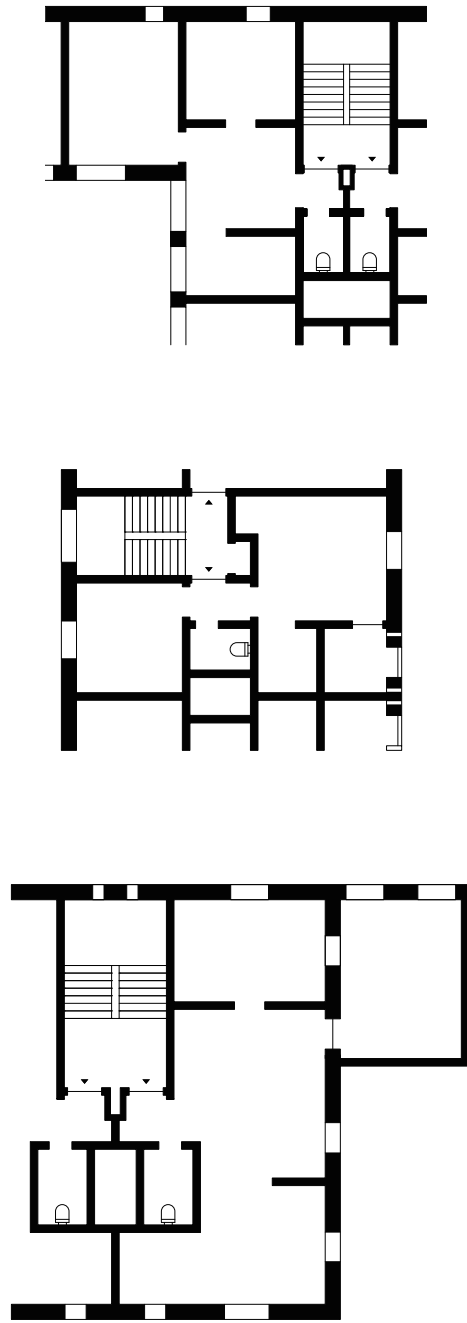Figure 6.02: Plan,
Climat de France - 1:200

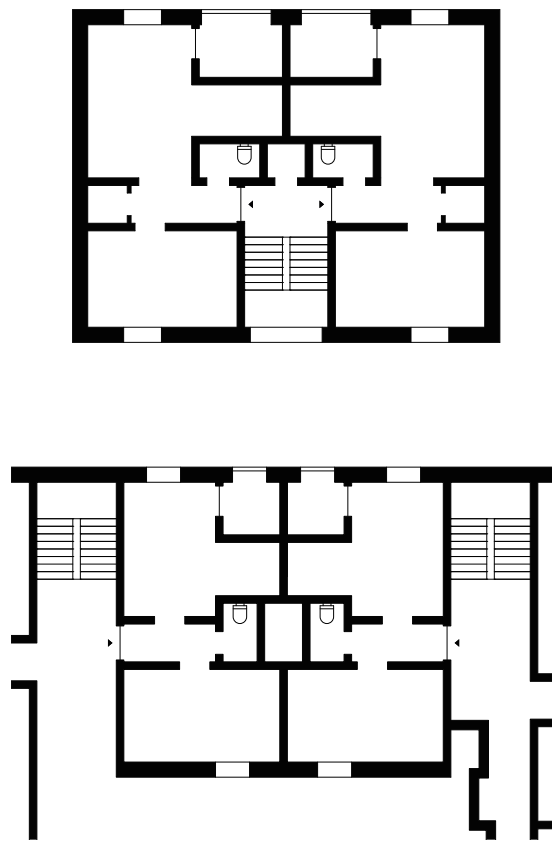Figure 6.03: Apartment Types I-III, Climat de France - 1:200

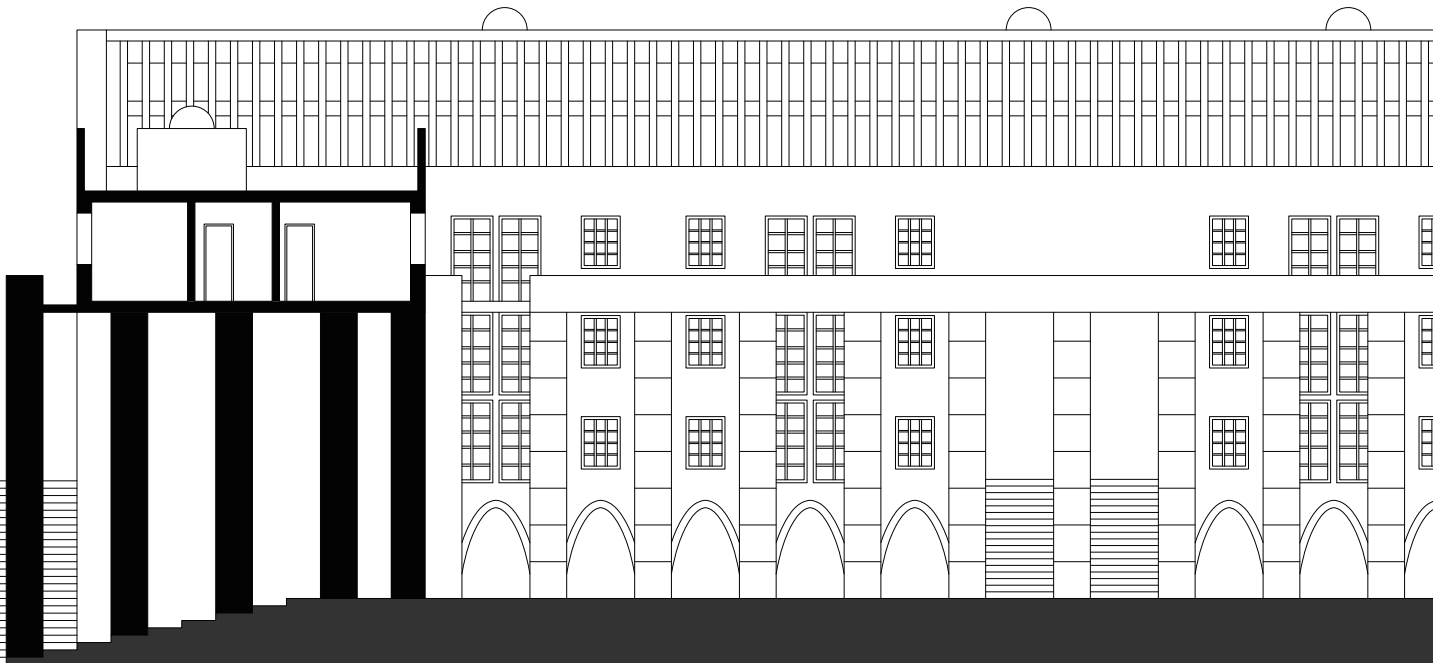Figure 6.04: Apartment Types IV-V, Climat de France - 1:200

Figure 6.05: Section, Climat de France - 1:200

Figure 6.06: After completion, Climat de France

Figure 6.07: Aerial image, Climat de France

Figure 6.08: During construction, Climat de France

Figure 6.09: Construction site, Climat de France
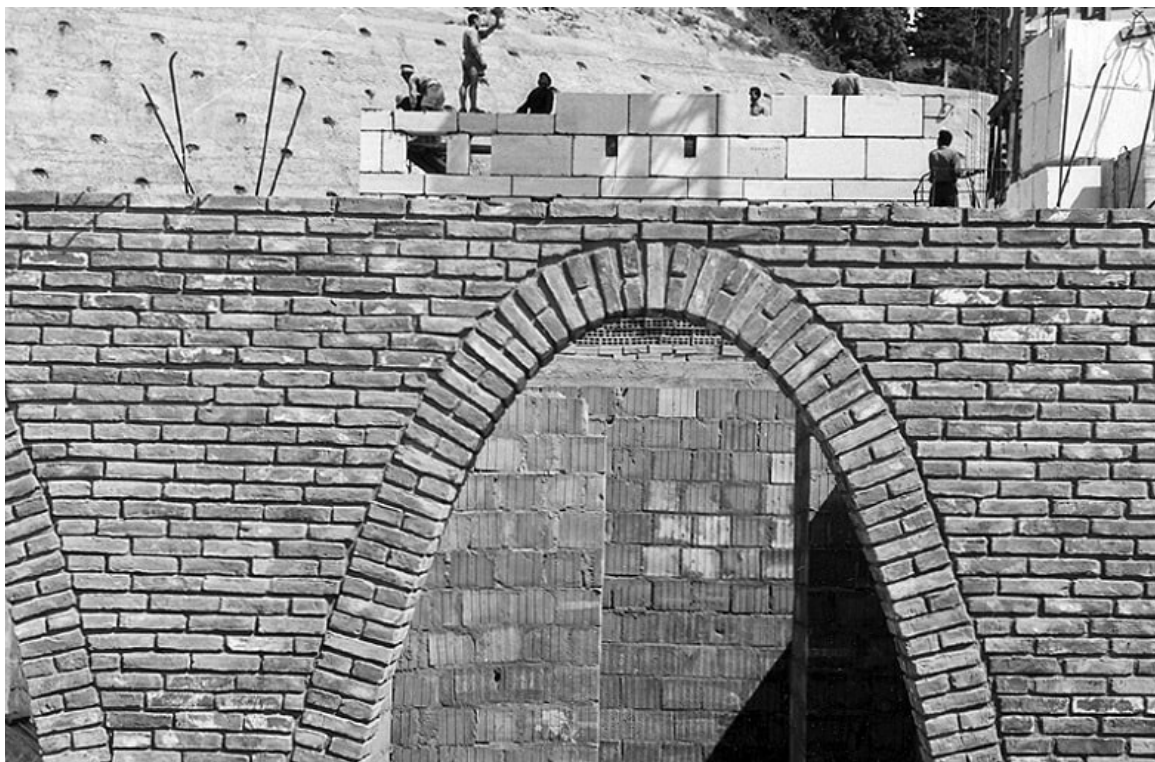
Figure 6.10: Side arches during construction, Climat de France

Figure 6.11: Side arches during construction, Climat de France
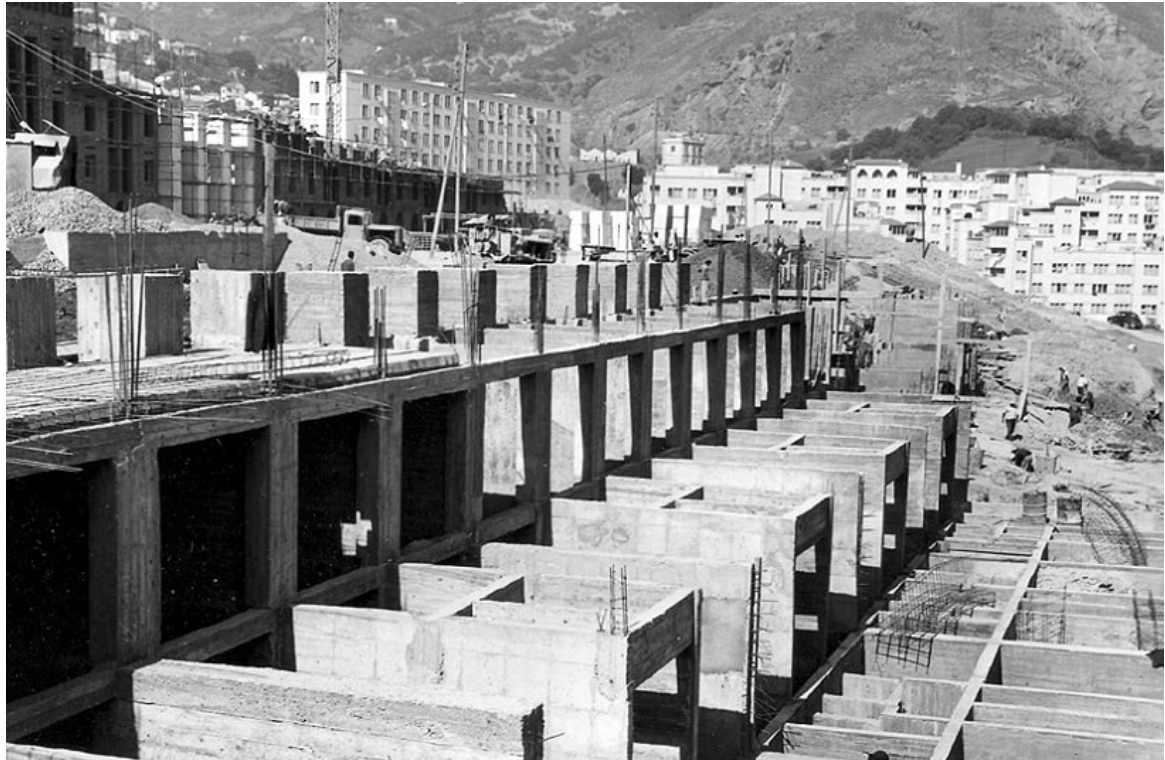
Figure 6.12: Construction site, Climat de France

Figure 6.13: Arcade corridor, Climat de France

DOM
NARKOMFINA

Figure 6.14: Site plan, 1:3000
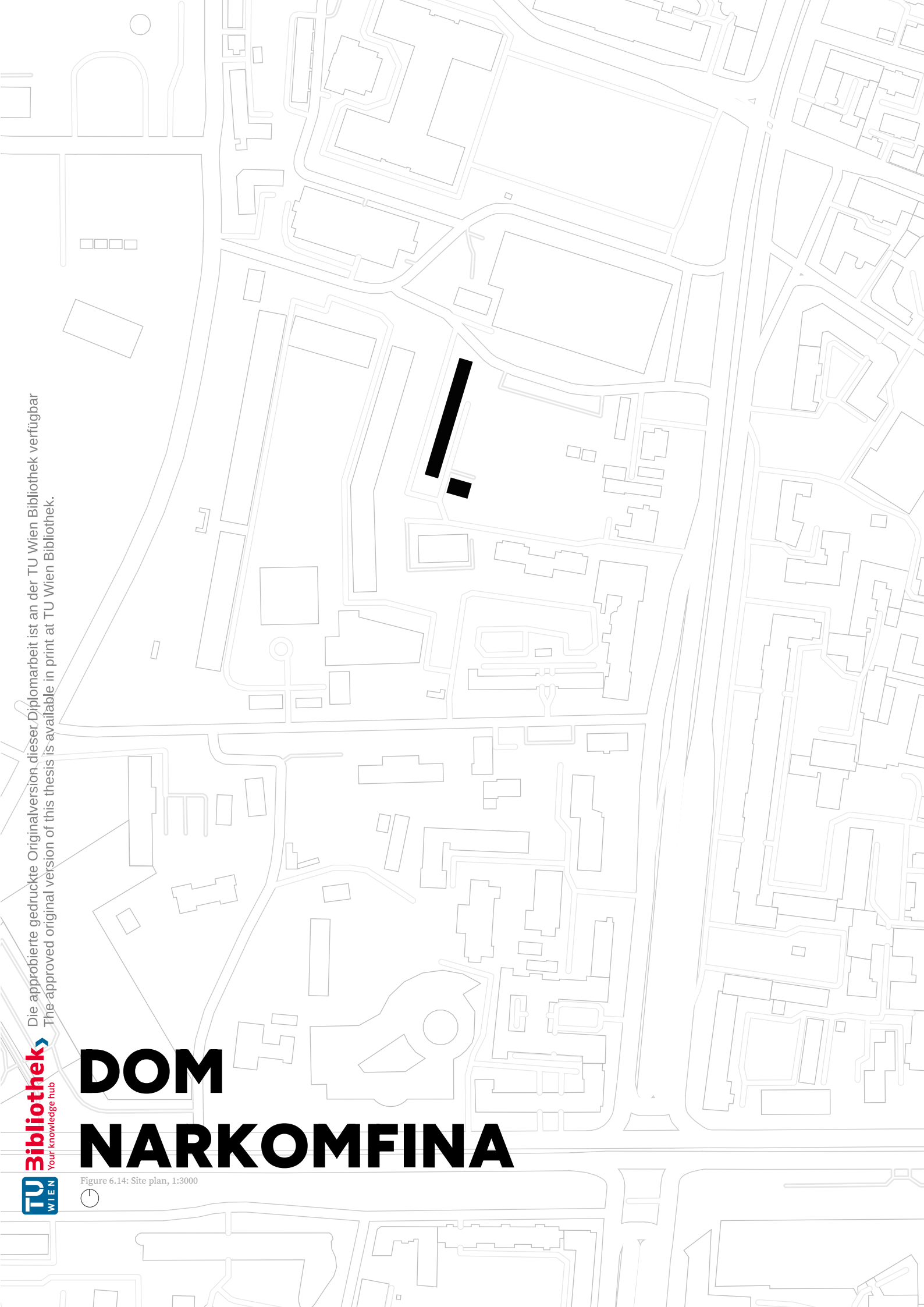
1930

MOSCOW, THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS DOM NARKOMFINA COMMUNAL HOUSE

Collective housing refers to a building typology in which a certain socio-cultural group or an audience with a common background as selected target group, often with their families, meet their most essential needs, primarily accommodation, through social collaboration, where they share communal units such as kitchens, dining halls, libraries, workshops, schools. This target group was the officers of the finance ministry, when it came to the Narkomfin building in Moscow. The building was built in 1928 as part of the First Five-Year Plan, and it was experimental in both its architectural and communal living aspects. Designed by Moisei Ginzburg and Ignatii Milinis, the building was intended to house 50 families and has a capacity of about 200 people. Narkomfin was listed as a "Cultural Heritage Monument".

In contrast to numerous architectural examples of its era, the structure breaks the vertical uniformity and features captivating architectural specifications. Dependent on the use of intermediate levels, the internal circulation of the building has gained an intriguing dimension through the implementation of diverse apartment-floor plans.

The building contains three different main apartment plans, namely K, F, and 2F types, formed according to Stroikom[208] rules. These variations are designed for different target audiences and distributed to separate floors. Type K apartments, being the largest type in the building and featuring a children's room and a dedicated kitchen, were designed for families. Due to the self-supporting nature of Type K, the use of communal areas for families living in these units would be a desire rather than a necessity. The living room, located on the open first floor where the entrance to the apartment is, offers a room height of 4.9 meters. Type F apartments, typically designed for singles or young couples, have a living area with a height of 3.6 meters and an additional bedroom. In Type F apartments, the kitchen has been replaced by a kitchenette similar to those seen in small Gemeindebau buildings of the early period.[209]

Narkomfin shall be regarded as a defining example of Constructivism. The positioning of apartments within the building creates an interesting design but also makes it somewhat more challenging to understand the different types of units. The K type units, which have a duplex feature, are located on the first and second floors and occupy the entire second floor. The same situation arises with the F type units on the third and fifth floors. In other words, there is no longer a need for a circulation area on the second, third, and fifth floors. Additionally, an area is created on the ground level as only columns are used to support the structure and the entrance level is not utilized. The columns, which continue in a grid pattern throughout the entire building, forming the load-bearing structure, facilitate standardization of the apartments and allow all facades to be used as

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windows. With these features, the building also inspired Le Corbusier's Unite d'Habitation, which he designed after World War II and there were even speculations that Unite d'Habitation was directly copied from Narkomfin.[210]

On the first and fourth floors, the access corridor is closed throughout the east facade. As a result, the units on the first and fourth floors are single-oriented, while the intermediate level used on the fourth floor allows the two apartments on the third and fifth floors to have double-orientation. In the floors where the eastern facade needs to be cancelled due to circulation, the corridors are illuminated by natural light along the building, and efforts have been made to turn the common areas also into socializing machines. The building hosts facilities that support communal living such as a shared kitchen, dining room, and library, and the architecture has served as a guiding tool for people to adopt a communal attitude beyond providing them a simple shelter.

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210   Roger Sherwood, Modern Housing Prototypes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), p.119-120.
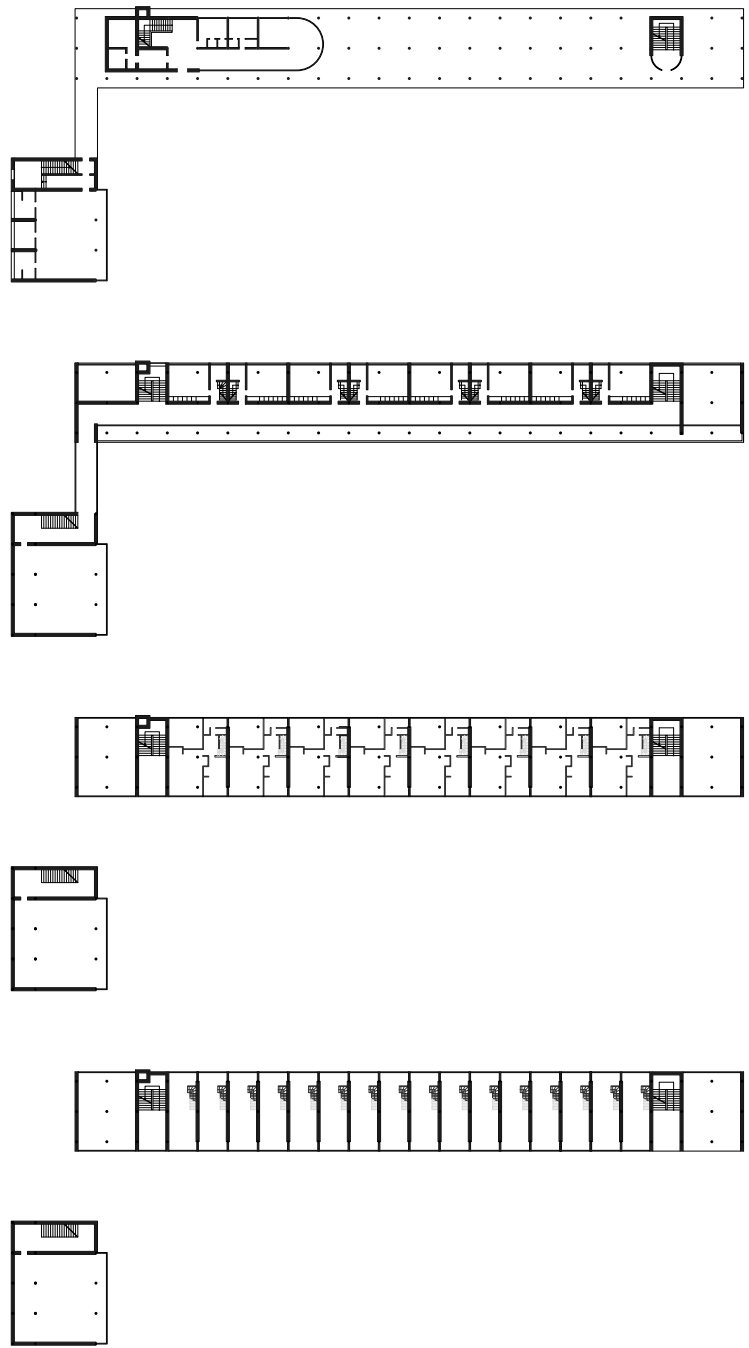
Figure 6.15: Plans, Dom Narkomfina - 1:1000
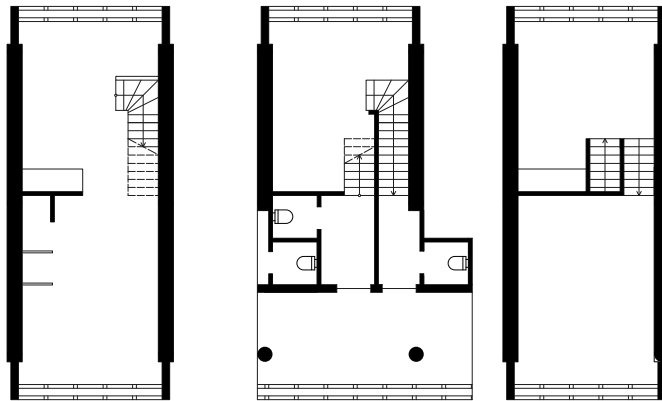
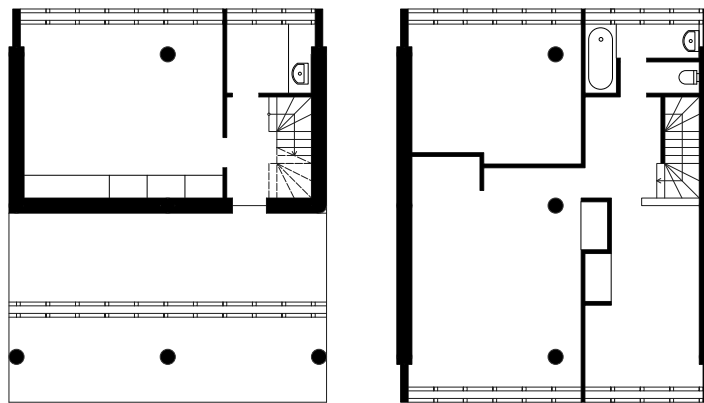Figure 6.16: Apartment Types F1 and F2, Dom Narkomfina - 1:200

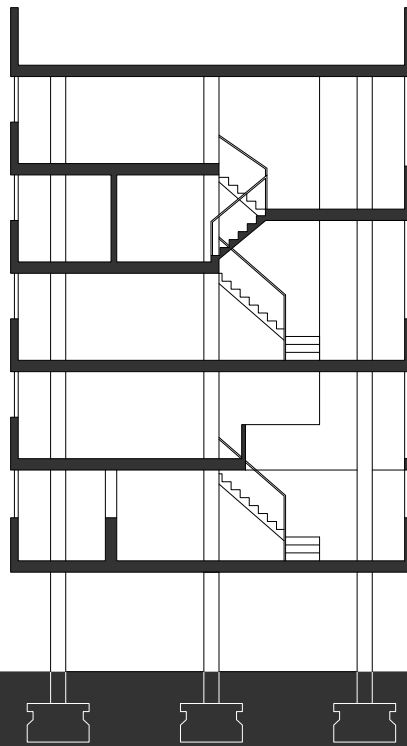Figure 6.17: Apartment type K, Dom Narkomfina - 1:200

Figure 6.18: Section, Dom Narkomfina - 1:200
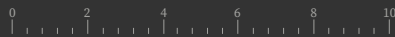
0   2   4   6   8   10

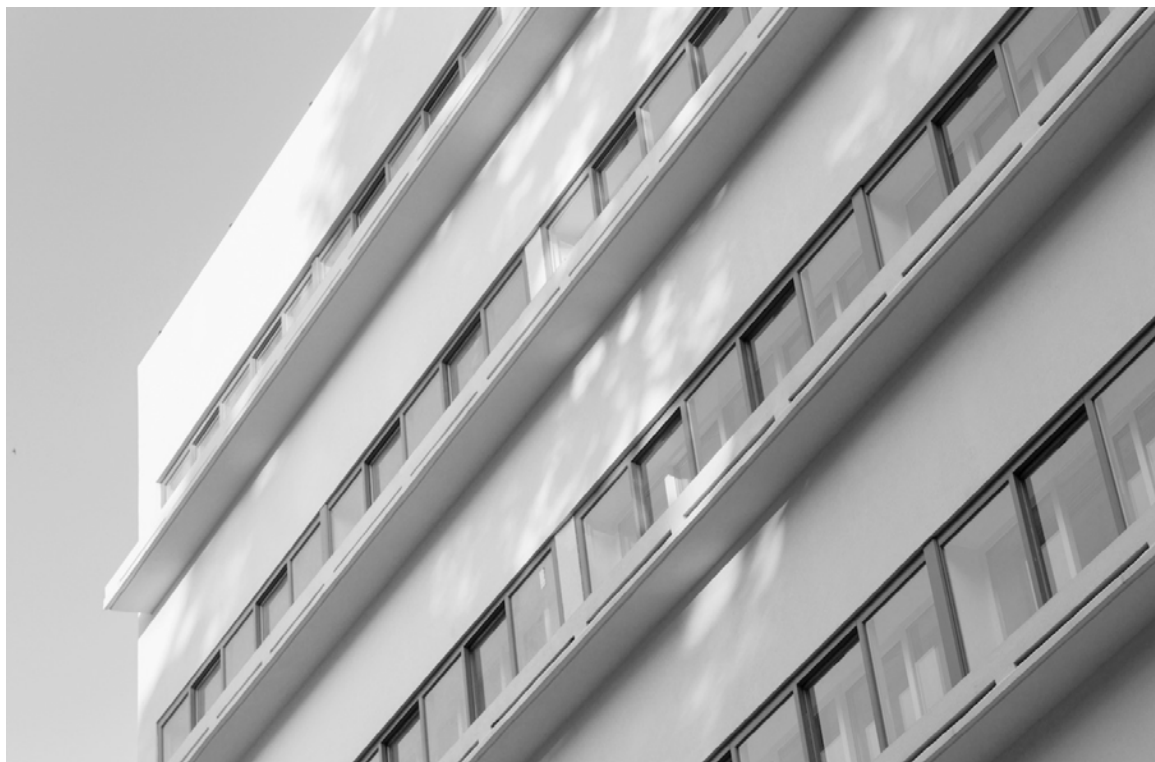Figure 6.19: Eastern facade, Dom Narkomfina

Figure 6.20: Southern facade, Dom Narkomfina

Figure 6.21: Facade detail, Dom Narkomfina

Figure 6.22: Rooftop and communal laundry, Dom Narkomfina

Figure 6.23: Circulation corridor, Dom Narkomfina

Figure 6.24: Structure, Dom Narkomfina
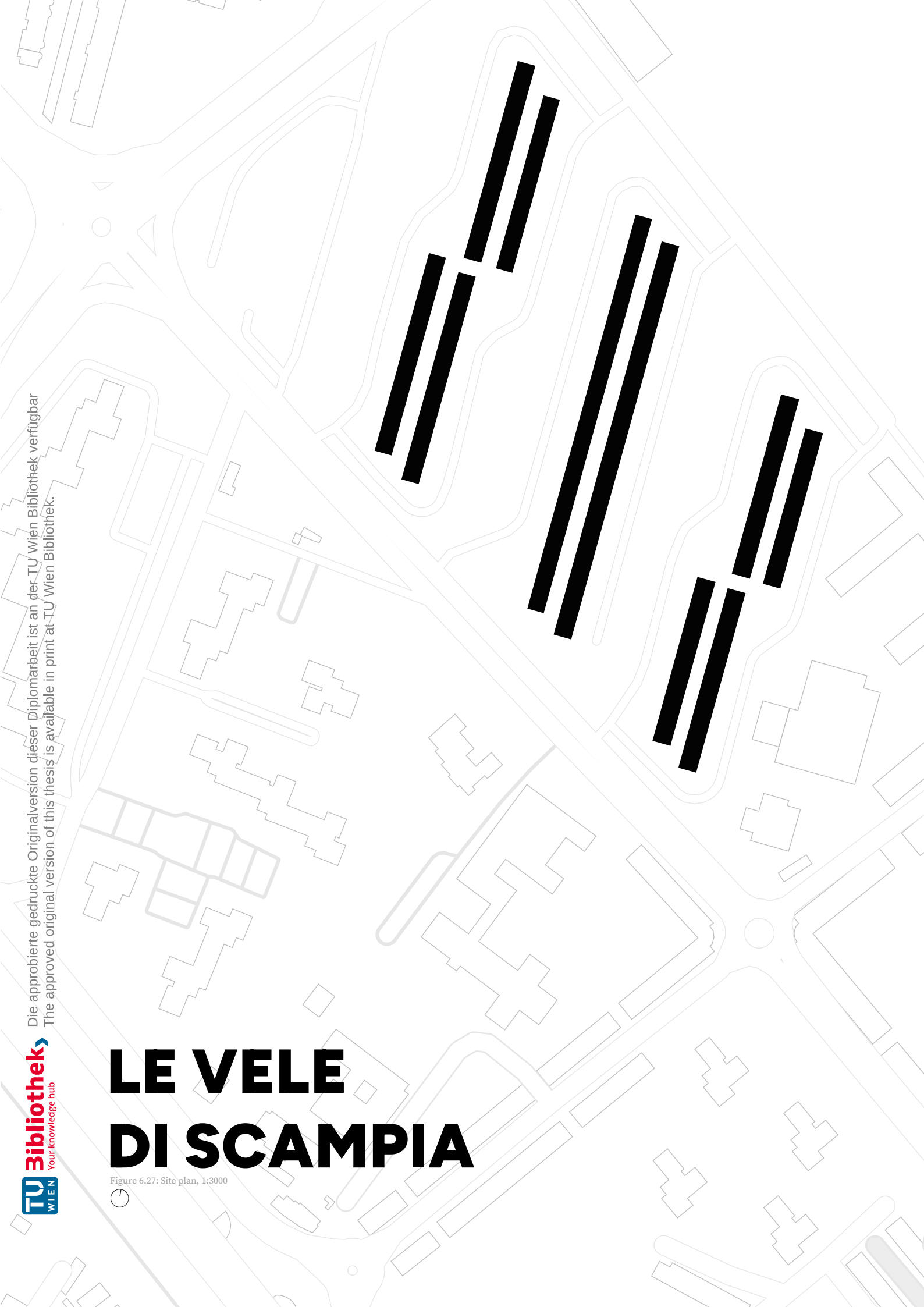

Figure 6.25: Staircase, Dom Narkomfina

Figure 6.26: Facade detail of attached structure, Dom Narkomfina

LE VELE
DI SCAMPIA

Figure 6.27: Site plan, 1:3000

1962
NAPLES, ITALY
LE VELE DI SCAMPIA

Undoubtedly, the most significant characteristic of Red Vienna is its enduring housing scheme, which has remained functional even after nearly a century since its inception. These structures have managed to continue serving their original purpose and still provide a roof for people from various segments of society to this day. Despite Vienna's numerous successful examples, there is an additional case constructed approximately 50 years later than Gemeindebau, which had a considerably shorter lifespan. This example is Vele di Scampia, an architectural endeavor that aimed to establish an ideal living arrangement for the economically disadvantaged, but instead transformed into a center for drug distribution. The project, designed by Italian architect Francesco Di Salvo in 1962. Di Salvo was influenced by Kenzō Tange, who later built *Centro direzionale di Napoli*[211] and Le Corbusier with his *Unité d'habitation*. wThe complex built on a 400 hectares area, comprises seven buildings erected across two building lots designated "M" and "L". Four of the buildings, designated as A, B, C, and D, are situated on the "M" lot, while the "L" lot encompasses three buildings labeled as F, G, and H.[212] The buildings are oriented parallel to one another and measure 100 meters by 40 meters in size.

The residential buildings were designed initially to accommodate a total of 40,000-70,000[213]

residents. The project's name is derived from its sail-like form, as the structure gradually tapers vertically.[214]

The project was an attempt to reinterpret the architectural texture of Naples, which consists of courtyards and narrow streets, within a brutalist shell. It primarily comprised of minimally designed housing units that incorporated outdoor spaces intended to support community living, as seen in both the Red Vienna and earlier utopian designs. The building was designed using a module system based on a 1.20-meter square grid system, on which apartments with dimensions that are multiples of this figure, such as 3.60 meters by 7.20 meters, were created. In the complex where the buildings were laid out from north to south, the apartments within them were arranged to face east-west to receive necessary ventilation and sunlight.

The structure was designed to comprise two buildings opposite to each other, with a maximum height of 14 stories. Light and transparent hanging access balconies that would serve the circulation of the apartments without blocking the passage of light were planned to be placed between these two volumes.[215]Di Salvo aimed to create a social neighborhood surrounded by green areas and offering various services such as education, culture, health, and

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211   The central business district of Naples.

212   Enrico Sicignano, "Le Vele Di Scampía a Napoli Ovvero Il Fallimento Dell'Utopia," *Costruire In Laterizio*, 1998, p. 368-369, https://hdl.handle.net/11386/1852283.

213   Diane Yvonne Ghirardo, *Italy: Modern Architectures In History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), p. 163: *"Originally consisting of seven massive apartment blocks, the complex has housed anywhere from 40,000 to 70,000 inhabitants at any one time – all estimates are purely guesswork, since no one has been willing to conduct a headcount."*

214   The name *"Le Vele di Scampia"* comes from the Italian word *"Vela"* meaning sail (plural: "Vele".) Therefore, the project is named *"The Sails of Scampia"*.

215   Roberta Busnelli, "Le Vele Di Scampia: Rigenerare o Demolire?," *IQD*, accessed April 25, 2023, https://iqd.it/architettura/le-vele-di-scampia-rigenerare-o-demolire.

commercial centers to its residents with his project. Additionally, he requested common areas to be placed every six floors.[216] He placed great importance on the representation of a communal life for the building, which would become the largest social housing complex in Southern Italy. However, the construction of the project deviated from the architect's original vision. The plan to include communal spaces was scrapped, while the number of housing units was increased. Moreover, the buildings were brought closer to each other 2,40 meters further.[217] To add to the challenge, the circulation balconies in this narrow area were constructed entirely of concrete. As a result, the lower-level units, located between these building masses, were shrouded in darkness by these prison-corridor-like bridges. The units were allocated to residents before completion, and people began living in apartments lacking basic sanitary and household amenities. Despite its unfinished state, the building housed an estimated 90,000 occupants.[218]

After the Il Irpina earthquake in 1980, many homeless families settled in Vele, and then the government began to neglect the maintenance of the complex, which was one of the main reasons that led to its demise. Starting from the second half of the 1980s, discussions about Vele reached a significant level. People wanted the complex to be demolished and replaced with a new social housing project consisting of separate buildings.

The massive brutalist complex was increasingly viewed as a major contributor to the rise of crime and poor living conditions in the area. The belief that architecture shall be fought to find a solution to social problems was growing day by day. As a consequence, three of the seven buildings (F, G, and H) were demolished between 1997 and 2003. After a prolonged hiatus, the demolition resumed with the building A[219] in February 2020. The city has plans to demolish two of the remaining three buildings (C and D), while the last building (B) is slated for redevelopment.

Undoubtedly, poor architectural practices played a role in the problems faced by the Le Vele di Scampia complex. However, to view the building as the sole culprit would be to oversimplify the issue. The problems were multifaceted and required also more nuanced social approaches to address them. The example of *"Italian Pruitt-Igoe,"*[220] Vele di Scampia once again demonstrates the importance of the social mix approach in social housing, which has been in place since Red Vienna and continues to this day. In this Italian example, despite the success of the urban planning reform that was introduced in 1962 in Italy with the approval of the then-minister Fiorentino Sullo, it also resulted in the occupancy of social housing by only low-income and extremely impoverished families, leading to the transformation of such complexes into centers of social segregation instead of integration. Consequently, the absence

216   Roberto Saviano, "Naples Is Demolishing Le Vele, Symbol of Its Camorra Past. But I'm Not Celebrating," *The Guardian*, March 8, 2020,
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/08/naples-camorra-vele-demolition-im-not-celebrating-roberto-saviano.

217   Enrico Sicignano, "Le Vele Di Scampía a Napoli Ovvero Il Fallimento Dell'Utopia," *Costruire In Laterizio*, 1998, p. 368-369, https://hdl.handle.net/11386/1852283.

218   Marcos Martínez Euklidiadas, "The Sails of Scampia: When Inclusive Architecture Turns against People," Tomorrow.City, September 8, 2020, https://tomorrow.city/a/sails-scampia

219   After the demolition of the F, G, and H blocks, the remaining A, B, C, and D blocks were named the green, celestial, yellow, and red sails, respectively. Therefore, in the demolition carried out in 2020, it was actually the green block that was demolished.

220   Salvatore Pisani, "Le Vele Di Scampìa. Sterbende Moderne Filmisch Beschleunigt," in *Unbehaust Wohnen: Konflikthafte Räume in Kunst - Architektur - Visueller Kultur*, ed. Irene Nierhaus and Kathrin Heinz (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2020), p. 355.

of socio-economic and class diversity within the buildings made an increase in criminal activity easier, thereby rendering them as centers of criminality. Therefore, to tackle the issue of social housing, a comprehensive approach that addresses both architecture and social policy is necessary.

"Scampìa is considered today in Italy as the epitome of the anti-city, even the anti-state. Here, a state within a state has formed, ruled by the Camorra."[221]

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221   Salvatore Pisani, "Le Vele Di Scampìa. Sterbende Moderne Filmisch Beschleunigt," in *Unbehaust Wohnen: Konflikthafte Räume in Kunst - Architektur - Visueller Kultur*, ed. Irene Nierhaus and Kathrin Heinz (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2020), p. 354.
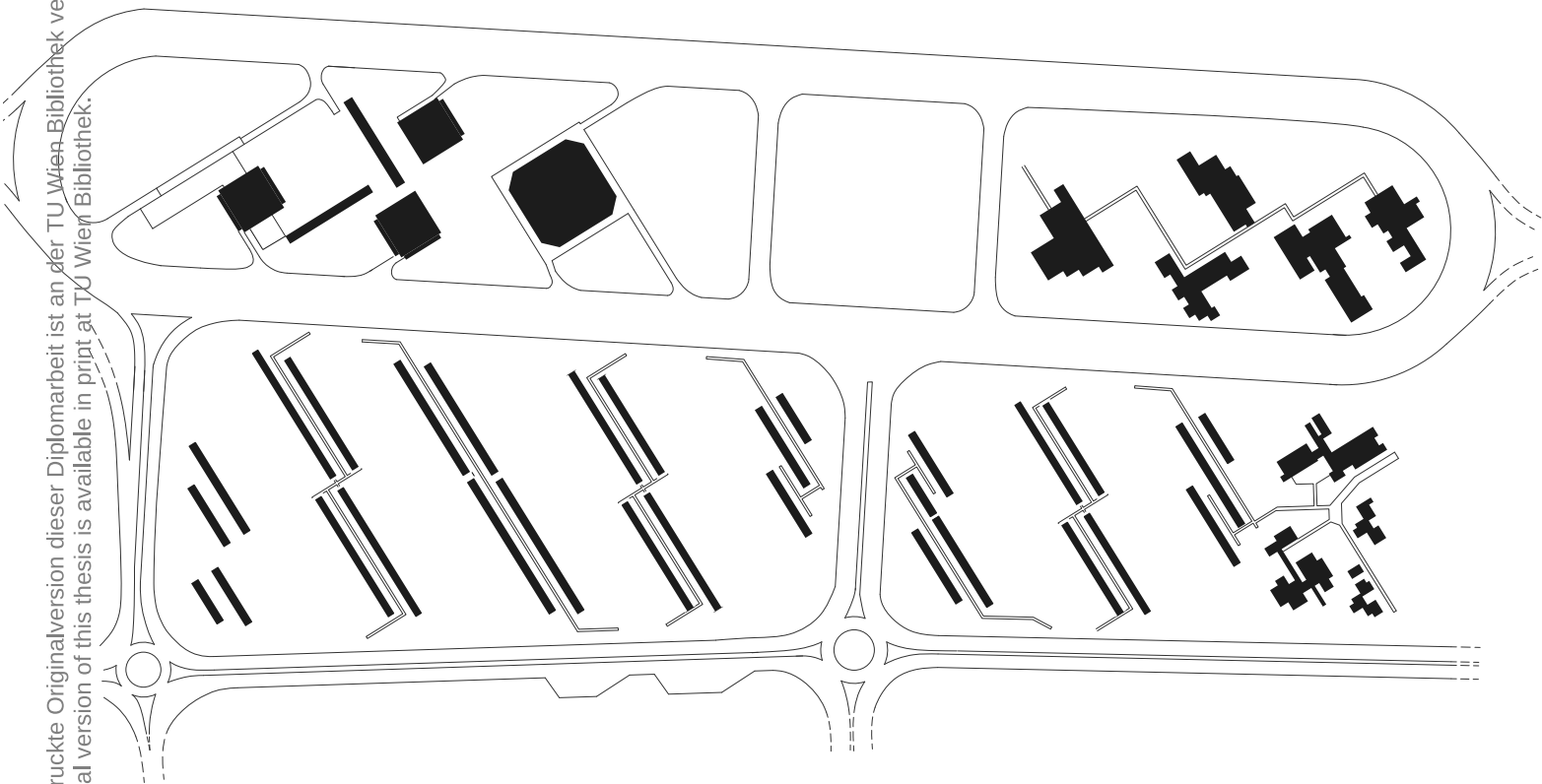
Figure 6.28: Initial plan with collective facilities (unrealised), Vele di Scampia - 1:5000
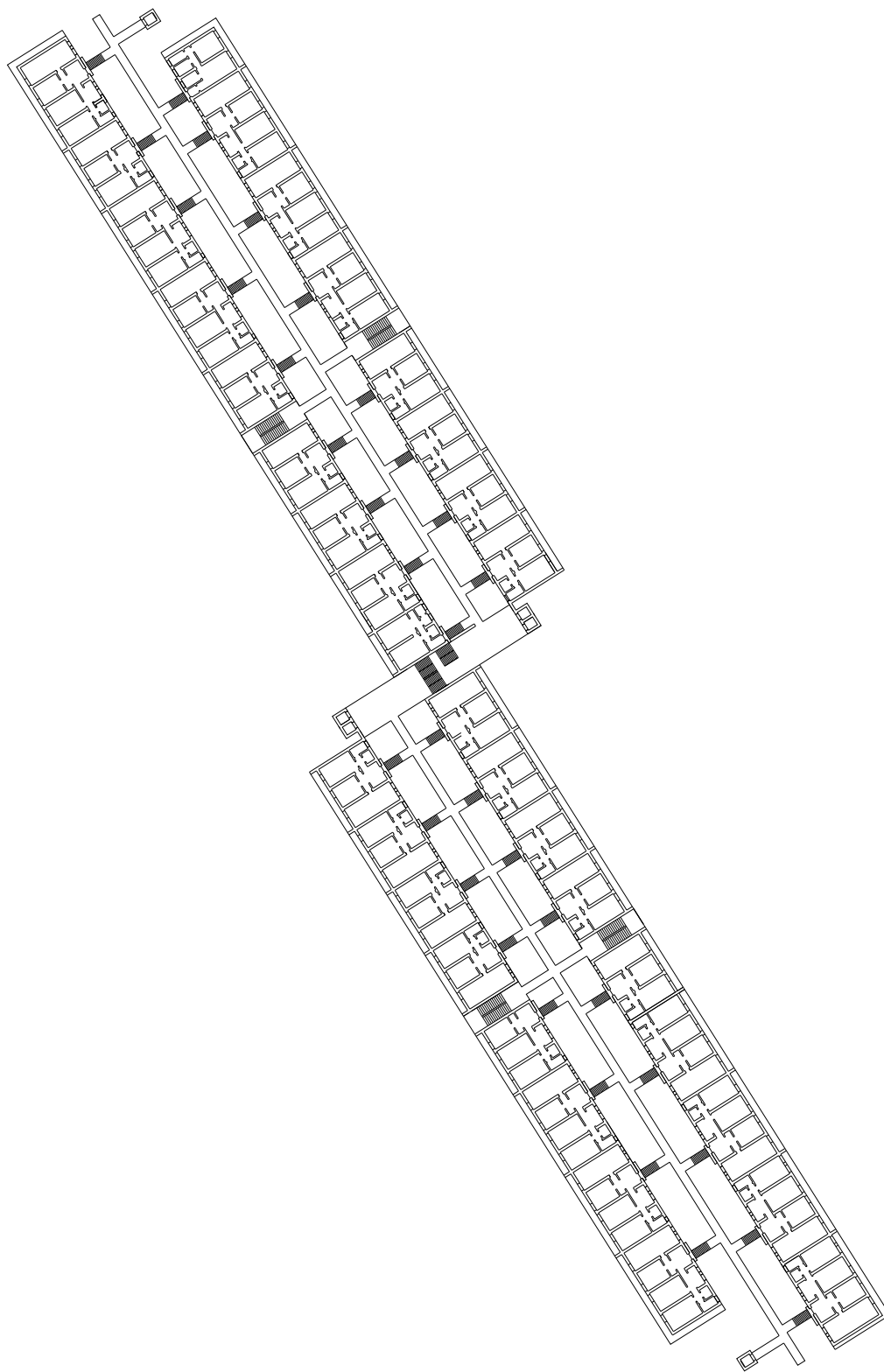
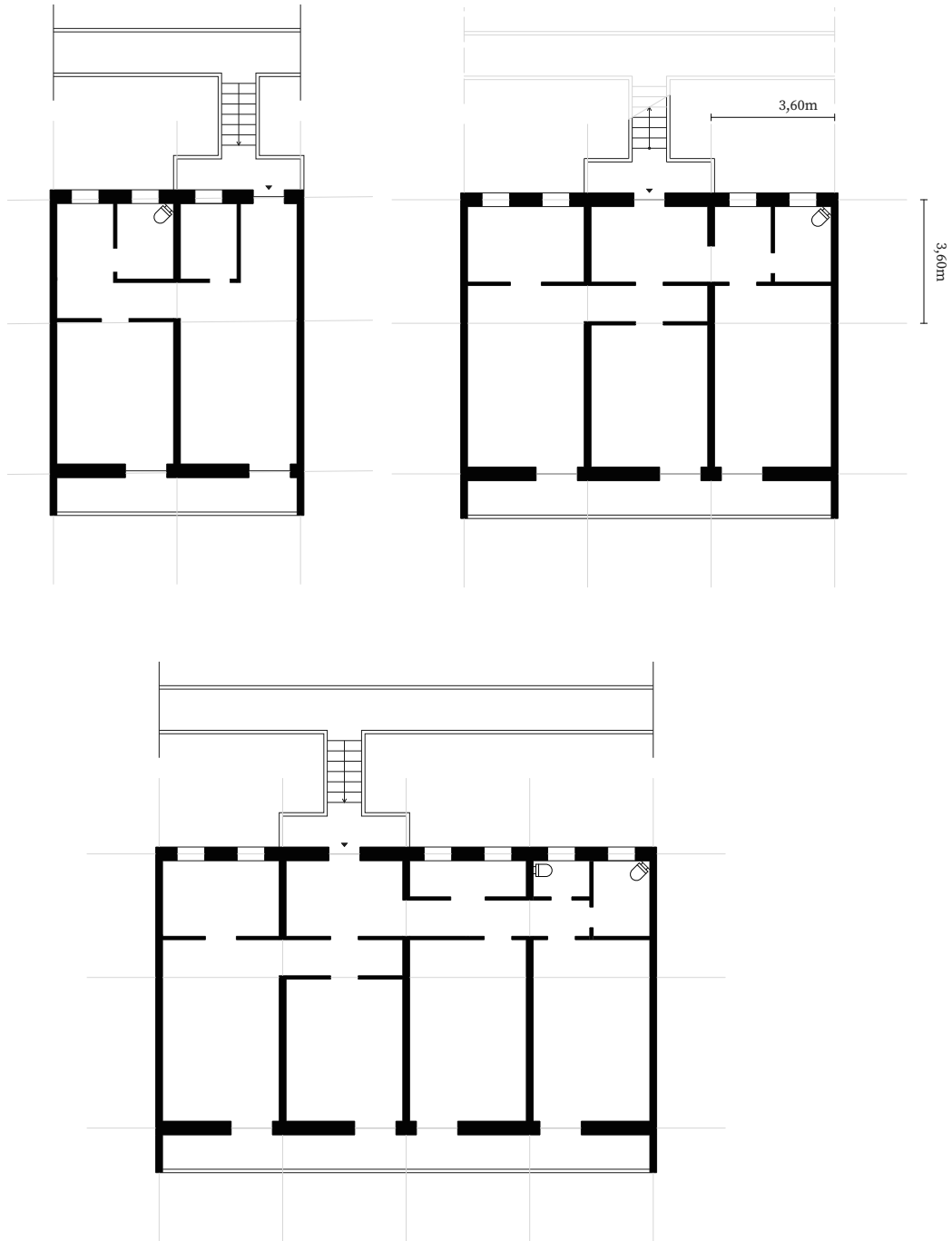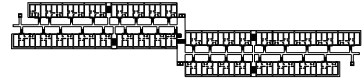Figure 6.29: Plan (realised), Vele di Scampia - 1:1000

3,60m

3,60m

Figure 6.30: Apartment types I-III, Vele di Scampia - 1:200
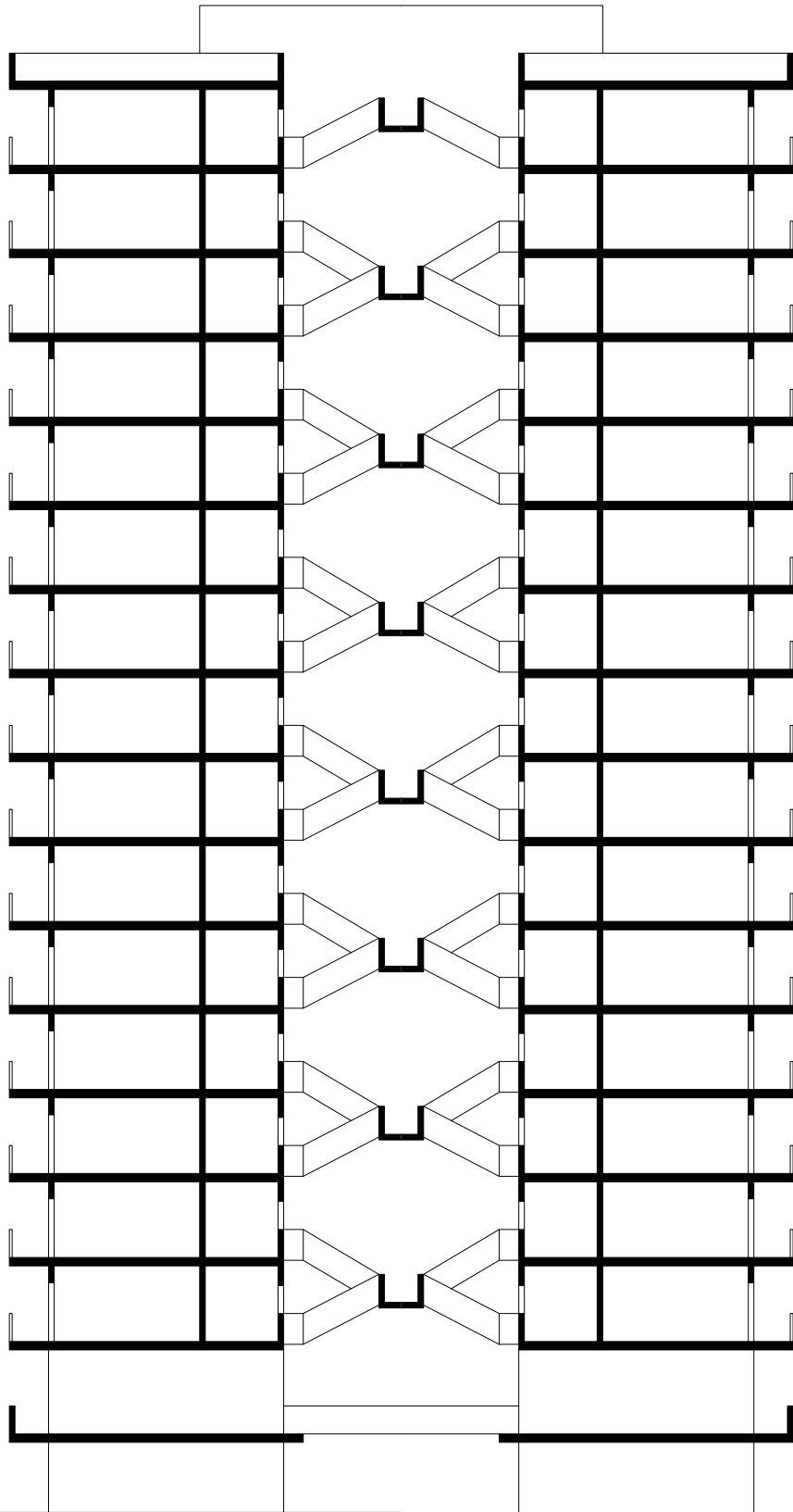
0   2   4   6   8   10

Figure 6.31: Section, Vele di Scampia - 1:250
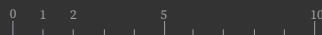
0 1 2 5 10

Figure 6.32: Longitudinal view, Vele di Scampia

Figure 6.33: Roof terraces, Vele di Scampia

Figure 6.34: Staircase from outside, Vele di Scampia

Figure 6.35: View from staircase, Vele di Scampia

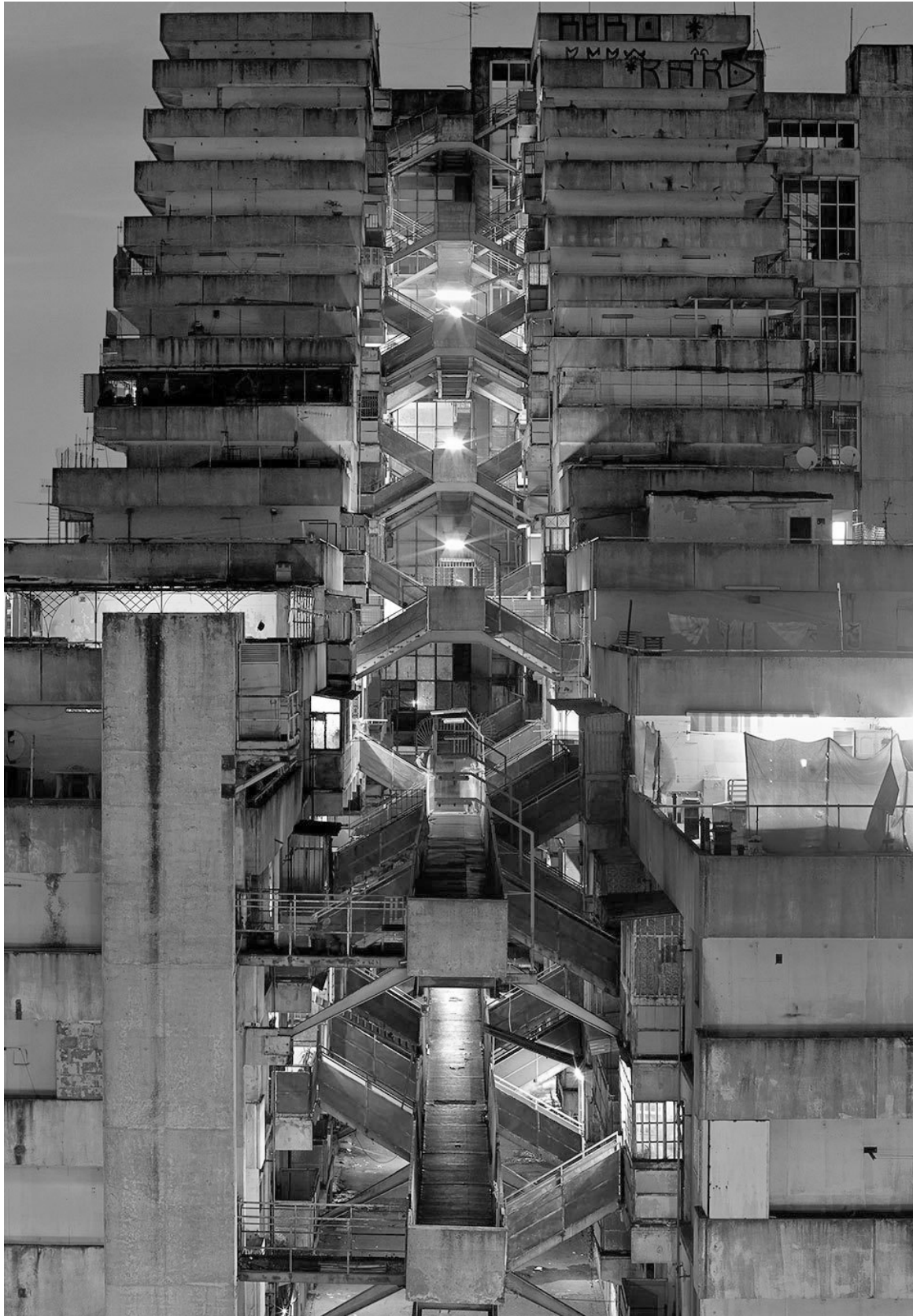Figure 6.36: Access bridges, Vele di Scampia

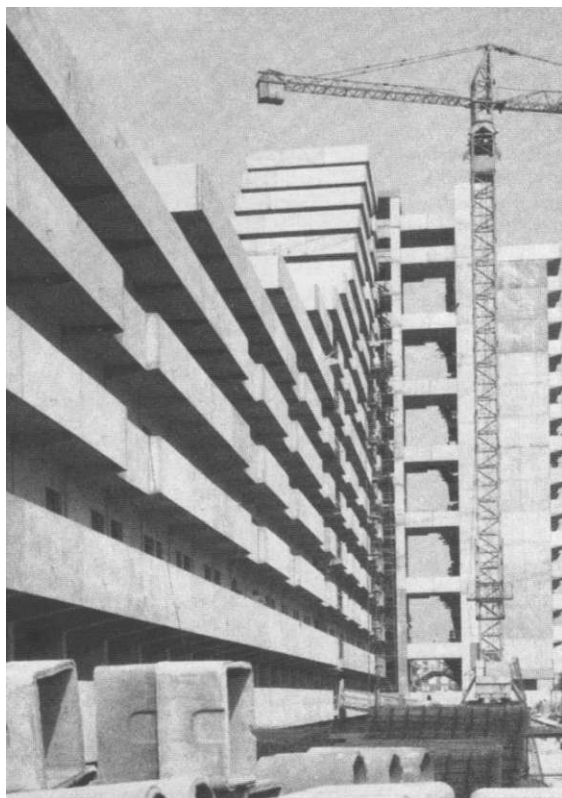Figure 6.37: **Cross-view** through access corridors, Vele di Scampia

Figure 6.38: Construction site, Vele di Scampia

Figure 6.39: Demolition, Vele di Scampia

Figure 6.40: After demolition, Vele di Scampia

HUFEISEN
SIEDLUNG

Figure 6.41: Site plan, 1:3000

1925
BERLIN, WEIMAR REPUBLIC
HUFEISENSIEDLUNG

The deleterious aftermath of World War I had not only impacted the Dual Monarchy but also Germany. In conjunction with the dire living conditions in *Mietskazerne*, the nation was grappling with a considerable issue of homelessness. Cooperatives, public associations, and syndicates were established to address the affordable housing requirement with the support of esteemed architects. Among these endeavors was the housing complex known as Großsiedlung Britz. In an effort to reduce project expenses, a quest was initiated to locate an affordable parcel of land, ultimately leading to the selection of a site situated outside the city center. Nonetheless, additional to its cost-effectiveness, it was also a necessity that the chosen location to have a reliable transportation network to the center. In 1925, the project, designed to accommodate roughly 5,000 people within around a 30 hectare area,[222] was executed in the Britz neighborhood, located in the southeastern part of Berlin. Numerous well-known individuals from the time were involved with the project, including Bruno Taut as the head architect, Martin Wagner, Walter Gropius, Leberecht Migge, and Franz Hillinger. Merging the principles of the Garden City movement with a rational design methodology, the project has significant historical importance as a housing project with features of modernist architecture. The complex was built in seven stages and consists of 1,285 apartments as well as 679 detached houses. Großsiedlung Britz has been declared a monument ensemble since 1986, inscribed as a garden monument in the Berlin Monument List since 2010, and a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2008.[223]

Due to its morphological structure and spatial hierarchy, the circular structure at the core of the buildings can be seen as the project's heart. The structure's horseshoe shape led to its nickname, *"Hufeisen,"* a common phenomenon in German residential complexes. Therefore, also the entire project became known as *"Hufeisensiedlung."* As the architectural design for the building was undertaken by Taut and Wagner, the garden design was executed by Migge. One of the meanings that the Red Vienna architects also attributed to the Hof in that period lay behind this formal preference. Taut believed in the establishment of a relationship between architectural morphology and the socialization of residents. Hence, he designed a structure measuring 350 meters in length, featuring a flat roof style that he personally favored,[224] arranged in a surrounding form around a pond that had been formed during the ice age. The apartments were directed towards the semi-public area, creating an open courtyard similar to a *cour d'honneur*. *Reumannhof* and even *Karl-Seitz-Hof* employed similar ideas, albeit with a heavier formal language. *(The design language of the Red Vienna apartments differs significantly from these buildings in Germany, as the design here based on eclectic foundations.)* The working class, who could now access such

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222   Housing Estates in the Berlin Modern Style: Nomination for Inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Berlin, 2006), p. 39, accessed April 13, 2023, https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1239.pdf

223   Andrea Prehn, ed., "Fakten Und Zahlen Zur Hufeisensiedlung," Hufeisensiedlung.Info, accessed April 23, 2023, http://www.hufeisensiedlung.info/geschichte/gegenwart/zeittafel.html.

224   Kompetenzzentrum "Kostengünstig qualitätsbewusst Bauen" im Institut für Erhaltung und Modernisierung von Bauwerken e.V. an der TU Berlin, ed., *Nachhaltige Entwicklung von Wohngebäuden Der 1920er Bis 1940er Jahre in Wachstumsregionen* (Bonn:Selbstverlag des Bundesamtes für Bauwesen und Raumordnug, 2006).

luxuries previously considered worthy only of the bourgeoisie, were transforming into the *"new man"* through the *"neues Bauen."*[225] The new individual was even *"obligated to question the old boundaries of shame."*[226]

Architects designed the apartments of *Hufeisen* in a flexible and adaptable manner that they believed would make a better contribution to solving the housing shortage that was becoming increasingly felt. Even in the floor plans, all areas were defined only by the word *"Zimmer,"*[227] except for those, which fullfilled a specific purpose (i.e. bathrooms and kitchens.)[228] This approach allowed for different users with varying needs to utilize the same type of apartment in diverse ways, using undefined rooms as needed. Moreover, if a resident's needs changed over time, the spatial arrangement could be modified accordingly. This flexibility extended beyond individual apartments, offering the potential for spatial exchange between different units among each other at a later time.

In accordance with contemporary exigencies, systems such as reinforced concrete or serial production, could not have been used in the construction. Instead, traditional construction techniques were used, with structures built with massive walls made of red bricks that served as the primary load-bearing elements. Additionally, further housings were arranged starting from the *Hufeisen* and spreading around in a radial pattern.In contrast to the proponents of *"Neues*

Wohnen," Taut did not solely rely on the use of white, beige or gray colors in his architectural structures. Instead, he perceived colors as not only spatial and decorative components but also as psychological instruments, enabling buildings to establish connections with nature in his designs. This diverges especially from the philosophy of De Stijl artists who focused the significance of basic colors. Taut's design methodology, which ascribes significant meanings to colors in his architectural endeavors such as Gartenstadt Falkenberg (nicknamed *Tuschkastensiedlung)*, Waldsiedlung Zehlendorf (has been nicknamed both *Onkel Toms Hütte and Papageiensiedlung*), among others, is likewise manifested in Hufeisensiedlung. For Taut, who said, *"As everything has its color, so everything that people do must also be designed in color,"*[229] the buildings and interior spaces in this settlement also establish a relationship with their surroundings through colors. The design achieves visual impact by accentuating the entrances of Hufeisen with a bold blue color and utilizing the distinctive red hue of the buildings lining along *Fritz-Reuter-Allee*, which are also referred to as the *"Red Front."* The interior courtyard facades of the edifices, which resemble those of Karl-Marx-Hof, contribute to their distinctiveness. Although the exteriors of the structures embody a minimalist approach, they deviate from a simplistic modernist aesthetic.

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225   *New Building (neues Bauen) was a German architectural and urban planning movement from before World War I until the end of the Weimar Republic. It aimed to develop a new form of construction that prioritized social responsibility and avoided crowded and dark living spaces, which was achieved through the application of innovative materials, rationalization, typification, and minimalist interior design. Prominent examples of the New Building are the Bauhaus and New Frankfurt.*

226   Barbara Schrödl, "Loggien Als Logen. Bruno Tauts Konzeption Des Außenwohnraums,"
       Kunst Und Kirche - Ökumenische Zeitschrift Für Zeitgenössische Kunst Und Architektur 4 (2011): p. 24.

227   Room

228   Jeremy Till and Tatjana Schneider, "Flexible Housing: The Means to the End," *Arq: Architectural Research Quarterly 9*, no. 3-4 (2005): p. 290, https://doi.org/10.1017/s1359135505000345.

229   Keimfarben, ed., publication, *Erhalten & Gestalten*, vol. 1 (Augsburg: Fachverlag für Kundenmagazine), accessed April 2,
2023,   https://webkiosk.keim.com/keim-e-h-nr-1-farbe-als-gestaltungsmittel-im-schaffen-von-bruno-taut/63071307.
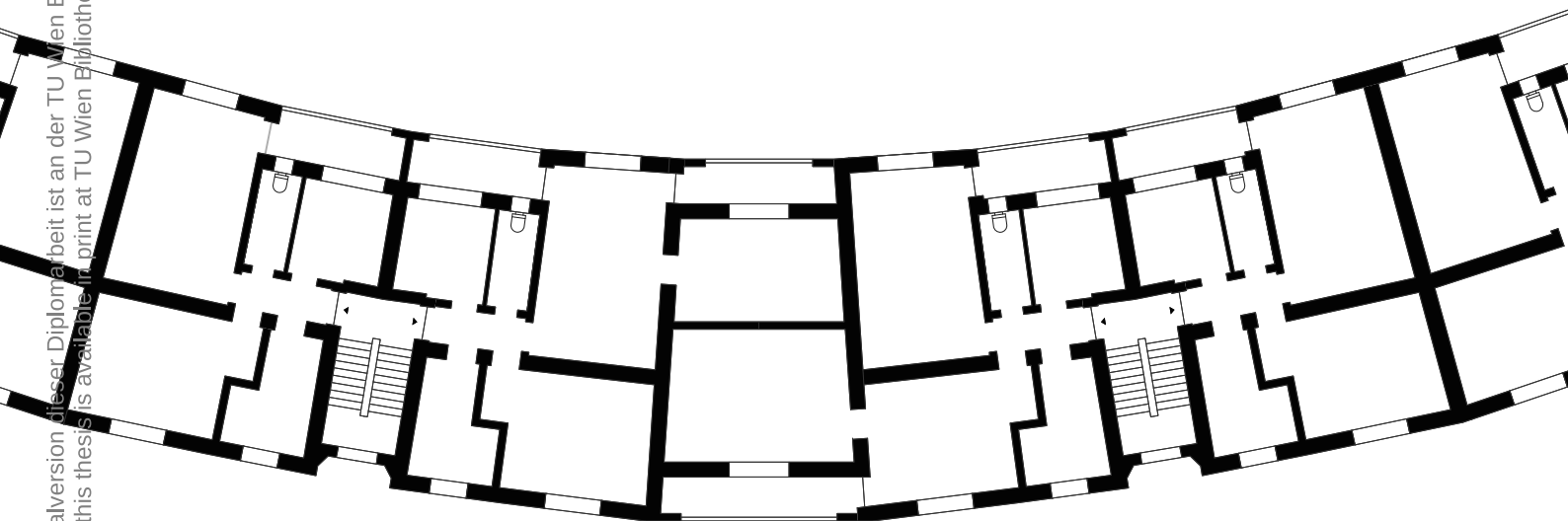
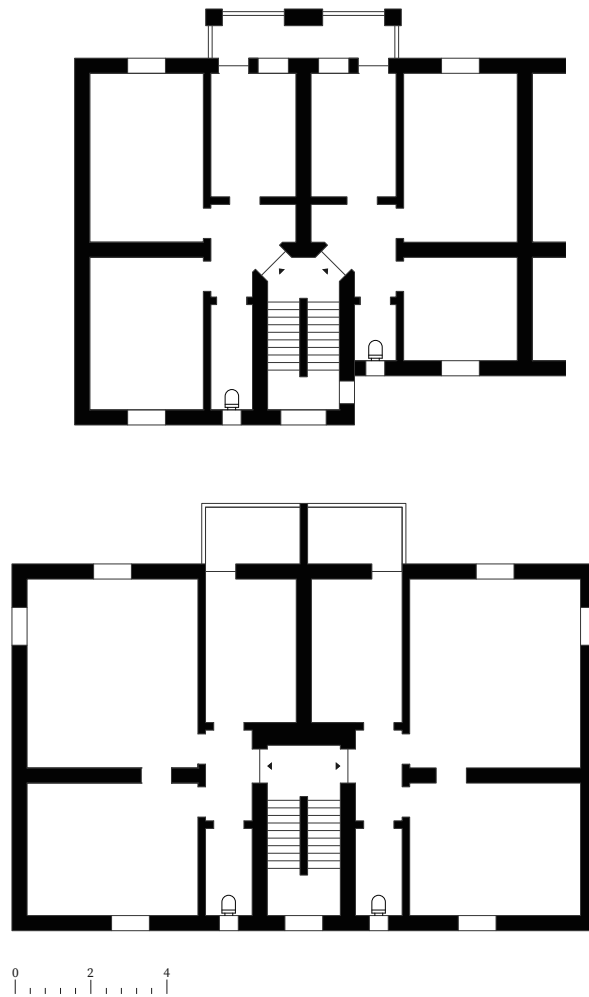Figure 6.42: Apartment Type I, Hufeisensiedlung - 1:200

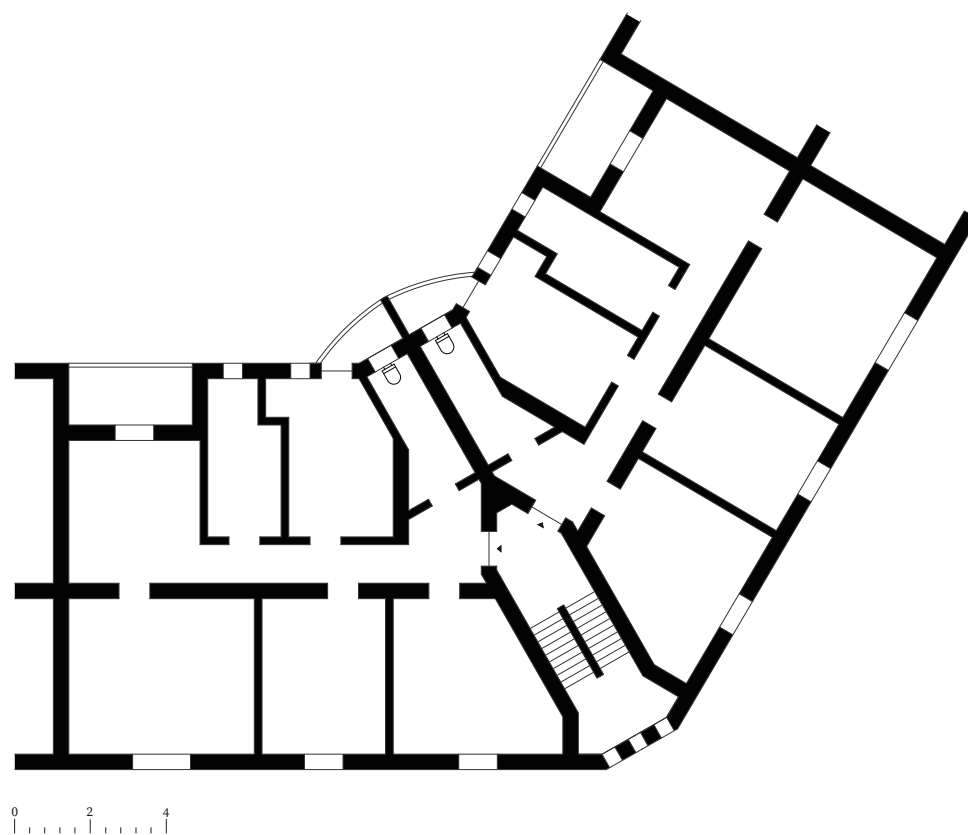Figure 6.43: Apartment Types II-III, Hufeisensiedlung - 1:200

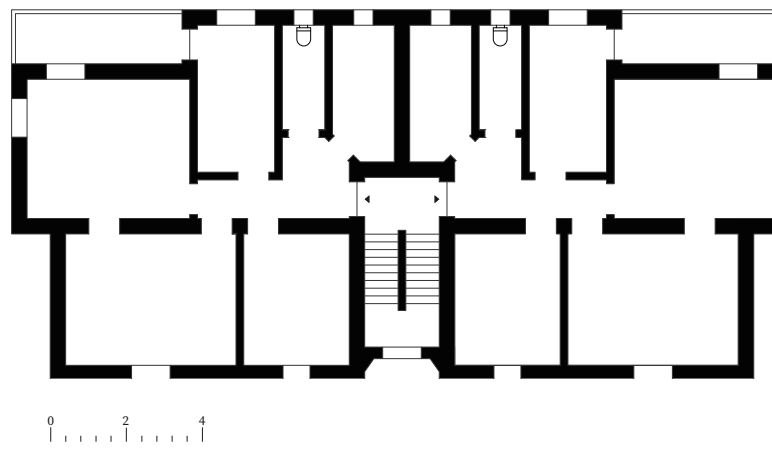Figure 6.44: Apartment Type IV, Hufeisensiedlung - 1:200

Figure 6.45: Apartment Type V, Hufeisensiedlung - 1:200
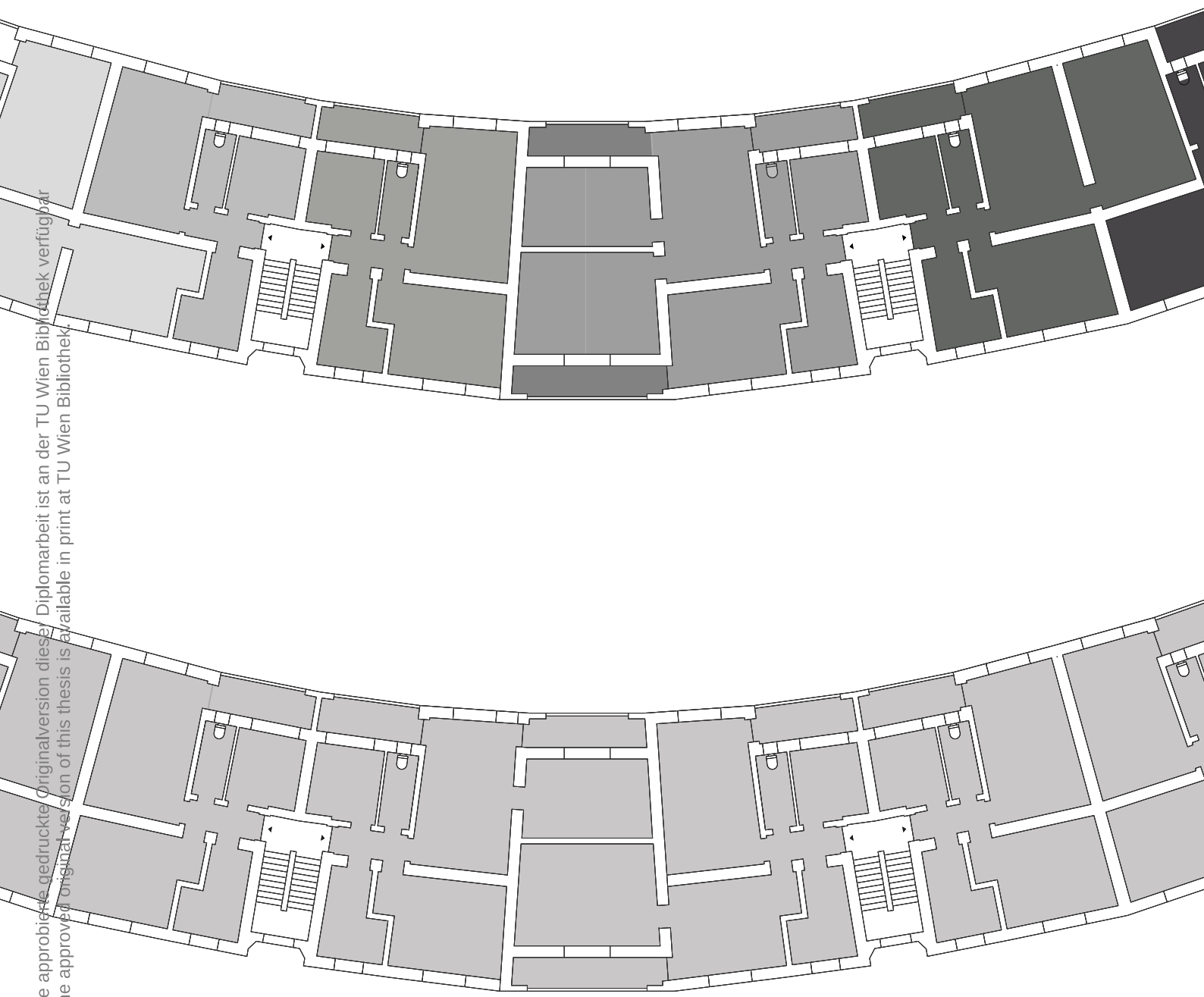
Figure 6.46: Potential flexible-use, Hufeisensiedlung - 1:200
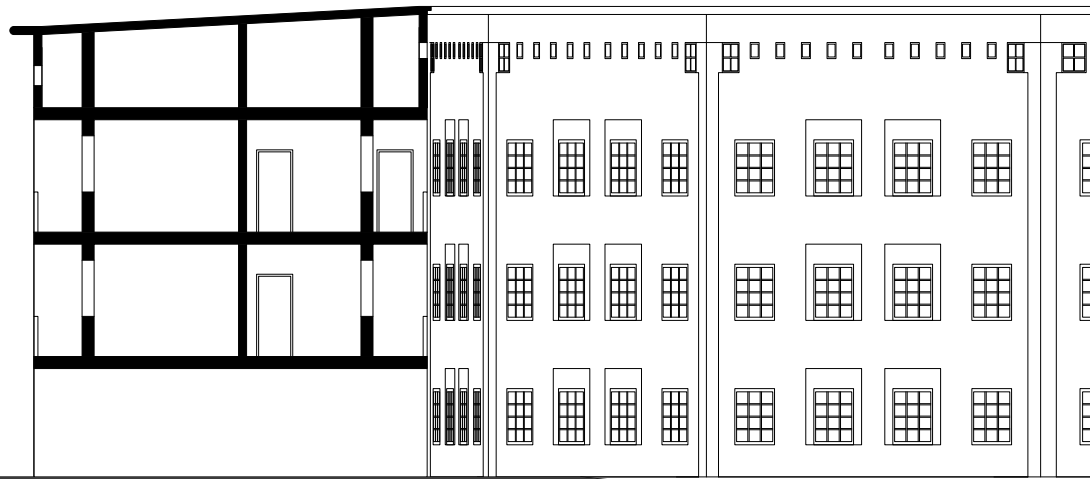
Figure 6.47: Section of apartment house, Hufeisensiedlung - 1:200

0 2 4 6 8 10
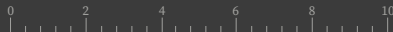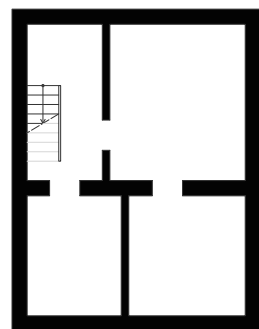
Basement
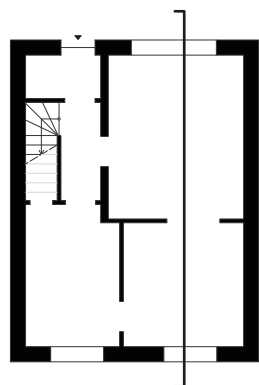
Ground Floor
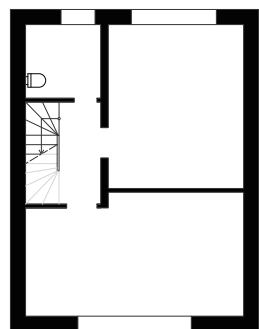
First Floor
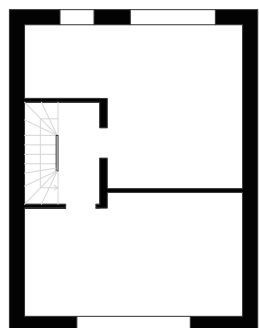
Attic

Figure 6.48: Plan, single-family house, Hufeisensiedlung - 1:200
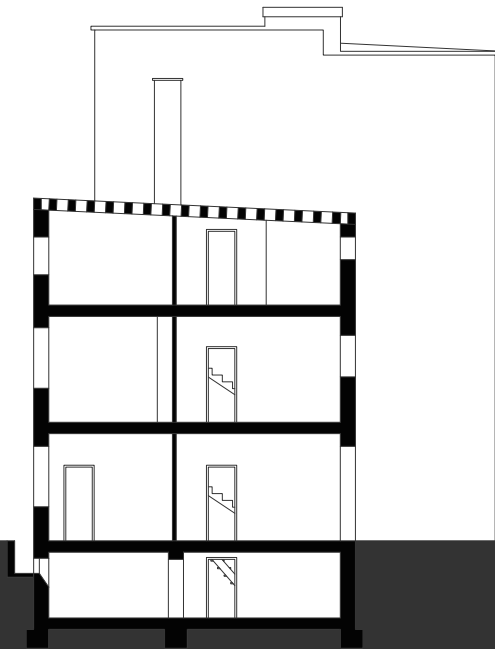
Figure 6.49: Section of single-family house, Hufeisensiedlung - 1:200
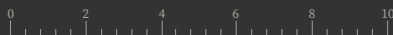
Figure 6.50: Aerial image, Hufeisensiedlung

Figure 6.51: Building site, Hufeisensiedlung

Figure 6.52: Building site, Hufeisensiedlung

Figure 6.53: Lake in the inner courtyard, Hufeisensiedlung

Figure 6.54: Front yards, Hufeisensiedlung

Figure 6.55: Settlement, Fritz-Reuter-Allee, Hufeisensiedlung

Figure 6.56: Passage through the main structure, Hufeisensiedlung

QUARRY
HILL
FLATS

Figure 6.57: Site plan, 1:3000
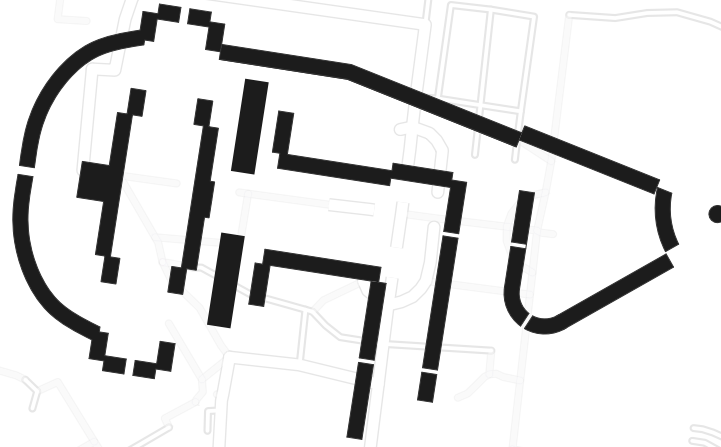
1938
LEEDS, ENGLAND
QUARRY HILL FLATS

The success of Red Vienna's social housing projects had a profound influence on architecture and urban planning in other countries. The principles of *Gemeindebau*, and its offerings such as facility services and the collective living it served were embraced by architects and planners around the world, who were inspired by the way in which Red Vienna had successfully combined social reform with architectural innovation. In 1932, the Leeds administration, who was looking for a solution to the housing problem, formed a delegation to examine working-class social housing and search for a prototype. Instead of going to places like Liverpool or London, the delegation preferred to visit Vienna, which had recently made its name known throughout the world with its achievements.[230] The outcome occurred as anticipated. Delegation visiting Vienna was very impressed with the Karl-Marx-Hof. The monumental building, which stood as a new symbol of the city, seemed also very valuable in terms of the creation of class consciousness. Following the visit, the Leeds committee established specific requirements and standards for the construction of flats. These included a minimum of 500 units per complex and a maximum of four floors. Even the third and fourth floors should be made up of duple apartments. The flat types should vary up to four bedrooms, and those planned for single rooms for the elderly should be located on the ground floor. And perhaps most significantly, each unit should have its own private toilet and bathroom. The architectural export of Vienna to Leeds was eloquently articulated by Dr. Sabrina Rahman of the University of Exeter as follows:

"Elements of Viennese social democracy travelled westward along the rail lines of the Westbahn, arriving perhaps unexpectedly in an inner-city pocket of the West Yorkshire capital."[231]

Richard Alfred Hardwick Livett, a young architect, successfully fulfilled the planning task by accommodating multiple requirements. Quarry Hill Flats were planned to have 938 apartments.[232] The project, in which the municipality sought to restrict land use to no more than 25 percent, was completed with a usage rate as low as 14 percent.[233] In contrast to the unitary structure of Karl Marx Hof, Quarry Hill comprised of five independent structures. The largest of these structures, with its long dimension and curved shape, created a semi-open inner courtyard while the other structures four-story buildings that the municipality had requested were positioned within the central courtyard. Through the combined influence of the design and land characteristics, the complex incorporated distinct segments comprising of four, five, and six stories above the ground floor. The design of the structure was based on the floor plans of Karl Marx Hof, and thus, the building

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230   Alison Ravetz, *Model Estate: Planned Housing at Quarry Hill, Leeds* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 50.
231   "Elements of Viennese social democracy travelled westward along the rail lines of the Westbahn, arriving perhaps unexpectedly in an inner-city pocket of the West Yorkshire capital."
232   Alison Ravetz, "Tenancy Patterns and Turnover at Quarry Hill Flats, Leeds," *Urban Studies* 8, no. 3 (1971): p. 182, https://doi.org/10.1080/00420987120080401.
233   Alison Ravetz, *Model Estate: Planned Housing at Quarry Hill, Leeds* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 51.

employed materials and technologies that were not typically utilized in construction and projects in Vienna. The presence of elevators enabled the structure to exceed the traditional four-story limit. The prefabrication method, which was used in social housing buildings in Germany during the same period but was not used in Vienna and was adopted in Quarry Hill, which was an innovation. The Mopin system, designed by Eugene Mopin and named after himself, was utilized as the construction method.[234] The prefabricated concrete blocks were placed around steel frames to form horizontal and vertical elements. Although the quality of the system was below expectations, it was more expensive than traditional construction methods. Material-related issues continued in subsequent years. These issues, along with the associated financial burden, prevented the implementation of many facilities that Livett and the municipality wanted to establish. For instance, only four of

the twenty planned shops were constructed. The architect's plans, including the community hall, sparts ground and especially the swimming pool, which was unusual for the time and still rare in many social housing projects today, were ultimately cancelled, even before realization. The placement of grand arches at the entrances of the complex not only imbued the structure with a great sense of monumentality, but also created the impression of a *brother of Karl-Marx-Hof*. Naming each building in the complex after notable individuals who played a significant role in the fight for justice in Leeds was not merely a physical manifestation, but a symbolic testament to the inspiration derived from Vienna's social housing program. The complex, which accommodated 3280 individuals after its construction,[235] began to experience building-related issues as time elapsed, which led to its demolition in 1978.

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234   Ben Philliskirk, "'Bogged down in Housing': Politics and Planning in Residential Leeds, 1954-1979", PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2016, p. 127.

235   Stephan Wade, *Leeds at War 1939-1945* (South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2017), p. 5.

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*"We believe we shall yet see
roses growing on Quarry
Hill."*
*Alderman H. A.H. Blacksah,
Chairman of Housing
Comittee*[236]

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236   David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain, 1945-1951* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2008), p. 598.
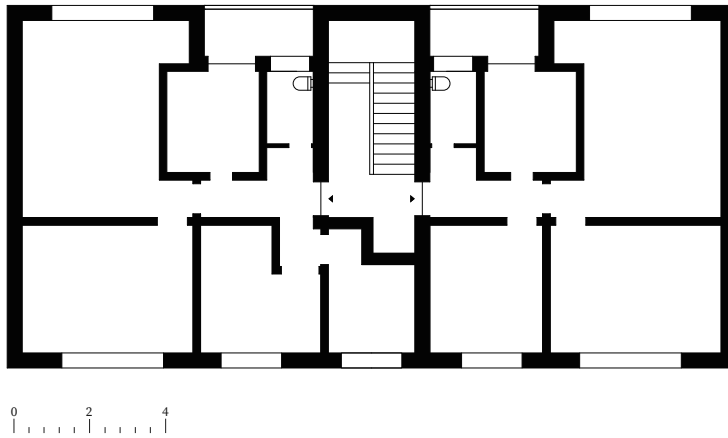
Figure 6.58: Plan, Quarry Hill Flats - 1:200
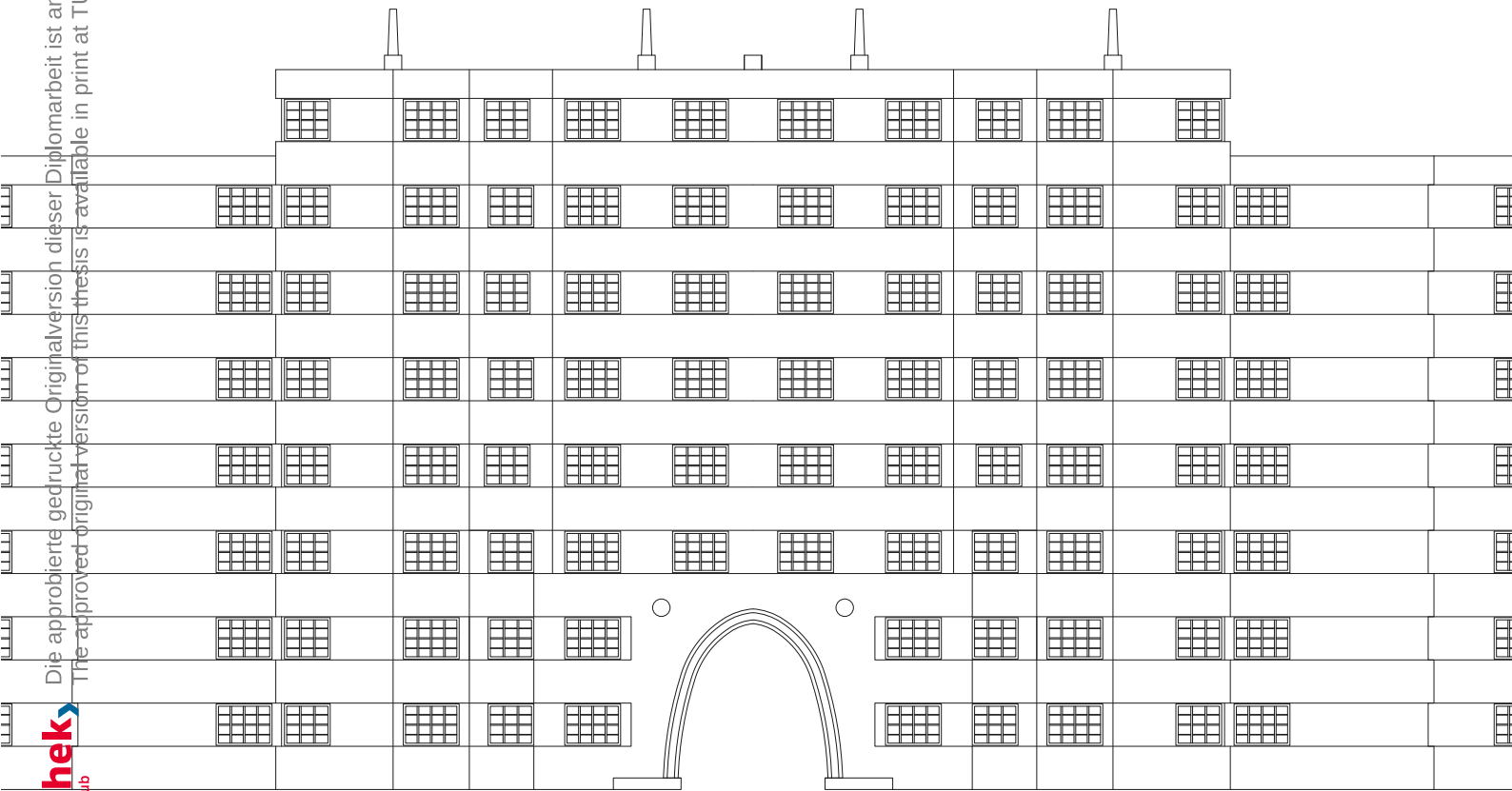
Figure 6.59: Elevation, Quarry Hill Flats

Figure 6.60: Urban placement, Quarry Hill Flats

Figure 6.61: During construction, Quarry Hill Flats

Figure 6.62: Archway, Quarry Hill Flats

Figure 6.63: Inner courtyard, after abandonment, Quarry Hill Flats

Figure 6.64: Main facade, Quarry Hill Flats

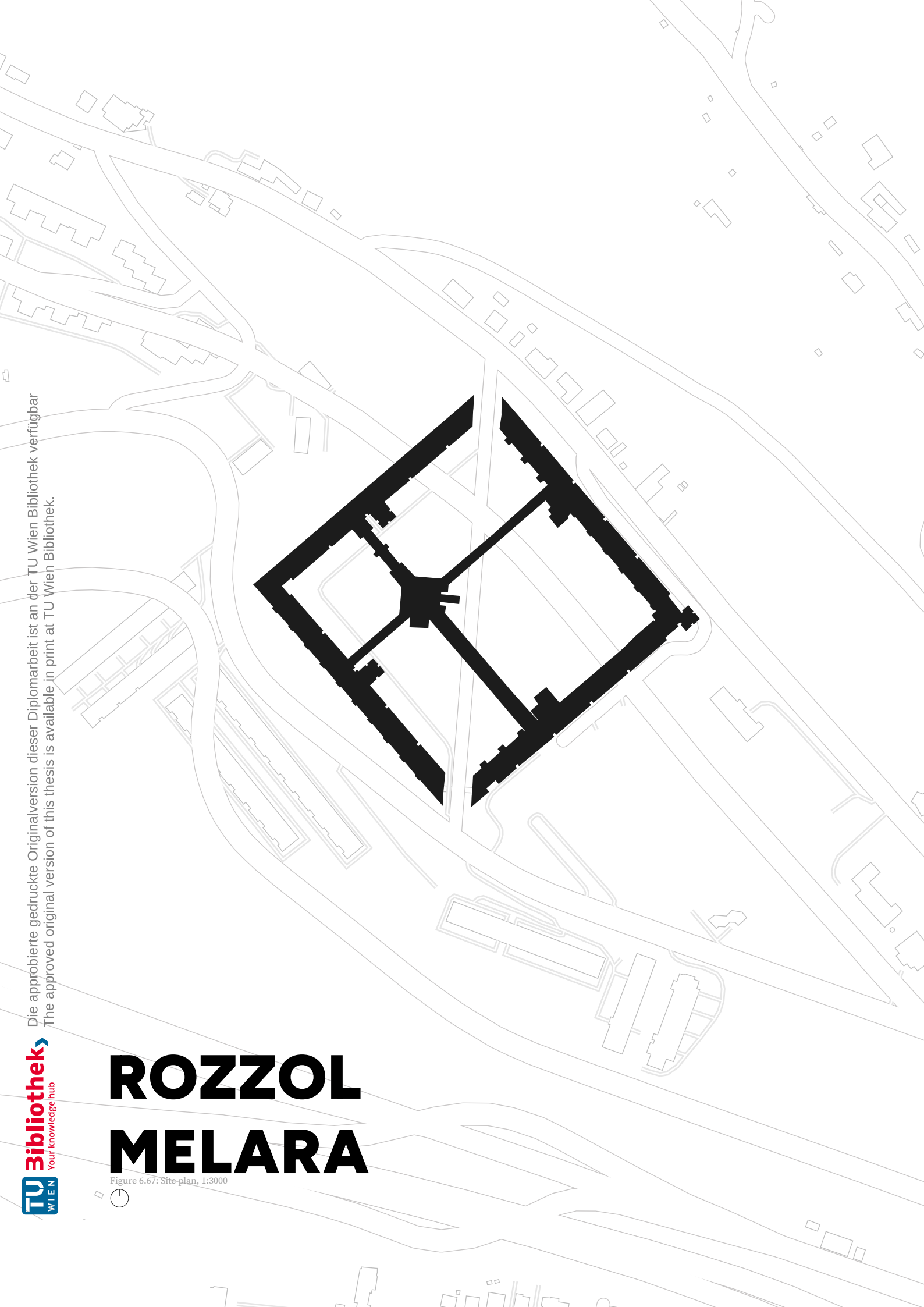Figure 6.65: Inner courtyard, Quarry Hill Flats

Figure 6.66: Archway after demolition, Quarry Hill Flats

ROZZOL
MELARA

Figure 6.67: Site plan, 1:3000

1968
TRIESTE, ITALY
ROZZOL MELARA

Italian linguist Maio Pei says *"Good architecture lets nature in."* Then here is one of the perhaps most controversial structures in the world. Le Corbusier's priory in Lyon, evolved and placed on an Italian mountainside in Trieste, Rozzol Melara… After a six-year work process, involving 29 architects led by Carlo Celli, the the brutalist living complex, whose design was initiated in 1968 was completed. Subsequently, the design was constructed completely until 1983. Still, the initial residents of the complex relocated in 1979, prior to its full completion, and the project ultimately hosted 648 social housing units accommodating 2500 residents. Positioned on a hill overlooking the city from the top of the valley, the architecture of Rozzol Melara has drawn attention for its contentious nature-architecture harmony. Comprised of two identical L-shaped blocks, one twice as high as the other, placed opposite each other on the land to form a square, an open courtyard is situated at the center of the courtyard. Inside the courtyard there are walking paths that lead to the collective center, which is also accessed from the buildings through bridge-like tunnels - a distinguishing feature from many residential structures. These tunnels intersect each other at a 90-degree angle over the inner courtyard and cross each other at the central structure. They have been likened to the Cardo and Decumanus Maximus,[237] which were used in ancient Roman city planning and played a significant role in the organization of the city. The central structure comprises Rozzol Melara's social center, health center, church, over 20 retail stores, and schools. It creates access to the parking garage below and serves also as the main point of entrance to the complex. With all these features, although it is not located in the exact center of the courtyard, it has become the center of the complex.

The ground floor of the central structure houses commercial units and it has a height of four meters. As a resident enters the structure and ascend to the first floor, they can navigate to their respective buildings through interconnected horizontal tunnels. The same level serves as a pathway for horizontal circulation, leading to a corridor fitted with circular windows that provide entry to the desired apartment's stairs/elevator. Each of the four residential blocks boasts a total of 40 staircases, providing access to two apartments on each floor and facilitating vertical circulation.[238] Notably, the Viennese *Gemeindebau* frequently employs the practice of limiting the number of apartments per staircase, which is also observed in Rozzol Melara. However, unlike Gemeindebau the complex requires its residents to navigate both horizontal and vertical circulation paths, unlike. To reach their apartment from outside, individuals are required to follow a sequence of vertical, horizontal, and vertical circulation paths, as previously mentioned. The apartments have been designed to be dual-oriented, with views directed towards both the inner courtyard

237   Patrizia Montuori, "Between Rome, Naples and Trieste. Corviale and Other Megastructures: New Places of Cultural Exchange and Insubordination in the Contemporary City," *Designarecon* 13, no. 25 (December 2020): p. 4, https://doi.org/ https://doi.org/10.20365/disegnarecon.25.2020.23

238   Martin Feiersinger and Werner Feiersinger, *Italomodern: Architektur in Oberitalien 1946 - 1976* (Vienna: Springer Verlag, 2012), p. 288.

and the outside. Furthermore, each apartment is equipped with multiple balconies, offering views on both sides. Apart from the four primary apartment types, the complex also includes some units with special types located at one end of each of the four buildings.

The facilities integrated into the structure have allowed it to function like an independent small town (*in this case even further than Gemeindebau.)* In contrast to Viennese *Gemeindebauten*, in Rozzol Melara the internal courtyard is not isolated from outside world. While in Vienna, the complex surrounding the courtyard is enclosed like a fortress wall, here, the buildings surrounding the courtyard are elevated from the ground through concrete columns, thus providing full physical and visual openness between the courtyard and the outside. The diagonal Louis Pasteur Street running between the two masses of the structure connects the city over Carlo Forlanini Street on one end and Carlo De Marchesetti Street on the other.

Nevertheless, project embodied a pursuit towards realizing a utopian design, yet similar endeavors have been met with a lack of success in attaining the intended outcome. In the end, Rozzol Melara exemplified a *"typical urban problem,"* gets labeled as an example of a *"vertical slum."*[239] The reasons behind this failure generally stem from the fact that, while utopian ideas may emerge from a dream laboratory where all conditions are ideal, in the realization process, they are subject to factors

such as construction process, materials, quality, resident profiles, management process, and urban sociology, which may not conform to the planned ideal. Consequently, these endeavors can be viewed as a pursuit to surpass reality but inevitably confront the reality itself.

239   Raimondo Strassoldo, "La Percezione e Valutazione Dell'Ambiente Costruito: Il Caso Di Un Grande Complesso IACP a Trieste' [Perception and Evaluation of the Built Environment: The Case of a Large IACP Complex in Trieste]," in *Immagine Soggettiva e Ambiente: Problemi, Applicazioni e Strategie Della Ricetrca [Subjective Image and Environment: Problems, Applications and Research Strategies]*, ed. Elisa Bianchi, Felice Perussia, and Mario F. Rossi (Milano: Ed. Unicopli, 1987), p. 170, https://www.raimondostrassoldo.it/articoli/1_territorio/3_abitazione/1987_da_pessac_a_fort_apache_2/file.PDF
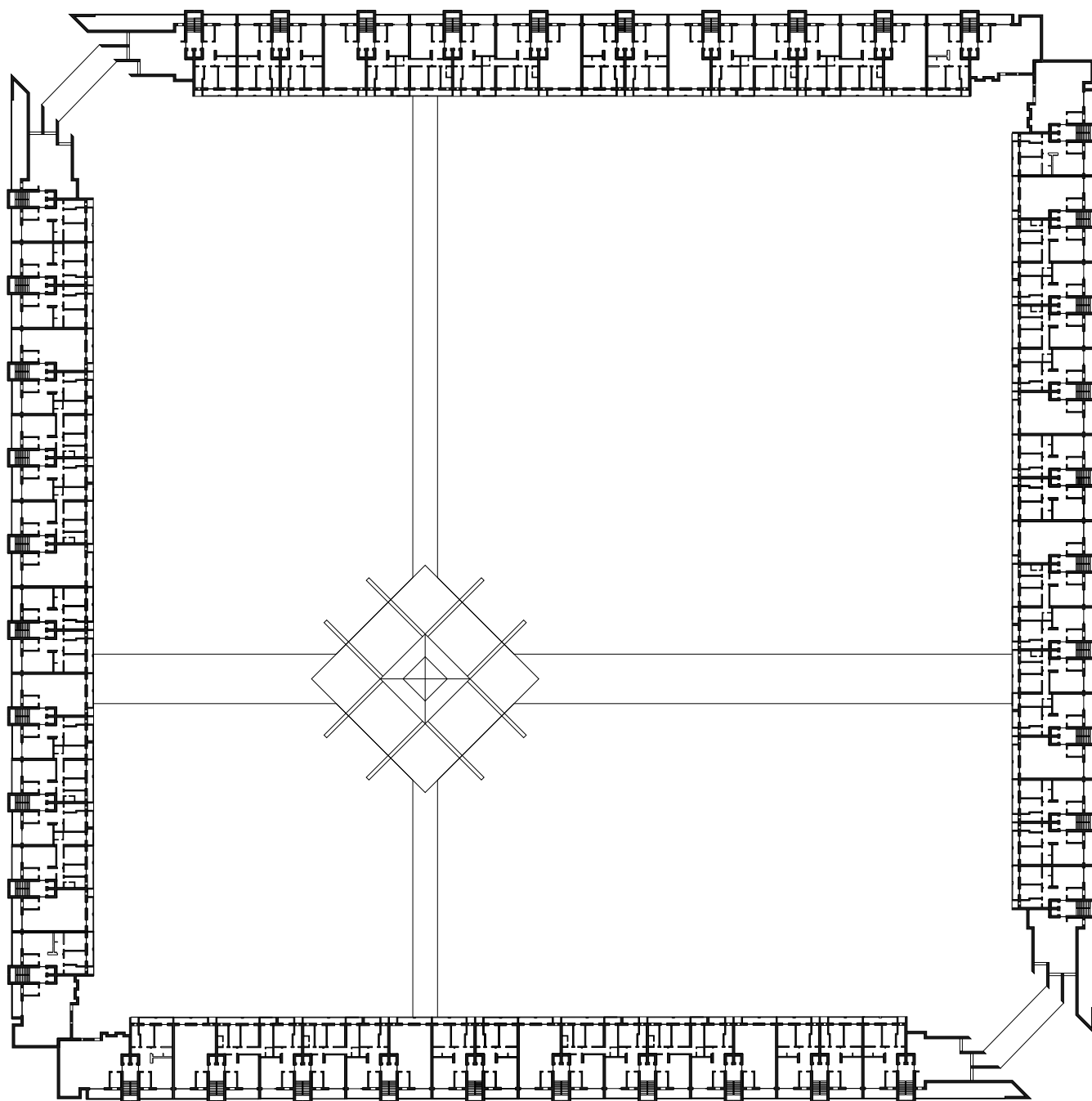
Figure 6.68: Overview, Rozzol Melara - 1:1000

0   10   20   30   40   50
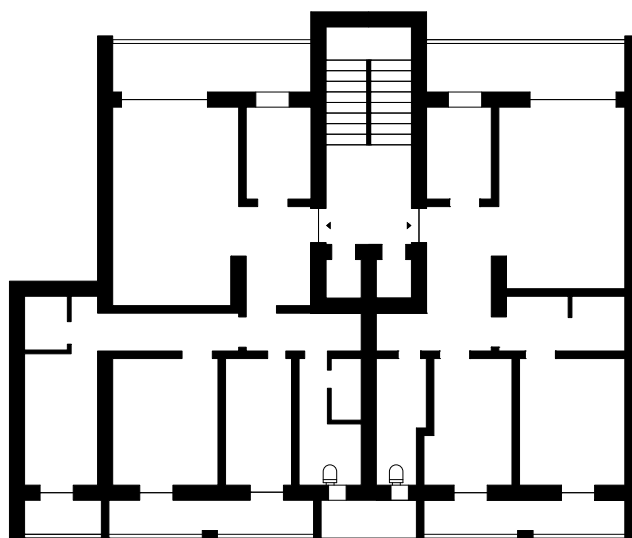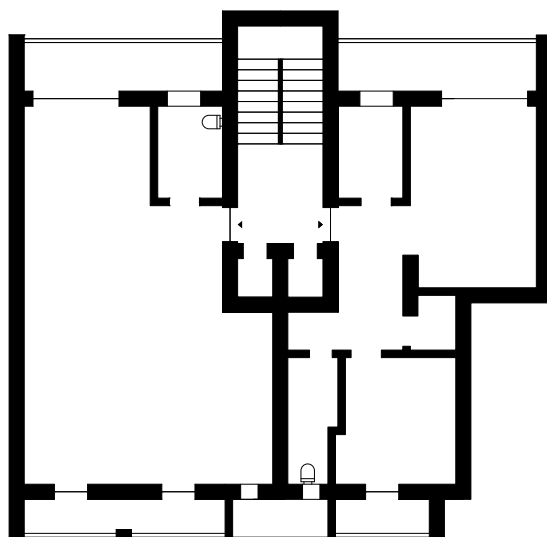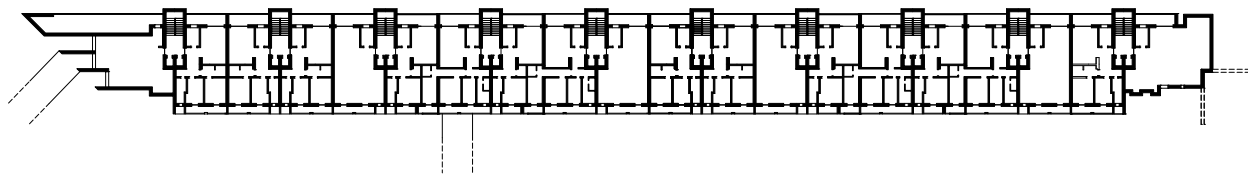
Figure 6.69: Apartment types I-IV, Rozzol Melara - 1:200
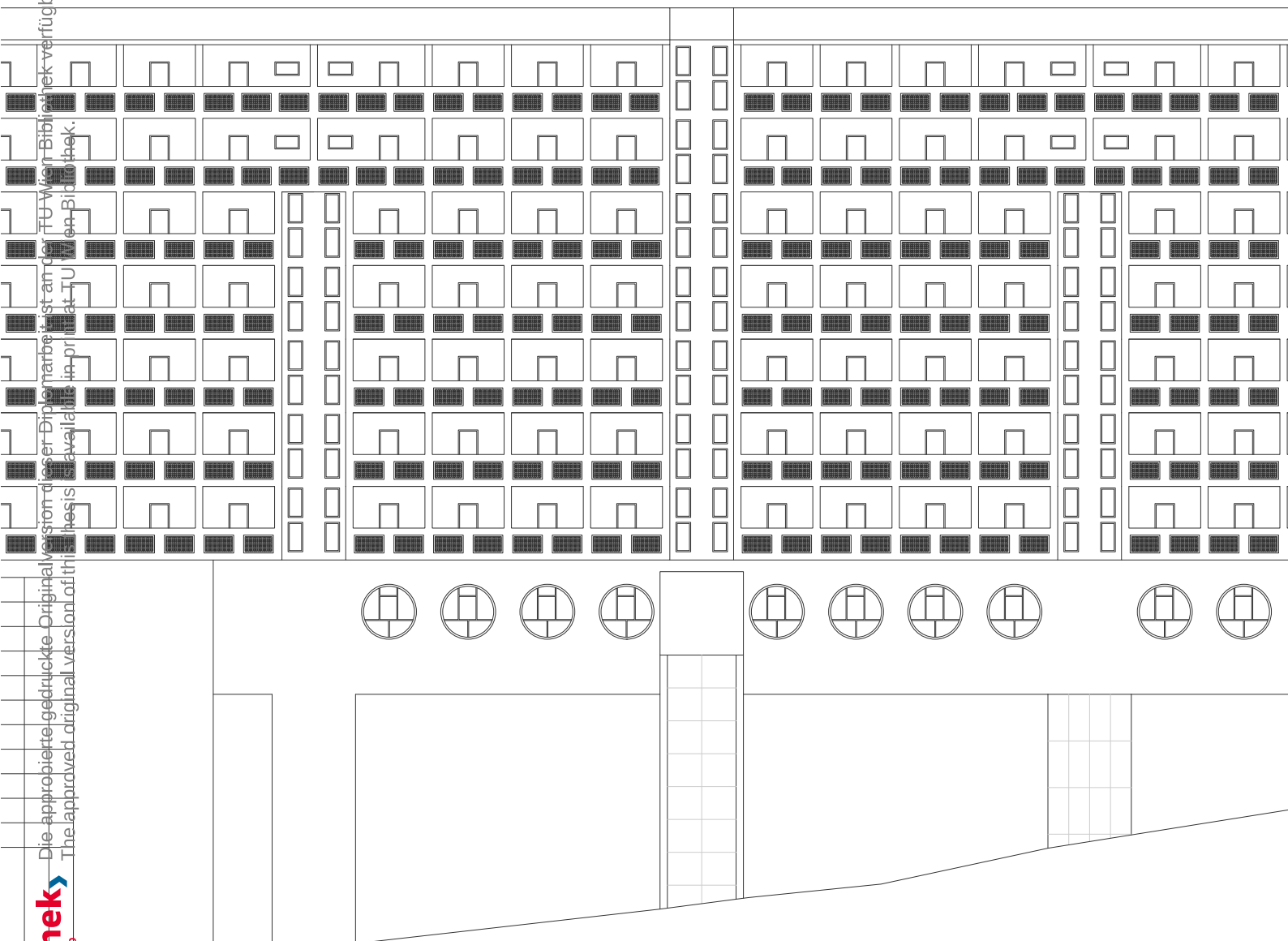
Figure 6.70: Elevation, Rozzol Melara
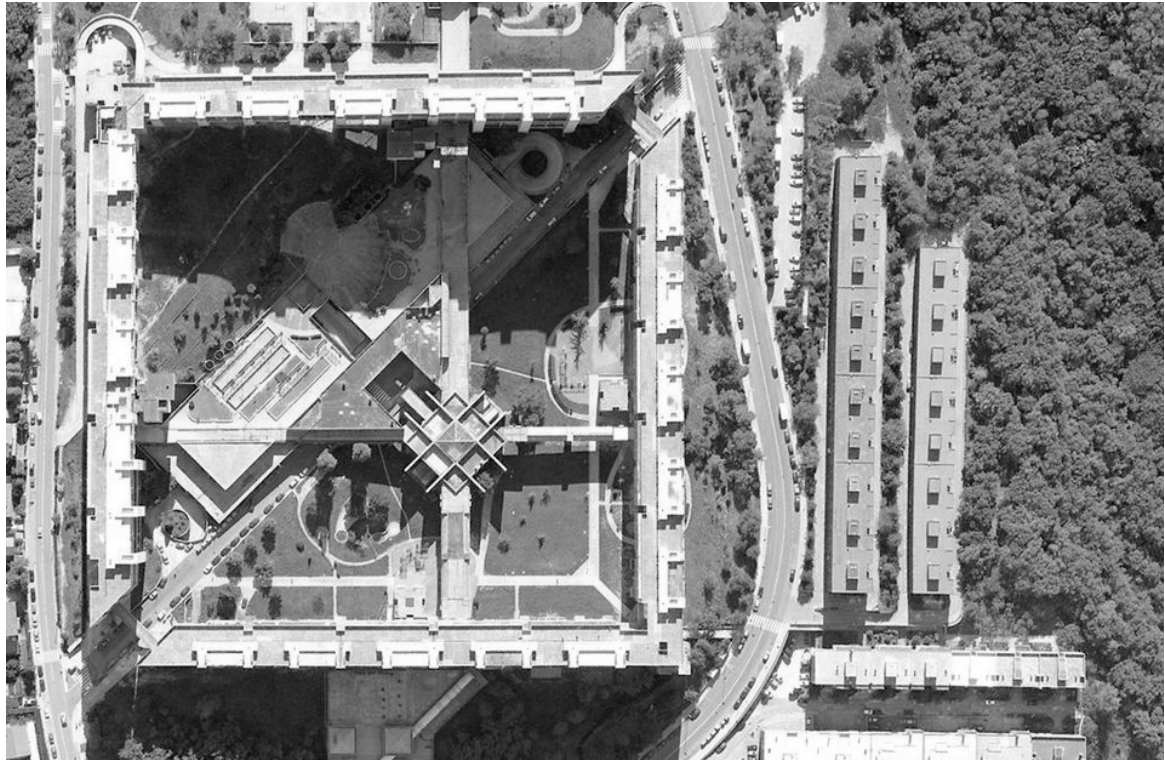
Figure 6.71: Top view, Rozzol Melara

Figure 6.72: Corner connection, Rozzol Melara

Figure 6.73: Context with nature, Rozzol Melara

Figure 6.74: Cantilever detail, Rozzol Melara

Figure 6.75: Facade, Rozzol Melara

Figure 6.76: Hanging corridors, Rozzol Melara

Figure 6.77: Access floor, Rozzol Melara

Figure 6.78: Windows in access corridor, Rozzol Melara

Figure 6.79: Meeting area in the central structure, Rozzol Melara

EXCURSUS

DAS NEUE FRANKFURT 1925-1930

Following the criticisms from proponents of German modernism, this section focuses on the parallel architectural production of these individuals in Frankfurt during the same period. Rather than a chapter, it serves as an excursion from Vienna to Frankfurt. This excursus aims to highlight the key features, goals, and impact of this influential project, as well as to draw comparisons to the Red Vienna model. Understanding the New Frankfurt, a housing program based on the Existenzminimum concept, is valuable not only for better contextualizing the criticisms towards Vienna but also for observing two different approaches within the general architectural trends of the era.

ERNST MAY AND EXISTENZMINIMUM

In a similar manner to Vienna, Frankfurt was another city struggling with the aftermath of World War I and the issue of homelessness. After being elected as the mayor, Ludwig Landmann wanted to implent a social housing program and therefore appointed Ernst May as the head of *Stadtbaurat*[240] with extensive powers. May, who saw this as a great opportunity to realize his idea of creation of *"neues Wohnen"*, accepted the proposal. The program in Frankfurt was the most comprehensive compared to other programs of the Weimar Republic, and the experimental initiative produced 15,474 housing units[241] between 1926 and 1930. The project became an important reference point for modern architecture.

The *"Neue Sachlichkeit"*, an influential German art movement that emerged after World War I, emphasized the depiction of modern life in an objective style. The movement reacted against expressionism and found significant representation in architecture, as well as in other fields such as art, literature, and photography. Rather than a philosophical interpretation of objectivity, the movement was a much more pragmatic and utilitarian approach that stood in opposition to the preceding romantic and stylistic approaches to architecture. Since the movement constituted the essence of the Deutsche Werkbund, social housing programs of the period, which were implemented both in Frankfurt and in other cities throughout the country, were in relatioship with it. Ernst May led a project in which prominent figures such as Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Walter Gropius, Adolf Meyer, and Mart Stam designed 26 different housing settlements in just five years. Architects were endeavoring to establish the *"Wohnkultur"*[242] through new dwelling, with the goal of creating the new human through the *"Wohnkultur."* The progressive solutions produced for the post-war housing of the new human and the established standards with norms that would greatly influence the period and future architecture. In addition, during this process, while new concepts such as Schütte-Lihotzky's famous Frankfurt Kitchen and the May System emerged, design and construction experiments were entirely focused on functionality, rationality, and standardization. Keeping construction costs as low as possible would enable its price to be kept low. Due to the increase in land prices, the creation of apartments in economic dimensions became necessary. Therefore, apartment sizes should be reduced, but without any negative impact on the quality of life. This effort to maximize the quality of life within the minimized space for housing brought about the concept of *"Existenzminimum,"* also known as the minimum housing. To balance the creation of small unit sizes, elements such as innovative furniture design and functional flexibility became increasingly important within the apartments. This newly created space allowed for significant space savings on a large scale.

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240   City building council.

241   Ferdinand Kramer and Lore Kramer, "Erinnerungen an Das „Neue Frankfurt"," *Bauwelt*, no. 28 (1986), p. 1054–58, accessed April 29, 2023, https://www.bauwelt.de/dl/731093/FaM_Kramer.pdf

242   The term *"Wohnkultur"* refers to the *"culture of living"* or the *"art of living."* In the context of residential German architecture, it refers to the design and organization of living spaces in a manner that enhances the quality of life of the inhabitants. It includes considerations such as functionality, comfort, aesthetics, and the efficient use of space, as well as cultural and social aspects that influence the way people live and interact with their environment.

In fact, as a result of efforts to push the limits of savings and rationalize every task within the home, the famous Frankfurt Kitchen was born. According to its successors, the structures with modern, sharp design language with large windows, unadorned and usually white facades that immediately attract attention emerged, which appear as the products of a pure materialization without any ornament or authentic form. They were generally built in the form of cubic blocks that would not exceed 4-5 floors and even mostly were out of row houses. A typical Frankfurt settlement was a two story detached single-family house.[243] Buildings were frequently built in the row housing style, with open, empty corridors between them, to respond to the gloomy and dark atmosphere of the pre-war Mietskaserne dwellings. Professor Susan R. Henderson of Syracuse University saw the Zeilenbau method as more than just buildings arranged in a row at intervals and expressed her thoughts in a particular way:

"Zeilenbau site plans were cheap to build, and, in a strict sense, were more democratic than variegated ones. In their extreme redundancy, provided the formal rigor requisite to utopia."[244]

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243   Silke Juchter and Wolfgang Sasse, *Rationalisierung Des Raums - Ernst May Neues Bauen in Frankfurt* (Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, 2018), p. 7 accessed April 26, 2023, https://konzept-und-entwurf.muthesius-kunsthochschule.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/17/2018/10/gestalterportrait_s4uysm.pdf

244   Susan R. Henderson, Building Culture: Ernst May and the New Frankfurt Initiative, 1926-1931 (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2013), p. 400.
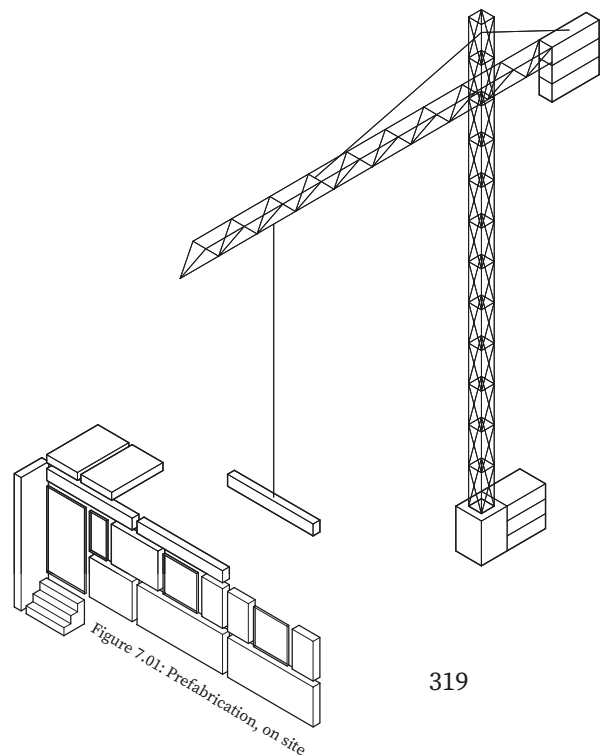
Figure 7.01: Prefabrication, on site

319
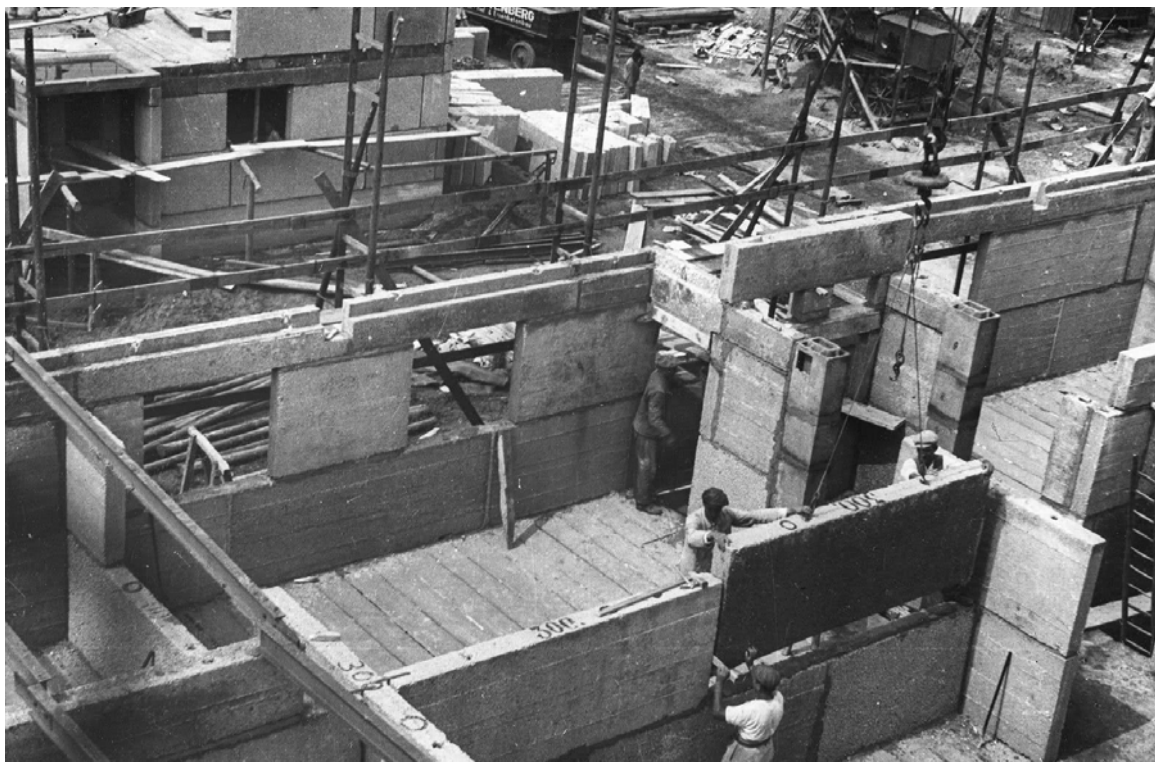
Figure 7.02: Construction site, Frankfurt

Figure 7.03: Prefabrication of building material

1926-1927

Bruchfeldsiedlung

Construction started in 1926, Siedlung Bruchfeldstraße comprises around 650 units, which are 56 or 65 square meter sized and are 3 and 2 room apartments residential units, including 49 row houses, and represents an early example of New Frankfurt architecture. The edifice was considered to be a herald of the new architectural era, as it deviated from the typical morphology. The central residential block was notable for the movement on its facade, earning the complex the nickname *"Zick-Zack-Häuser."* The project featured a variety of apartment types and plans, such as 2-3 room units with sizes ranging from 56 to 65 square meters in multi-story buildings, as well as detached houses measuring 49 square meters built according to the same plan as the row houses. Although the project provided central heating in all apartments, the monthly rents were prohibitively expensive, amounting to nearly half of a worker's monthly income, rendering the social housing initiative unaffordable for workers. It would not be difficult for an observer of Burchfeldstraße, with its portal structures and water areas, to establish a connection between it, Red Vienna, and even the urbanistic approach of Hufeisensiedlung.[245]

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245   Frankfurt: Siedlung Bruchfeldstraße," Vielfalt der Moderne | Architektur und Kunst 1900 - 1935, April 28, 2023, https://vielfaltdermoderne.de/siedlung-bruchfeldstrasse/.
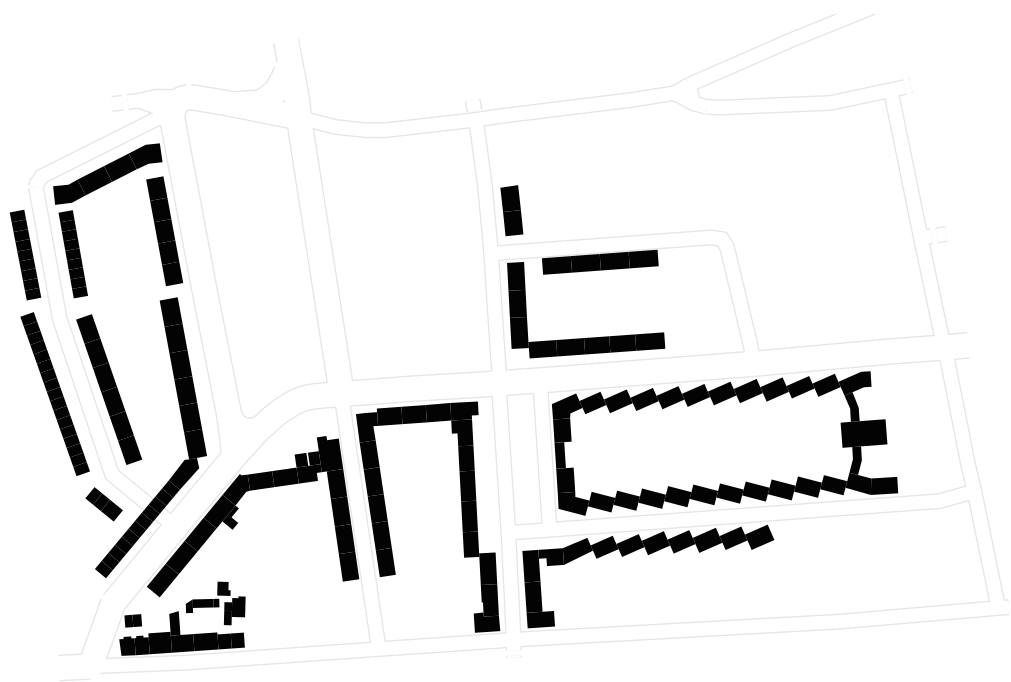
Figure 7.04: Siteplan, Siedlung Bruchfeldstraße - 1:5000

0   50   100   150   200

Figure 7.05: Plan, Siedlung Bruchfeldstraße - 1:200

323

Figure 7.06: Roof terraces, Siedlung Bruchfeldstraße

Figure 7.07: Inner courtyard, Siedlung Bruchfeldstraße

Figure 7.08: Interior yards, Siedlung Bruchfeldstraße

1927 -1928

Römerstadt

The project *Römerstadt*, which began being constructed one year after *Bruchfeldstraße* settlement, consisted of 553 single-family houses and housed 1220 residences. Built on a sloping hill that runs parallel to the Nidda River, the project effectively integrated topography and architecture.

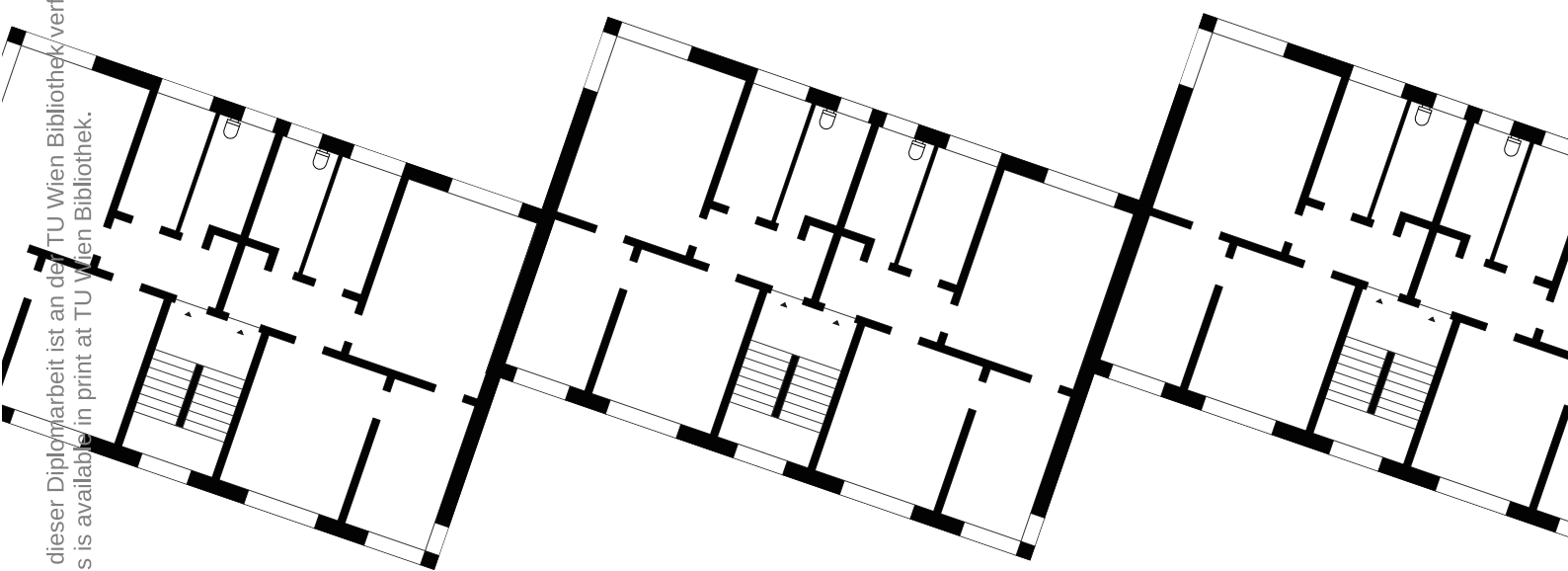In the project, a rigorous approach to row housing was employed, where the sections of land closer to the river were reserved for the construction of two-story terraced houses, while the placement of relative higher apartment buildings was favored towards the rear. Most houses had roof terraces that provided a beautiful experience of the river to the residents. While detached houses had a garden in front of them, these gardens were planned by Leberecht Migge taking self-sufficiency into consideration. Migge, a fan of the English Garden City concept, also created these gardens to provide a certain degree of independence to families in times of crisis for food supply. Thanks to the buildings created with double facades, there was no hierarchy of direction, and each apartment and therefore each resident was equalized.

The complex also housed a school. Even today it is still possible to read May's architectural understanding and urban planning by looking at the Römerstadt project. The complex, consisting of 2-storey detached houses and 3-4 storey multi-storey apartments, had 2, 3 and 4-room residences. The units in Römerstadt were equipped with both a central heating system and Frankfurt Kitchen.

Additionally, these units were supplied with electricity through an economical night-time electric service, which marked the first instance of its use in Germany.[246] On the other hand, the critics of the time accused May of creating projects in Römerstadt that would impress other architects, rather than truly creating affordable, social housing. While the project received great interest from the people of Frankfurt, this interest was generally shown by upper-class white-collar workers. This was because the quality of the housing, its amenities, and its associated costs made it inaccessible to the working class.[247] Again…

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246   Rainer Jaenicke, publication, *Siedlung Römerstadt* (Enst-May-Gesellschaft, October 2005), https://ernst-may-gesellschaft. de/fileadmin/Redakteure/Seiten_Anlagen/DNF/Wohnsiedlungen/Roemerstadt/RoemerstadtA4.pdf.
247   Susan R. Henderson, "Römerstadt: The Modern Garden City," *Planning Perspectives 25*, no. 3 (2010): p. 326, 340, https:// doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2010.481182.

Figure 7.09: Site plan, Römerstadt - 1:5000

0   50   100   150   200

Basement floor   Ground floor   Attic floor
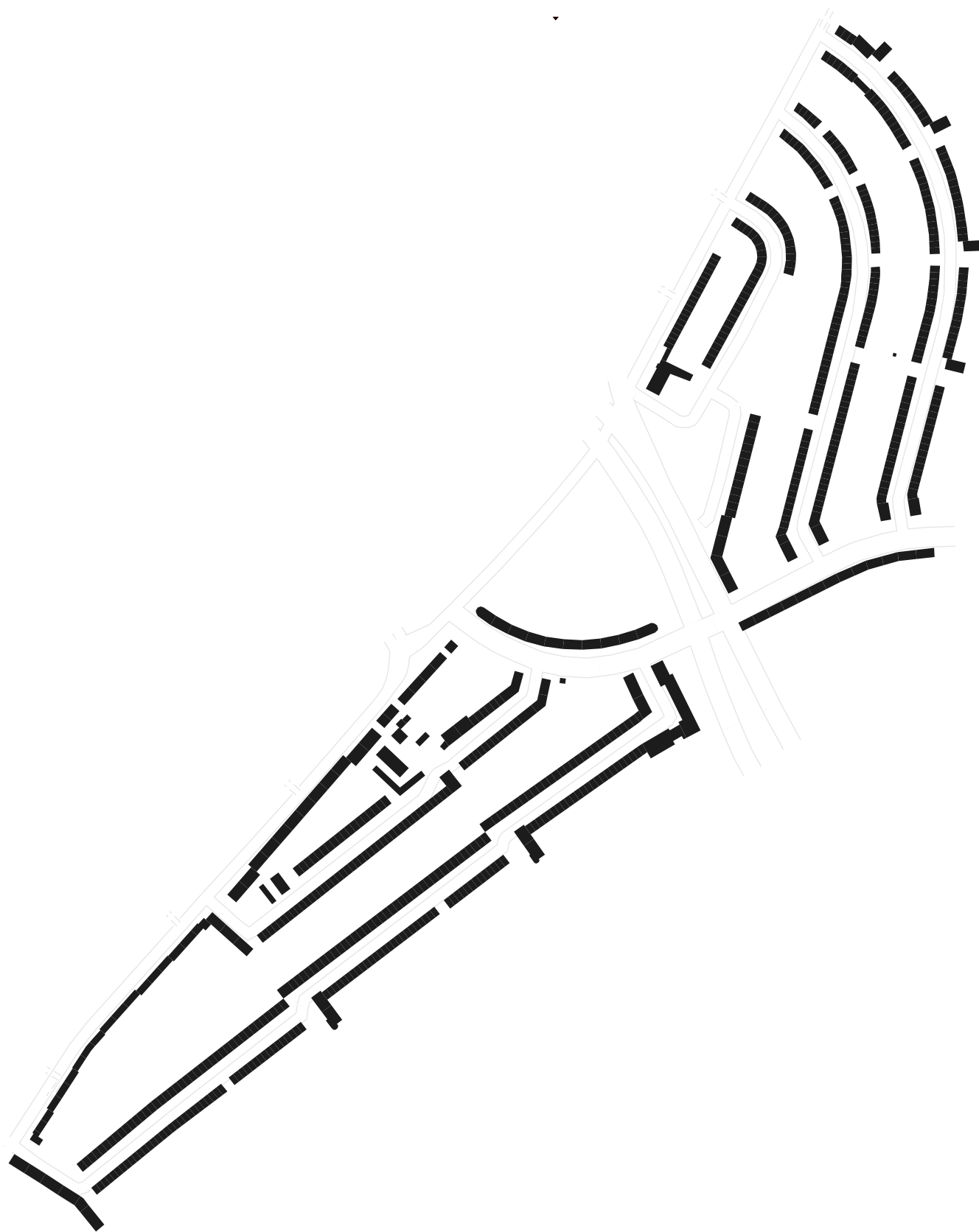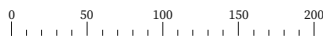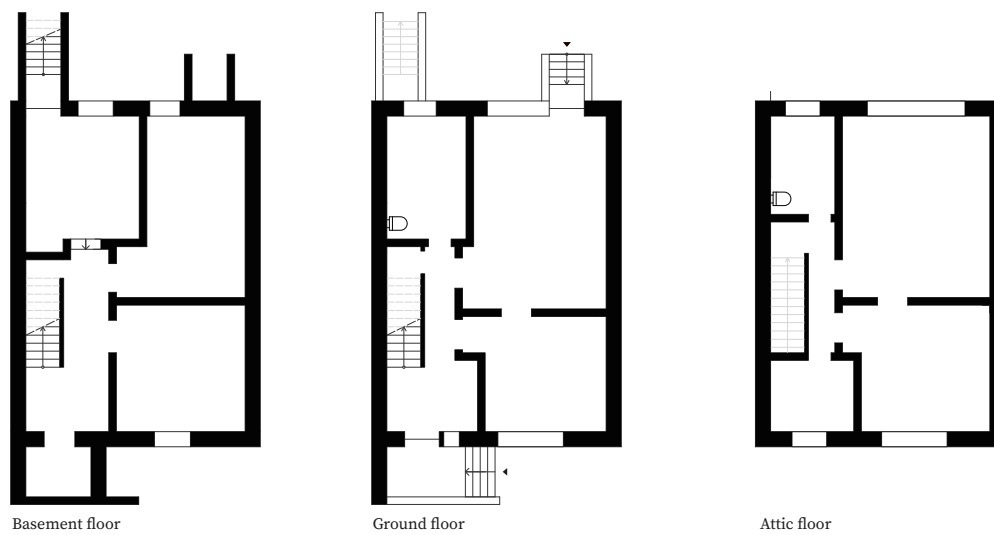
Figure 7.10: Plan of single-family house, Römerstadt - 1:200

Figure 7.11: Houses with front yards, Römerstadt

Figure 7.12: Rowhouse, Römerstadt

1929-1932

Westhausen & Hellerhof

Due to the initial projects surpassing the budgetary constraints of the intended audience, May and Stam implemented a drastic policy aimed at reducing costs. This was to be achieved through stricter standardization and pushing the limits of *existenzminimum* even further. This was made possible with the construction of the Westhausen and Hellerhof projects that began in 1929.

Both projects, built on a flat terrain, housed 1,116 and 1,194 flats respectively with strict geometric forms. As a result, affordable housing for workers was produced. However, when considering the interest of the important figures of the New Frankfurt movement in the Garden City concept, it will be a matter of debate to what extent these houses were produced in accordance with this concept. Especially the Westhausen project, with its external facade and layout, resembles stacked military barracks. Hellerhofsiedlung, on the other hand, with its exterior design and has an interesting structure that reveals its modernist approach.

The flats, which are 40 and 42 square meters in size, were equipped again with Frankfurt Kitchens. The building, consisting of units with a width of 7.50 meters, [248] remains spacious even compared to today's reihenhaus.

The dwellings were created with one small and one large room connected to the living area and the apartment located next to the staircase of the access corridor, were bigger and had an extra room.

In Hellerhof settlement, however, this minimization for space-saving purposes has reached much more advanced levels. The dwelling, which reminds heavily of Bruchfeldstraße with its plan, appeared as a different variation that was narrowed from the sides. In the project, the housing sizes were reduced to up to 33 square meters.

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248   Axel Huth, publication, *Westhausen* (Ernst-May-Gesellschaft, October 2006), https://ernst-may-gesellschaft.de/fileadmin/Redakteure/Seiten_Anlagen/DNF/Wohnsiedlungen/Westhausen/westhausenA4.pdf.
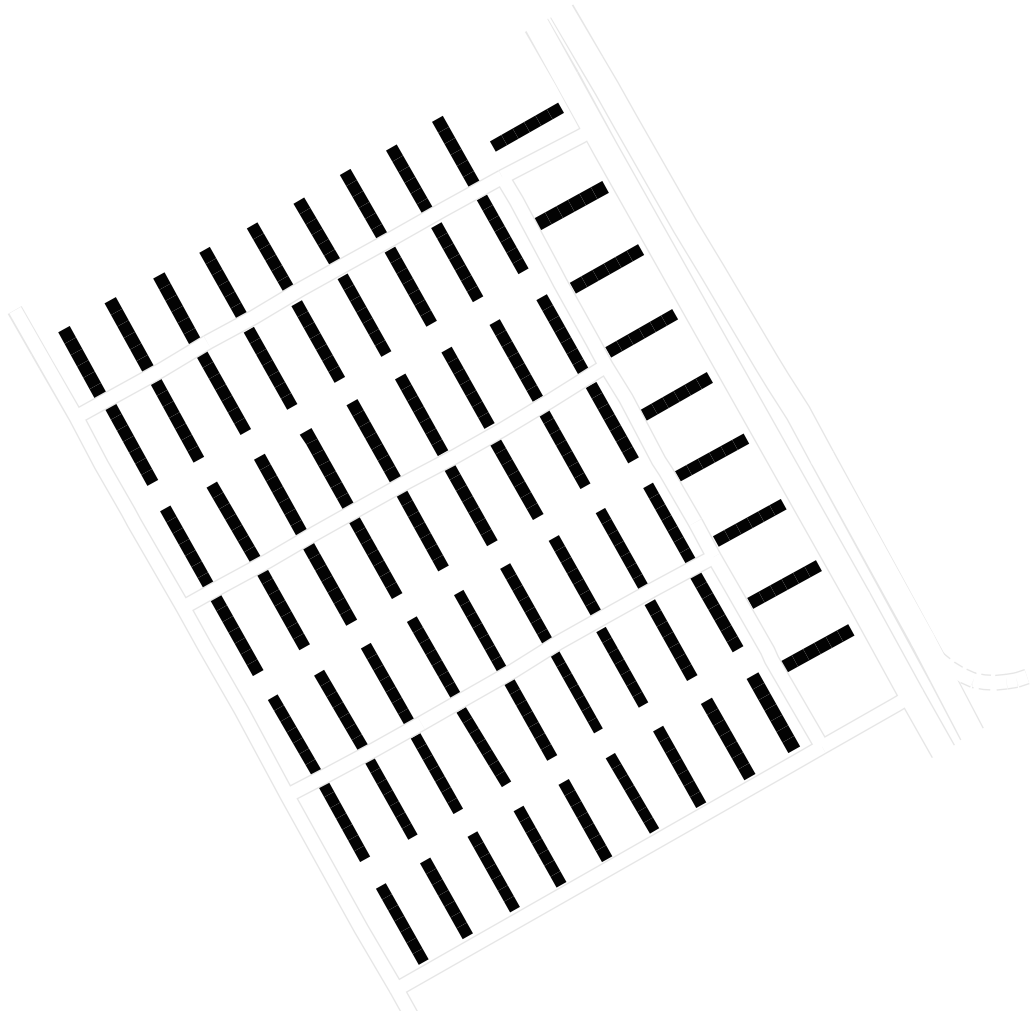
Figure 7.13: Site plan, Siedlung Westhausen - 1:5000
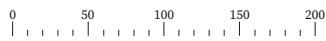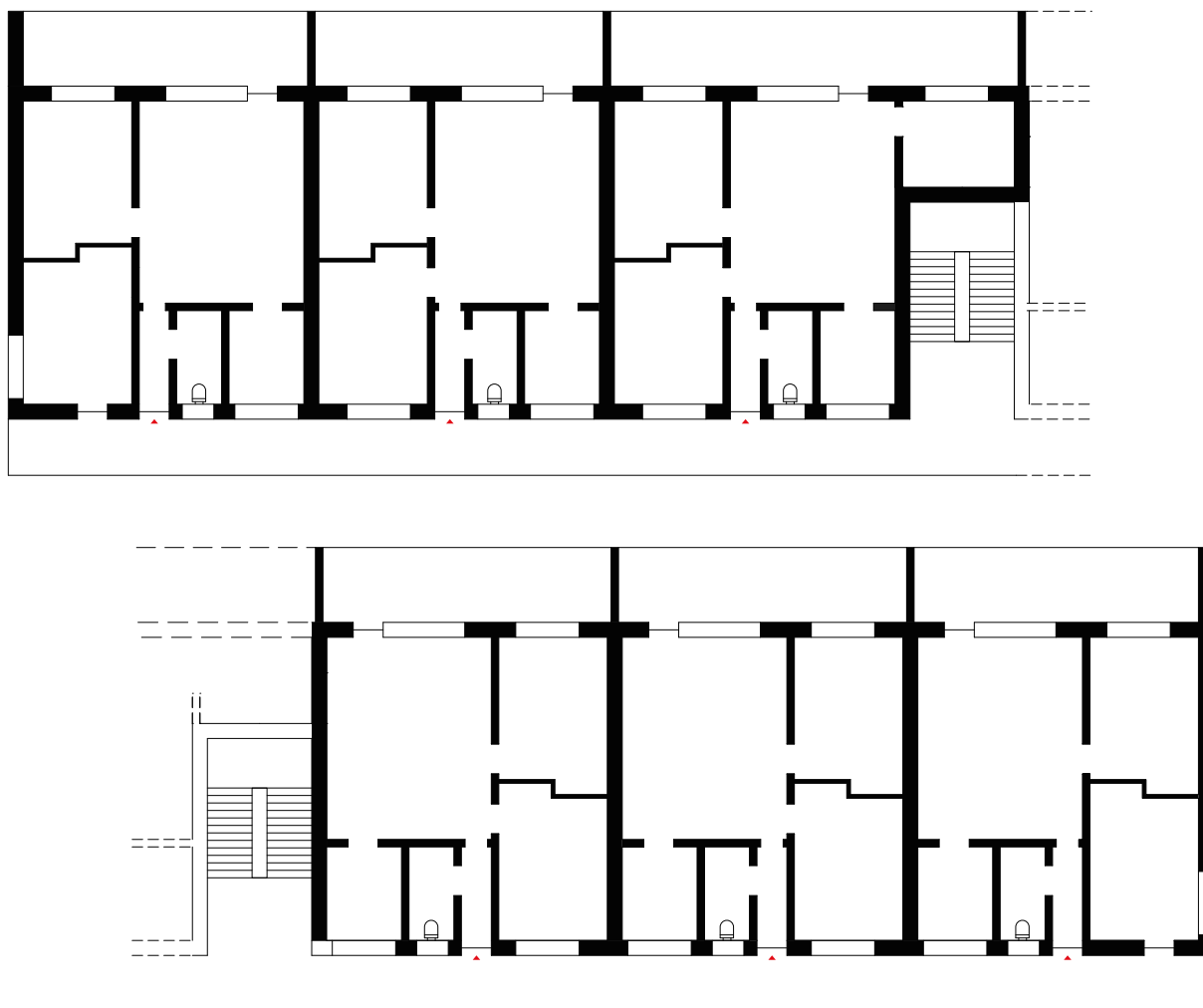
Figure 7.14: Plan, first floor of rowhouse, Siedlung Westhausen - 1:200

0   2   4   6   8   10

Figure 7.15: Areal view, Siedlung Westhausen

Figure 7.16: Front yard of row house, Siedlung Westhausen
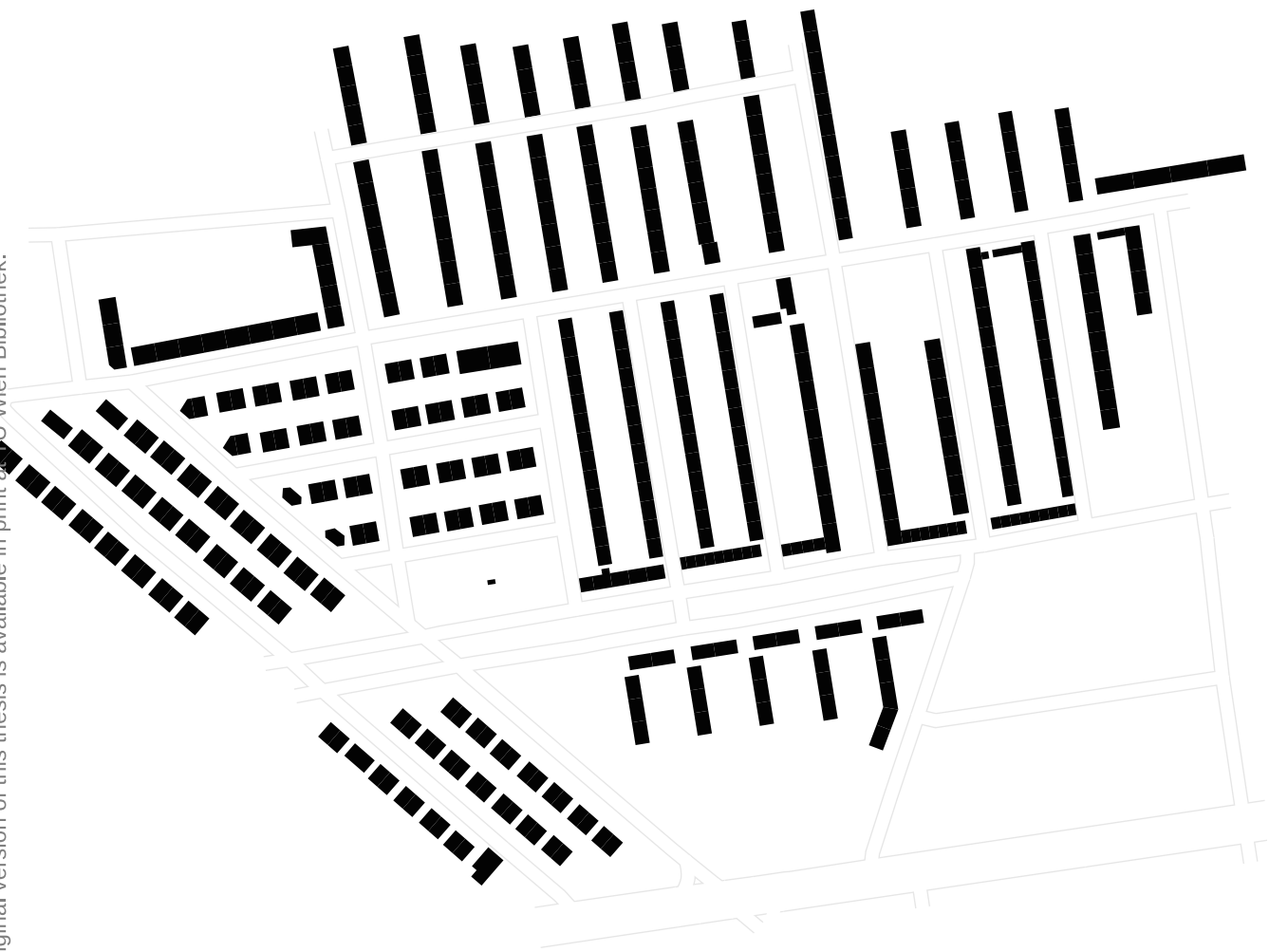
Figure 7.17: Site plan, Siedlung Hellerhof - 1:5000

0   50   100   150   200

Figure 7.18: Plan, Siedlung Hellerhof - 1:200
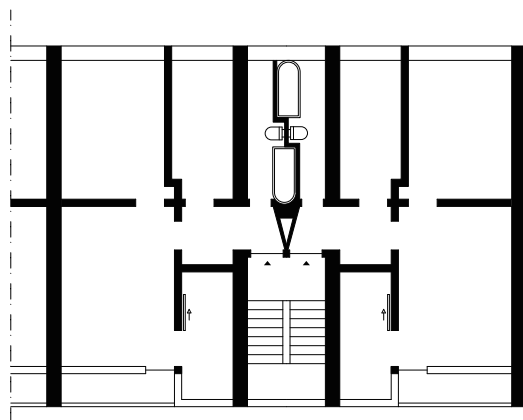
0   2   4   6   8   10
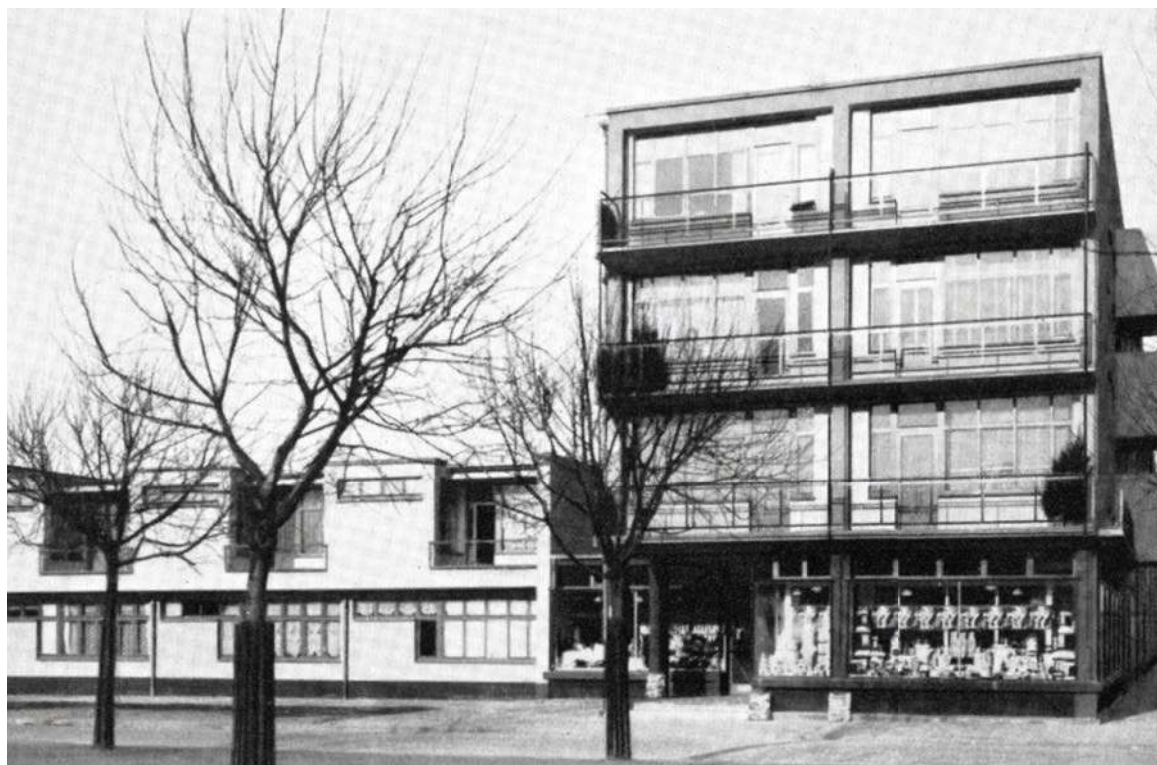
Figure 7.19: Rowhouse, Siedlung Hellerhof

Figure 7.20: Rowhouse, Siedlung Hellerhof (left)

New Frankfurt in Comparison to Red Vienna

At first glance, the architectural movements of New Frankfurt and Red Vienna may appear to share similar tendencies. However, their contrasting features are so distinct that it would be justifiable to claim that Frankfurt and Vienna are diametrically opposed. While both endeavors pursued the promotion of collective social housing, they pursued divergent strategies to achieve this objective. With regard to the positioning residences, it would be unfair to categorize New Frankfurt as a Garden City and associate it with the country. Nevertheless, unlike Garden Cities or Company Towns, the housing projects undertaken by Frankfurt, similar to pre-World War I working-class settlements, are situated on the outskirts of the city and concentrated on that area. On the other hand, there is a diversity in Red Vienna in this regard. The Austrian capital, features examples of projects located both within the city, such as *Rabenhof*, and on the outskirts, such as *Karl-Seitz-Hof*. In fact, it can be even stated that Red Vienna struggled with the city to improve its conditions regarding the production of social housing. Throughout this struggle with the it recognized the city's past, its existence and adhered to its urbanistic structure. As the *Hof* complexes were positioned in accordance with the city's given infrastructure, *Lückenbebauung* was directly filled according to the existing structure.

This, surely, was also directly related to the second point, which is the architectural approach. The New Frankfurt projects adopted the settlement principle, in which detached houses formed the majority, and the design was carried out accordingly. Meanwhile Vienna, which emphasized block perimeter development as a construction morphology, created fully or partially enclosed green courtyards as a result, while Frankfurt created row houses and green spaces between buildings. Following heated debates, the Viennese Municipalitiy favoured to build mega-complexes in throughout the city, believing that the creation of a sufficient amount of housing and would only be possible by housing program giving priority to superblocks. In contrast to Frankfurt's approach, only 8.6% of the more than 65,000 housing units produced by Red Vienna were settlement. As a result, while 15,474 units were produced in Frankfurt between 1926 and 1930, Red Vienna could produce same amount (15,421) only in 1925 and 1926.[249] The typological standardization effort seen in Frankfurt (and even in the USSR) was not seen in Vienna. Therefore, Vienna does not claim to reach minimum existenz through mathematical calculations like Frankfurt and to model an architectural design that can be applied everywhere. The contrasts continued even within the apartments. In the settlements in Frankfurt, Austrian architect Schütte-Lihotzky's Frankfurter Kitchen was preferred, which squeezed the kitchen into a narrow space separate from the living room, while Vienna preferred the opposite and demolished the kitchen walls, using the living-kitchen. One side considered kitchen labour such as cooking as a survival requirement and brought it to a cooking laboratory, while the

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249   Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten Des Roten Wien, 1919-1934* (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), p. 138.

other made efforts to include it (and naturally, also women) in social life. However, in the later periods, influenced by Ernst May and Schütte Lihotzky, Vienna municipal housing units also abandoned the living-kitchen and return to an autonomous separate kitchen.[250] Continuing with the comparisons, another noticeable difference can be observed in the floor plans. In contrast to Vienna, Frankfurt's plans are regarded as more modern due to their employment of contemporary construction methods, including prefabrication, and the use of modern furniture and smart design products in the interior design of housing. This allows for greater flexibility in the use of space. Conversely, Vienna's designs exhibit a more classical approach, with rare experimental examples being the exception, such as Rauchfangkehrergasse 26. The critical reception of Red Vienna's architectural production at the International Housing and Town Planning Congress held in 1926 can be attributed to this disparity.
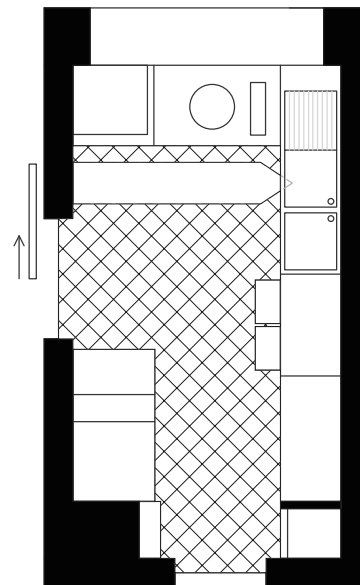
Figure 7.21: Plan,
Frankfurt kitchen
1:50

250   Alessandro Porotto, Kleinwohnung vs Existenzminimum: Social housing types from inter-war years. (2017)
        Paper presented at the 7th Annual International Conference on Architecture, Athens, p. 10

Figure 7.22: Frankfurt kitchen

PART 8

CONCLUSIO

This section, which can also be considered as the final of the study, not only demonstrates the dark progression towards the end of Red Vienna through historical findings but also analytically explains the key findings of this approximately 15-year period architectural experiment. After explaining with the example of Vienna, the question posed at the beginning of the study, how a typology is created, it also presents the approach of similar political tendencies towards housing typology by comparing it with Vienna. As the section seeks to answer how "red" Vienna is today in architectural terms, as it celebrates its 100th anniversary, also presents the arguments of the opposing side in the fight against Gemeindebau while making an effort to respond to them.

THE DUSK: END OF RED VIENNA

Social democrats, who always came first in the Vienna Municipal elections, could not show this success in the general elections. In this process following the 1919 General Elections, which ended with SDAP's victory, the party could not win any national elections. The party, which left the 1919 elections with 40,75 percent of the votes and won the first place, fluctuated its votes in the following 1920, 1923 and 1927 elections, respectively, as 35,9 percent, 39,6 percent and 42,2 percent. Meanwhile, the Christian Socials, positioned as the rivals of the Social Democrats, clinched the top by getting 41,7 percent, 44,0 percent , 48,2 percent of the votes in these three elections, and ruled the country for three terms. By 1927, several paramilitary forces established in Austria in the early 1920s were at war with each other. Among them were the nationalist *Frontkämpfervereinigung Deutsch-Österreichs*[251] under Colonel Hermann Hiltl and the social democrat *Republikanischer Schutzbund (SchB.)*[252] On January 30, 1927, following a protest, an attack by *Frontkämpfervereinigung Deutsch-Österreichs* against the members of SchB resulted in the deaths of a war veteran and an 8-year-old boy.[253] The trial of the three *Frontkämpfervereinigung* members accused of being the perpetrator of this attack began on 5 July in Vienna but these people were not prosecuted for murder. A lawsuit was filed against them from crime of public violence through malicious action or omission

under particularly dangerous circumstances.[254] Three defendants were acquitted on 14 July due to self-defense by the decision of the jury. The verdict (also known as *Schattendorf Verdict*) was so unexpected that it caused a great deal of anger. Socialist workers, who gathered in front of the justice palace on the morning of July 15 and rebelled to overthrow the Christian Social government headed by Ignaz Seipel, encountered harsh intervention by the police. With the order of Johann Schober, who was the Austrian chancellor for two terms (between 1921-1922 and 1929-1930) and the Vienna chief of police of the time, heavy rifles were supplied to the police, and they were ordered to shoot. After the fire opened by the police, 89 people, including four police officers, lost their lives as more than 600 people were severely injured. While Andreas Khol, one of the important politicians of today's ÖVP, which is considered as the successor of the Christian Socials of that time, and who was the chairman of the Austrian parliament between 2002-2006, defined this whole process as *"An acquittal as the beginning of the end."* in an article he wrote,[255] historian Gerhard Jagschitz explains outcome of this event as *"This day marks a turning point on the road from democracy to an authoritarian regime."* in the ORF documentary *"Menschen & Mächte."*[256] This terrible event did not only mean the beginning of the end of Red Vienna, but it also foreshadowed the year 1934, which

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251   German-Austrian Combat Veterans' Association
252   Republican Protection League
253   Stadt Wien, ed., "30 January 1927 - Prologue of a Fateful Day," Stadt Wien , accessed July 21, 2022,
        https://www.wien.gv.at/english/history/commemoration/justice-palace.html.
254   Hugo Portisch and Sepp Riff, Österreich I: *Die Unterschätzte Republik* (Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1989), p. 298.
255   Andreas Khol, "Ein Freispruch Als Anfang Vom Ende Der Demokratie," *Die Presse*, July 15, 2017.
256   ORF, Menschen & Mächte: Republik in Flammen - Dokumentation über den Schattendorf-Prozess und 90 Jahre Justizpalastbrand, 29.06.2017

is considered as the end of the First Austrian Republic.

By 1929, with the onset of the Great Depression, Red Vienna was under growing economic and political pressure. On the way to 1930 elections, political tensions had reached the historic high of the first republic. Political camps were sharper than ever, and after the events of 1927, the possibility of bloody conflicts had now become a normalcy. These elections brought with them perhaps the harshest propaganda process in the country. Christian Socials, who held the social democrats responsible for the 1927 rebellion, frequently voiced this on their election posters; on the other hand, they were criticizing the education policies Otto Glöckel in Red Vienna, with the strong support of the Roman Catholic Church. On the other hand, the basis of the Social Democrats' election campaign was the economic depression, unemployment, the strengthening of the tenant protection law that the Christian Socials wanted to weaken, and the calls for disarmament against the impending danger of civil war.

When it came to the 1930 elections, very different political orientations would emerge compared to the decade that Austria had left behind. With the Christian Socials *(Einheitsliste)* losing a great 12,5 percent of the vote compared to the previous 1927 elections, Social Democrats, even though they also lost 1,1 percent of the votes compared to 1927, won a legislative election first time after ten years. However, this election would be much more important for the future of the country, with the re-direction of the lost votes rather than the winner. As *GdP/LB*[257] *(Nationaler Wirtschafsblock)* increased its votes by 5,5 percent compared to the previous election, *HB*[258] left with a result of 6,2 percent from the elections, in which they participated for the first time, and the NSDAPÖ[259], which received only 779 votes in the previous elections, received 3 percent in 1930 elections. Even though Social Democrats were the most crowded group in the national council, (72/165 seats) Christian Socials (66/165) formed the new coalition government with GdP/LB.[260] In the year 1933, the Christian Social leader Engelbert Dollfuß eliminated democracy and governed the country as a dictator with absolute power by banning all other political parties in Austria. Karl Seitz, who was re-elected by Viennese voters for almost 11 years was dismissed by Dollfuß and Richard Schmitz was appointed to his position. Thus, the liquidation of the democracy in Vienna was completed by Christian Socials. Vienna's status as an independent state was cancelled as the City Council was dissolved. The rise of tension in the country led to the outbreak of the Austrian Civil War, also known as the *"February Uprising,"* on

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257   *Großdeutsche Volkspartei-Landbund (*trans. Greater German People's Party - Rural Federation) was a German nationalist and anti-semitist alliance.

258   *Heimatblock* (trans.Homeland Bloc) was the political arm of the civil *Heimwehr* (trans. Home Guard), which was a nationalist armed paramilitary organization that operated in Austria in the 1920s and 30s, similar to the *Freikorps* (trans. Free Corps) in Germany. They were mainly the armed representation of Austrian-type fascism, which was fighting Austrian communists and opposed the parliamentary system.

259   *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei Österreichs – Hitlerbewegung* (trans. National Socialist German Workers' Party of Austria - Hitler Movement) which considered itself as the sister party of NSDAP in the Weimar Republic and subordinated itself to Adolf Hitler as leader. Even though the party started as a minor political group, it grew into a mass party in the early 1930s and was banned in 1933.

260   Haus der Geschichte Österreich, ed., "Wahlergebnis 24.4.1927," 100 Jahre Wahlverhalten, accessed July 23, 2022, https://www.hdgoe.at/wahlen/wahlergebnis.html?year=1927#. Haus der Geschichte Österreich, ed., "Wahlergebnis 9.11.1930," 100 Jahre Wahlverhalten, accessed July 23, 2022, https://www.hdgoe.at/wahlen/wahlergebnis.html?year=1930#.

February 12, 1934. The clashes, which started in Linz, rapidly spread throughout the country and turned into a fierce war between the SDAP, SchB, KPÖ[261] and the VF,[262] Federal Army, Police, Gendarmerie, *Heimwehr*, *Ostmärkische Sturmscharen*[263] which would last for several days and cause very serious losses. With the onset of the civil war, the municipal houses in Vienna became socialists' red resistance strongholds. Socialists, who built shelters in these structures, especially Karl-Marx-Hof, started to clash with state forces. On the orders of Dolfuss, who wanted to kill the fighters directly rather than their surrender, Karl-Marx-Hof was bombarded with artillery[264] and many Gemeindebau were badly damaged during this period. After 5 days of fighting, on February 16, 1934, the Austrian Civil War ended. This war left hundreds of dead and more than a thousand wounded. Many names such as Otto Bauer, one of the most important leaders of Austro-Marxism, were arrested and exiled. While the members of the SchB were severely punished, all unions were banned, and finally, as of May 1934, the Austrian constitution was repealed and replaced by a constitution modelled on the lines of Mussolini's fascist Italy. As a result of the turbulent years that began with the assassination of Prime Minister Dollfuss just a few months after the war at the chancellery building on 25 July 1934 in an attempted coup, Hitler invaded Austria in 1938.

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261   *Kommunistische Partei Österreichs* (Communist Party of Austria)
262   *Vaterlandische Front* (Fatherland Front) was a right-wing conservative, nationalist, political organization established on 1933 by Engelbert Dollfuss.
263   (Eastern March Stormtroopers) was a right-wing, Austrofascist, anti-semitist paramilitary group, founded on 1930, led by the Christian Social Kurt Schuschnigg.
264   Susanne Reppé, *Der Karl-Marx-Hof. Geschichte Eines Gemeindebaus Und Seiner Bewohner* (Vienna: Picus, 1993), p. 73.

Figure 8.01: Karl-Marx-Hof, 1934

Figure 8.02: Karl-Marx-Hof, 1934

Figure 8.03: Apartment in Goethehof, 1934

Figure 8.04: Goethehof, 1934

Figure 8.05: Volkstheater, 1934

Figure 8.06: Schlingerhof, 1934

Figure 8.07: Paul-Speiser-Hof, 1934

Figure 8.08: Krankenkassenhaus in Simmering, 1934

ARCHITECTURAL AFTERMATH

The era was characterized by a number of progressive social and cultural reforms, and is often seen as a time of experimentation and innovation in the fields of urban planning, social welfare, and cultural expression. The city underwent a major overhaul of its infrastructure and urban planning, which included the construction of new social housing developments, parks, and cultural institutions, as well as the creation of an extensive system of social welfare programs and services such as health insurance, unemployment benefits and initiatives to address issues such like poverty, homelessness, and social inequality. In addition, it was also a period of cultural and artistic innovation as intellectuals and artists strove to question conventional ways of thinking and expand the realm of the conceivable. This involved the development of new forms of artistic expression, such as modernist architecture and avant-garde art, along with new cultural establishments, such as theaters and museums. The interwar period was also an occasion of political activism and social engagement, as a new generation of political leaders and activists sought to advance the causes of progressive politics and social justice. This included campaigns for women's rights, workers' rights, and civil liberties, as well as efforts to build a more democratic and inclusive society.

The added value of Red Vienna, as observed in many political turnarounds taking place around the world, demonstrated itself even more clearly after its fall. In other words, for a historical reading of the achievements of Red Vienna, Black Vienna (1934-1938) had a great importance.

It would not be unfair to declare that the municipal housing strategies of Red Vienna were far beyond a large-scale housing project. All that has been done in this process, was perhaps the most evident and largest architectural (and in relation with it also social) experiment in the history Europe. Despite all the hindrances and financial adversities faced by the social democrats of the period, this experiment, which was attempted to find a solution to the biggest problem of the period, revealed the structures that are perhaps the most characteristic element of Vienna architecture even today, and succeeded in turning Vienna into a housing model that is taken as an example all over the world. In this work, I analyzed the city's drift into a vortex of housing after the First World War and the efforts of the newly arrived municipality to get out of this whirlpool, together with its historical background from an architectural and chronological perspective. The study aimed to reveal the relationship between architecture and politics as well as sociocultural dynamics and the role of architecture in the field of social engineering. The bond between architecture and politics has been undeniably clear throughout history. Political tendencies and administrations have always created their own architecture and the parallelism between these two has continued throughout history. As the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu approached the relationship between power and architecture as:

"Appropriated space is one of the sites where power confirms and performs itself, in its most subtle form; the symbolic force as an unperceived force."[265]

Another French Marxist, Henri Lefebvre defines the situation by saying:

"Today more than ever, the class struggle is inscribed in space."[266]

In a similar way the USSR upheld constructivism, the Italian Fascism strengthened futurism and even in general most right-wing political tendencies adopting national, historicist-romantic architecture, the Vienna administration in the interwar period created its own architecture manifested throughout the city with the residential and public structures. While all art requires a special need to be read and thought about in the way of being perceived, architecture is something that is directly lived in, walked around but that the vast majority of those involved do not think much about, which makes it a perfect political tool. In the case of the relationship between the Austromarxists and Red Vienna, the link between politics and architecture was not any different. The presence of socialism in the city was further strengthened by large complexes with socialist architecture, which reflected Austromarxist principles in the new cityscape. Therefore, an evaluation of Superblocks merely as shelters or modest dwellings would lead to a major void. These complexes were designed to serve as

mechanisms to change the traditional Viennese men and women into the modern human. A brand-new person who is no longer chained to right-conservative-patriarchal-Catholic social policies. Gemeindebau was a social practice that aimed to create a new cultural form and its main tenet was to provide the working class -particularly for their children- enhanced chances in their lives. On the outside of almost every structure constructed, the city authorities proudly put on display their achievement within a red sign, which was noticeable to everyone as the structures reminded people that these would be only possible thanks to financial policies of Hugo Breitner. The naming of properties after well-known socialists, Austromarxists, and other politicians whose accomplishments reflected the socialist viewpoint furthered the socialist philosophy of housing policy. Even though *Karl-Marx-Hof* is the most well-known of these complexes, there are also Gemeindebauten named after Friedrich Engels, Jakob Reumann, Viktor Adler, Karl Seitz, Karl Liebknecht, Leopoldine Glöckel, Giacomo Matteotti, Friedrich Austerlitz etc. The fight of the new Vienna municipalities to eradicate these names both in the Austrofascist and NS-era following the end of Red Vienna would likewise serve as a counterexample to the political architectural strategy. Between 1934 and 1935, the name *Karl-Marx-Hof* was first altered to *Biedermannhof*, then following the annexation, this name was changed to *Heiligenstädter Hof*, where it remained until 1953. The complex was able to reclaim its original name Karl

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265   Johan Frederik Hartle, "Bilder des Roten Wien. Zur Prekären Sichtbarkeit des Fehlenden Volkes," essay, in *Bilder und Gemeinschaften. Studien zur Konvergenz von Politik und Ästhetik in Kunst, Literatur und Theorie* , ed. Beate Fricke, Markus Klammer, and Stefan Neuner (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2011), p. 356.

266   Henri Lefebvre, *Production de l'espace [The Production of Space]*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 55 .

Marx in the years after the Second World War. Simultaneously, *Matteottihof* was renamed as *Giordanihof*, even I*ndianerhof* became *Emil-Fey-Hof*.

According to Lefebvre[267] life and society cannot be handled apart from space. For all these reasons, a government that had just come out of the war and based its political axis on Austromarxism, solving the greatest issue of the time, homelessness, on the other hand would have been a great experimental attempt in the field of social engineering. Throughout the study, we saw how the social democrat municipality actually tried to build a society, both in the exterior and interior planning of the architecture. While the external planning and positioning of the complexes gave a clear statement to the bourgeoisie and the Christian Socials (acting as their political arm), they defined the worker as the rightful owners of the city at least as much as them, interior design elements such as the positioning of the kitchen in the dwelling and similar items paved the way for the questioning and reinterpretation of the concept of gender. All these structures were planned to function way further than being simple shelters, they were also planned to serve as machines to build a social working-class culture and social democrats wanted to base this culture on many foundations such as education, health, care, and housing. Through all these buildings and the social and cultural facilities of theirs, it was desired to create a class awareness, political consciousness, and a sense of urbanity in the working class. Consequently,

Vienna's social housing concept differs from its other socialist counterparts and is a unique approach. Although it is not a correct approach to consider all socialist housing architectures as one, it is still possible to talk about some of the basic principles of a socialist urban planning.

VIENNESE PRODUCTION VERSUS ITS COUNTERPARTS

The first examples that come to mind when 20th century socialist housing programs are mentioned will undoubtedly be the USSR, Yugoslavia and the German Democratic Republic. As mentioned in the previous parts of the study, even though there were fundamental differences in terms of political agenda or the administrative forms of SDAP, who distanced themselves ideologically from Bolshevism and communism, when it came to housing programs they put forward, it is very likely to find similar nuances between these. Except some occasional outliers from Yugoslavia, the concept *"social housing"* did not exist in the housing terminology of socialism. Since the main tenet of socialist housing policy was to provide free apartments *"to each according to his need"*[268] planners, and architects were primarily responsible for defining these requirements and norms in residential structures. A crucial mistake regarding socialist housing architecture is to title the bulky "mass living machines" created under socialism as social housing.

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267   *"'Change life!' 'Change society!' These precepts mean nothing without the production of an appropriate space. A lesson to be learned from the Soviet constructivists of 1920-30, and from their failure, is that new social relationships call for a new space, and vice versa."* in Henri Lefebvre, Production de l'espace [The Production of Space], trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 59.

268   Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program* (Paris: Foreign Languages Press, 2021), p. 16.

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Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

By starting with the biggest example, the Soviet Union, even though there is a significant difference in scale, it is simple to comprehend, how the process works similarly to Vienna. Zhukov and Fyodorov (as cited in Kalyukin and Kohl, 2019) wrote that in 1913, more than 80% of urban housing stock in Imperial Russia was made up of one- or two-storey wooden houses with no running water or canalisation access.[269] Prior to the 1917 Revolution, private rental dominated the housing market in Russian cities, whereas public or non-profit organizations hardly ever supplied social housing. The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 instituted a number of housing policy initiatives aimed at bettering living conditions for working-class inhabitants. Following the expropriation of privately owned property, the state secured a total monopoly over construction activity, distribution, and maintenance through a series of decrees issued shortly after obtaining power.

In the first years following the revolution, the apartments called *"kommunalka"* which were initially built for temporary purposes (but became the most common housing unit through usage and permanence) constituted the first example of Soviet social housing solution. Before the revolution, the rich lived in houses with five or sometimes ten rooms, while the workers struggled to survive in basement floors. These communal apartments, which were built before the revolution as the private property of the upper-income group, and were filled with multiple families, each (family) having their own private room, while the kitchens, bathrooms, and living rooms were shared among each other. The *kommunalka* can be considered as a step to combat acute homelessness rather than an architectural creation effort. A wide rearrangement of residential space improved the living standards of around 500.000 people in Moscow and 550.000 in Leningrad *(Saint Petersburg.)*[270]

It is not easy to talk about a uniform trend in the early Soviet housing. However, in the 1920s, while on the one hand, *kommunalkas*, which were planned to solve the housing shortage and implement the idea of seeing *"the family not as the core of society but as part of a collective"* formed the definition of new social housing, on the other hand, the architects of the period were trying to produce futuristic prototypes. Although few of these ideas were actually implemented, they managed to influence many European architects of the period. In 1928, the Construction Committee *(Строительный комитет)*, abbreviated as Stroikom *(Стройком)*, demanded standardization from architects to create rationalized living spaces. Economical housing was standardized through mathematical calculations and optimization efforts. The Society of Modern Architects (OSA), which had similarities with the das neue Frankfurt movement, played an active role in this process. Designs based on the *"Existenzminimum"* concept, which was applied in Germany in the second half of the 1920s under the leadership of Ernst May, were implemented. At the end of this design process, six different types of housing were developed, labeled as A, B, C, D, E, and F. A type provided a 10 percent saving compared to traditional classical approaches,

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269   Alexander Kalyukin and Sebastian Kohl, "Continuities and Discontinuities of Russian Urban Housing:
        The Soviet Housing   Experiment in Historical Long-Term Perspective," *Urban Studies* 57, no. 8 (2019): 1776,
        https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098019852326
270   Alfred John DiMaio, *Soviet Urban Housing: Problems and Policies* (New York: Praeger, 1974), p. 8.

while B type provided a 10 percent additional saving compared to A type. These two apartment types were accessed through a classical central staircase and placed on each floor (resembling *Gemeindebau*.) In contrast to the vertical circulation found in Type A and B buildings, Types C, D, and E incorporate a complex or a diagonal circulation system through the building. To explain it further, in Type A and B buildings, vertical connection among units also means sharing the same circulation. However, in these types of residences, residents might share the same circulation system even with their vertical-diagonal neighbors. The upper and lower neighbors, on the other hand, can their own separate stair case. F type, on the other hand, was the most functional module among them and required a circulation corridor every few floors, becoming the most popular type over time[271] *(i.e. Dom Narkomfin.)*

The most common housing unit, built in the USSR from 1930s until 1950s in the style of neoclassicism was Stalinka. Wooden materials are typically employed in these buildings, whose interior decor was lavishly adorned. The Soviets use the term *"net living space",* which solely refers to the area of the living room and the bedrooms,[272] unlike Austria and the majority of the rest of the world. The main room in most Stalinkas measured between 18 and 23 square meters, and its typical ceiling height was around 2,80 to 3,60 meters,[273] which was considered as

high at the time. Despite the similarities with Vienna up to this point, severe concussions happened in housing projects due to the fact that the area being built and the population are enormous in comparison to Vienna, and on top of that, the addition of strict party policies. Paradoxically, this equalization drive for the development of backward and remote regions resulted in a drop in city standards. Period before the Second World War (1923-1950), a portion of which coincided with Red Vienna, serious losses in per capita living space rates of up to 30 - 40% were observed. Average urban per capita net living space in the USSR decreased from 6.4 square meters to 4.67 square meters.[274] The average living space per person was higher in smaller cities than in larger ones, according to the 1926 census. Despite receiving special care, several large urban areas, like Moscow and Leningrad, had significantly less living space per person and worse housing standards than other Soviet cities.[275] The Soviet Union's residential architecture became much more straightforward, plain, and rectilinear under Nikola Khrushchev, who took over as head of state after Josef Stalin's death. In the Krushchevka homes, which followed the Stalinkas, ornaments were removed not only because they were unnecessary but also because they were deemed to be "harmful to design." Despite the removal of every non-functional architectural detail from these buildings, not only the spectacular room heights of the Stalinkas have been reduced by 30

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271   Daniel Movilla Vega, "Housing and Revolution: From the Dom-Kommuna to the Transitional Type of Experimental House (1926–30)," *Architectural Histories* 8, no. 1 (2020): pp. 7,9, https://doi.org/10.5334/ah.264.

272   James R. Wright, ed., publication, *Industrialized Building in the Soviet Union: A Report of the U.S. Delegation to the U.S.S.R.* (Washington D.C.: National Bureau of Standart, 1971), p. 14.

273   Alla Pleshkanovska and Daria Kuznetsova, "Justification of the Types of Obsolete Housing Stock as the First Stage of Effective Reconstruction," *Strength of Materials and Theory of Structures*, no. 107 (2021): 196, https://doi.org/10.32347/2410-2547.2021.107.193-210.

274   James R. Wright, ed., publication, *Industrialized Building in the Soviet Union: A Report of the U.S. Delegation to the U.S.S.R.* (Washington D.C.: National Bureau of Standart, 1971), p. 14.

275   Kazimierz J. Zaniewski, "Housing Inequalities under Socialism: A Geographic Perspective," *Studies in Comparative Communism* 22, no. 4 (1989), p. 294, https://doi.org/10.1016/0039-3592(89)90001-x.
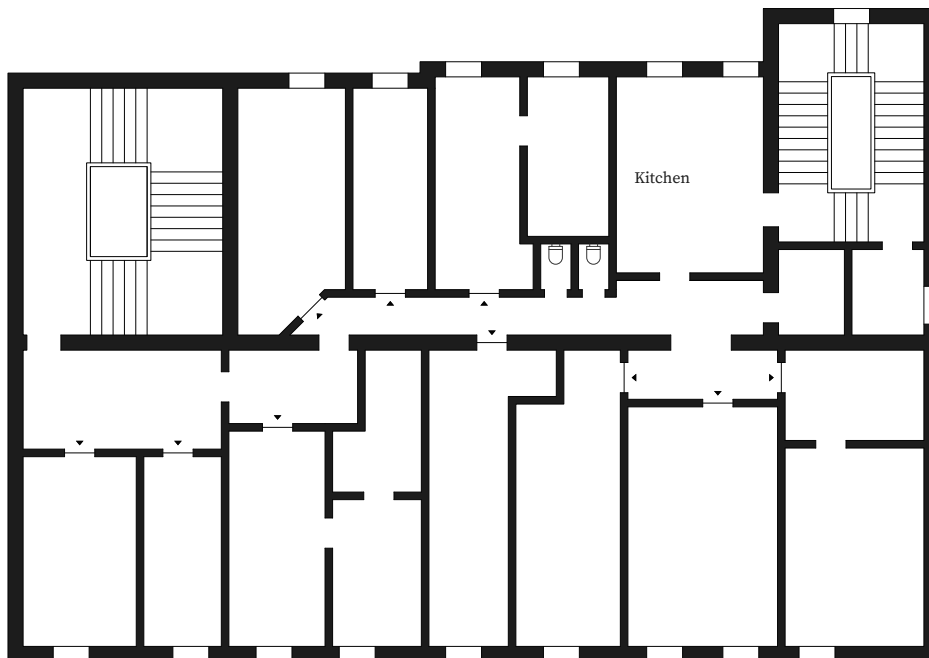
Kitchen

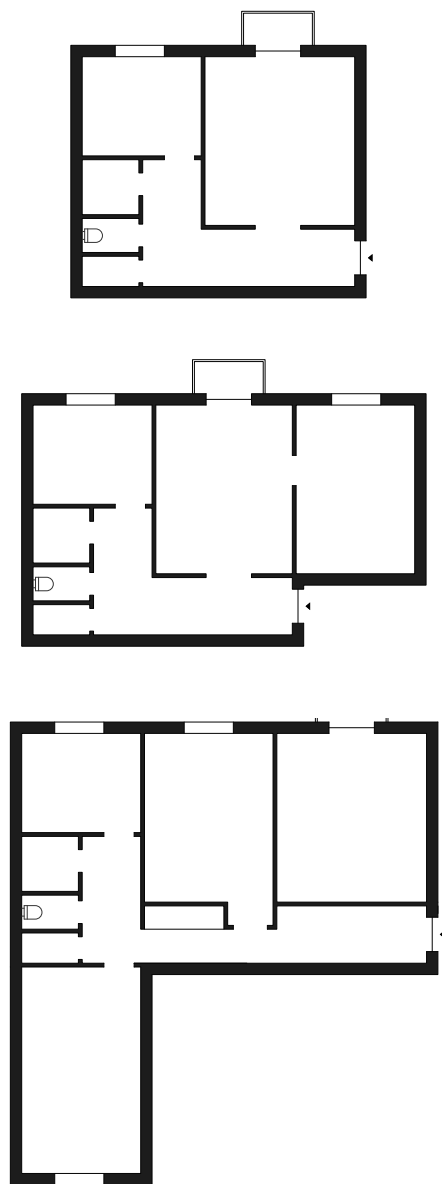Figure 8.09: Plan, Kommunalka in Saint Petersburg - 1:200

Figure 8.10: Plan, Stalinka in Kazan - 1:200

to 50 centimeters, but also the units were shrunk in size when compared to previous ones.[276] As a result of the approach that prioritizes quantity over quality, and with the almost complete production of only panel buildings after the 60s, the Soviet housing program had fallen far behind its position in the 1920s in terms of quality and was stuck in the production of blocks.

Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Yugoslavian ambition of housing for all shall not be reduced to simple concrete mass blocks. Compared to the USSR, the situation in Yugoslavia, which was founded around 30 years after Red Vienna began, was easier to manage. The government focused exclusively on building mass housing in the nation that was completely destroyed when the second World War ended. Since SFRY was a federation created by the union of numerous distinct states, it was serving as a vital link between Central Europe and the Balkans. States that can be considered to be better developed among these nations, such as Croatia and Slovenia, remained subject to long-lasting Austro-Hungarian administration. The architecture of the western Yugoslav countries was impacted by this scenario, and notable architects who were educated in Vienna and Berlin actively contributed to the development of the national architecture in these nations. Particularly active at this time were Wagner School architects Joze Plecnik and Ivan Vurnik.[277] Compared to the USSR, the situation in Yugoslavia, which was founded around 30 years after Red Vienna began, was easier to

manage. The government focused exclusively on building mass housing in the nation that was destructed when the second World War ended. In 1950 the state held the Consultation of Yugoslav Architects in Dubrovnik,[278] with the goal to create a new design language for residential architecture that incorporated distinctive local elements without being constrained by Soviet influences.

After the discussions at this gathering, the overall consensus was to focus on prefabrication, which would significantly lower the cost while also accelerating construction. The "IMS Žeželj System," also known as skeletal prefabrication, created apartment buildings that were entirely distinct from Soviet panelization. Yugoslav architects have used this technology to create a variety of interior floor plans and exterior facades, resulting in the emergence of socially complex and formally adaptable housing for the masses. As couple of years passed, contrary to the mundane, repetitive boxes of their Soviet equivalent, intricate prefabricated solutions that are adaptable, simple to assemble, and easy to copy became the norm and the system was used to construct socially diverse housing blocks with flexible planned apartments, which actively contributed to raising the standard of living for residents. Despite being influenced by northern European welfare states to aim a western standard, apartment typologies give hints about the socialist setting of communal life.

Another significant similarity between Yugoslavia and Red Vienna may be seen in the development of the initial concepts for mass

276   Ksenia Choate, "From 'Stalinkas' to 'Khrushchevkas': The Transition to Minimalism in Urban Residential Interiors in the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964", MS thesis, Utah State University, 2010, p. 5-6.
277   Babic, Maja, "Modernism and Politics in the Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945-1965", MS thesis, University of Washington, 2013, p. 24.
278   Žaklina Gligorijević and Ana Graovac, eds., *70 Година Урбанистичког Завода Београда [70 Years of the Urban Institute of Belgrade]*, vol. 1: History (Belgrade: The Urban Institute of Belgrade, 2018), p. 22.

house construction. Like Otto Wagner, who had a very clear influence on the architecture of Red Vienna with his students, even though he was not alive when Red Vienna started, students in Yugoslavia, coalesced around Drago Ibler in the 1920s, also known as the Zagreb School, worked for the introduction of modernist movements in Croatian architecture. These architects had a significant impact and influence on the country's public housing projects in the following years.[279]

German Democratic Republic

After the war, the country faced a great destruction and an urgent need for housing emerged. During this process, the newly established state quickly started construction with conventional building methods. However, upon realizing that these methods prolonged the construction period, the state focused on rational housing construction. Mass housing had its origins in the theories of reformist architects. One of these architects was Ernst May with his ideas of prefabrication and rationalization of living space.

The technology of prefabricated housing production, which became widespread starting in the 1950s, enabled the rapid production of new housing until the 1970s. Here, as in the Soviet Union or in New Frankfurt, there was an effort to mathematize and standardize architecture. The designed housing types would be connected to each other vertically and horizontally like Lego bricks, creating buildings with different variations. For example, following the development of different building types such as W53, W56, L4, Q3, and Q6 in the 1950s, GDR architects began working on a building type called P2 in 1961. The letter "P" stood for "parallel". In this building, where load-bearing walls extended parallel to the facade, the number "2" indicated that the building had two staircases. The P2/10 variation was 10 stories tall, while the P2/11 was made up of 11 floors. Later, with the task given by the authorities who found P2 insufficiently efficient, P2 was further developed into the WBS70 model in 1970. The "Wohnungsbauserie 70" meaning the housing series of 70, was five, six, or 11 stories tall and offered a room height of 2.80 meters. This modular structure could also be built into different forms compared to P2.

Although the GDR stayed behind its rival the Federal Republic of Germany in terms of per capita production of new housing until 1976,[280] Erich Honecker's Housing Program of 1973 was quantity wise very successful. Around 2 million apartments were built during the GDR's major housing construction boom in the 1970s and 1980s, in a nation with 17 million residents. Meanwhile, the number of social housings produced in the west, which has a population of 60 million, remained around 2.6 million.[281] In East Germany, mass housing coincided with a comprehensive restructuring of the construction industry toward prefabrication, to the point where the buildings they produced are referred to as the *Plattenbau* much like Yugoslavia did in terms of construction technology. The English equivalents of the term *Plattenbau*

279   Djordje Alfirevic and Sanja Simonovic-Alfirevic, "Urban Housing Experiments in Yugoslavia 1948-1970," *Spatium*, no. 34 (December 2015), p. 3, https://doi.org/10.2298/spat1534001a.

280   Reinhard Wießner, "Urban Development in East Germany - Specific Features of Urban Transformation Processes," *GeoJournal* 49, no. 1 (1999), p. 45.

281   Florian Urban, "Mass Housing in Germany – Controversial Success and Ambivalent Heritage," essay, in *Espacios Ambivalentes: Historias y Olvidos En La Arquitectura Social Moderna.*, ed. Jorge Lizardi Polock and Martin Schwegmann (San Juan: Ediciones Callejón, 2011), p. 54.
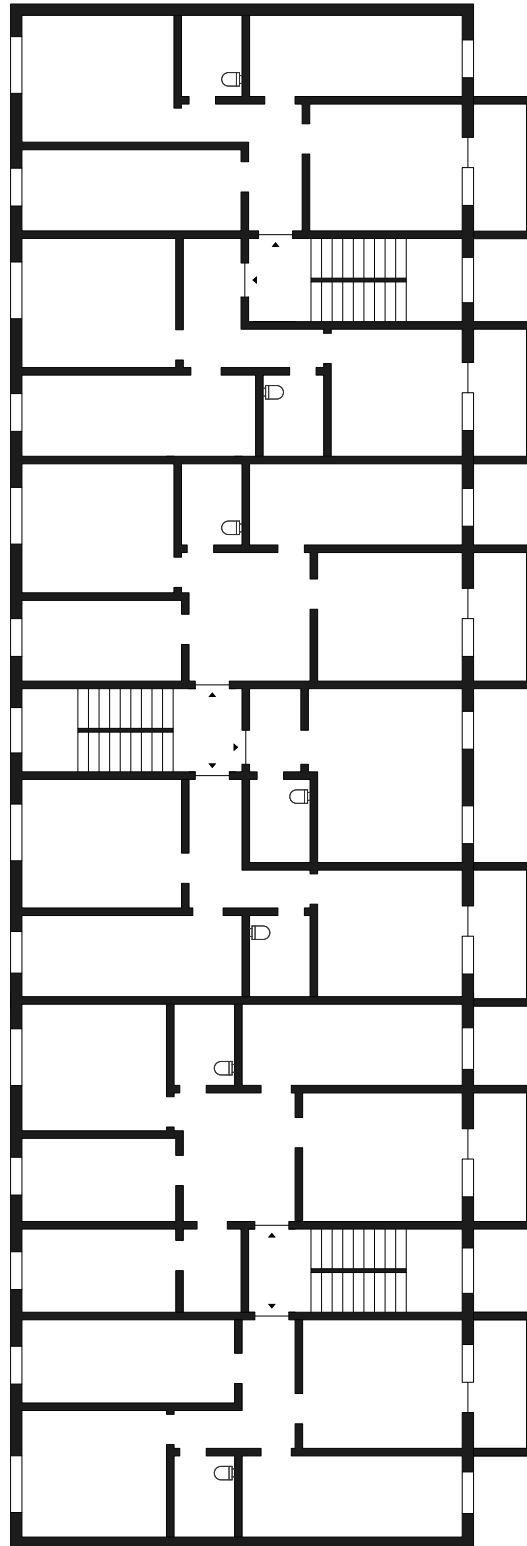
Figure 8.11: Plan, Koszaliner Straße WBS70 in Neubrandenburg - 1:200

are "panel building" and "slab construction," respectively. Even though *Plattenbauten* are frequently thought of as being distinctive to East Germany, the prefabricated construction method was widely used in West Germany and other countries where building public housing was a priority.[282] The building technique is also known as LPS (large panel system-building) in English. Until the unification of Germany in 1990, these *Plattenbauten* were continuously constructed. Social housing in East Germany sparked a lot of debates. As the buildings were often and constantly criticized for their inadequate quality, it was even thought that these structures could raise questions about people's heartfelt connection to socialism. [283]

These significant examples could be expanded upon. However, as they already demonstrate, what a major mistake would it be to attempt of uniforming all architecture and approaches, which were dispersed across a 30 million square kilometer area, under a simple *"socialist housing architecture"* title without taking governmental, national, ideological, historical or geographical differences into consideration.

It is important to consider a significant chronological gap in relation to the examples presented. The attempts made by Red Vienna in the 1920s were emulated by the Soviets approximately 10-30 years later, by Yugoslavia 30-40 years later, and by the German Democratic Republic 50-60 years later. Despite the limited variety of credible patterns available to Vienna in 1919, the successful Viennese model of social housing could not be replicated in other

countries, despite technological advances and the availability of a successful example in Vienna that was 50 years old. This highlights the importance and historical significance of Vienna. Furthermore, the fact that the advancements made by Austrian social democrats were implemented within the confines of democratic institutions further enhances the significance and relevance of this example.

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282   *Panelak* in Czechoslovakia, *Krushchevka* in the Soviet Union, and *Panelhaz* in Hungary are some examples of *Plattenbauten* from other socialist states.

283   Florian Urban, "Large Housing Estates of Berlin, Germany," *Housing Estates in Europe,* 2018, p. 110, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92813-5_5

INFLUENCIAL ROLE AND THE ETERNAL FIGHT AGAINST "VIENNA TYPE"

Along with the previously mentioned examples, Red Vienna's architecture served as an inspiration for many other nations even though it was only around for a brief period of time. In the years following the World War II, the United States of America as the title owner of the most advanced economy in the world,[284] began large-scale housing projects for its underprivileged residents at this time. However, these attempts could not go beyond strict isolation of this segment of population from the rest of society. The standard of government-funded housing in the US is characterized by deteriorating structures, poor maintenance, segregated block-style complexes, and below average houses that are notably linked to criminal activities. In the United States a major portion of the housing construction is left in the hands *(or at the mercy!)* of the market. A growing number of families are spending more than half of their wages just to have a place to sleep. As the rise in unemployment coincides with a rise in homelessness, even children are among these masses. On the other hand, tenants in public housing are typically asked to leave the building in the event of a potential salary increase and the implanted public housing projects are constructed in remote locations without enough public transportation, security, educational services or other standard city amenities. Approximate 1,1 million public dwellings house about 2,1 million residents. This figure corresponds less than 1 percent of

the total housing stocks in the United States.[285] In addition to that, there are 1,6 million families are still on the waiting list for public housing.[286] Comparing *Gemeindebau* to many other equivalents around the world, it occupies a far more unique space as perhaps Red Vienna's best accomplishment. The fact that *Gemeindebau* reaches far beyond the blocks in which only a specific segment of society is populated sets it apart from many other social/mass housing schemes both presently and in the previous century. In other words, the Vienna municipality and its housing policies have carried these homes well beyond being shelters intended for members of a particular class of society to gather and live there in segregation. Architecture in Red Vienna served many purposes beyond just housing; it was a tool for building a social infrastructure, and such social concepts are ways to create identity. The municipality created the dwellings with all the lower- and middle-income group inhabitants in need of shelter in mind, even though it appeared that they were only intended for those who needed it most, especially the working class, in the 1920s. To see that a broader social mix and the integration of the proletariat into bourgeois and daily life was the primary goal, it would be enough to solely examine the housing allocation and scoring system, as explained in the preceding sections of the study. In other words, *the Gemeindebau was designed for everyone, who needs it*. They were none other than the working class, who were the most marginalized, hostile and excluded segment of society 100 years ago. With the greatest rate of change in terms

284   Maddison Project Database (2020), Bolt, Jutta and Jan Luiten van Zanden
285   Peter Dreier, "Why America Needs More Social Housing," *The American Prospect*, April 16, 2018,
        accessed January 10, 2023, https://prospect.org/infrastructure/america-needs-social-housing.
286   PAHRC - Public and Affordable Housing Research Corporation., ed., rep.,
        Housing Agency Waiting Lists and the Demand for Housing Assistance (Connecticut, 2016).

of social and political change occurred in the 20th century, all these changes/transformations created their own new enemy classes. The need to rebuild many European nations following the devastation caused by the Second World War, the development of mass transportation vehicles, possibility of employment abroad, the fall of the Eastern Bloc as well as the destructive wars… As all these not only contributed to the opening of new migratory channels, but also highlighted once more the importance of any investment in sustainable, decent, fair and integrative social housing for both now and in the future. Based on the aimed social cohesion, in addition to the working class, who were historically denied a decent living by society, today's immigrants, students, women, and LGBTIQA+ individuals -local or international- can also lead a fair life in these complexes for reasonable wages, would be the greatest achievement of Red Vienna with the use of architectural tools.

The mixed-society policy in social housing, which was introduced by the Red Vienna era, is still practiced today. Even though these homes are still referred to as social, they are not for the city's poorest residents. People from all professions, educational levels, backgrounds all orientations are able to live in *Gemeindebauten* because the upper income threshold for entry per resident is set at 3250 Euros per month. These apartments, which ranged in size from a studio unit to a 4-room unit, were made objects of desire and it is reasonable to assume that more than half of Vienna's population resides in rent-controlled apartments when one considers the roughly 200,000 subsidized housing units constructed in addition to all of this municipal housing. Therefore, the average monthly cost

of housing in Vienna is €8,7 per square meter, compared to €29,1 per square meter in Paris, €25,1 in London, €22,4 in Amsterdam, €21,3 in Barcelona, and €18,9 in Munich.[287]

There are numerous lessons to be taken from Vienna. I believe it would not be incorrect to assert that the accomplishments of the city today, as the most livable city in the world[288], has been gained by appropriate efforts taken to carry on the legacy of Red Vienna. The city's favorable rental conditions are one of the key elements in obtaining and maintaining this title. The city of Vienna, which has only kept the previously built social housing, but also rehabbed them with gentle urban renewal program and build new ones at an even pace, while plenty other places, like Berlin, Dresden or many ex-socialist cities, sold off large portions of their social housing after reunification (or collapse) and today are struggling with housing. In contrast to these instances, Vienna's present shortage of affordable housing has not gotten that severe. Although this is still a strongly debated topic, some historians claim that fascism and war did not put a stop to Red Vienna. The Social Democratic Party retook power in Vienna, the capital of the re-established Republic of Austria (i.e., the Second Republic), in 1945 and has since won every Viennese state election. The Red Vienna of the interwar period left behind a legacy of mass housing, which the new Vienna Municipality not only preserved but also expanded. Throughout the city, more municipal housing projects were constructed in the decades following World War II. The common sense is that even though Vienna officially remained red after the war based on the election results and municipal housing projects continued,

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287   Miroslav Linhart et al., rep., *Deloitte: Property Index Overview of European Residential Markets*, 11th ed., 2022, p. 20-21.
288   The Economist Intelligence Unit, ed., rep., *EIU: The Global Liveability Index*, 2022, p. 2.

these developments were far from radical and therefore it would not be accurate to refer to the post-war era as Red Vienna. Although my personal opinion is that Red Vienna ended in 1934, the fact that today's Vienna was built on the foundations laid by Red Vienna is undeniably clear. The way the term of Red Vienna is applied in this case is crucial. If a period is symbolized by Red Vienna, it would not result in a great surprise that it died with the democracy in the First Republic. However, it would not be incorrect to claim that Red Vienna is still alive if this idea is seen as a spirit, a direction, or a journey. Vienna Mayor Dr. Michael Ludwig expresses the extension of Red Vienna to the present as follows:

"Red Vienna is still alive today. The accomplishments of that era serve as the foundation for much of modern Vienna's housing policy. Although many new ideas have been developed and put into practice over the years, both in architecture and needs-based living, many of Red Vienna's tenets still hold true today. These include above all aspects of affordability, high quality and a balanced social mix." [289]

Nevertheless, despite all of these positive elements, there are some important criticisms and conclusions about Gemeindebauten that must be made. Unfortunately, the Austrian example serves as a reminder of the conservative policies' longstanding opposition to social housing, which dates back more than 100 years. Despite a century having passed, this counter politics and pressure mechanism used by the CS to exert pressure on the SDAP administration through Gemeindebauten in the Red Vienna era is still in place in Vienna. The primary justification for the successor of the CS, the ÖVP, to continue attacking the Gemeindebau even in the centennial year of Red Vienna is described as follows by the newspaper Zeitung der Arbeit:

"In Vienna, almost all municipal supply areas remain in public hands […] The municipality, which (also) owns sizable parcels of land outside the city, has the potential to lessen speculation while also serving as the largest agricultural and forestry enterprise in the area [...] But the Gemeindebau, the majority of which were constructed as part of the housing program of the 1920s and 1930s, are what the ÖVP and the forces that support it are most troubled by." [290]

The influence of politics on architecture is not particularly surprising, but in the case of Vienna, architecture also seems to have an impact on politics. Lea Six, the head of *"Chapter 8,"* a red lateral think tank and social democratic think tank, asserts that *"Social housing is the most apparent proof of the long social democratic reign."* [291] Despite the fact that this may seem to be a benefit for the Social Democratic Party, the strength and position of municipal housing in Austrian politics, and particularly Vienna politics, is a significant topic of a fierce discussion that has been going on for a century. Even to this day, as Austria's right-wing parties pursue their privatization and rent-hike plans regarding the Gemeindebauten, the thought of striving to preserve such a successful model that has set the benchmark very high for the rest of the globe comes to the forefront for social democrats.

289   Stadt Wien: Presse-Service Rathauskorrespondenz, ed., "Ludwig: 'Das Rote Wien Lebt Bis Heute': Diskussionsrunde Zu '90 Jahre Rotes Wien - Erbe Und Vision'" (Vienna, May 1, 2009).
290   Editorial Staff, ed., "Bis Der Letzte Gemeindebau Privatisiert Ist…," *Zeitung Der Arbeit*, May 19, 2020, accessed October 1, 2022, https://zeitungderarbeit.at/politik/bis-der-letzte-gemeindebau-privatisiert-ist
291   Martin Stuhlpfarrer, "Wie Rot Ist Wien Wirklich?," *Die Presse*, October 5, 2020, accessed October 6, 2022, https://www.diepresse.com/5877466/wie-rot-ist-wien-wirklich

Politicians from a wide range of ÖVP seats are calling for regular rent checks for Gemeindebau inhabitants. As a result, the party wants a mechanism to be created that would allow those with incomes over a particular level to either raise their rent or purchase their home. The party also believes that, in light of the fair rents, the present Gemeindebau admission limit is too high and calls for a reduction in it. The SPÖ has replied to these suggestions with strong criticism in considering the fact that Gemeindebau is significant to Vienna's politics. Owing to their concern for the social mix, the city of Vienna opposes a yearly evaluation and adjustment of rents based on the income of residents in council housing. In view of this, it is crucial for SPÖ that residents of all socioeconomic backgrounds coexist in the same structure side by side. Social democrats are not for controlling the rents of the tenants currently residing in Gemeindebau because they are concerned that in the event of a potential rent increase, individuals might move out of Gemeindebau and that the social-mix of the structures will eventually decrease and gradually become ghetto. Prior to the 2020 Viennese local elections, the ÖVP's position on the heated discussion was once again made clear. Markus Wölbitsch, the current leader of the ÖVP Vienna, demanded once again that a paycheck to be carried out by Wiener Wohnen every five years and also the tenants who earn more than a certain amount shall have the option of purchasing municipal social housing.[292] The prior demand of rent increase made by the party must have been considered severe, since the

same discourse was repeated in 2022 under a different term as solidarity contribution.[293] Past experiences with the privatization of social housing have demonstrated that not only do they not help to solve the housing crisis, but they also have long-term negative effects on the states and local governments. The Housing Act, also known as Right-To-Buy, one of Margaret Thatcher's most significant political initiatives, was passed by the UK parliament in 1980. The Act permitted tenants who had resided in their homes for at least three years to purchase at a 33 percent market price reduction for apartments. One received a 50 percent discount if they had been a tenant for more than 20 years. The scheme, which seemed very advantageous at first, made it very difficult to access affordable housing nowadays as many tried to turn a profit by purchasing the house at a significant discount and then selling it as soon as they could. Past right-to-buy sales have resulted in about 40 percent of homes ending up in the hands of private landlords, who often demand significantly more rent than does a housing association. The quantity of affordable homes sold each year cannot be met by the number of new apartments being developed and the availability of social housing has been severely impacted by the act. One other instance involves citizens of several newly formed states receiving private property rights to their public housing after the fall of the Eastern Bloc, where life for low-income tenants searching for a shelter today has become exceedingly difficult. In addition to those, the early 21st century privatization and

292   David Krutzler and Martin Putschögl, "Rütteln Am Fundament Des Wiener Gemeindebaus," *Der Standard*, March 11, 2019, accessed October 9, 2022 https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000099275162/ruetteln-am-fundament-des-wiener-gemeindebaus
293   Willfried Gredler-Oxenbauer, "Mehr Miete – ÖVP Will Gehaltskontrolle Im Gemeindebau," *Heute*, May 20, 2022, accessed October 1, 2022 https://www.heute.at/s/mehr-miete-oevp-will-gehaltskontrolle-im-gemeindebau-100208197.

transfer of ownership of thousands of social housing units in Berlin to real estate monopoly[294] had a significant impact on the housing problem of the city, which is still a major crisis. To solve this issue, Berlinians voted yes to a referendum aimed at the re- expropriation of more than 200,000 apartments in September 2021.[295] After the outcomes of these and countless other experiences, it should not be challenging to realize that the privatization of rental social housing would irreparably harm Vienna's urban fabric in addition to seriously impairing the quality of life for its residents in the long run.

"From a left-wing point of view, it is to be criticized that the city of Vienna hardly ever builds new council housing and that the stock is not always in decent or habitable condition, but conservatives deem even the existing ones to be too much. They won't consider their objective accomplished until the final municipal building has been privatized."
Zeitung der Arbeit[296]

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294   *Berlin sold 65,000 flats for a total of 1.965.000.000 Euros in 2004 after privatizing them, while it only purchased 5745 units back in 2019 for 920.000.000 Euros.*

295   Anne Kockelkorn, "Financialized Berlin: The Monetary Transformation of Housing, Architecture and Polity," *Architectural Theory Review* 26, no. 1 (2022), p. 90, https://doi.org/10.1080/13264826.2022.2104889.

296   Editorial Staff, ed., "Bis Der Letzte Gemeindebau Privatisiert Ist…," *Zeitung Der Arbeit*, May 19, 2020, accessed October 1, 2022, https://zeitungderarbeit.at/politik/bis-der-letzte-gemeindebau-privatisiert-ist

THE END

Although Red Vienna cannot be limited to just housing production, the fact that architecture, housing and Gemeindebau come to mind when the context of Red Vienna is first heard is a concept that needs to be pondered. The differentiating factor of the Social Democratic Workers' Party administration, which came in power following the war, from other contemporary political movements, lies in their holistic perception of construction activities beyond mere housing development. Thus, Red Vienna represents a struggle for creation of a typology. Its greatness does not solely arise from its quantity, and its magnificence is not derived solely from its formal language. It is great because it is an integral part of the city, and it is magnificent because it has opened its doors to those in need even in the most challenging times. Perhaps it is these very factors that make it so important despite its problematic aspects. Despite their desire to attract or retain people in the city, they had significant conceptual deficiencies regarding how the new architecture of the new city should be. In contrast to municipal housing initiatives found in numerous global contexts, Gemeindebau distinguished itself by operating on a significantly grander scale. Nonetheless, Gemeindebau emerged as an undoubtedly "imperfect" typology. The analogy of "cell-tissue-organ" mentioned in the study is important in this regard. One of the elements that makes this typology unique lies precisely here. The inclusion of family health centers, dental clinics, family planning centers, sports centers, theaters for cultural activities, educational centers, meeting halls, restaurants, local shops, and other facilities within the municipal housing complexes

facilitated the spread of various services and public institutions through Gemeindebau. Unlike many other collective living initiatives, Gemeindebau opened up these services not only to the residents of the building/complex but also to the entire public, thus extending the different circulation paths within the complex to the entire city. Therefore, although it can be argued that Red Vienna did not have a centralized urban planning program from one perspective, it also gave rise to a form of planning that can perhaps be described as "different in its social aspects" through a somewhat forced concept. While the Gemeindebau typology may appear technologically inferior to examples like Frankfurt, Berlin (or even Leeds), it surpasses others in terms of urban belonging and identity. In fact, unlike other modern examples, it remains true to its roots in the culture and tradition of construction. The functionality and modernism in Vienna's plans, despite falling far behind Frankfurt and even some Soviet housing, have managed to create a vast housing stock spread across a large area in the heart of Austrian capital that continues to function in the same way even in 2023, as we celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the First Housing Program. "People's palaces" with their defensive doors, expansive courtyards and accompanying parks, low construction densities, decorative elements such as sculptures, fountains, and ornate craftsmanship, their building textures, easily associated with working class due to the use of brick, distinctive windows that reveal their identity at first sight, new ceiling heights and room layouts, as well as an intricate circulation system both within and between buildings, have successfully enhanced a unique typology. As a result, the

resulting structures were so distinctively crafted that they could incorporate certain external elements without losing their essence, thereby reshaping the perception typically associated with public housing, which often evokes poverty or poor conditions in many countries. The typology also changed the definition of the dwelling. The apartment is no longer just a set of four walls surrounding uninterrupted rooms connected to each other that you enter through a door; it has transformed into a "cluster of spaces" that sometimes opens onto a courtyard and sometimes to collective living facilities. Workers' dwellings now accommodate rooms such as a living room, bedroom, kitchen, bathroom, garden-room, library-room, laundry room kindergarten-room and so on. This once again demonstrated how misguided it is to reduce Gemeindebau typology solely to housing. The equation of where the public city ends and the private dwelling begins has now transformed into a system where the private dwelling becomes the final link in the chain of the public city. In the broader context, this architectural typology endeavor can be viewed as the final component in the continuum of social engineering. Social democrats at that time may not have been aware of how their actions could evolve into such a significant model, but even after 100 years, they had implemented a model that provided housing for over half a million people. Throughout the course of this study and in its aftermath, I observed a perceptible shift in my preferred routes while navigating the urban landscape, and irrespective of their scale, the remarkable magnificence of Gemeindebau had a captivating effect on me. It is my earnest wish that Jakob Reumann, Karl

Seitz, and Hugo Breitner, whose relentless efforts a century ago paved the way for the establishment of Gemeindebau, could have the opportunity, even if only for a moment, to witness the monumental legacy they left behind. *With utmost respect, in memory of them…*

"Once we are no longer here, these stones will speak for us."
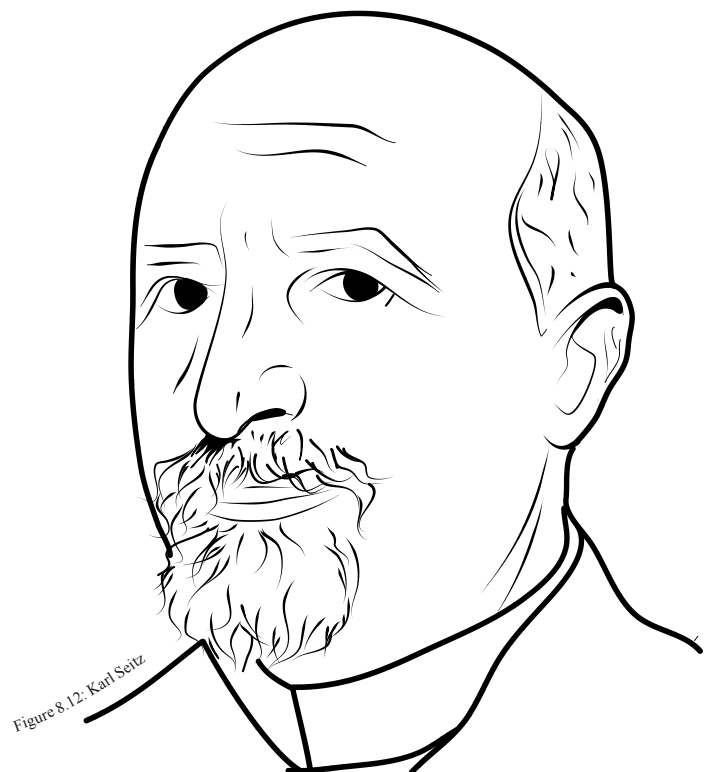*Karl Seitz*

Figure 8.12: Karl Seitz

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7.18: Plan, Siedlung Hellerhof. Recreation by the author based on material in Lampugnani, Vittorio Magnago: Trabantensiedlungen versus Superblöcke: Das Neue Frankfurt und das Rote Wien. Geschichte des Städtebaus II, episode 10, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich (ETH Zürich), 2017. https://doi.org/10.5446/46759

7.19: Image, rowhouse, Siedlung Hellerhof. Photograph by Christos Vittoratos, https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Neues-frankfurt_hellerhofsiedlung_mart-stam_(4).jpg

7.20: Image, rowhouse, Siedlung Hellerhof. Ernst-may-gesellschaft, https://ernst-may-gesellschaft.de/wohnsiedlungen

7.21: Plan, Frankfurt kitchen, Recreation by the author based on material in http://www.diefrankfurterkueche.de/seite12.html

7.22: Image, Frankfurt kitchen. Schütte-Lihotzky, Margarete. "Rationalisierung Im Haushalt." Das Neue Frankfurt: Monatschschrist Für Die Fragen Der Großstadt-Gestaltung 1926-1927 no. 5, 1927.

CHAPTER 8

8.01 Image, Karl-Marx-Hof, 1934. ÖNB, http://data.onb.ac.at/AKON/AK075_126

8.02: Image, Karl-Marx-Hof, 1934. Picturedesk/Ullstein, https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000097846826/nach-dem-rechten-sehen

8.03: Image, Apartment in Goethehof, 1934. Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 235383, CC0, https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/991758/

8.04: Image, Goethehof, 1934. Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 235381, CC0 https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/991756/

8.05: Image, Volkstheater, 1934. Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, TF-999257

8.06: Image, Schlingerhof, 1934. https://dasrotewien.at/seite/schlingerhof

8.07: Image, Paul-Speiser-Hof, 1934. Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 235311, CC0, https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/989573/

8.08: Image, Krankenkassenhaus in Simmering, 1934. Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 235411, CC0, https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/992347/

8.09: Plan, Kommunalka in Saint Petersburg. Recreation by the author based on material in https://kommunalka.colgate.edu/cfm/view_image.cfm?ClipID=445&ClipIDList=&Language=English&SearchTargetList=

8.10: Plan, Stalinka in Kazan. Recreation by the author based on material in Andrianova, Ganna. Architecture Of Soviet Housing And Main Soviet Urban Planning Concepts. Suzhou, China, 2015. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.1.5147.5366

8.11: Plan, Koszaliner Straße WBS70 in Neubrandenburg. Recreation by the author based on material in Bundesministerium für Raumordnung, Bauwesen und Städtebau, ed. WBS 70 Wohnungsbauserie 70 6,3 t. Stuttgart: Fraunhofer IRB Verlag, 1977.