Figure 12: Hacker-Zentrum business and residential complex, by Ernst M. Lang, Klaus von Bleichert and Gernot E. Car 1970–1974, refurbishment works, Munich 2017

II. Domain-Specific Narratives of Conflict

"The litany of the myth is by now familiar: a condition of violent and rapid change, unprecedented in the history of mankind, has produced a […] moral and political crisis of such dimensions that catastrophe is surely imminent […]. Before it is too late society must rid itself of outmoded sentiment, thought, technique; and, if in order to prepare for its impending deliverance, it must be ready to make *tabula rasa*, the architect, as key figure in this transformation, must be prepared to assume the historical lead […] as a front-line combatant in the battle for humanity."
Rowe, Colin and Koetter, Fred (1978) Collage City, Cambridge MA, pp.94f, emphasis in original

"Our work as urbanists aims to shape the narratives of urban development, focusing on the stages in which a particular project unfolds. […] Rather than a lock-step march towards achieving a single end, we look at the different and conflicting possibilities at each stage. Keeping these possibilities intact and leaving conflict in play opens up the design system. […] All good narrative has the property of exploring the unforeseen, of discovery […]."
Sennett, Richard (2007) The Open City, London, p.296

"We need more and better understandings of the various 'narrative machineries' and the discourses they produce."
Clarke, Adele (2005) Situational Analysis. Grounded Theory After the Postmodern Turn, Thousand Oaks CA, p.31

1. Introducing a Narrative-Based Analysis of Conflict and Change

1.1 Narratives in Architecture and Urbanism

Mark Rakatansky suggests that "Architecture is permeated with narratives because it is constituted *within* a field of discourses and economies (formal, psychological, and ideological), to any one aspect of which it cannot be reduced, from any one of which it cannot be removed." (emphasis in original, Rakatanski 1991, p.199) In this section, I introduce the narrative as a distinct category of architectural and urban production, together with an outline for a narrative-based analysis of conflict and change. I refer to Mark Rakatansky's text "Spatial Narratives" (ibid.), Catherine Riessman's enquiry into narrative methods in the social sciences (Riessman 2008), and the work of Willy Viehöver on the analytical integration of discourses and narratives (Viehöver 2011). Viehöver in turn draws from Jean-François Lyotard's, Magaret Somers's and Paul Ricoeur's writings on the ontology of narratives, types of narratives, narrativisation, structure and other properties (ibid., pp.199ff), as well as from Maarten Hajer's concept of "discourse coalition" (ibid., p.201). Based on Mark Rakatansky's approach, I suggest that architectural and urban narratives are, firstly, devices through which single concepts can be connected to each other as well as to architectural and urban practice; secondly, means by which these relationships can be memorised, communicated and debated; and thirdly, embedded within the various discourses in society and that they in this sense do not occur in isolation.

Narratives in architecture and urbanism are produced within and for different bodies of knowledge. They travel easily from one discipline to another, transgress boundaries, connect architectural and urban theory with the practical work of architects, urbanists and other actors. When architects and urbanists refer to, and work with narratives, they regularly do so with reference to their own work or concrete spatial situations. Narratives may assume the form of both, theorisations as well as actual spatial work. Narratives, if seen as the establishment and communication of relationships between different concepts and practices, are at the heart of architectural and urban work. They are vehicles through which knowledge and ideas are communicated, memorised and put to effective use in processes of realisation. Narratives are consequential and more than mere theoretical objects when they enter design work and in this way urban and architectural productions. In this respect, narratives are closely related to discourses, they are part of discursive formations. However, rather than conceptualising narratives as a particular form of discourse (Viehöver 2011, p.201f), I propose with recourse to Mark Rakatansky that architectural and urban narratives could be conceived of as segments of discourses, informing and co-constituting discourses, but that are not identical with them. Hence, for the purpose of the analysis, narratives could be seen as the links in a hierarchical model which integrates concepts and practices with discourses. Researchers, designers, practitioners, theorists and other actors in the field of architecture and urbanism have developed complex narratives around conflict and change. Based on the proposed model, we may approach architectural and urban narratives of conflict and change as a distinct field of analysis and at the same time look at the level of concepts and practices, as well as the broader discourses of conflict and change within the grand discourse(s) of and in society.

Figure 13: Institutionalised narrative of change, Tate Modern, London 2016

According to Catherine Riessman, narratives are regularly used "[…] to remember, argue, justify, persuade, engage, entertain, and even mislead an audience" (Riessman 2008, p.8), but also "[…] to mobilize others, and to foster a sense of belonging." (ibid.) If conceived as sense-making tools, narratives "do" things for individuals, groups, institutions, and other actors (ibid., p.8). Hence, narratives embody high levels of intentionality, and they are closely related to a wide array of everyday practices (ibid.). An enquiry into urban and architectural narratives of conflict and change, therefore, has to include along with theoretical content, line of argumentation, or justification of a proposed idea, the enquiry into intentionality and their effects on how we 'do' conflict and change in urban and architectural practice. Collectively constructing urban reality means engaging in complex situations of social interaction. Riessman argues that

> "Narratives do political work. The social role of stories – how they are connected to the flow of power in the wider world – is an important facet of narrative theory." (ibid.)

According to Riessman, narrative analysis may be applied to many different sources due to the universality of the form (ibid., p.4). Narratives may be found in myths, stained glass windows, biographies, scientific theories, archival and organisational documents (ibid.), research work, interpretations (ibid., p.6); and, as I have argued above, also in the work of architecture and urbanism. Riessmann suggests that all narrative texts and materials share similar ways of integrating contingency. Through the consequential linking of actions, ideas and events, they impose a meaningful pattern on that which would otherwise be disconnected and random (ibid., p.5). Yet, despite these common characteristics, narratives are highly contextual and bound to the situation in which the narrating occurs. This has implications for their analysis. Riessmann cautions that

> "Narratives are composed for particular audiences at moments in history, and they draw on taken-for-granted discourses and values circulating in a particular culture.

> Consequently, narratives don't speak for themselves, […] they require close interpretation […]." (ibid., p.3)

Drawing from the writings of Magaret Somers, Willy Viehöver suggests that narratives enable collective communicative practices. By means of narrative work, actors construct and transform meaning, develop understanding and constitute their own collective identities (ibid., p.197). He distinguishes between different types of narratives, of which the following three seem to be of relevance for our research situation (ibid., pp.199ff):

1. **Ontological narratives** relate to myths about origins and modernisation; they define the level of meta-narrative which acts as the referential framework for other narratives
2. **Public narratives** are attached to institutions and cultural formations beyond the level of the individual, such as the family, workplace, professions, nations
3. **Conceptual narratives** are produced by experts and scientists as analytical and explanatory models. They are typically embedded within specific frames of reference, contain specialist vocabulary, and follow a specific explanatory strategy

According to Viehöver, narratives can be selectively appropriated; they may change the directionality of interactions; they may define the boundaries between competing discourses (Viehöver 2011, p.202). Narratives are devices for collective learning. New situations are integrated with existing narratives through narrativisation ("Narrativisierung") (ibid., p.202)[1]. Narratives have stabilising as well as transforming capacities – they are sites of possibilities for the construction of new worlds (ibid.). Hence, acts of transforming, adapting or extending narratives can be seen as acts of changing social reality. If humans change their shared narratives, they change the meanings and the consequential practices associated with them (ibid., p.204). Catherine Riessman observes that "[…] speaking out invites political mobilization and change as evidenced by the ways stories invariably circulate in sites where social movements are forming." (Riessman 2008, p.8) Like Riessman, Viehöver understands narratives as devices for the positioning of the individual self and collectivities in networks of relations (Viehöver 2011, p.199). If individual actors share and co-produce public narratives with the purpose of communicating, categorising, giving structure and meaning to a complex situation, they engage in what Maarten Hajer and others define as discourse coalition ("Diskurskoalition") (Hajer, cited in ibid., pp.201f). If applied to the proposed hierarchical model that relates concepts and/or practices to discourses, we could speak at the level of narratives of a 'narrative coalition'. In this sense, what kind of narrative coalitions do architects and urbanists establish in order to realise their projects and put to the test their concepts of conflict and change?

Based on these premises and questions, architectural and urban narratives of conflict and change can be understood as devices that give structure to complex ideas; they serve the purposes of integration, appropriation, memorising, communication, discussion and dispersion. Architectural and urban narratives can be understood as

1 „Im Prozeß der Narrativisierung werden situative Ereignisse und Konstellationen in den bestehenden narrativen Rahmen eingearbeitet […]" (Viehöver 2011, p.202).

being consequential through their connectedness to and immersion in practice, design work, and controversy. Architectural and urban narratives of conflict and change do not exclusively reside in the domain of theory; rather, they are woven into the practices and materialisations of discourses. Hence:

1. **Architectural and urban narratives of conflict and change,** which establish and communicate relationships between concepts as well as practices and in this sense address, interpret and visualise conflict and change in multiple ways, may be found in different areas, for example:
2. **The built environment,** the physical world created by humans; practises of conflict and change inscribed into materialities; practices of observing and interpreting change; competing processes of realisation/building
3. **Design work,** the movement between conceptual, material and social worlds; the tool-box of design instruments; design controversies
4. **Institutional and regulatory practices,** through which conflict and change are categorised, managed, restricted and controlled
5. **Legitimisations** of power relations; agreements about who/what can induce and control change; agreements about that which can be said and known about conflict and change, and what not; professionalism; the justification of practices and existing/desired conditions
6. **Interactive relationships** between architects, professionals, stakeholders and actors; individuals and collective bodies; negotiation and controversy; silences; practices of inclusion and exclusion; differentiations
7. **Education and research,** through which ideas and practices of conflict and change are explored, categorised, connected, memorised and dispersed
8. **Appropriation and everyday practices,** ways of 'doing' conflict and change; participation/non-participation; relational orderings; everyday use and production of spatial situations

The term 'domain-specific' in the headers of the present and the following chapters indicates that the analysis is focussed on narratives produced by architects and urbanists, often intended for other architects and urbanists as specialist recipients, as well as on narratives by researchers and theorists working in the field of architecture and urbanism. However, the theoretical sampling process is not blind to narratives and concepts that are located elsewhere. I will make use of the flexibility provided by the method to include positions from other fields at a later stage in order to substantiate the findings developed in the positional map.

By means of assembling architectural and urban narratives of conflict and change I do not seek to construct a history of ideas, either as coherent continuity, as discontinuous ruptures, or as evolution of inferences and events; nor do I analyse them in terms of internal structure or linguistic detail. Rather, the analytical goal is to clarify the narratives' conceptualisations of conflict and change and their relatedness to spatial and transformative practices; to map the positions of embodied concepts in the discursive field; to sketch out the positions' pattern of dispersion; and to identify the silences and marginalised positions that may help us to develop a better understanding of asymmetric and unexpected conditions of urban change.

1.2 Starting and Ending the Iterative-Cyclical Process of Analysis

If we organise our narratives of conflict and change as two closely related, but separate strands of enquiry up to the point of their intersection, should we start with the enquiry into change, or with conflict? As my observations of asymmetric change have generated the initial research interest, it would seem obvious to begin with the narratives of change prior to assembling the narratives of conflict. However, conflict – as a less evident concept in architecture and urbanism – seems to define a smaller field of narratives to choose from. Urban and architectural narratives of conflict tend to address specific issues, which makes it easier for the theoretical sampling process in terms of navigating, making plausible selections, and identifying single positions. Before I discuss change, I will therefore first engage with architectural and urban narratives of conflict. Once assembled, the narratives of conflict will serve as referential field, which will help us to keep the focus while we analyse change. The goal here is not to mirror the narratives, make a comparative analysis, nor to develop an explicit and elaborate typology of conflict and change, but to develop two strands of conceptual anchor points, and to work towards their intersection in a positional map.

The second problem is the question of the beginning, of choosing the first sample for the analytical process. Adele Clarke suggests that not having complete knowledge of all key discourses is a likely scenario for the initial stages of a research project, and typical for qualitative research rather than the exception (Clarke 2005, p.185). Hence the first selection has to be made without having a full picture of architectural and urban narratives of conflict and change. Furthermore, if the urban is understood as open construct, then there is no apparent beginning to whatever aspect we are interested in. In the opening words of "The Order of Discourse", the inaugural lecture held by Michel Foucault at the Collège de France in 1970, Foucault wished he "[…] could have slipped surreptitiously into this discourse […]" (Foucault 1981 [1970], p.51) – his discourse about discourse, which he was about to initiate as the programme for his subsequent research; he wished to circumvent the celebration of a beginning, which, in his view, was but an affirmative institutionalised ritual. Hence, if I follow conventions in architectural history and look at the moment when architecture is commonly understood to have made a decisive step towards its manifestation as distinct discipline during the Renaissance period, I will do so not without noting that there could have been a different beginning.

However, choosing this entry for the enquiry has the advantage of starting with the argument that conflict has informed the ontological and epistemological base of architecture and urbanism and that it had evolved as tacit knowledge embedded in spatial practice before it became more explicitly articulated and discursively exploited in the modernist era. The analysis then shifts to narratives that developed as a critique of modernism, and that changed the way we approach conflict in urban practice today. The narratives move through different urban periods and scales. The sequencing is thematic rather than chronological. They cover established positions in architectural and urban historiography, as well as positions that are more marginal and hypothetical, ranging from the logics of geometry and the logics of choice, to positions that are critical of the neoliberal city, and to practices of the everyday.

The final issue to be addressed at this stage is the question of when to stop the process. In GTM as well as in SA the iterative-cyclical movement and the mapping process

are stopped when the findings "add up to the same thing" (Strauss 1987, p.26)[2], thus reaching a point of "theoretical saturation" (ibid., 21). In the words of Adele Clarke, "[…] data collection itself should continue until *nothing analytically useful* is being collected – until further analysis is no longer provoked by the new materials." (emphasis in original, Clarke 2005, p.186). Saturation is, like other elements in GTM and SA, not numerically determined. It can be applied to individual research tools, like maps, as well as to the distillation of concepts in a narrative, or the overall study. In practice, maps are saturated when adding further information does not change the core message of the map (ibid., p.108, p.135). Likewise, concepts are saturated when analysing further data does not significantly alter the concept. This requires researchers to keep track of intermediate research stages and findings, which is achieved through memoing, and to pursue the research process up to the stage when the maps, concepts, or core messages are sufficiently stabilised.

Pertaining to the following analysis of urban and architectural narratives of conflict and change, this means that the process stops on reaching analytical **saturation** on two different levels:

1. **on the level of the single narrative**, so that the underlying concept can be assigned a position in the positional map later on in the theoretical intersection
2. **on the level of the overall analysis** of narratives, so that sufficient concepts/positions and data are available for the drawing of conclusions and for the development of the new concept

In the analysis we have to take into account the general tendency in the field towards vagueness and ambiguity – a phenomenon observed and criticised by John Habraken – who suggests that

> "Confusion in terminology is typical for architectural discourse. Other professions – those of medicine, law or engineering, for instance – define themselves by a precise vocabulary employed for internal communication. Architects take pride in coining their own words to describe the world as they see it, aiming to promote a personal or tribal vision." (Habraken 2008, p.290)

Hence, the discursive-interpretative analytical process needs to cover sufficient context within the narratives so that the concepts or positions embedded within them may be identified with the required level of accuracy.

2 Strauss cites Glaser (1978, chapter 1).

2. Conflict as Category of Disciplinary Self-Affirmation

2.1 Integrative Capacity of Pre-Modern Spaces of Emplacement and Social Agreement

In urban history and urban sociology, the typical early European city is understood to be organised as clusters of more or less homogeneous neighbourhoods and autonomous territories that co-exist side-by-side within the city walls (Mumford 1961, p.310). Georg Simmel provides an early account of this spatial order in his theory of the development of early European urban society (Simmel 1995a [1903], p.136). Within these neighbourhoods and territorial units, property was organised on the basis of parcelled plots, which were embedded in the feudalist system of taxation and legal status (Conzen 1960; Slater 1981, p.211). Patterns of territorial and social organisation are a common reference in architects' and urbanists' affirmative reconstruction of the division between public and private domains. Theorising the difference between traditional and modernist forms of urban organisation, historian and architectural critic Alan Colquhoun suggests that in the historic city "the public realm was representational; it not only housed activities of a public and collective nature but it symbolized these activities." (Colquhoun 1971, p.83) Colquhoun asserts that the historic distinction between public and private is, perhaps, not just a territorial distinction, established through physical boundaries, but also based on the distinction between different kinds of human actions. "The private realm, on the contrary, though still comprised of aesthetic formulae common to the whole of society, was not representational in a public sense and was the property of individuals who were free to use them much as one uses everyday language, as a personal possession." (ibid.)

The social relevance of a building would be read and understood by medieval urban society, through a system of legible codes embedded in the materiality, typology, siting and scale of the building. It found its expression in the building's location in the city and its association with a particular neighbourhood, its relation to public space, the dimensions of the building, its visual presence, the use of ornament and the symbolic meaning associated with it. The standard parcelled plots were typically long and narrow, and arranged with their short sides along the street. Main buildings, or "plot dominants" (Conzen 1960, p.31), were usually facing the street and various extensions, yards or gardens developed towards the back as "plot accessories" (ibid.). If the desire for representation of wealth and social status demanded a larger building, this could be achieved by extending further into the depth of the plot, or by adding adjacent parcels to form a larger plot. The town palace erected between 1512 and 1515 by the Fugger merchant family in Augsburg in the South of Germany demonstrates how the wealthiest family in the town managed to integrate their desire for representation into the city's plot system, without violating the existing territorial framework. Conversely, single plots could be subdivided to accommodate households with lower economic strength, or businesses which required less space (ibid., pp.37f). The length of street frontage and the size of the plot were then as now a publicly legible measure of wealth. We can imagine how potential conflicts between different representational or spatial requirements in the private domain could be negotiated and resolved within this system of spatial order.

Whether conceptualised as "morphological period" or "typological process" in the research traditions of Michael Conzen, or Gianfranco Caniggia (Whitehand 2001, p.107), or as "pattern language" by Christopher Alexander (1979), theorists of the historic city commonly propose that pre-modern building was based on collectively produced, implicit forms of knowledge, and stabilising structural conditions. For John Habraken "[…] the house type is perhaps the most widely shared experience in a culture" (Habraken 2008, p.3). Habraken speaks of "Type as Social Agreement" (Habraken 1988), observing that the effect of working with building types is "[…] that the houses are perceived as individuals, – each having their own identity – but of the same family." (ibid., p.9) The agglomeration of building types in the historic city produces "continuous fields" (Habraken 1987a, p.8), which offer a high degree of variation within a clearly defined framework of possibilities (ibid.). The plot system acted as stable territorial and organisational element in the field. The fixation of plot boundaries was reinforced by the physicality of the densely built-up city (Slater 1981, p.211). The coalescence of 'hard' site and 'soft' asset, the aggregation of legal, economic, social, or religious constructs on urban territories, and the resulting embodiment of meaning, produced a city that was intrinsically related to individual people's lives, social practice as well as the functioning of urban society (Simmel 1995b [1903], pp.212f). Accordingly, buildings during this period were identified by their names, rather than numbers. With radical change caused by fire, aggression, or epidemics being imminent and inevitable, the striving for territorial continuity took precedence. Michel Foucault refers to this kind of pre-modern space, based on hierarchies and stability in place-fixation on the one hand, and the temporality and insecurity associated with individual life on the other hand, as "space of emplacement" (éspace de localisation) (Foucault 1984 [1967]), thus giving a distinction to the spatiality of the infinite and "extension" (l'étendue) (ibid.) that was to follow.

The narrative of the historic European city and its integrative capacity serves as the backdrop for a series of contrasting narratives of spatial conflict and discontinuity, of which key narratives include the introduction of the autonomous architectural object and the perspective principle, 19th century urban restructuring, and the realisation of the modernist city.

2.2 Cities as Sites of Rupture and Self-Referential Architectural Intervention

Reconstructing a series of influential "narrative[s] of the development of modernism" (Vidler 2008, p.1) in architecture and urbanism, Anthony Vidler identifies in the work of Manfredo Tafuri[3] the recurrent theme of "[…] the uncovering of moments of 'crisis' in history that ruptured seemingly fundamental continuities […]" (ibid., p.162). Vidler provides as an example Tafuri's portrayal of Brunelleschi as a character that played a "paradigmatic role" in the crisis, through breaking "radically with the medieval past" (ibid., p.172). Similar tones prevail in the reflections of Alan Colquhoun, for example when he suggests that "[…] Brunelleschi revolutionized existing building procedures by proposing that a building was something that should be conceived as total project and carried out according to a preconceived plan." (Colquhoun 1971, p.84) Proposing that Brunelleschi redefined architectural practice as a form of "*episteme*, or certain knowl-

3 Vidler relates in particular to Manfredo Tafuri's "Teorie e storia dell'architettura" (Tafuri 1970 [1968]).

edge" (emphasis in original, ibid.), Alan Colquhoun asserts that "not only buildings but also entire cities were projected in this manner and reflected the triple values of the Renaissance: political meaning, geometrical construction, and conscious totality." (ibid.) Architectural and urban histories conventionally present the Renaissance as the period during which architecture emerged as a self-reflexive and self-referential discipline (Tafuri 1970 [1968]; Colquhoun 1971; Rowe and Koetter 1978; Lefebvre 1991 [1974]; Habraken 2005; Vidler 2008)[4]. The shift is understood to have affected the way space and buildings are conceived. According to Colquhoun, it made possible the conceptualisation of the physicality of the city "[…] as a solid, carved up by streets, hollowed out by squares, and articulated by public buildings" (Colquhoun 1971, p.84), in other words, the urban fabric has become a generic matter into which distinct objects and autonomous architectural forms could be placed. On this interpretation, the historian portrays the Renaissance architects and their sponsors as approaching the city as zone of architectural experimentation and radical intervention. In this kind of narrative, conflict is seen as a constituent aspect of architectural self-referentiality and self-reflexive practice.

Narrative conventions argue the shift in the conception of space being related to the invention of the perspective projection, as well as the concepts of the ideal city and the autonomous object: conceived by the architect, the autonomous object demanded that spatial and visual control extend beyond the traditional plot boundary and into the wider built environment; the perspective provided a powerful design instrument in achieving this task; sites and buildings could be related to others on the basis of a verifiable and reproducible system of spatial order; spatial hierarchies and configurations of dominance could be conceived and tested by means of drawing, painting or model-making. And indeed, the "rationalisation of sight" (Latour 2005, p.45)[5], the establishment of perspective as a standardised tool of representation, enabled people to share ideas in an as yet unknown way, thus creating a versatile platform of communication and intellectual exchange.

Both the strengths and limitations of the perspective projection arise from its clearly defined principles. In urban environments, the chances for coherently designed systems to interfere with the non-perspective spatial arrangements of the existing city were high. Perspective interventions inevitably encountered resistance. As a result, the projects had the tendency to leave the restricting realm of the medieval city, seizing the open countryside as easily accessible territory for architectural intervention and representation of wealth (Mumford 1961, pp. 485f[6]). If this was impractical, or if status and power had to be demonstrated within the city limits, the project would have to be realised within the existing built environment. The inevitable conflict was then resolved by either violence or compromise[7]. For, if there was the possibility for "[…]

4 The number of references on this topic could be greatly extended. I am listing the titles to which I refer in this section.

5 Bruno Latour borrows this expression from Williams M. Ivins (Ivins1973 [1930), cited in Latour 2005, p.45)

6 Lewis Mumford refers to Leon Battista Alberti (1485) on this issue. See also Oswalt (2000, p. 73).

7 The Cortile degli Uffizi in Florence by Giorgio Vasari, which left the surrounding urban fabric intact at the expense of the size of the project could be considered a compromise (Rowe and Koetter 1978, p.68). Other schemes, like Maximilianstraße in Munich, are former out-of-town developments, which did not

architectural structures [to be] inserted as critical ruptures with the past and shifters of significance for the present", as Vidler paraphrases Tafuri's argument (Vidler 2008, p.173), there was also the option of choosing the opposite principle of integration. Even the more fundamental interventions, such as Georges-Eugène Haussmann's undertakings in Paris, or the restructuring of Turin, seem to have produced compromise and negotiated fields of co-existence, adaptations to spatial resistance, and site-specific outcomes – despite the instrument's universality (Jöchner 2001)[8]. Hence, violent rupture on the one side, and evasion, adaptation, or integration on the other side, seem to define basic responses to the problems imposed by the perspective on the city. Architectural and urban histories which emphasise conflict and crisis in their narratives tend to foreground rupture and radical urban intervention.

Contextualising the 'ideal city' as instrument in the education of a privileged Renaissance minority, Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter present two picturesque drawings by Sebastiano Serlio[9] to illustrate their 'operative' narrative in "Collage City" (Rowe and Koetter 1978, p.14). The drawings show on the one hand an irregular medieval townscape, and an idealised perspectival urban arrangement on the other. The educationally informed envisaging of a process of "[…] convert[ing] a world of random and mediaeval happening into a more highly integrated situation of dignified and serious deportment" (ibid., pp.14f), as Rowe and Koetter call it, seems implicitly to embody the same kind of conflict zone as described above, in which the existing is forced to accommodate the new, or, more radically, the ideal city seeks to establish a new order by replacing the existing city. In this hypothetical configuration the architect would be concerned with the primacy of a single big idea. To use the well known metaphor from Isaiah Berlin, adopted by Rowe and Koetter later on in the book, the architect would have to assume the role of a "hedgehog", as opposed to the more versatile "fox" (ibid., p.92).

For several centuries, perspectival and axial systems have served representations of different forms of power, ranging from representations of absolutism to representations of civic pride. Irrespective of motivation, if the intervention seeks to maintain its state of completeness and integrity, it will seek to control space beyond the period of its construction. Once established and materialised, perspective arrangements may become "grand urban rules" (Lehnerer 2009) that affect future urban development. Today, 'borrowed' vistas dating from previous periods still dominate large territories of cities. The current London View Management is an example of the persistence of the concept (Lehnerer 2009, pp.136f)[10]. Organisations which are authorised to interpret

require high levels of either violence or compromise for their realisation. For illustrations of the historic situation see Rowe and Koetter (1978, pp.130f).

8 Cornelia Jöchner's research of the historic urban development of Turin in Italy demonstrates how the urban layout was modified to embody meaning and representation that was specific to the geopolitical configuration of Savoy, rather than following a generic pattern of urban development (Jöchner 2001).

9 Sebastiano Serlio made these two drawings as stage designs, the „Comic Scene", showing a „typical" mediaeval street irregularly lined with gothic buildings of different scales, which are effectively reducing the stage to a flat canvas, and an idealised „Tragic Scene", with buildings of „classic" or antique appearance lined up to the effects of an ordered perspective view (Rowe and Koetter 1978, p.14).

10 Many thanks to Jason Mabelis, director of architectural visualisation company RockHunter, who, during a journey through Richmond Park, showed me the protected vista from King Henry's Mound

and decide on related matters act from within rigidified positions of power, because the rules of perspective are non-negotiable. In this way, vistas in cities are part of the 'narrative coalitions' that are constructed within the broader discourses of urban conflict and change.

Finally, the paradigm of the architectural object, of the architectural intervention as the hedgehog's 'single big idea', as well as the concept of self-referentiality in architecture are closely linked to the concept of autonomy in architecture. Anthony Vidler suggests that

> "The idea of 'architectural autonomy', the notion that architecture, together with the other arts, is bound to an internal exploration and transformation of its own specific language, has surfaced periodically in the modern period. Whether as a way of classifying the qualities of architectural 'form' […], or as a way of defining the role of the architect in an increasingly specialized professional world, the assertion of autonomy has been a leitmotif of modernism since the end of the nineteenth century, if not earlier." (Vidler 2008, p.17)

Vidler suggests that both modernism and approaches critical of modernism have developed concepts of autonomy in architecture (ibid.). Concepts of autonomy have emerged from the criticism of a pure functionalist argumentation in design and the perceived poverty of technocratic environments (Huse 2008, p.94)[11], as well as from the view that architecture is essentially an autonomous form of artistic expression. In 1962, Austrian Architect Hans Hollein demanded an "absolute architecture" (ibid.), liberated from ends other than those defined by architecture itself, conceived to embody the highest achievements of elitist cultural production (ibid., p.92). The autonomy of architecture presupposes that a distinction can be made between ends defined by, or from within, architecture and ends defined by the social context in which it operates. With this distinction, autonomous architecture seeks to concentrate control in the hands of the architect or the architectural programmer, if we consider the digital versions of the autonomous project – in particular over the design process as the presumed core aspect of architectural work. Concepts of an autonomous architecture emphasise the idea of an 'outside' and in this sense maintain the inherited idea of 'rupture'. However, if the autonomous architectural project is confronted with the outside of urban reality, or with the requirements of everyday use (ibid., p.94)[12], it has, in common with the

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across South-West London towards St Paul's Cathedral, which from this point is some 10 miles away. The vista extends across Putney, Fulham, Chelsea, Westminster and the City, and in this way influences what is happening on the ground.

11 Norbert Huse provides as an example Oswald Matthias Ungers' and Reinhard Gieselmann's 1960 manifesto „Zu einer Neuen Architektur", which demands an architecture that is liberated from the aesthetic uniformity of functionalism, and that provides meaning and an attitude of responsibility rooted in the local.

12 Huse takes Peter Eisenman's House III, completed in 1971, as an example for an autonomous architecture where the architect conceives of users as potential threat to the coherence and perfection of the architectural project (Huse 2008, p.94). Peter Eisenman's Houses I-IV unfold in absolute space along a series of carefully executed geometrical operations, establishing a dialogue between author and architectural form. Conflict beyond the problem of architectural form, for example induced by everyday use, is excluded and defined as external.

perspective system and despite its own claims, more than just one possible response, or process, at its disposal.

3. Ambivalent Tactics of Conflict in Modernist Urbanism

3.1 The 'Lone Actor' and the Modernist 'Envelope'

Today's cities and urban environments are, to a large degree, shaped by processes and concepts that have their origins in modernist planning. Engaging with the contemporary urban condition means to be confronted with the fixations and residues of modernist planning thought and modernist space. Looking at the long history of conflict in architecture and urbanism, modernism produced unique and ambivalent narratives of conflict in these fields, which in turn provoked the development of alternative narratives and counter-narratives. In the following I relate to two narratives about modernism that theorise this ambivalence on the basis of two metaphors: the modernist "envelope" (Latour 2008, p.8), and the "lone actor" (Koolhaas 1994a [1978], p.246).

With recourse to philosopher Peter Sloterdijk's concept of 'spheres', Bruno Latour suggests that "a modernist is someone who lives under a vast dome, and who sees things as though sitting under a huge architecture, the globe of Science, the globe of Reason, the globe of Politics" (Latour 2008, p.9). In this metaphorical description, the dome serves as the protective "envelope" (ibid., p.8) that defines a global 'inside' for the modernist project to unfold, whereby the presence of the 'envelope' is not made explicit. The powerful "life support systems" (ibid., p.9) required to maintain the 'inside' are taken for granted. In this sense, Latour's metaphor bears similarities to Imre Lakatos' previously discussed concept of "protective belt" (Lakatos 1978, p.4), but on a larger scale, or Neil Brenner's "context of context" (Brenner 2013, pp.92). Applied to architectural and urban theory, modernist 'envelopes' embody all that which allows modernism in architecture and urbanism to operate the way it did and still does. According to Latour, the making explicit of modernism's 'envelopes' during the second half of the twentieth century resulted in the gradual disintegration of modernist thinking (Latour 2008, p.9), which included the abandoning of the idea of nature as "the outside of human action" (ibid., p.10). What had been defined as self-contained is now seen as being part of vast redistribution networks (Latour 2010, pp.2f). Latour demands that, as a response to this shift in perspective, we should exchange the epistemology of "matters of fact" for that of "matters of concern" as discussed earlier (Latour 2008, p.10; 2010, p.5).

Rem Koolhaas's seminal retroactive manifesto for Manhattan, "Delirious New York" (Koolhaas 1994a [1978]), presents an alternative narrative of modernism. Unique urban programmes, such as "eating oysters with boxing gloves, naked, on the n^{th} floor [...]" (ibid., p.155), are, according to this narrative, not inventions of single architects, public policy advisors or marketing specialists; they are seen as the products of collective action, of a process for which no script had been written and no plan conceived. The assembling and condensing of different practices and situations – Coney Island; the ambivalent skyscraper as freely programmable volume; the struggle for media attention; consumerism; the urban grid on the limited space of the peninsula; the resulting "culture of congestion" (ibid., p.10, p.125) – are portrayed as having resulted in the

unique Manhattan condition, in "Manhattanism" (ibid., p.10). Koolhaas suggests that upon refusing to adopt the reductionist discourse of modernism, Manhattan's inhabitants, institutions, materialisations, and processes created their own discourse – a discourse that is both the product and the producer of metropolitan practices. He introduces the metaphor of "lone actor" (ibid., p.246)[13] to make explicit the difference between the idea of Manhattanism and of a modern architecture that fails to perform when confronted with the metropolis:

> "The transformation of the speculative into the undeniably 'there' is traumatic for modern architecture. Like a lone actor who enacts an absolutely different play from that of other actors on the same stage, modern architecture wants to perform without belonging to the scheduled performance: even in its most aggressive campaigns of realization it insists on its otherworldliness. For this subversive play within a play it has cultivated a rhetorical justification. […]. Modern architecture is invariably presented as a last-minute opportunity for redemption, an urgent[14] invitation to share the paranoiac thesis that a calamity will wipe out that unwise part of mankind that clings to old forms of habitation and urban coexistence." (ibid.)

Both metaphors, the 'lone actor' and the modernist 'envelope', serve as the starting points for a speculative conceptualisation of the modernist approach to conflict. The metaphors can be understood to represent two basic principles: on the one hand, conflict is actively pursued to advance the modernist project; on the other hand, undesired kinds of conflict are strategically demarcated and externalised. Hence, based on Latour's and Koolhaas's narratives about modernism, we could say that modernism relates to the problem of conflict in the following ways:

1. **Conflict is actively pursued in the modernist project**, in order to
   a. create a sense of urgency, in an attempt to eliminate concerns and lengthy debate.[15]
   b. demonstrate preparedness to actively and aggressively pursue modernist goals.
   c. establish clearly defined demarcations, thus strengthening the modernist profile.
   d. claim for the prerogative of interpretation, thus contributing towards the construction of a stable conceptual core. This allows dissenters to be disciplined or expelled more easily, at the cost of producing conceptual scarcity through the exclusion of speakers and ideas.
2. **Undesired kinds of conflict are strategically demarcated and excluded** in order to
   a. avoid addressing problems for which modernism has not (yet) developed adequate tools and solutions. This move reduces the "traumatic" component in realisations as cited above.

13 I would like to thank the chair's team at BTU for the discussion of this passage.

14 The concepts of urgency and congestion are discussed in more detail in chapter III.

15 This will also be disussed in more detail in chapter III, along the writings of Karl Popper on utopia and violence (Popper 1947). See also the citation of Latour on "matters of fact" and empiricism (Latour 2005, p.47) in the following section.

Figure 14: Taken for granted externalisation of problems. Langton Close, Mount Pleasant, London 2011

b. allow for various degrees of simplification. This ensures manoeuvrability in large scale projects and designs.
c. isolate problems so that they may be defined and approached as scientific problems.
d. give preference to assumed scientific modes of argumentation, thus strengthening the position of authorities, specialists and professionals through matters of fact.

By being able to act on the basis of both principles, simultaneously if required, modernism in architecture and urbanism seems to have created a flexible tactical base for the positioning of its social agendas and its economic and aesthetic arguments. Modernism's ambivalent relationship towards conflict may be identified in different fields of architectural and urban activity, such as communication (internal and external), problem analysis and conceptualisations, planning and design process, building construction, as well as in modernism's avant-gardism and asserted anti-historicity.

3.2 Narratives of Urban Simplification and Externalisation of Conflict

The complexity of the city causes major difficulties for planning and architecture. Planning history provides examples of simplifications that guided urban development, like Berlin's Hobrecht Plan of 1862. The plan defined the framework for the projected sewer system of the city. Although the plan is based on a single function and devoid of spatial or other concerns, it structured Berlin's rapid urban expansion during the following decades and shaped large parts of the city as we know it today (Oswalt 2000, p.7, p.33), in particular the tenement districts that were soon to attract fierce criticism (Hegemann 1963 [1930]). Another historic example of simplification is the Manhattan grid, which emerged as highly speculative "courageous act of prediction" (Koolhaas 1994a [1978], p.18) from the Commissioners Plan of 1811 (ibid.). The focus in this section

is on examples of simplification and externalisation of conflict in modernist narratives, which I contrast with some of the modernist-critical responses of later critics.

Colin Rowe's and Fred Koetter's proposition that metabolism and similar movements[16], as well as the Corbusian Radiant City, "[…] suffer from […] disregard of context, distrust of the social continuum, the use of symbolic utopian models for literal purposes, the assumption that the existing city will be made to go away" (Rowe and Koetter 1978, p.38), could be seen as being part of a modernist-critical narrative that asserts simplifications to be at the core of the modernist approach. Jane Jacobs, for example, suggests that Le Corbusier's modernist Radiant City

> "[…] had a dazzling clarity, simplicity and harmony. It was so orderly, so visible, so easy to understand. It said everything in a flash, like a good advertisement." (Jacobs 2011 [1961], p.23)

However, the narrative of simplification and externalisation seems to have its origin in the statements of the initial advocates of modernism rather than in the criticisms of later generations. In view of the perceived crisis, the authors of the CIAM La Sarraz Declaration asserted that simplification would be a necessary requirement for achieving more efficiency, and therefore affordability, while opposing the maximisation of profits in the building sector. The proposed simplifications notably include the conceptual phase and design stage of projects. The authors claimed that

> "[…] 3. The need for maximum economic efficiency is the inevitable result of the impoverished state of the general economy. 4. The most efficient method of production is that which arises from rationalization and standardization. Rationalization and standardization act directly on working methods both in modern architecture (conception) and in the building industry (realization). […] 5. […] (a) [and hence] they demand of architecture conceptions leading to simplification of working methods on the site and in the factory; […]." (CIAM 1928, p.110)

Similar narratives were established in the discussion about minimum dwelling standards ('Wohnen für das Existenzminimum') during the 2nd CIAM conference held in Frankfurt in the following year, as well as during the Brussels conference on rational building ('Rationelle Bebauungsweisen') in 1930 (ibid., p.270). For the modernist design process, simplification and externalisation seem to have offered some significant advantages, as the process did not have to respond to all design parameters at the same time. This produces conditions of high manoeuvrability and allows ideas to gain momentum, if only at the outset of a design project, and only temporarily[17]. Yet, if used as a general blueprint for design and realisation, the outcome is likely to fall short of the initial expectations. Through breaking down complex problems into smaller ones, modernism sought to render them accessible to standardised solutions, financing requirements, and outcome-orientated methods. In his 1971 essay "The Superblock" Alan

16 Rowe and Koetter use the term „science fiction" (Rowe and Koetter 1978, p.38).

17 This proposition relates to the concept of 'strategic selectivity' in design, which is based on the temporary suspension of complexity. The discussion about the concept evolved between Julia Zillich, Richard Knoll, Henri Praeger and myself in the context of design teaching/design theory.

Figure 15: Simplification and externalisation of conflict in the functional city: unobstructed flows of segregated traffic – pedestrians, cycle lane, local traffic, flyover for fast traffic; efficient and hygienic housing, southwest-facing; parking and green spaces in between. Mittlerer Ring near Candidplatz, Munich 2013

Colquhoun observes how "[…] the regulations covering light angles, zoning laws, and laws relating to plot ratio and density all tend to reinforce the tendency toward breaking up the city fabric into large discrete lumps, each of which is under unified financial control." (Colquhoun 1971, p.83) Brazil's capital Brasilia is a prominent example of modernist urban planning, which is based on superblocks, a tree-like hierarchy, as well as the externalisation of social and other conflicts from its initial plan.[18] Christopher Alexander shows how the tree-like organisation was used to simplify urban complexity to a manageable level, arguing that this also reduced Brasilia's environmental quality (Alexander 1965[19]).

18 Lucio Costa's 'Plano Piloto' (Wolfrum and Nerdinger 2008, pp.284f) strictly separates different uses and is organised according to a tree-like hierarchy. It is conceived as static object, which, once constructed, is meant to retain its shape to convey the intended symbolic meaning. Notions of time, change, adaptation, transformation are absent from the concept. It is conceived as a timeless project. The case of the worker's settlement is symptomatic for this approach. It was constructed at some arbitrary location 'outside' of the scheme and was understood to disappear once the 'actual' city was constructed. The worker's settlement was not seen to be part of the city and was, therefore, not assigned a place in the 'superquadras' – the future residential areas in the wings of the 'Plano Piloto'. This approach places 'object' over 'process'. It speaks of the inability to integrate a situation of 'difference' into the 'planned' city. In doing so, it also speaks of a particular idea of the future social composition of the city. The worker's settlement did not disappear. Brasilia's organisational hierarchy is analysed by Christopher Alexander in "A City is not a tree" (Alexander 1965), who presents the design as an example of the classic modernist tree.

19 Alexander argues that tree-like hierarchies, if strictly applied as an organisational model to the planning of cities, produce poor urban environments, for they lack the richness of relations between groups and levels that are characteristic in systems that have grown over time. With this essay Alexander introduced a new category of criticism of the modern city, for he adds to the more common

The narrative reconstructed in this section assumes that in modernist planning the process of simplification evolves along stages of abstraction and systematisations of information, and retains only that which is considered as being relevant to the project. Abstraction, systematisation and the breaking down of problems into smaller sub-problems have various predecessors in design history and are not unique to modernism. However, the modernist approach tends to systematically exclude categories that are not compatible with the modernist doctrine. Problems that are considered non-scientific, non-quantifiable, non-functional are not admitted to the process. Problems that are too complex as to be resolved with the tools available are defined in such a way they become manageable. This results in the selective elimination of complexity and externalisation of conflict from the domain of intervention. Modernist strategies of externalisation continue to be in use today. Externalisations are realised in everyday life by burdening the non-privileged with excessive commuting[20]; by placing hazardous and low-income jobs elsewhere; by postponement, for example in the treatment of nuclear waste; or by collectivisation of climate change. If seen from the perspective of economics, the externalisation of conflict is aligned to the externalisation of production costs. The narrative of externalisation and simplification highlights modernism's preference for greenfield sites, self-contained housing estates, new town projects and urban renewal based on large-scale demolitions. The German technical term 'Flächensanierung', used to describe this kind of urban renewal, reduces urban complexity to mere 'surface area'[21].

Modernism anxiously seeks to keep pace with technology and the sciences. Kenneth Frampton relates Le Corbusier's 'Plan Voisin' proposal for Paris in 1925 to the slogan "A city made for speed is a city made for success." (Frampton 2007 [1980], p.155) In "Speed and Politics", Paul Virilio develops a conflict-centred narrative of urban and territorial restructuring along the evolution of military technology, social organisation, politics and economy (Virilio 2006 [1986]). His narrative includes the formation of the middle-age polis, the omni-directionality of naval movement, and the organisation of the nation states' territories as infrastructure networks, before, finally, space surrenders to time in the de-territorialised software society, where the time available to take decisions is diminished by the ever growing speed of information processing and by automation (ibid.). The narrative of speed could be interpreted as a variation of

perspectives of phenomenology and sociology that of systems theory, set theory and emergence of form, suggesting that reductionist concepts on the system-level of the city to play a role in the production of estrangement in modernist cities. Alexander proposes a "semi-lattice" (Alexander 1965) as alternative to the deterministic modernist tree, which is a structure that allows multiple connections between elements and across scales.

20 Hans-Bernhard Reichow's cell-like diagrams, for example, depict pockets of modernist car-friendly city ("autogerechte Stadt") that can be attached to any traffic artery (Reichow 1959). They exemplify a kind of modernist model of conflict externalisation which can be effectively communicated and reproduced.

21 During the 1970s, the practice of ‚Flächensanierung' increasingly encountered resistances, not least because its justification and procurement was deeply rooted in technocratic thinking and in this sense in modernist simplification. For a historic account of the accompanying debate in Germany see (Krau 2010, pp.35ff). I would like to thank Prof. Christiane Thalgott, former head of Munich's planning and building control office ('Stadtbaurätin'), for the conversation about urban transformation and for kindly pointing to this publication.

the narrative of simplification and externalisation: for the purpose of gaining speed, modernist practices of externalisation and simplification can be used to reduce decelerating 'weight', and save time.

The narrative of simplification and externalisation of conflict may be extended to the field of expert–layperson communication, as well as the role of specialists. The assigning of privileged positions to experts and professionals in modernist projects, combined with the restriction of public access to specialist debates can be seen as a specific form of simplification. In this way, projects can be realised on the basis of the 'lone actor' attitude in the name of efficiency and scientific rationality, without the need to compromise. The modernist specialist seeks to establish an effective armament of 'matters of fact' through scientific justification. Reflecting about the instrumentalisation of scientific claims and specialist opinion in controversies, Latour suggests that the "indisputable presence [of matters of fact] was at once turned into a way of *stopping* the dispute." (emphasis in original, Latour 2005, p.47) The insistence on matters of fact, the practices of simplification and externalisation, and the anxious exclusion of non-compatible problems could be conceived as forming the "protective belt" (Lakatos 1978) that was assembled around the core of the modernist programme by its advocates. The combined tactics of agitation, simplification and externalisation contributed towards the unparalleled success of post-war modernism, for it strengthened and shielded the methodological and argumentative base as well as the operative modes of realisation in the alliance of politics, finance, marketing and urban planning. However, the profession gradually realised that institutionalisations and simple reproductions of modernist principles had compromised the "image of the modern city" (Rowe and Koetter 1978, p.33), while accepting that, despite its social agenda, "[…] modern architecture had not, ipso facto, resulted in a better world." (ibid.)

I conclude this section with a remark on selectivity and omission, which is a general issue in narrativisation, and therefore in narrative analysis. Simplification and other characteristics of the modernist approach are commonplace and the subject of established criticisms, to which I have briefly referred above. However, the period which is associated with modernism and post-war modernism is characterised by numerous variations within the modernist movement, by parallelisms, and alternative movements (Vidler 2008; Wolfrum and Nerdinger 2008; Jencks 2010; Sturm 2013). A narrative about simplification in modernism is a simplification in itself.

3.3 Dialectic Process: Conflict and Change in Socialist Modernism

"Nejmenšší byt" – The Minimum Dwelling, was collated as a research compendium in the wake of the 1930 CIAM congress in Brussels by Karel Teige (Teige 2002 [1932]), one of the leading figures of the modernist movement in Prague and Czechoslovakia, and consists of a series of essays, drawings, diagrams and illustrations. The translators of the 2002 English translation describe the text as "[…] a mélange of ideological rhetoric, radical proclamations, scientific reportage, and utopian reveries." (ibid., p.viii) In the essay "Toward New Forms of Dwelling", Teige asserts that

> "Guided by the principles of the dialectical-materialist method, architectural work has the potential to become a powerful factor influencing development in all spheres of human behavior, including ideology: architects […] must actively and aggressively par-

> ticipate in the creation of a new economy, a new society, and a new social human being." (ibid., p.379)

The certainty and claims to authority are of the familiar modernist kind, as well as the idea of the architect as social engineer. However, the belief in dialectics as generative principle in the production of architectural form, typologies, functional organisation, urban-rural relations, and their capacity to interact dialectically with the social, distinguishes socialist modernists and their narratives from other proponents of modernism.[22] The dialectic principle establishes a specific form of ambivalence: the focus, or argument, shifts repeatedly between two poles, producing conflict and movements of thought, while modifying the poles and the directionality of the argument. Like Hannes Meyer and other architects and urbanists in the Marxist tradition, Teige understands architecture and urbanism as a political practice. His approach connects a socialist–pragmatist attitude with progressive ideas (ibid., p.377), not without radicalism. Teige demands that "[…] the architectural avant-garde must essentially assume a destructive role in the capitalist context: it must promulgate with all its energy the negation of existing cities and existing ways of dwelling […]" (ibid., p.12). However, the type of conflict conceptualised by Teige is not of the sudden and violent one-off eruption. It is embedded in the dialectic process, and not accidental. Destruction in the dialectic model implies subsequent construction, the building of something new, which contains, to a certain degree, that which had been destroyed (ibid., p.13). Taking the development of a new collective dwelling typology as an example, Teige explains that

> "Dialectical negation is the driving force of progress and takes place within its contradictions. At the same time, these contradictions are resolved by a synthesis on a higher level than those that existed at the starting point: having evolved after the bourgeois dwelling with its specialized spaces has become obsolete, the universal dwelling space of the collective dwelling should not be confused with past versions of primitive living spaces. It instead represents a higher dwelling type, enlivened by architectural creativity, which adds dialectical understanding of negation to the positive comprehension of that which exists now—that is, the bourgeois dwelling layout—by the necessary negation and elimination of redundant elements." (ibid, p.16)[23]

22 Architectural sociologist Heike Delitz asserts the uniqueness of Teige's approach, as it combines the dialectic principle with an explicit sociological perspective (Delitz 2009, p.30). Also, Karol Teige does not conceal his discontent and criticism of the cult of the master and the capitalist productions of his modernist contemporaries. He accuses architects like Le Corbusier, Loos, Mallet-Stevens or Mies van der Rohe to have abandoned the social project of modernism, in favour of designing "new versions of opulent baroque palaces" (ibid., p.6).

23 In contrast, Lefebvre's idea of the urban as movement requires a dialectic model that does not come to an end through conclusion or synthesis. See the discussion of meta-narratives at the beginning of chapter III.

Figure 16: Students' accommodation in a former worker's residence built during the socialist era, East Germany. Students show their discontent with the federal state government's policies in the academic sector by displaying messages in the windows: "BTU FOREVER", Cottbus 2012

Despite the radical shift caused in and through the process, "[…] a continuing nexus remains, as two countervailing tendencies are operative in each process of transformation: these are continuity and change." (ibid, p.16) Teige envisages the overall speed of change as a "gradual process" (ibid., p.403), for "[…] the shift from an individual to a collective style of life can be accomplished only by reeducation, never by force." (ibid.) Although Teige uses the dwelling typology to explain the dialectic process of built form, his description above seems general enough as to be applicable to different levels or scales. Teige's belief in the power of dialectics is at the base of his specific narrative of conflict and change. The narrative seems surprisingly contemporary with regard to changing programmes in buildings, adaptability and obsolescence, even 'facadism', as well as the critical conclusions drawn from them:

> "Rejecting the idea of a house built for eternity has serious consequences […] today's city buildings must constantly submit to change. Houses in the city change into offices, hotels, cafés, ateliers, and so on; the statistics on such adaptations teach us how quickly a city house can change. Where adaptation is impossible or difficult, or where the floor plan of a building does not allow for different and variable layouts, the costs of conversion mount uncontrollably. Our cities today are actually more like stage sets: behind their facades buildings change constantly. Or, put more succinctly, these are modern ruins. Unfortunately, we continue apace to build more such ruins. The rapid rise in the cost of land itself leads to the shortening of the useful life of a building: buildings are demolished relatively early in order to free a valuable site for new development." (ibid., pp.140f, in footnotes)

3.4 Complex Reductionism in Present-day Modernisms

According to Rowe and Koetter, two divergent trajectories emerged from the crisis of modernism during the late 1950s and the ensuing period of uncertainty[24]. Some considered the Corbusian city as the mere starting point of the true modernist project that had yet to be conceived and brought to perfection, while others abandoned the modern city as failed experiment. Rowe and Koetter suggest that the project of advancing the modernist cause included "the cult of science fiction" (ibid.), the perfections of high-tech and eco-tech, and various computational approaches to complexity, such as systems-theory, space-syntax and parametric design (Rowe and Koetter 1978, p.38). Pointing to the limits of computational methods in the analysis of urban and social reality, David Harvey criticises in 1973 that

> "Systems modelling attempts to trace interaction and feedback within a totality, but by having to define fixed categories and activities it loses the flexibility to deal with the fluid structure of social relationships which exists in reality. It can be used to deal with certain limited problems (the optimal design of some transport system for example), but it cannot be used for broader purposes—'optimising the city' is a meaningless phrase." (Harvey 2009 [1973], p.303)

Since then, refinement in method and concept as well as increased computational capacity have led to an antipodal movement. While today's tools are far more advanced, and therefore distant from what had been available in the past, their growing precision and capacity brings them closer to the initial modernist vision of a scientific, universal, all embracing model that can be fully controlled. As a consequence, projects that exploit computational intelligence and work with the idea of fully controllable models are anxious to distance themselves from the simplifying and reductionist modernisms of earlier eras. Key sections of Patrik Schumacher's two volume work, subtitled "A New Framework for Architecture" (Schumacher 2010) and "A New Agenda for Architecture" (Schumacher 2012), seek to promote computational modelling and to establish a unified narrative of architecture that is centred on parametricism. Theorising about "Parametricist vs Modernist Urbanism" (Schumacher 2012, p.680), Patrik Schumacher claims contemporary parametricism offers an alternative to modernism, which according to Schumacher produced order without complexity, as well as post-modernist "laissez-faire", which produced complexity without order (ibid., p.680). While the pragmatic approach in current urbanism is seen by Schumacher as accommodating "[…] the richness of societal life-processes […]" (ibid.), he argues that it fails to articulate urban complexity in a meaningful way. Schumacher asserts that

> "Parametricism affords the build up of a complex visual and semiological order that facilitates orientation by making the complex order of the urban life-processes legible. Parametricism is able to coordinate pragmatic concerns and articulate them with all their rich differentiations and relevant associations. The danger of overriding real

24 Rowe and Koetter discuss this shift with special reference to the situation in the United Kingdom. But we may assume that similar, if not identical, symptoms of doubt and the search for alternatives prevailed in many other places during this period.

> life richness are minimized because variety and adaptiveness are written into the very genetic make up of Parametricism." (ibid., p.680)

In this proposition, the richness of differentiation is (pre-)programmed and located within the paradigm of parametricism. Schumacher rejects the idea that there should be competing paradigms or a richness of different, complementary narratives through which researchers in architecture seek to approach urban reality, arguing that "the historical justification for this freewheeling discursive culture has vanished." (ibid., p.712) Schumacher asserts that parametricism is capable of finally overcoming the state of crisis and period of uncertain experimentation that followed the dissolution of the initial modernist paradigm (ibid., p.712). Consequently, in his epilogue to "A New Agenda for Architecture", he argues for an end to the controversy about the way forward, and for the leading role parametricism should assume in the future (ibid., p.712). Schumacher demands sceptics to stop questioning the methodology of parametric urbanism as such, that is, the 'hard core' of the programme and its 'protective belt', or 'envelope'. What is left for conflict in the narrative, it seems, are problems of optimisation.

3.5 Planned Obsolescence and Creative Destruction

Planned obsolescence aligns production, technological renewal, realisation of surplus value, and consumption with each other for the purpose of mutual acceleration. It is based on the implicit agreement between consumers and producers about the purposefully limited lifetime of consumer goods. Narratives that foreground change in the phenomenon tend to be linked to discourses about modernist ideas of progress, economic development and innovation (Fernandez 2006, p.43). Conversely, narratives that foreground its conflictual aspects tend to be linked to discourses about consumerism, environmental issues, and alienation (ibid.). The critical perspective goes further in that it understands planned obsolescence as an inherent function of the capitalist mode of production, foregrounding the destructive power and the contradictory aspects of the process (ibid.; Brenner 2013, p.107). This perspective is related to Joseph Schumpeter's concept of creative destruction (Schumpeter 2003 [1943], pp.83f) and to Marxist theories of surplus value, accumulation/devaluation and spatial fix (Harvey 1982, p.221, p.231; 2001, p.335ff).

If products are designed for a limited service life in the expectation that consumers will replace them with a newer generation of products after a certain period of use (Fernandez 2006, p.43), production and innovation can be conceived and calculated as economic cycle. Planned obsolescence is related to the belief in innovation, optimisation and technological progress, however defined, and the idea that consumers appreciate sharing in this process through incessantly high levels of consumption. The incentives provided by this system are seen in lower production costs based on savings through using components with specified service lives, as well as in the benefits of improving products incrementally in step-by-step processes (ibid.). Producers hope to generate long-term sales volume through repeated replacement cycles, supported by advertising campaigns and strategies that exploit the interest in novelty on the part of the consumers. John Fernandez observes that "eventually this frenzied consumption settled into what we now have – a market with select hot spots of planned obsolescence

(such as automobiles) and a general infusion of the strategy across all product types and industry sectors." (ibid.)

Could we therefore also speak of a consumer-oriented, planned obsolescence in architecture, or even of a planned obsolescence in urbanism? In building practice architects and engineers align their concepts and specifications with the projected design lives of the buildings and structures in their projects. Buildings and structures intended for short periods of use are designed and detailed differently if compared to structures that are intended for longer periods of use. In this sense, the design of a building or structure contains, implicitly or explicitly, the design of its anticipated lifespan. However, because design strategies, modes of production, and consumer/user preferences are entangled with each other, and because all materials and structures deteriorate over time, distinctions between a 'naturally' occurring end of life, unintended obsolescence and planned obsolescence are difficult to make. With reference to the research by Daniel M. Abramson about the history of the term obsolescence, John Fernandez discusses three discourses that had been instrumental in its conceptual formation (ibid., pp.41ff). Firstly, the consumer discourse is understood to cover all aspects of modern consumption, including architectural form (ibid., p.42). Its focus is on what Fernandez describes as "dilemma of obsolescence" (ibid., p.43) – the commercially exploited coupling of the end of utility with the consumption of something new – which in turn is seen as "[…] not only an opportunity for but the raison d'être and a primary engine of capitalism." (ibid., p.43)

Secondly, the finance and building investment discourse is understood to have developed around the task of explaining and predicting the flux of buildings and related flows of capital (ibid.). However, according to Fernandez, the precision of analytical tools developed for this purpose did not result in a "[…] holistic understanding of the nature of building lifetimes." (ibid., p.42)[25] Thirdly, the discourse on urban renewal, which is closely related to the finance and building investment discourse (ibid.). Urban centres seem to be places where the three discourses on obsolescence join heritage discourses and the contesting of urban centralities, with the consequence of establishing a particularly intense zone of conflict and change. Rem Koolhaas's observes in "The Generic City" that

> "In our concentric programming (author spent part of his youth in Amsterdam, city of ultimate centrality) the insistence on the center as the core of value and meaning, font of all significance, is doubly destructive—not only is the everincreasing volume of dependencies an ultimately intolerable strain, it also means that the center has to be constantly *maintained*, i.e., modernized. As 'the most important place:' it paradoxically

25 Fernandez suggests that the simulation models used by experts to make statements about the future performance and the life of buildings have reached high levels of complexity and are at the base of life-cycle assessment models (LCA), as well as of most assessment calculations required for sustainable design ratings (Fernandez 2006, p.105). However, Fernandez also says that predictions about the actual lifetime of buildings are difficult to make. Uncertainties accumulate with the life of a building (ibid., pp.56f). In practice, many buildings are in use for either longer or shorter periods if compared to their anticipated design lives. Next to material properties, economic and social conditions are seen to exert a significant influence on the actual lives of buildings (ibid., p.57).

Figure 17: Obsolescence and creative destruction at work in Haggerston, London Borough of Hackney. The Kingsland Estate, built in 1949, is prepared for demolition after the majority of the residents voted in favour of urban renewal in 2007. East London 2013

> has to be, at the same time, the most old and the most new, the most fixed and the most dynamic; it undergoes the most intense and constant adaptation, which is then compromised and complicated by the fact that it has to be an unacknowledged transformation, invisible to the naked eye." (emphasis in original, Koolhaas 1994b, p.1249)

Fernandez suggests that the discourse on obsolescence and urban renewal has been centred on an "anthropomorphic metaphor of the city" (Fernandez 2006, p.42), which compares the city to a breathing organism that is in need of specialist care. It followed that "the solutions of the surgical removal of structures, renewal of neighbourhoods and the complete replanning of entire districts of cities were considered to be appropriately bold measures to combat the malaise of the modern city." (ibid., p.42) Urban renewal conceived in this way is based on the idea that urban form and sociospatial arrangements could become obsolete, and that, as a logical consequence, they could be 'renewed'. "Obsolescence of urban form meant that physical solutions could be brought to bear as social and economic 'cures'." (ibid.) In this approach certain kinds of inherited urban form are classified as outdated and are said to attract – and even cause – poverty, crime and ethnic tension (ibid.). The argumentation aligns with the belief that architecture could 'generate' society and that by means of making adjustments to architecture the social could be effectively changed (Yaneva 2012, p.36). The 'cure' is argued to stabilise both the 'body' of the city as well as the social body. Variants of this discourse are still with us today, in both modernist and modernist-critical thinking, for example in the myths of Sarcelles or Pruitt-Igoe. The critical perspective rejects naturalising explanatory models and locates the actual problem in the crisis-driven capitalist system. Neil Brenner argues that "the creative destruction of urban landscapes" (Brenner 2013, p.107) has to be seen in the context of a transformative process which is of global scale:

> "Capitalist forms of urbanization have long entailed processes of creative destruction in which socially produced infrastructures for capital circulation, state regulation, and sociopolitical struggle, as well socioenvironmental landscapes, are subjected to systemic crisis tendencies and are radically reorganized. Urban agglomerations are merely one among many strategic sociospatial sites in which such processes of creative destruction have unfolded during the geohistory of capitalist development." (ibid., pp.107f)

Hence, while creative destruction could be seen as a constant that is intrinsic to the capitalist mode of production, its sociospatial and environmental expressions vary over time, together with the locations where they become effective and destructive. The capitalist mode of production is dependent on the establishing of ever new "geographies of extraction" (Sassen 2014, p.219). Conceptualisations and the analysis of related phenomena seek to keep pace with this process. Pertaining to the current urban condition, Neil Brenner shifts the focus to the relationships between urban change, its potential beneficiaries, and constellations of power:

> "What is the specificity of contemporary forms of creative destruction across place, territory, and scale, and how are they transforming inherited global/urban geographies, socioenvironmental landscapes, and patterns of uneven spatial development? What are the competing political projects, neoliberal and otherwise, that aspire to shape and rechannel them?" (Brenner 2013, p.108)

According to Fernandez, "the driver of creative destruction […] has had a major influence on our assessment of the worth of buildings in society today." (ibid., p.34) However, models of evaluation that reduce the value of structures, spaces and buildings to their monetary value and future profitability are likely to miss the values that cannot be translated into figures. Insisting on calculable "matters of fact" while excluding "matters of concern" (Latour 2005, p.39, p.47) may be conceived as a means to keep public debates aligned with the logics of creative destruction. Arguments that include factors like emotional attachment, the production of meaning and personal assignments of value struggle to survive in this discourse (Friedman 1999; Brand 1994). As a consequence, projects that are primarily investment-driven can do so at the expense of other concerns, which often means that they are experienced as severe ruptures in the spaces of the everyday (ibid.). Fernandez concludes his discussion of the three discourses of obsolescence by connecting to the broader discourse of change:

> "Whether invoked by accountants and real estate developers to argue for escalating demolition and construction of buildings and urban districts entirely or used as the foundation of a new paradigm for disposable, adaptable architecture, the various discourses are essentially ideologies for facilitating change – ideologies against permanence." (ibid., p.43)

4. Political Spaces of Urban and Architectural Conflict

4.1 Challenging Regimes of Truth and Professionalised Design Authority

The 1950s building programmes offered Europe's disillusioned modernisms a new perspective. By then they had abandoned their radical utopian ideals, in keeping with the more moderate goals of either the welfare state or planned socialism, but also in response to the totalitarian experiences of the immediate past (Conrads and Neitzke 2003). Since the mid 1940s, criticism and discontent from within the modernist movement had gained momentum (Frampton 2007 [1980], p.271), which culminated in the official demise of CIAM in the 1959 meeting in Otterlo. This event is considered a general turning point in the history of modernism (ibid.; Huse 2008, p.41). The prevailing uncertainty of this period becomes apparent if we juxtapose Hans Reichow's proposal for the car friendly city "Die Autogerechte Stadt. Ein Weg aus dem Chaos" (Reichow 1959) and Jane Jacobs's "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" (Jacobs 2011 [1961]), published at around the same time. While Reichow offers a 'solution to chaos', by means of optimising segregated flows of cars and people, Jacobs exposes the shortcomings and limits of functionalism, arguing for the gradual "attrition of automobiles by cities" as the alternative to the "erosion of cities by automobiles" (ibid., p.349). Publications like psychologist Alexander Mitscherlich's widely read analysis of post-war built environments in (West-)Germany articulated feelings of uneasiness (Mitscherlich 1965). Measured against its initial promises, modernist urban planning had in the view of many failed to develop answers to the growing number of urban problems. The discontent gradually evolved into a broader critique of authoritarian planning practice and professionalism, as well as a critique of the contradictions in the urban condition. The publication of Henri Lefebvre's major criticisms of the urban falls into this period, starting with "Le droit à la ville" in 1968, "La Révolution urbaine" in 1970 and „La Production de l'Espace" in 1974 (Lefebvre 1996 [1968]; 2003 [1970]; 1991 [1974]).

The 1968 Triennale in Milan is a real and conceptual site, where criticism and action converged in a dramatic way, for which reason it became a popular reference in architectural historiography for this period of transition and in this way a narrative. The Triennale was themed "Il Grande Numero" and organised around a central exhibition curated by Italian architect Giancarlo de Carlo (Nicolin 2008)[26]. De Carlo's approach was deliberately not to foreground analysis of form and structure, but rather processes and phenomena related to and emerging from society's ongoing transformations and conflicts (ibid.). This included the unresolved relationship of urban history and technological progress as well as the problem of not loosing sight of the individual

26 Paola Nicolin's analysis "Beyond the Failure: Notes on the XIVth Triennale", provides a reappraisal of the event as well as insights into the specific local situation. Up to the XIVth Triennale the exhibition had been conceived as an expo-like event in which national economies presented a mix of art, consumer goods, architecture and technology. Assuming the preparations for the Triennale in 1965, De Carlo was supported by the Scientific Committee, which, for a period, included Aldo Rossi, as well as the research unit of the Triennale, Centro Studi, and the teams of contributors including Arata Isozaki, Aaldo van Eyck, Alison and Peter Smithson, Archigram, Shadrach Woods, György Kepes and others (Nicolin 2008, pp.92f).

as protagonist of change, despite the 'great numbers'[27] and in view of the emerging phenomenon of mass consumerism (ibid., p.94)[28]. The course of events that brought the exhibition to its premature ending contributed towards its lasting legacy. On 30 May 1968, the day of the opening, students and activists occupied the building and initiated discussions on the means of cultural production and its societal grounding and relevance. The photograph of the sit-in, showing Giancarlo De Carlo debating in a forum-like setting, is today part of architecture's narrative iconography[29]. It stands for the challenging of institutionalised design authority and the return of architecture to the political. However, Paola Nicolin's analysis shows that the Triennale had been more than the clashing of (architectural) establishment and open expression of discontent. While the core exhibition was conceived as critical reflection on the crisis of urbanism and its political dimension, and as an open invitation to participate in the urgently needed debate about re-orientation, visitors could not fail to notice the discrepancy between the ambitious theme of the core exhibition and the large commercial sections with exhibits such as a sauna (Sack 1968). Moreover, the exhibition was located in the fascist Palazzo dell'Arte of 1933 and the Triennale itself represented institutionalised forms of power, the exclusiveness of cultural production, and structures of arrogance ("Arroganz der Selbstverständlichkeit") (ibid.). Paola Nicolin concludes, that "ultimately, the Triennale of May 1968 could not have been anything but contested, like every other institution at that time, even if it formulated itself as an example of 'dissent' from within." (Nicolin 2008, pp.97f)

27 The term of 'great numbers' takes up earlier CIAM concerns (Nicolin 2008, p.88). It could be seen as a critical reference to the La Sarraz Declaration of CIAM in 1928, which, during the more aggressive phase of architectural and urban modernism, demanded "reduction of certain individual needs henceforth devoid of real justification; [for] the benefits of this reduction will foster the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the greatest number, which are at present restricted." (Frampton 2007 [1980], p. 269) Nicolin stresses the intended distinction between the notions of "mass" and "great number". In the latter, the individual is seen in its uniqueness as part of a "civilization of large numbers". (Nicolin 2008, p.94)

28 With the intention to stimulate debate and critical reflection on the crisis of modernism, the introductory sections of the core exhibition included "Mistakes", "Information" and "Perspectives", not without polemic intent (ibid., p.97). Among the self-critical views on architectural and urban production were Alexei Gutnoff's and Ilia Ledgiava's installations who confronted the problem of large scale planning and the individual, or the arrangement of hundreds of drawer cases by Saul Bass and Herb Rosenthal to address the problems of creativity in conditions of mass production. Some panels and installations sought to directly address injustice and political problems of the present. Dutch architect Aldo van Eyck presented large format images of buildings shelled by US military operations in Vietnam, Arato Isozaki's "Electronic Labyrinth" mixed medieval apocalyptic scenes with documentations of the nuclear devastation of Nagasaki, while the controversial installation "Youth Protest", made by Andrea De Carlo and the Italian filmmaker Marco Bellocchio in collaboration with the painter Bruno Caruso, featured an urban barricade assembled from consumer waste, cobblestones and an upside-down car. Large photographic prints showing situations of contemporary protest from different locations in the world, including Paris and Berlin, are arranged as scenic backdrop (Nicolin 2008, p.95).

29 Photo by John McKean 1968, in: McKean, John (2004) Giancarlo De Carlo. Layered Places, Fellbach, (Edition Axel Menges)

Figure 18: Il Quadrilatero social housing scheme in Trieste. Residential superblock comprising 468 units for approx. 2500 residents, which seeks to combine a strong social agenda with the challenge of working with and for 'large numbers'. Commissioned by Azienda Territoriale per l'Edilizia Residenziale ATER. Designed by Carlo Celli et. al., constructed 1969–1974 (1983). Sadly, the communal spaces along the 'rue intérieure' are currently neglected. The estate is a stigmatised locality in the city. Rozzol Melara, Trieste 2017

With the essay "Architecture's Public" (De Carlo 1971), De Carlo continued to critically and publically reflect upon the premises of modernism, starting from when they had been formulated in the CIAM declaration of 1928. The essay is based on a lecture given at a conference in Liège in 1969 (ibid., p.3). De Carlo's optimistic trust in change is paired with the criticism of architecture serving capitalist ends before human welfare; of resources being spent on ideologically motivated armed conflict rather than on the improvement of habitats (ibid., p.8); of the contradictions inherent to architectural and urban productions in view of a possible, if any, future role of architects and urbanists. De Carlo criticises the repressiveness inherent in standard planning and building, which is based on the assumption that, when it comes to the question of change, "[…] it is easier, quicker and more profitable to condition people than to condition the environment." (ibid., p.17) De Carlo sets against the current mode of "authoritarian planning" the idea of an open "process planning" (ibid., pp.15ff). With this new concept, he proposes a dialogic and dialectical form of co-operation, in which the user participates "[…] as protagonist in a progressive action" (ibid., p.16). De Carlo's proposition aimed to fundamentally change the relationship between builders and users, whereby the users assume the role of co-authors, strengthened in their position and taking an active role. De Carlo famously suggests that

> "in reality, architecture has become too important to be left to architects. […] therefore all barriers between builders and users must be abolished, so that building and using become two different parts of the same planning process. Therefore the intrinsic aggressiveness of architecture and the forced passivity of the user must dissolve in a

> condition of creative and decisional equivalence where each – with a different specific impact – is the architect, and every architectural event – regardless of who conceives it and carries it out – is considered architecture." (De Carlo 1971, p.11)

At the core of De Carlo's proposal is the idea that users should have the power and means to change their environment as needed and desired. In his view, not only those who can afford change should be able to do so, but all users irrespective of status and income (ibid., p.16). In order to achieve this goal, De Carlo suggests that basic assumptions on the mode of production, including the […] private and exclusive way of using land" (ibid., p.18), may have to be substantially revised. Hence, issues that had previously been externalised and suppressed, in the name of a homogenising modernist agenda, are required to take a central position in the process. De Carlo anticipates new, 'disorderly', unpredictable architectural qualities to emerge, similar to the kind of qualities that are "[…] manifested sporadically in the margins not already controlled by institutional power." (ibid., p.15)

Today, users continue to struggle with the built modernisms inherited from the past. De Carlo's criticism and ideas still seem highly relevant, particularly in residential uses, where the difficulties to adapt the privately and collectively used environment is, perhaps, most directly felt. The protesters' generation of the 1968 Triennale in Milan has established and inspired subsequent initiatives towards alternative modes of space production, process-led design, participative models, experimental self-built structures, and user empowerment. In the years that followed, architects like Ottokar Uhl, John Habraken, Walter Segal, Ralph Erskine, and others have explored alternative practices in which design authority and ideas about spatial arrangements were not pre-givens, but the result of a negotiated process.

4.2 The Everyday as Site of Resistance and Emancipatory Practice

The everyday developed into a diverse field of enquiry during the course of the various turns in the social sciences, cultural and urban studies, social geography and other disciplines. It offers, together with concepts such as the marginal, pop culture, the body, gender or queer space, a unique perspective through which different research problems may be approached. Architectural concepts of the everyday have existed since housing and the ordinary built environment had been defined as sites of professional work. The everyday has broadened, among other things, the understanding of how the social interacts with the spatial, which in turn has influenced the way questions of spatiality are approached in urban and architectural practice today. The 'Frankfurt Kitchen', designed by architect Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky in 1926, could be seen as a paradigmatic combination of architectural design work and the everyday. The close study of everyday actions and spatial configurations informed a design based on efficiency, spatial economy, convention and ideas of emancipation (Führ 1996)[30]. The critique of efficiency-thinking, functionalism and the perceived poverty of newly built environments in turn established its own perspectives on the everyday, as for example through the writings and analyses of Kevin Lynch (1960), Jane Jacobs (2011 [1961]),

30 A more detailed discussion of the 'Frankfurt Kitchen' is provided in chapter III, section "Deterministic and Non-Deterministic Models of Change" as excursus in the footnotes.

Figure 19: Spaces of everydayness, creativity and urban resistance: 'Bellevue di Monaco' social cooperative housing and community project in central Munich. The project provides a home to young migrants, cultural events and community work. The initiative successfully challenged a townhall decision to demolish the 1950s building. Müllerstraße 6, Munich 2018

Christopher Alexander (1979), William Whyte (1980), Jan Gehl (2011 [1987]), or through the photographs of street life in Bethnal Green by Nigel Henderson for Team X's critique at CIAM (Frampton 2007 [1980], pp.271f). Concepts of the everyday have influenced the studies of townscapes and high-streets (Cullen 2010 [1961]; Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1977 [1972]) of pop-culture and Disney World, of the vernacular and do-it-yourself. The hypothetical everydayness of body/machine relations became the theme of numerous drawings and installations during the 1960s and 70s, while Superstudio's anti-consumerism visions of the everyday unfolded in a hybrid-world of naturalness and monumentality (Frampton 2007 [1980], pp.288f). Today, references to the everyday are made in the collaborative and process-orientated work of practices like muf architecture/art (Heilmayer 2010), raumlaborberlin (Bader 2004; 2006; raumlaborberlin, Maier and Heidelberger Kunstverein 2008), Jesko Fezer and ifau (Fezer et al. 2011), subsolar (Hebert 2012), Assemble Studio, Bernd Kniess, and Ton Matton (Wolfrum and Brandis 2015), and the many others who position their projects in this field (Awan, Schneider and Till 2011).

Kanishka Goonewardena suggests that four principal concepts of the everyday may be identified in current theory, based on the theoretical perspectives of Adorno and Horkheimer; Heidegger; Lefebvre and Debord; and De Certeau (Goonewardena 2008, p.130)[31]. Among them, the concepts developed by Henri Lefebvre are of particu-

31 Kanishka Goonewardena (2008, p.130) distinguishes between the following four major concepts of the everyday: 1. Adorno's and Horkheimer's representation of the "culture industry", in which everyday life is devaluated under late capitalism, individual activity limited to passive consumption and privileged forms of autonomous art understood to offer a last refuge for the opposing of a totalitarian world. 2. Heidegger's critique of the modern world in which he equates everyday life with everydayness (Alltäglichkeit), through which the "how" of "Dasein" unfolds in an all-pervasive and indif-

lar relevance to those who study and theorise about the everyday in its connectedness to the urban, to macro-scales of enquiry and the political. Lefebvre's writings reflect a lifelong interest in the everyday, in particular his project "Critique de la vie quotidienne", which evolved through three major publications in 1947, 1961 and 1981, and which has contributed towards an understanding of the everyday as a conceptual site of emancipation and of political resistance (Goonewardena, Kipfer et al. 2008)[32]. Henri Lefebvre conceptualises the everyday as the dialectically defined intersection between economic, administrative, and technological imperatives acting as colonisers of space and time, and of categories of individual actions and choices that escape such forms of domination (Lefebvre 1991 (1947), p.37, p.248; 2008 [1981], p.127; Ronneberger 2008, p.135).

In the everyday, passive consumption is confronted with the productive creativity of the individual. In suggesting the everyday to be at "[…] the intersection of the sector man controls and the sector he does not control […]", Lefebvre relates the everyday to conflicting forms of power and change (Lefebvre 1991 [1947], p.21). As a site of analysis, the everyday is seen to make explicit the contradictions within the larger economic and societal domains. In the second volume of the "Critique of Everyday Life", Lefebvre uses the "conflictive, polyvalent" micro/macro relationship to further elaborate on this condition, suggesting that the macro "[…] makes every effort to contain, absorb and reabsorb the 'micro' […]", which in response "[…] puts up a resistance". (Lefebvre 2002 [1961], p.141). Hence, the everyday can be defined as a potential site of discontent and subversive practice, where groups and individuals may strive for their own urban ideas of the "possible-impossible" (Lefebvre 2003 [1970], p.179)[33]. If conceived in this

ferent way (and thus belongs to Heidegger's category of "inauthenticity"). 3. Lefebvre's and Debord's notions of the everyday as that which remains when all specialised activities are removed, leaving an essential residue that intersects with contradictive and invasive forms of power. 4. De Certeau's idea of a "creative consumer" who exerts forms of resistance through practices of the everyday rooted in consumption rather than production, and in the cultural rather than the political. Among these, Lefebvre's and Debord's concepts are most closely tied into a critique of the spatial and the urban, for which reason they tend to exert greater appeal to urban geographers, urban sociologists and critical urbanists than do the others. Moreover, Heidegger does not lend himself easily for 'Left-Heideggerian' appropriations, and Adorno and Horkheimer's association of the everyday with passivity would provide a rather weak basis for the assembling of a critique that is directed towards change. Critical enquiry that struggles with Lefebvre's 'totalising' argumentation, and which prefers to emphasise on difference that is less concerned with radical transformation, tends to turn to De Certeau's approach and the more moderate forms of resistance in creative consumption. Despite the significant differences in approach and intentionality, these concepts do not exist in isolation to each other and have led towards combined adaptations in architecture and urbanism that have produced further differentiations in this field.

32 Christian Schmid locates Lefebvre's initial recognition of the everyday as early as 1925, when Lefebvre, as member of the 'Philosophes' group, engaged in debate with friends of the surrealists (Schmid 2010, p.115). While surrealism, conceived as a way-of-life, sought to overcome the everyday through poetical practices, the 'Philosophes' group saw their approach towards the everyday as a form of revolution (ibid.). This seems to be significant to our discussion as it emphasises Lefebvre's theorising about the everyday to embody a perspective towards change that emerges from the dialectics of the possible-impossible.

33 Excursus: Based on the understanding that the concept of the everyday is closely related to the concept of the lived, controversy emerged as to whether the lived of Lefebvre's triadic dialectics of the

Figure 20: (Re-)appropriation and alternative urban practices. Community garden and street art at former live stock market, Munich 2014

way, the everyday qualifies as a site of critical spatial enquiry as well as an arena for political action, in which dominant systems of space production may be challenged through choice and alternative spatial practices. We could say that two kinds of resistances meet in the everyday. The resistance 'from below' seeks to maintain the spaces and practices it has established for itself, however limited they may be, while the resistance of dominant processes 'from above' seeks to assume control of them and in this way accelerate its own process. Hence, we are looking at

production of space may be defined as privileged site of analysis (Schmid 2010, p.309). For Soja, the lived is closely related to the question of individual and collective choice, suggesting that "it is political choice, the impetus of an explicit political project, that gives special attention and particular contemporary relevance to the spaces of representation, to *lived space as a strategic location* from which to encompass, understand, and potentially transform all spaces simultaneously." (emphasis in original, Soja 2000 [1996], p.68) In the first postscript to "Thirdspace", titled "On the Views from Above and Below", Soja takes up his interpretation of lived space as site of struggle and resistance and relates it to everyday life, which in this instance is defined as level of urban analysis as well as "concrete abstraction for the socialized microspatiality of the urban" (ibid., pp.310f).

Like other aspects of social practice within the conceptual model of Lefebvre, the everyday is understood to embody all three dimensions of the production of space, the perceived, the conceived and the lived. If the everyday is understood to be socially produced, then it seems that there cannot be a practice of the everyday without simultaneously combining the 'lived' with a physical presence in the 'perceived', that is the material, and the 'conceived' as mental projection of spatial concepts and spatial organisation. Hence, Christian Schmid argues that interpretations of the 'lived' as privileged site of struggle are not fully compatible with Lefebvre's theory (Schmid 2010, p.309). Assuming that the category of 'lived space' is more or less equal to 'spaces of representations' in the Lefebvrian triadic model (Schmid 2010, pp.222ff), Schmid suggests that "Lefebvre never made explicit his strategic 'preference' for the spaces of representations" (ibid., p.69), thus criticising Edward Soja's proposition that "lived social space, more than any other, is […] the space of radical openness, the space of social struggle" (Soja 2000 [1996], p.68).

1. **Resistance** as concept of **emancipatory struggle** embedded in practices of individual and collective appropriation and actions of the everyday; and at
2. **(Counter-)Resistance** emanating from the various interacting mechanisms that represent and reproduce the prevailing hegemonic order, and that seek to channel or **supress emancipatory activity.**

In the wake of the French political Left attaining power during the 1980s, as well as the general crisis of the socialist project, Lefebvre emphasises in the conclusion to the 3rd volume of "Critique of Everyday Life", that the outcome of a radical social transformation cannot be "[…] faster growth or a mere change of political personnel […], but different growth – that is to say, *qualitative development*, and hence a greater complexity, not a simplification, of social relations." (emphasis in original, Lefebvre 2008 [1981], p.165). Klaus Ronneberger suggests that Lefebvre's project of analysing and interpreting the everyday is related to the fundamental belief that alternatives are possible (Ronneberger 2008, p.135). "Insofar as the critique of everyday life shows how people live, it articulates at the same time an indictment against the strategies from which the everyday emerges and reveals the arbitrariness of the dominant order." (ibid.) Hence, according to Ronneberger, Lefebvre's "[…] analysis of the extant must always take into consideration insurgent forces and the question of liberation." (ibid.) However, the practices of the everyday that during the era of Fordism offered possibilities of resistance, and that in this respect were important points of reference for Lefebvre's critique of the everyday, have been partly absorbed by capitalism and subsumed into the service of the neoliberal project. Ronneberger observes that "once mobilized against capitalism, attributes like 'subjectivity' and 'creativity' are now important resources for processes of economic valorization." (ibid., p.141) Hence, given the potentialities created by contemporary urban initiatives that build on practices of the everyday, it is not surprising that institutionalised forms of urban practice have a tendency to control, contain, and exploit their transformative capacity.

In the article "The City of Everyday Life. Knowledge/Power and the Problem of Representation", John Friedmann explicates how planning has the tendency to evolve via abstraction and large scale thinking, whereby statutory representations of the city retain their static "aura of inevitability" (Friedmann 1999, p.5). Drawing on the writings of Lefebvre, Friedmann argues that meanings associated with the built environment are formed through experience and shared in communications of the everyday (ibid., p.8). Friedmann observes that the city of the everyday, composed of multiple appropriations and meanings, is not adequately represented in decision making processes (ibid.). In Friedmann's view, this is partly because the everyday is not widely audible, due to its very own nature, as well as the difficulty of distinguishing between exclusively personal meanings, and meanings that are more widely shared and agreed upon (ibid.). Berlin based architect and urban researcher Saskia Hebert draws similar conclusions when in her study of Halle-Neustadt she identifies the discrepancies between technocratic readings of space on the one hand, and individualised forms of "resistance through dwelling" as a response to this problem on the other (Hebert 2012, p.10). The selective and technocratic reading of urban space could be interpreted as a resistance to change on the side of the institution, for if the everyday was to be fully acknowledged as transformative urban process in its own right, established institutionalised practices would have to be fundamentally revised. Friedmann's and

Hebert's observations seem to raise two questions for an urban practice that seeks to work with the everyday: How to identify, represent and analyse everyday practices and meanings so that they can be more widely shared and communicated? And how to make everyday actions and communications drivers in processes of collective forms of appropriation and transformation? In view of the continued pressure on cities, the everyday as site of resistance will remain a key narrative for researchers and activists who approach the urban from critical perspectives.

4.3 Forensic Work and Commoning in Contested Spaces

The "Forensic Architecture" perspective connects everyday spaces with conflict, violence and the built environment. It is a specific way of looking at and working with highly politicised situations, in which actions and events are entangled with the materialities of space. Architect and theorist Eyal Weizman speaks of an "urbanisation of conflict" (Weizman 2012a, p.236), in which the city relates to conflict on several levels: The city stages acts of conflict, including violence, and serves as backdrop for its mediatised representation. The city partakes in these acts, through architectural construction or destruction (ibid., p.254). In this way, the built environment, conceived as "thick surface of the earth" (ibid.), becomes the depository of political events and processes (ibid., p.251). Based on the evidence of violence that is traceable in the built environment, the synthesising logic of architectural design is conceptually reversed in Forensic Architecture – it reconstructs processes of destruction. Because materialisations in space do not provide a consistent picture of time as suggested earlier, and because architecture is only a weak sensor for registering political forces and cannot speak for itself (ibid., p.252), Weizman introduces the role of "interpreter" who detects, analyses and translates the traces imprinted on the urban fabric (Weizman 2012b, p.9), so that the conditions of conflict become audible and explicit. The resulting construct of Forensic Architecture is made of three elements (ibid.):

"thing" (that does not have a voice of its own) – **"interpreter"** – **"forum"**

Theorising on 'European Urbanity', the main theme of the EUROPAN 8 competition, Weizman had already demanded that "contemporary methods of architectural intervention may look beyond the social organisation of tolerance and cooperation to uncover Europe's topology of enmities, and the city as a common area of conflicts." (Weizman 2007, p.142) The view of the city as shared territory of conflict allows architectural and urban practice to become political, not only because associated research is covering a political subject, but also because it is mobilised within the political space of multiple forums (Weizman 2012a, p.250). Weizman suggests that Forensic Architecture defines a "new field of spatial thought-practice" (ibid.). The 'architecture' in the approach is not concerned with the design of a building, but rather with establishing an "expanded field of spatial investigation, imaging and representation" together with a platform of exchange and communication to which Weizman refers as "forum" (ibid., p.250). "Forensic Architecture must thus be grounded in both field-and-forum-work; fields being the sites of investigation and analysis and forums the network-assemblages of political spaces in which analysis is presented and contested." (Weizman 2012a, p.250). He concludes that forensic architectural research is not averse to archi-

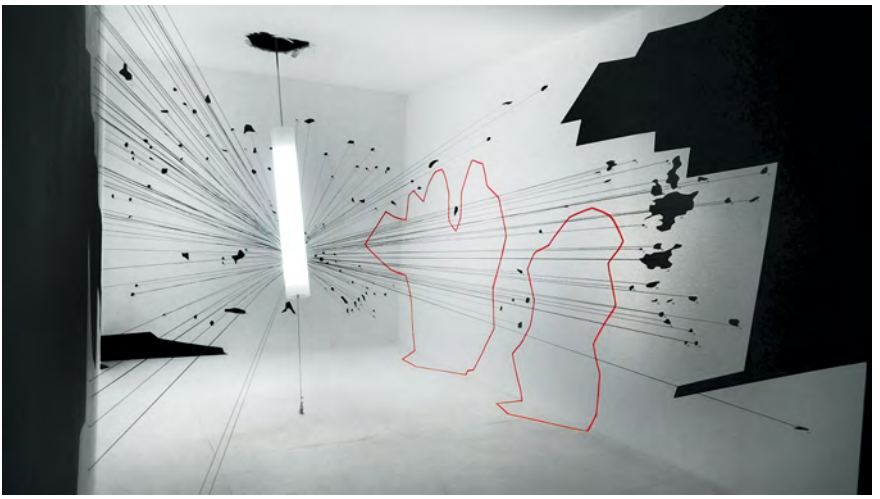
tectural construction, but rather depends on it to produce the spaces in which it can resonate (Weizman 2012a, p.253). Weizman highlights the etymological connectedness of "forum" and Latin "forensis" – as that which pertains to the forum – meaning the rhetorical skill of presenting a case before an audience (Weizman 2012b, pp.8f).

Forensic Architecture engages with situations of uncertain and often conflicting media representations. In this approach information is not taken-for-granted. With access to actual sites of conflict being restricted, the approach operates on the basis of alternative sites and sources of evidence – it operates on the basis of an analytical, forensically reconstructed in-between. Where the control of access and information is systematically used and abused, the ambiguity and uncertainty of being in-between requires a methodological response. This is why both interpreters as advocates of the investigated issue, as well as the forum in which possible interpretations are collectively evaluated and shared, are essential elements of the process. We can see how the forensic role of "interpreter" relates to the researcher as "critical examiner" (Popper 1960, p.37), and how the "forum" finds its equivalent in Latour's "arena" of critical engagement (Latour 2004, p.246). What distinguishes Forensic Architecture is its capacity to engage with highly contested spaces where conflict operates at its most violent and destructive level, demanding from interpreters and forums the highest possible degree of responsibility. However, although the perspective's current main focus is on sites of terrorism, zones of war, and the spatial management of conflict in Palestinian territories, the more general idea of Forensic Architecture as an "archaeology of the very recent past" (Weizman 2012b, p.10), which through discourse, or the forum, is connected with the future, makes it a concept that can be also applied to other, less violent situations in which architectural analysis seeks to assume the double role of sensor and agent of change[34].

Where the "urbanisation of conflict" (Weizman 2012a, p.236) has established a permanence of conflict, the work in the field may be extended so that long-term commitment to a specific situation is possible. Site analysis may then be combined with acting within spaces of conflict, and the hope of changing them. The "Hands-on Famagusta" project engages with different permanences of conflict in Cyprus (Stratis 2016). Inter-communal conflicts and the war in 1974 have converted the island into a territory of enclaves, demilitarised zones, segregated communities and mentalities of division. Spaces in Cyprus are highly contested and politicised. The initiators of "Hands-on Famagusta" understand the project to be part of "commoning processes that challenge dominant divisive narratives, offer alternatives to segregating urban reconstruction approaches, and advocate for the transformation of ethnic conflicts into urban controversies." (ibid., p.6) With this agenda, the project clearly transgresses the confines of a narrowly defined architectural project. Consequently, co-initiator of the Hands-on Famagusta project and editor of the "Guide to Common Imaginaries in Contested Spaces", Socrates Stratis, asserts that frameworks of acting, representation and learning have to be addressed prior to working on physical interventions in the field (ibid., p.15). In spaces that are defined by enclaves and borders more than by territorial continuity, the concept of thresholds and in-between spaces assumes a specific meaning together with the architectures that engage with them. Referring to the work

34 Many thanks to Henri Praeger for sharing his ideas about the forensic reading of change, as well as providing insights to his practical work at Praeger Richter Architekten, to which I refer at a later stage.

Figure 21: Forensic Architecture. Installation by Eyal Weizman et al. at the Venice Biennale. Micro-analysis of a drone strike in Miranshah, Pakistan, based on a video still taken after the attack. The Forensic Architecture investigation proofed that the destruction and killing of people had been the result of a drone strike and not of an accident as claimed by members of the army. Venice 2016



of activist and architect Stavros Stavrides about thresholds (Stavrides 2010)[35], Stratis suggests that "the new role of architecture is about [...] advocating for urban porosity by transforming edges to urban thresholds, thus confronting trends behind territories of exclusion responsible for shutting out the urban commons." (ibid., p.15) The creation of new thresholds and the redefinition and appropriation of in-between spaces is part of a set of "commoning practices" (ibid., p.44) that include counter-mapping, the learning from other situations of urban division, the collective reconstruction of controversies, roundtable sessions and workshops, the making productive of design knowledge in the common imagining of alternative futures, as well as the temporary activation of contested spaces through excursions and movements through the contested field (ibid., pp.13ff) – literally and conceptually as "moving project" (ibid., p.13). The moving project takes advantage of the conceptual prioritising of relationality and temporality over fixation, and of the opportunity to experience and debate thresholds, divisions and connections from different perspectives. The Hands-on Famagusta project includes elements of the "Mapping Controversies" method by Albena Yaneva (Yaneva 2012, 2016), which provides an environment of joint mapping, debating and learning. Supported by the method, local and external knowledge about the situations of concern is brought together and shared between communities and across divides.

35 Many thanks also to Stavros Stavrides for the conversation at the Porous City conference about thresholds and porosity, architectural activism, and the article "Urban Porosity and the Right to a Shared City" (Stavrides 2018).

The commons initiative seeks to develop alternatives to strategies of conflict containment that cut permanently through people's everyday lives, and to city reconstruction practices that are optimised to the requirements of global capital. Hence, rather than accepting divides and their official representation as the undesirable but seemingly unavoidable end-point of a conflict, alternative practices work towards the redefinition of situations as common zones of conflict, with the goal of establishing "common urban imaginaries in contested spaces" (Stratis 2016, p.44). From this perspective, conflict is seen as having a "permanent and potential generative aspect" (ibid.) that may be mobilised in the service of "civic empowerment, mediation, and negotiation" (ibid.).

4.4 Urban Age versus Urban Extraction

According to Neil Brenner, the discourse established around urban issues constitutes one of the dominant meta-narratives of the present (Brenner 2013, p.85). Broad sections of current academic research, institutional programmes and public debate relate to urban questions and urbanisation. The growing significance of the urban as well as current institutional reorientations and global spatial transformations are, according to Brenner, related to three major strands of conflict and change (emphasis added, Brenner 2013, pp.87–89, p.103):

1. Our understanding of the geographies of urbanisation is increasingly based on extended city regions and complex heterogeneous urban morphologies, superseding concepts of urban–rural divide and models of polycentricity. The urban condition is defined by the conflicting and simultaneously occurring processes of **agglomeration and extension**.
2. Transnational networks and regulatory frameworks are established in major world economic regions, which **selectively territorialise global investment** in economies and infrastructure, as well as concentrating flows of resources, labour and capital.
3. The urban domain is a main **arena of sociopolitical struggle** and collective action under conditions of globalised capitalism, neoliberalism and fundamental change.

The growing scale and significance of flows and processes that exceed the legislative reach of the nation state have changed the conditions in which planning and architecture operate. The redistribution of investment and wealth, formerly the domain of the nation state, is increasingly affected by supranational interests. Broader frameworks may be established at European Union level or other supranational levels, yet, in the absence of binding agreements, this task is effectively entrusted to the allocation capacity of the global market. Protagonists of the 'Urban Age'[36] conceive of this trend as a unique chance for cities to further develop their strengths based on heterogeneity, innovation and competitiveness, as allies of the private sector in the pursuit of prosperity. Hence, city governments have to decide whether and to what extent they are willing to share in the idea of the city as "growth machine" (Hesse 2018, p.79)[37]. The authors of

36 The term is associated with the 'Urban Age Project' of the London School of Economics, LSE and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society.

37 Hesse borrows this term from Harvey Molotch (Molotch 1993, cited in Hesse 2018, p.79).

Figure 22: Sony distribution centre set alight during violent protests against inequality, racism and urban marginalisation in London and other British cities, Enfield near London 2011

"An Agenda for the Urban Age", a position formulated for the Endless City catalogue of the Urban Age Project, demand that

> "Cities must move to the forefront of national and supranational agendas and priorities. […] The urban age cannot be delivered by government alone; it requires new partners in the private sector. Cities do not just make nations rich; they make corporations rich. And, it is in the self-interest, the shareholder interest, of corporations to advance a full vision of prosperity of cities." (Katz, Altman and Wagner 2007, p.481)

The categorisation of cities as potential and potent partners of the private sector is based on the assumption that such a partnership is aligned with the requirements of the market rather than with the requirements of projects that prioritise social and ecological agendas over profit. For urbanists critical of neoliberal urban policies, the proposed alliance of the entrepreneurial local government with agents of the global corporate economy are seen sceptically, whereby the kind of envisaged 'prosperity of cities' is thoroughly questioned (Fezer 2010). What is presented as a strengthening of the role of cities on the global level, or more precisely, on the level of the global market, can be conceptualised, with recourse to Henri Lefebvre, as an assault on the city "from above" in connection with a corresponding market-driven, consumerist assault "from below" (Lefebvre 2003 [1970], pp.94; Schmid 2010, p.175). The pressure exerted on cities from above and below raises the question of the extent to which the transformation of cities may be still influenced by planning intent (Sieverts 2003 [1997]; Burdett and Sudjic 2007; Fezer 2010; Hesse 2018). According to Jesko Fezer, the current situation in many cities is characterised, on the one hand, by economised and de-politicised urban spaces withdrawing from democratic and critical practice, resulting in a "post-political" condition and the blocking of urban policy (Fezer 2010, p.17). On the other hand, the inability of the market to effectively address inequality and ecological disaster is

seen as a disqualifying failure of post-political governmentality and market-led regulation (ibid.). Fezer suggests that because of these challenges and uncertainties, cities should not resort to passivity and, instead, assume an active role in transformative processes, "[…] since neoliberalism as a practice is embedded in the urban context; it always takes place in national, regional, or local contexts and relies on their respective institutional and political parameters, local regulatory practices, and political controversy." (ibid., p.17)

In the urban age, the crisis of cities is tied to the networks of the global economy. Conceptualising the global corporate economy as the "geography of extraction" (Sassen 2014, p.219), Saskia Sassen describes in her analysis "Expulsions. Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy" how corporate interests develop and employ instruments of highest complexity to exploit the human, natural and financial resources of the planet with "often quite elementary outcomes" (Sassen 2014, p.219). According to Sassen, cities in the Global North are not exempt from this process and its negative consequences, despite the "*impression* of overall prosperity" (emphasis in original, ibid., p.28). Sassen suggests that while effects may not be as severe or visible as in other regions of the world, marginalisation and growing inequality do occur, taking the form of expulsions "[…] from life projects and livelihoods, from membership, from the social contract at the center of liberal democracy." (ibid., p.29) The increase in the foreclosure rate of homes in Europe in the wake of the banking crisis serves Sassen as an example of how the global finance industry and the realm of the everyday are connected with each other (Sassen 2014, pp.48f). Urban property and housing is seen to be directly involved in and affected by the current realignments in the financial market (Hesse 2018, p.79). However, to portray the local as victim of global processes would be misleading. Residential property is increasingly seen as investment and traded as an asset by private households alongside corporate and institutional investors (Dell 2013). The privatisation and "financialisation" (Hesse 2018, p.79)[38] trend in housing is likely to persist, while the debt level of municipalities is repeatedly argued to set tight limits as to their ability to pursue a more active role in urban processes (ibid.) However, critics argue that local government policy as well as local action can make a difference, despite these constraints (Fezer 2010, p.17; Hesse 2018, pp.80–83). The situation of the Parkstadt Bogenhausen housing estate, which I examine in the case study element, has to be seen against the background of the multiple interests assembled around property and residential space, as well as the conflicting agendas and strategies that intersect in the city.

38 Hesse borrows this term from an article by Ludovic Halbert and Katia Attuyer (Halbert and Attuyer 2016, cited in Hesse 2018, p.79).

Figure 23: Boarded-up entrance to Print House during violent protests against inequality, racism and urban marginalisation in London and other British cities. The building is managed by the community-based, not-for-profit Bootstrap Charity. Dalston, London Borough of Hackney 2011

5. Conflicts Between Centrality and Choice

5.1 Contested Urban Centralities

In this final section of the enquiry into narratives of conflict, I establish a series of conceptual anchor points that are related to different ideas of centrality. Despite the difference in how conflict articulates itself in the concepts examined, they share a common principle: centrality is understood as defining a privileged, and therefore contested urban condition. The first concept in my discussion is Lefebvre's dialectically defined, non-static centrality. This is followed by the discussions of the fringe-belt phenomenon as a distinct zone of morphological collisions, and the logics of geometry and choice that occur in conditions of urban shrinking. Next, the "paradox of centrality" (Hillier 2007 [1996], p.266) is discussed as a basic concept of the Space Syntax model, in which problems of centrality and spatial conflict are made operable as problems of geometry and urban form. And finally, I discuss the concepts of "capsularization" (De Cauter 2001) and co-existence in the context of dispersed urban environments.

Lefebvre's concept of centrality is closely related to his conceptualisation of the urban. Theorising about urban form in "The Urban Revolution", Lefebvre suggests that "[…] the essential aspect of the urban phenomenon is its centrality, but a *centrality* that is understood in conjunction with a dialectical movement that creates or destroys it." (emphasis in original, Lefebvre 2003 [1970], p.118)[39] Lefebvre positions centrality within

39 Christian Schmid observes that Lefebvre introduces the concept of centrality as a kind of theorem, without explicit recourse to other theories or authors. Schmid identifies within the work of Lefebvre three areas which open up the possibility to speculate about possible theoretical connections: the an-

a simultaneous process of accumulation and dispersion (ibid., pp.119f). Centrality is conceived as a "pure form" (ibid., p.118) of changing relations rather than as a fixed locality. Content or programmes are understood to be exchangeable and therefore not constitutive of centrality (ibid., p.116, p.118). According to Lefebvre, the centrality of the urban establishes proximities and encounters between "[…] products and producers, works and creations, activities and situations." (ibid., p.117) It facilitates multiple relationships (ibid.). Hence, Lefebvre combines in his idea of centrality a relational understanding of space with the movements of a dialectic process. Lefebvre's centrality is not static. Changing relations and dialectical movements generate differences. For Lefebvre, "[…] the urban situation [is] where *different* things occur" (emphasis in original, ibid., p.117). In this sense, the "[…] city constructs, identifies, and delivers the essence of social relationships: the reciprocal existence and manifestations of differences arising from or resulting in conflicts." (ibid., p.118) Conflict is seen as product and producer of differences, and therefore as a generative force. Centrality condenses by negating the distance between conflicting contents (ibid.). Centrality is a producer of conflict and "drama"; it is "the source of latent violence" (ibid.). Concentration accelerates processes. The compression of distance translates into proximity of differences and the compression of time. Conceived in this way, centrality acts as an urban catalyst. Lefebvre's dialectic allows him to conceive of centrality as accommodating both the structures and mechanisms of power and the state, as well as the possibility of radical social change (ibid., p.106; Schmid 2010, pp.183f). Centralities are prime targets of power and highly contested zones of urban intervention.

Lefebvre's concept of centrality differs significantly from conceptualisations based on concentric hierarchies, as in the model of central places (Schmid 2010 pp.186)[40], the garden city, or other poly-concentric schemes. While these models seek to reduce conflict, through segregation, as in the garden city, or through even spatial distribution and homogenisation, as in the model of central places, dialectical interpretations of centrality work with the foregrounding of conflict and destabilising movements:

> "[…] during its realization, this concentration flexes and cracks. It requires another center, a periphery, an elsewhere. An other and different place. This movement, produced by the urban, in turn produces the urban. Creation comes to a halt to create again." (Lefebvre 2003 [1970], p.118)

cient Greek and Latin tradition of defining the polis as site of thought and innovation; the concentration of people, capital, means of production, needs and desires as conceptualised by Marx and Engels; and the concepts of the Situationists (Schmid 2010, pp.177f).

40 Christian Schmid draws a brief comparison between Walter Christaller's and Lefebvre's models to establish the uniqueness of Lefebvre's conceptual approach. Walter Christaller's theory of central places, initially developed to describe patterns of spatial distribution in southern Germany, became the guiding principle, as a model, for regional planning in post-war (West)Germany, and well into the 1990s following the German unification process. At the core of the model is the premise of a homogenised space and of economic efficiency. In view of the fact that the model was applied to occupied Poland during the 1940s by NS geographers, the factual and ideological capacity of the model to reinforce systems of domination cannot be denied.

Figure 24: Contested urban centrality, Dalston, East London, photo 2011 © by Mimi Mollica

In this passage, Lefebvre establishes a connection between the accumulating movement towards centrality and the opposite movements towards dispersion and the periphery. Lefebvre argues that for a broader understanding of urban phenomena, concepts like network need to be included in the conceptualisations (ibid., p.121). Lefebvre associates networks with exchange and communication (ibid.), suggesting that "[…] the urban is also defined as the juxtaposition and superimposition of networks, the assembly and union of those networks, some of which are constituted on the basis of the territory, some on industry, and others on the basis of other centers within the urban fabric." (ibid.) Based on Lefebvre's propositions, today's material, digital or social networks could be seen as producing new urban proximities. Practices, processes, people, products – of and in the network – may intersect to establish a new 'form' of relations and centrality. Existing centralities may be integrated, ignored, bypassed or kept at a distance. Dispersion and redistribution into the network may occur when the condensing capacity of the centrality is challenged, or if it fades away. In this sense, there is a temporal aspect to centrality and networks. Examples of temporal centralities could be seen in the 2013 protests of Taksim Square and Gezi Park in Istanbul, or the protests in the centre of Hong Kong in 2014. During both events state power sought to suppress the protests by gaining control over the physical and digital locations around which the discontent had assembled. The convergence of persisting protest, state power and the media contributed towards the establishment of the events as globally recognised, temporal centralities. The pro-democracy protesters' extensive use of FireChat and other 'off-the-grid' messaging apps in Hong Kong produced in itself a new and temporal centrality based on a local, distributed Bluetooth network.

5.2 Capitalism's Contradictory Movement between Fixation and Expansion

Lefebvre's idea of the urban and of centrality have contributed to the epistemological reframing of urbanisation and cities as sites of critical analysis (Brenner 2014, p.15). Neil Brenner takes up Henri Lefebvre's notion of the urban as process of simultaneous concentration and dispersion, and connects it to the concept of an extended urbanisation that is effective on a planetary scale (ibid., p.17). The title of Brenner's edited volume about the study of planetary urbanism, "implosions/explosions" (Brenner 2014), reflects this contradictory condition. Implosion is understood as concentration and agglomeration, while explosion defines successive cycles of expansion of built-up territory and the intensification of interspatial connectivity and flows across places and scales (ibid.). "The notion of implosion-explosion thus comes to describe the production and continual transformation of an industrialized urban fabric in which centers of agglomeration and their operational landscapes are woven together in mutually transformative ways while being co-articulated into a worldwide capitalist system." (ibid., pp.17f) Cities in this theoretical construct continue to play a key role in processes of transformation, but they are conceptually positioned in "[…] a new vision of urban theory *without an outside*." (emphasis in original, ibid., p.15)

Brenner's conceptualisations are related to Marxist theories about the geographical and spatial restructuring of the planet according to the requirements of capitalist production. He explicitly points to the parallels between Lefebvre's concepts and David Harvey's descriptions of fixity and motion in the circulation of capital (ibid., p.29, footnote 16). In "The Limits to Capital", David Harvey sets out a conceptualisation of urbanisation and geographical transformations based on the theoretical frameworks of Marx's "Capital", and "Theories of Surplus Value", and the "Grundrisse" (Harvey 1982, p.xiv). Among the phenomena analysed by Harvey is capitalism's contradictory movement between fixation and expansion. Here, a basic conflict is seen between the capitalist's investment in infrastructure and other material assets that are needed for production, and the systemic tendency of the capitalist mode of production towards expansion, short turnover times, and circulation rather than fixation. The capital invested in material assets is defined as "fixed capital" (ibid., pp.204ff), because it has a comparably long turnover time as it passes on its value to manufactured products. Harvey emphasises that "fixed capital is not a thing but a process of circulation of capital through the use of material objects […]." (ibid., p.205). Typical material assets used and gradually consumed in the production process include harbours, ships, railroads, planes, dams, power plants and networks, data infrastructure, as well as factory buildings, offices, warehouses and storage facilities. According to Harvey, the capitalist is facing a dilemma when investing in a production facility, as the capital is tied up in a specific location, technology and production process for a certain time. During this period the capital cannot be moved without loss. It is vulnerable to devaluation if it is not 'at the right place, at the right time' from the perspective of capitalist production. Fixed capital may accumulate over time as production expands, but in doing so it establishes a whole range of fixations and barriers of different kinds, which capitalism ultimately seeks to overcome (ibid., p.394). Harvey takes transport infrastructure as an example to illustrate the inherent conflict in the relationship between fixed capital and capitalist production, pointing to the effects this has on the restructuring and exploitation of capitalist landscapes:

> "[…] capitalism in general requires perpetual reductions in the cost and time of movement, the elimination of all spatial barriers and the 'annihilation of space by time'." (ibid., p.379)

> "[…] capitalism seeks to overcome spatial barriers through the creation of physical infrastructures that are immobile in space and highly vulnerable to place–specific devaluation. […] At some point or other, the value embedded in the produced space of the transport system becomes the barrier to be overcome. […] Strong devaluations and re–structurings within the transport system, with all that this implies for the shaping of spatial configurations and levels of spatial integration, then become inevitable." (ibid., p.380)

Harvey observes that "capitalism increasingly relies upon fixed capital (including that embedded in a specific landscape of production) to revolutionize the value productivity of labour […]" (ibid., p.394). As large fixed capital investments are often backed by the state and supported by national economies rather than being funded by individual capitalists, there is a common interest in safeguarding the investments from rapid devaluation. This would be the case when whole industries re-locate and leave non-amortised infrastructures idle. Planning, regulatory frameworks, subsidies and other measures are deployed to influence and mediate the effects of capital circulation, accumulation, devaluation and movement (ibid., p.397). However, due to the nature of the capitalist system, restructuring is all too often resolved through sudden devaluation and severe crisis (ibid., p.398). The "inevitable uneven development of capitalism" (ibid., 428) produces, among other things, the familiar sight of de-industrialised regions, vast brownfield sites, environmental pollution, decreasing incomes, shrinking cities, and migration.

5.3 Fringe Belt Collisions and Shrinking along the Logics of Choice

The term fringe belt occurs for the first time in a diagram by geographer Herbert Louis, published in 1936, which shows Berlin's urban development cycles in the form of irregular concentric rings in the city plan (Whitehand 2001, p.105; Rossi 1982 [1966], p.74)[41]. Michael G. Conzen, to whom H. Louis had been a mentor, developed the concept further and applied it to the study of English towns (Conzen 1960; Whitehand 2001; Moudon 2004, p.28). Economically, the fringe belt is associated with a temporary period of low land values in combination with low demands for housing, which had been preceded by a period of high land values and high levels of housing construction (Whitehand 2001, p.105). Characteristic of fringe belt areas are large-scale buildings, often institutional or representational, contiguous vegetated areas, a lack of housing, lower densities, and gaps in the network of radial roads resulting in low permeability (ibid.).

In the historic city functional elements which were considered vital but potentially threatening were banned to peripheral areas. Hospitals, cemeteries, prisons, leather manufacturing and so on were typically treated in this way. The resulting territorial organisation was made up of two zones, the higher-density inner zone which could be

41 In the English edition of "The Architecture of the City", first and second names of H. Louis are confused with each other.

organised according to the conventions of the orderly, and an external zone, more or less unplanned, which accommodated all things that did not fit this inner order of the city. The external zone developed as a distinct morphologic entity on either side of the city fortifications (ibid.), forming the first fringe belt in a succession of further fringe belts that developed over the centuries, in particular in large cities. Cyclical changes in urban development meant that the anxiously maintained state of segregation worked only up to the point when spatial expansion made the former divisions obsolete.

Philipp Oswalt takes up the concept to reframe the development pattern of Berlin in the course of his speculative conceptualisation of Berlin as city without form ("Stadt ohne Form") (Oswalt 2000). Based on his observations of different phases of urban expansion as the result of shifts in the socioeconomic and the political situation of Berlin, Oswalt develops a narrative of fundamental successive transformations in fringe belt areas (Oswalt 2000, pp.73ff). He suggests that repeated attempts to exclude the unwanted ("das Unerwünschte") from Berlin's city territory had always failed in the long term (ibid.). Sooner or later the unwanted had to be reintegrated or addressed in some way, as a result of further territorial expansion. He suggests that during these recurring situations the orderly was confronted with the disorderly; the hitherto excluded and the included had to establish new relationships with each other. Oswalt refers to this situation as the collision ("Kollision") (ibid., p.73) of formerly separated qualities. They find their expression in the dichotomies of core/suburb, clean/threatening, urban tissue/object, socialism/capitalism (ibid.). Based on the observations made in Berlin, Oswalt highlights the dynamic nature of morphologic processes and collisions, questioning a static reading of centre-periphery models (ibid.). Accordingly, he suggests that changing spatio-urban relations inflicted by political change and alternating phases of expansion have led to the successive repositioning of boundaries, the blurring of morphologically defined demarcations, and the development of new zones of in-betweenness (ibid., p.79). The ongoing dissolution of the urban/rural divide is understood to have led to the establishment of new spatial interfaces (ibid.). The territories which had been the products of concepts of separation are portrayed as now being populated with a mix of competing programmes and desires, which today, as Oswalt asserts, would be most visible in the inner metropolitan region (ibid.).

Conflict, collisions and productive encounters are also central to CHORA's conceptualisation of the urban condition. The research collective is among the few theorists who give similar weight to conflict and change in their discussions. According to CHORA,

> "cities consist of many components that are 'in motion', that have speed, evolve. An action in a city—the insertion of a building, law, infrastructure—intensifies or diminishes these components and their developmental processes. Acting in the complex dynamics of cities requires the insertion of a singularity, a new condition, a rupture, which encounters existing components 'in motion' and harnesses their potential. These encounters create confrontations and conflicts, but also sympathies, correspondences." (Bunschoten, Binet and Hoshino 2010 [2001], p.348)

While fringe belt collisions are characteristic of alternating cycles of urban expansion, the dynamics of shrinking results in different patterns of conflict and different patterns of spatial change. In the essay "The Compact City", Markus Hesse describes how *Figure 25:*

Collisions in Munich's outer fringe belt. Heating and power station Heizkraftwerk Nord, seen from Ringstraße. Parkstadt Bogenhausen's heating system is supplied by this plant, Munich 2017

the "Logics of Geometry" and the "Logics of Choice" interact as major competing drivers of urban transformation in the context of shrinking cities (Hesse 2006). According to Hesse, spatial artefacts like cities feature an inherent tendency towards concentration. Hesse argues this tendency to be the result of savings based on agglomeration, and therefore an economical category (ibid., p. 180). What is referred to as the 'compact city' he suggests has evolved in a balancing process of agglomeration/density and spatial expansion. Hesse conceptualises the driving forces behind compactness as the "Logics of Geometry" (ibid.). He proposes that the compact city produced a series of qualities which are valued today, while also being responsible for the many problems that ultimately lead to the departure from the compact city model at the beginning of the 20th century.

The second transformative force identified by Hesse is the "Logics of Choice" (ibid., p.181). According to Hesse, availability of cheap energy combined with modern mobility and communication changed traditional rules of agglomeration fundamentally. In the fortified city outward expansion occurred in intervals, usually at great cost. This step-by-step pattern of growth formed, according to Hesse, the predominant type of expansion until the invention of new modes of transport and the effects of industrialisation allowed for and demanded a different organisation of the city. Hesse argues that as a result, urban growth today produces urban patterns of spatial development defined by choice rather than by geometry (ibid., p. 182). The corresponding pattern of spatial development is then seen as a contradictory movement between centrality and dispersal, driven by the simultaneously acting "Logics of Geometry" and "Logics of Choice". By means of this urban dialectic, Hesse argues that in shrinking cities the former step-by-step mode of expansion is not simply reversed to produce smaller urban entities that retain their compactness. Instead, the logics of choice allow individual preferences to have their collective influence on the spatiality of the shrinking process. This process tends to produce fragmented islands, rather than a smaller but consistent and compact urban form (ibid., pp.182f). The concept of centrality, in Hesse's

proposition for the shrinking city, is distributed among nodes in a fragmented urban landscape, from which locally established compactness interacts more freely with the structures of the post-industrial era (ibid.).

5.4 Space Syntax and the Paradox of Centrality

Space syntax is based on the assumption that urban development evolves along "configurational invariants of built environment processes" (Hillier 2007 [1996], p.69), that can be mathematically represented and analysed. Bill Hillier, co-founder of the methodology, emphasises the "non-discursive" character of the technique (ibid.). Space syntax is used to identify and describe the characteristic properties of spatial arrangements and forms, with the goal of generating "architectural and urban objects" (ibid., p.74) that can be directly compared on the basis of their configurational patterns. Methods based on space syntax are used to represent existing spaces in cities or buildings, as well as in the assessment of design proposals ranging from urban layouts to floor plans and façades. In the analysis of spatial configurations in planned housing areas and housing estates the method is combined with social data to identify deficiencies in orientation, safety or accessibility (ibid, pp.4f, pp.138ff). Bill Hillier suggests the metric and the visual properties of space produce two different types of conflicts. The first conflict is referred to as "paradox of centrality" (Hillier 2007 [1996], p.266). In systems of circular shape, the centre is prioritised through effects of integration. This can be shown, for example, when connections between different points are drawn within the shape, representing journeys. If journeys are made from all points to all other points, or if origins and destinations of journeys are randomised, more journeys along shortest paths will pass through the centre and the central area than anywhere else (ibid, p.80, p.266). Circular shapes thus offer advantages in terms of movement economy (ibid.). However, this gravity towards the centre is counteracted by the tendency of systems to relate to external systems, such as existing concentrations in the periphery, or the attractor effect of major traffic routes to external destinations, thus shifting the prioritisation away from the centre and changing the regular radial pattern of integration. Hillier observes that

> "[…] the more integrating the form – that is the more it approximates the circular form – then the more its most integrated internal zone is maximally segregated from the external world, and, by definition, from any other aggregates that are to be found in the vicinity of the system. In other words, maximising internal integration also maximises external segregation. This is the 'paradox of centrality'." (ibid., p.266)

Hence, internal and external integration produce a conflict of divergent forces. Hillier suggests that "Growing urban systems must respond to the paradox of centrality, because […] urban forms seem to need both internal and external integration." (ibid.) The second conflict theorised in the methodology results from the tendency towards maximisation of "intelligibility" and "visibility" of urban form, i.e. visual integration, which prioritises linearity over compactness (ibid.). The two paradoxes are understood to exert a significant influence on the way cities grow and operate. Space syntax methodology seeks to capture interdependencies on an abstract and aggregate level. This approach accounts for its accuracy, as well as its constraints. Patrik Schumacher places

the space syntax methodology in the context of the critical responses to modernism, expressing some personal sympathy with the approach (Schumacher 2010, p.46). The emphasis of the non-discursive and the scientific are elements in the methodology that connect to the modernist premise of scientific accountability, in similar ways as the complex reductionism of Parametricism connects to them. In space syntax centrality, integration, accessibility and other properties are defined as purely mathematical configurations and geometric properties of form.

Critics of the approach suggest the methodology would not sufficiently distinguish between spaces of different quality, such as the nuances in the public or private character of urban spaces (Franck 2010, p.4). Schumacher raises doubts about the simplification of perception in the model (Schumacher 2010, p.46). Furthermore, space syntax is criticised for lacking capacity to deal with space-time problems (Franck 2010, p.4). Proponents of the methodology may argue that while this might be true for problems framed by the phenomenologist perspective, the model can represent change in sequences along a genealogy of spatial urban form, despite the freezing of space in the moment of analysis. Conceptually, the model is closely linked to the idea of urban form as product and precondition of evolutionary spatial process. Hillier observes that "the distribution of integration in an urban system, together with its associated built form and land use patterns, is […] a kind of structural record of the historical evolution of the system." (Hillier 2007 [1996], p.269) The space syntax methodology holds the promise of a technical fix to a wide variety of problems. However, the accuracy of analysis in the model presupposes the exclusion of issues that cannot be mathematically represented and computed. If the methodology is used in the analysis of complex urban situations without adding additional perspectives from other disciplines, problems may end up being defined too simplistically. For example, if the task for a local authority is to improve the conditions on a housing estate, it might find it convenient to think in terms of fixing the spatial integration of a circulation system, rather than having to address problems of urban inequality and exclusion.

5.5 Capsularisation and Connectivity in Cities Without Cities

Thomas Sieverts describes the "Zwischenstadt", or "Cities Without Cities", as spaces in which different movements, agendas and processes co-exist and interact with each other, sharing a unique field of possibilities (Sieverts 2003 [1997], p.3). The contradictions in and the characteristics of the Zwischenstadt are seen as the "[…] result of innumerable individual, and – considered on their own – rational decisions" (ibid.). According to Sieverts, the Zwischenstadt has grown over time in former suburban and other loosely populated areas in the metropolitan region of large urban centres. (ibid., p.4). New regional infrastructure networks and diversification have made them less and less dependent on the centre. The resulting patterns of organisation and conglomeration are neither city nor countryside; they are characterised by the co-presence of residential areas, leisure centres, business parks, dispersed patches of agriculture, as well as large infrastructures such as power plants, airports, or disposal sites, which serve the distant core (Sieverts 2000; 2003 [1997], p.4, p.50).

The Zwischenstadt is portrayed as having the capacity to let different and potentially conflicting processes unfold simultaneously, unlike the modernist city, which sought to separate uses, scales and forms of organisation in the name of conflict eva-

sion, efficiency, cleanliness, and as part of its overall strategies of simplification and externalisation. However, what appears as a giant integrative network that connects and enables disparate functions and the unexpected to co-exist in proximity to each other is at the same time a system that leads to segregation and fragmentation. Sieverts observes that through specialisation, division of labour and dispersal "[…] day-to-day living is now organised in spatial and temporal 'islands' with specialised functions" (Sieverts 2003 [1997], p.76). For Sieverts, the consequences of this process have direct implications for the social and political, suggesting that the "[…] city regions run the risk of disintegrating in political, social and cultural terms into a series of selfish and competitive urban fragments made up of different income groups and lifestyles, in particular […] if socioeconomic disparities combine with large-scale segregation." (ibid., p.60)

Sieverts emphasises the link between the way people organise their daily lives in the dispersed city and the low environmental quality this behaviour tends to produce. The space between different destinations is reduced to a vector, the journey from point to point is less defined by the actual space through which it passes, but rather by travel time and direction. In such a configuration, space becomes negated and superseded by speed, and traffic routes "[…] for the most part, do not provide any quality of life" (ibid., p.76). In the Zwischenstadt, groups of all ages rely on individual mobility to connect the specialised uses in the city region, including children, who are assisted by their parents to safely bridge the distance between their different locations of activity. Sieverts observes that "this form of organisation of day-to-day living has led to the impoverishment of and a decline in the significance of the immediate environment." (ibid., p.77) According to Sieverts, the lack of mobility is a contributing factor to social exclusion, as those who cannot afford mobility or are unable to participate in individualised forms of mobility due to health conditions or age might find it difficult to cope with the distances between destinations by themselves (ibid., p.26). Hence we could say that practices of the everyday in the dispersed city are to a certain degree dedicated to the negotiating of conflicts and negative effects that evolve as a consequence of its spatial and organisational arrangement.

Philosopher Lieven De Cauter pushes the Cities Without Cities phenomenon to its dystopian limits and sketches out the concept of "capsularization" (De Cauter 1998; 2001). The capsule is seen as a constituent part of the network condition in neoliberalised economies and suburbanised daily lives (De Cauter 2001, p.125). In De Cauter's narrative, the capsule populates the networks, assuming different forms and being embedded in different spatial constellations. The capsule could be a consumer product – the smart home, the transport capsule; it could be an institutional unit – the nucleus family, the capsularised community; the capsule may be a simulated public space – the all-in hotel, the campus, the historical city centre (ibid., p.126).

Figure 26: Unexpected coexistences in the 'Zwischenstadt'. High-rise 'capsule' Süddeutsche Verlag building, designed by GKK Architekten in 2008, and grazing sheep, East Munich 2017

De Cauter observes that "our everyday life can be described as a movement, using transportation capsules, from one enclave or capsule, our home, for instance, to another […]" (ibid.) According to De Cauter, capsularisation is based on capsular technology like the car and the internet, coupled with feelings of exclusion, fear, and ignorance on the one hand (ibid., p.124), and the mutual amplification of what he terms "hyperindividualism" and suburbanization on the other (ibid., p.125). De Cauter conceives of the capsule as the "ideal tool for control" (ibid., p.130), which enables users to selectively connect with other capsules and their hyperindividualised contents. Undesired characteristics or elements of the outside are separated from the inside, which is under constant surveillance. In this sense, capsularisation eliminates the traditional uncertainties of the urban; it eliminates the collective urban space as zone of social encounter. The capsule masks, externalises and displaces conflict to the remaining less capsularised and less privileged groups in the urban domain. Control and simulation eliminate unplanned spontaneity (De Cauter 1998, p.46). The capsule can be seen as a defensive device that buys into assumed safety by replacing the urban with simulation and voluntary self-containment. Hence, capsularisation is meant to produce two different zones of conflict: the low or zero-level zone inside the capsule, by means of control, exclusion and defensive measures, and the remaining high-level zone, the outside. De Cauter suggests that "the grimmer and uglier outside reality becomes, the more hyperreality will dominate the inside, the capsular society." (De Cauter 2001, p.127) Like the modernist 'envelope', capsularisation could be seen as a means to externalise and mask conflict; it is a form of envelope for the hyperindividualised self. Against this scenario, De Cauter brings forward the concept of "cosmopolitan urbanity" (ibid., p.131), emphasising the systemic limits of capsularisation:

> "Of course one should not forget that capsularization is always local, and is essentially a minority phenomenon: the outside is always bigger than the inside. So when describing this single deeply rooted tendency in our society, we cannot deny that many different

> things are going on outside this logic. Outside the archipelago there is a sea of various of interactions in old and new forms of community. We can only hope that all sorts of networking will prove stronger than capsularization." (ibid.)

Hence, despite enabling new forms of encapsulation, the network and the Zwischenstadt seem to also provide the means to resist the capsule. They have the capacity to connect multiple situations with each other, globally and in a non-capsularised, open way, beyond the historically limiting factor of the proximities offered by the local and the centre.

6. Preliminary Findings

In this chapter I have assembled a sequence of architectural and urban narratives that are related to conflict in different ways. The selection evolved on the basis of theoretical sampling as outlined in the methodology section. At this stage we cannot assume the process to be saturated in the sense that further research into conflict would not add new insights. We have, however, an idea about some of the main areas in which conflict is theorised, that is, the discursive fields in which narratives of conflict in architecture and urbanism are located. We have also identified a series of concepts within the narratives. The proposed method is to now shift the focus of enquiry to the narratives of change and in this way establish the second strand of anchor points in the analytical process, before returning to conflict for its theoretical intersection with change. Only then can we see if the concepts are of sufficient density to establish the required level of saturation.

At the outset, I theorised the specific kinds of narratives produced in architecture and urbanism. The discussion in this chapter was arranged in four sections, starting with the historic city and its appropriation as site of rupture and architectural intervention. This was followed by narratives that reveal modernism's ambiguous relationship with conflict. The third section evolved along a series of concepts which are, above all, grounded in the political. In the final section the problem of centrality was presented as a source of conflict from different perspectives. Looking at the overall set of narratives and concepts, we can say that conflict is understood to originate from a multitude of different sources. Conflict is associated with shifting power relations, the contesting of centralities, creative destruction and competing modes of production. Conflict is also associated with the development of new ideas, desires and innovations, the imposition of new utopias upon past utopias and traditions, or the introduction of new patterns of urban organisation. The contradictions characteristic of the urban condition are conceptualised by some narratives as leaving residues that evade institutionalised practices of conflict resolution.

It seems that in the analysed architectural and urban narratives, the urban is seen as going hand in hand with the production of conflicts. They describe different patterns, practical manifestations and relations of conflicts with each other. Irrespective of the nature or type of conflict, the narratives assume that conflict is an ever-present phenomenon in the urban condition. They work with different intensities of conflict and different levels in the foregrounding of conflict.

I propose that up to this point the following preliminary findings could be generated in the analytical process:

1. In the analysed narratives, the urban condition is seen as going hand in hand with the production of **different kinds of conflict**, making them an **ever-present phenomenon** in the city.
2. The narratives work with different intensities of conflict and **different levels in the foregrounding** of conflict.
3. In some narratives, there is an **instrumental and operational dimension** to conflict. Seemingly opposing attitudes towards conflict – appropriation and evasion – are used in combination to pursue a single goal.
4. One form of conflict may relate to other forms of conflict. Different kinds of conflict do not necessarily exclude each other. Macro-level forms of conflict may define the framework into which more local levels of conflict are embedded, establishing a **'context of conflict'**.
5. Some critical urban practices define and recognise conflict as a creative force in the city. We could speak of this as an emerging **'practice of conflict'**. It **challenges institutionalised forms of conflict resolution** as stabilisers of dominant forms of space production.
6. Accordingly, the **richness of narratives** and concepts is in stark contrast with the exclusive focussing on conflict resolution in institutionalised discourses and professional practice.
7. Conflict embodies the concept of change. **Change is both product and driver of conflict**. Urban formation may be analysed as a combined history of conflict and change.
8. The concepts of 'practice of conflict' and 'context of conflict' point towards **two promising locations for empirical analysis**:
   a. **in the everyday**, which could be understood as the intersection of economic-technological imperatives, acting as colonisers of space and time, and of categories of individual actions and choices that escape domination; and
   b. in the meso-level, respectively the **level of collective action**.

The preliminary findings and concepts assembled so far are taken to the next research stage in the following chapter, where they serve as additional reference in the analysis and the theoretical sampling process.