REALIZING HENRI LEFEBVRE:
IDEAS OF SOCIAL SPACE IN LUCIEN KROLL'S LA MÉMÉ, BRUSSELS 1969-1972
AND BERNARD TSCHUMI'S PARC DE LA VILLETTE, PARIS 1982-1987

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Architecture)
in the University of Michigan
2016

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

This dissertation came out of my interest in two radical traditions that permeated discourse on architecture as a social product between the mid-1960s and the mid-1980s. On the one hand, I was drawn toward works that focused on questions of participatory democracy and co-production of meaning with "non-experts" in architectural and planning practice.[1] On the other hand, I was intrigued by propositions that provoked architectural debate and functioned as strategic counterpoints to the political status quo.[2] It soon became apparent that a heterogeneous set of architects from both developments impacted the field during this time, and that the anti-authoritarian "events" of May 1968 in France constituted an important moment when questions of space through participatory activism coincided with those in avant-garde experimentation. I elected to structure my study of these developments around writings of Henri Lefebvre, a common denominator in theories of space. I first encountered Lefebvre's writings in his preface to Philippe Boudon's pioneering study of Le Corbusier's Pessac Housing (1969, 1972 tr.).[3] A comparative study on the participatory works of Lucien Kroll and the program-oriented strategies of Bernard Tschumi offered an opportunity to test how architects interested in new spatial paradigms and new attitudes to the city shared or did not share objectives with their

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[1] The earliest points of reference for me were: Giancarlo de Carlo, "Architecture's Public" (1969) in Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till, *Architecture and Participation* (New York: Spon Press, 2005), 3–22; C. Richard Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture*, Columns. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984); Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" (1965) in Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, *The City Reader*, xviii, 608 (London ; New York: Routledge, 2000), 423–33.

[2] See: Geogre Baird, "1968 and its Aftermath: The Loss of Moral Confidence in Architectural Practice and Education" in William S. Saunders and Peter G. Rowe, *Reflections on Architectural Practices in the Nineties* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 64–70; Simon Sadler, "An Avant-Garde Academy" in Andrew Ballantyne, *Architectures: Modernism and after*, New Interventions in Art History ;3, xiv, 255 (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 33–56.

[3] Philippe Boudon, *Lived-in Architecture: Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited.*, Pessac de Le Corbusier.English (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972); See also: Philippe Boudon and L Bony, *Pessac de Le Corbusier, 1927-1967: étude socio-architecturale ; suivi de Pessac II, Le Corbusier, 1969-1985* (Paris: Dunod, 1985).

contemporary Lefebvre. Specifically, I chose to assess seminal projects that claimed to embody the architects' philosophies—those that were closest in time to their spatial writings—namely, La Mémé on the UCL Medical Campus outside Brussels (1969-1972) and Parc de la Villette in the northeastern corner of Paris (1982-1987). Despite differences in approaches, spatial investigations centered on social meaning remained fundamental to these thinkers and practitioners. This is not to say that Kroll and Tschumi, espousing different creative goals, were united by a single definition of space in the wake of May 68, but to emphasize that spatial theory continued to be a problem around which their production of architecture were advanced. Lefebvre is significant to this dissertation because he explicitly theorized space and the relations of production in social and political terms, and equally, because his philosophical work was a result of contacts and collaborations with architects and planners from each of the two schools of thought represented by Kroll and Tschumi.[4]

This study focuses on the interface between theories of space and architectural practices of the "post-68" period. It is about analyzing the published works of Kroll and Tschumi, as well as about understanding how their built projects came to be, how people make sense of them, how they add meanings, and the extent to which they produce new spaces with and through the architects' elected mechanisms. The dissertation asks: How do Lucien Kroll, Bernard Tschumi, and Henri Lefebvre define space and discuss its relationship to society? In what ways and to what extent do the selected case studies of Kroll and Tschumi embody Lefebvre's understanding of social space in built form?

Despite extensive documentation of Kroll and Tschumi's built commissions in print media, the limitations and potentials of their strategies in the context of lived reality have rarely been discussed. An important part of my research was based on interpreting Lefebvre's writings as theoretical as well as an empirical framework against which to assess Kroll's and Tschumi's work. Another crucial part of my investigation involved diversifying the rhetoric that surrounds the two case studies and analyzing their conception, realization, and subsequent inhabitation with an eye to politics and processes of execution. Here, I built upon Lefebvre's formulation and brought together multiple sources of evidence: documentary evidence in the form of writings and

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[4] Łukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory*, Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory (Minneapolis [Minn.]: University of Minnesota Press, 2011). Stanek's historical research on the life and times of Henri Lefebvre is an enduring point of reference for this dissertation.

drawings, notes from interviews with architects and specialists, detailed observations of human activities on site, and recordings of local inhabitants' lived impressions. The findings of this work complicated Kroll's and Tschumi's narratives by juxtaposing diverse social expectations and by extending the projects beyond their reception within professional circles as either socially engaged and transformative or simulated and rigid. With this research design, the dissertation aims to underscore the value of architectural theory as an "epistemological activity," building with frameworks that attend to multiple voices and clarify, in Dutton and Hurst Mann's words, "how we know the world."[5]

HENRI LEFEBVRE

Introduction à la modernité

Critique de la vie quotidienne II (Volume I, 1947)

Espaces et societes co-founded with Anatole Kopp

La revolution urbaine

Le Droit à la Ville

L'irruption de Nanterre

Espace et politique (volume II of Le droit à la ville)

La pensée marxiste et la ville

De l'Etat (Volume I-IV)

Le temps des méprises

La Production de L'espace

(Exhibition) Architecture en France: Modernité Postmodernité - Espace architectural, espace urbaine

Critique de la vie quotidienne III

'57 '61 '62 '65 '66 '68 '69 '70 '72 '73 '74 '75 '76 '81

Expelled from FCP
Short-lived association with Situationist International

Utopie founded at his residence in Navarrenx

Presided over Philippe Boudon's dissertation committee

Reading of Fourier; as well as Bofill's "City in Space" ('68-'70)

Professor of Sociology at Nanterre

LUCIEN KROLL

A.C., no. 2: Gihindamuyaga Rwanada Monastry

La Maison: Architecture: City Sense

Neuf: Réponse architecturale à une attitude non directive

Clés pour les Arts: Louis Le Roy: jardinier écologiste

Neuf, no. 52: La maison de Woluwé

A.A.Q., The Soft Zone

Techniques et Architecture, no. 319: Pour un paysage urbaine spontané

ArtPress Spécial: L'architecture et l'usager pour une démilitarisation de l'acte de bâtir

(Exhibition) Architecture en France: Modernité Postmodernité - Participations

Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 217: métro "Alma"

JAE: Can Architecture Be Taught?

Composants Faut-il industrialiser l'architecture (Architecture of Complexity, tr. by P.B. Jones '86)

'57 '62 '65 '66 '67 '68 '69 '71 '72 '74 '75 '77 '78 '79 '81 '82 '83

Sets up his own practice with Simone Kroll, after a 6-year collaboration with Charles Vandenhove and graduating from la Cambre in 1951

Apartment cluster in Auderghem Brussels

Maison familiale Braine-l'Alleud

The New Capital City Kimihurura

Gihindamuyaga Monastery, Rwanda

La Mémé, UCL. Brussels

Gradual conversion and reorganization of Maredsous Abbey, Namur

Vignes Blanches, France

Alma Metro Station

BERNARD TSCHUMI

The Environmental Trigger

AD: Review of Le Droit à la Ville

AD: The Beaux-Arts Since '68, with Martin Pawley

L'Architecture d'aujourdhui: Do-It-Yourself City, with Fernando Montes

AD: Sanctuaries

AD: The Pleasure of Architecture

Oppositions: Architecture & Transgression

Studio International: The Architectural Paradox

Questions of Space

Space: A Thousand Words

Chronicle of Space

Chronicle in Urban Politics

ArtPress Spécial: Architecture, Limite et Programme

Spaces & Events (The Discourse of Events, derived from work by students at the AA between 1973-79)

Sequences

The Manhattan Transcripts

Artforum: Architecture & Limits I II III

'57 '68 '70 '71 '72 '73 '74 '75 '76 '77 '80 '81 '82 '83

Intern at Candilis-Josic-Woods in Paris

Starts teaching at the AA School, becoming a Unit Master in 1973 and continuing in this role until 1975

Squatting at Kentish Town Station, with students

French Program at the London Institute of Contemporary Arts, with Henri Lefebvre as a participant

The Manhattan Transcripts Project

First submission to Parc de la Villette competition

Second submission to Parc de la Villette competition

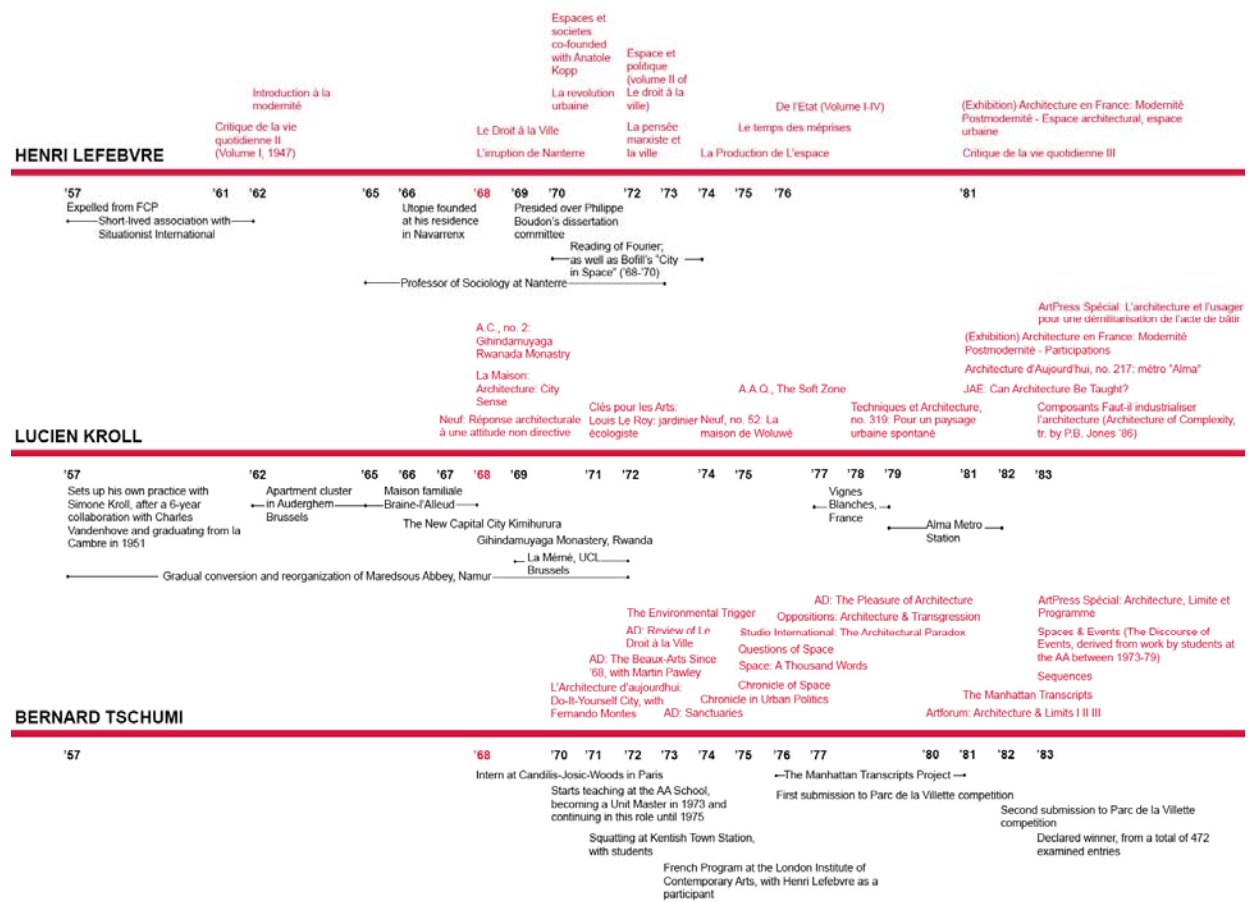Declared winner, from a total of 472 examined entries

Fig. 1: Chronology of Works (1957-1983)

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[5] "Modernism, Postmodernism, and Architecture's Social Project" in Thomas A. Dutton and Lian Hurst Mann, *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices*, Pedagogy and Cultural Practice (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

The following chapters lead sequentially to the examination of conceptual, material, and lived reality in Kroll's La Mémé and Tschumi's Parc de la Villette through the lens provided by Lefebvre's spatial theory. There are a total of six chapters that make up the body of this dissertation. Chapter II focuses on Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, developed over a series of works between 1968 and 1974. I discuss Lefebvre's engagements with architects and planners during this time. I also present three interpretive critiques relevant to this dissertation—the critique of abstract space, the critique of specialized knowledge production, and the critique of technocratic utopia—against which to assess the works of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi.

Chapter III establishes the context of spatial critique in post-war design theorizing spanning two decades, from 1962 to 1982. In this chapter, I characterize the heterogeneous perspectives on social values of built space over two trajectories: architectural modernism and explicit interest in everyday life, and environmental design studies and the question of everyday users. The goal of this chapter is to diagram distinct approaches that opposed the "functionalist" view of space-society relationship, and to trace the history of these parallel frameworks.

Chapter IV presents the research methodology for this dissertation as logical argumentation and case study strategy in a two-phase integrated research design. Through logical argumentation, I examine how Kroll and Tschumi define space and discuss its relationship to social and political meaning. Through case study research strategy (with multiple qualitative tactics), I investigate how Kroll's and Tschumi's selected projects connect to Lefebvre's spatial theory. In order to clarify the concepts used by the two theorists, I place logical argumentation before case study in this two-phase research design. I conclude this chapter with a discussion on my experiences of gaining access to people and resources during fieldwork.

Chapter V enquires into the definitions of space and its relationship to society in the works of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi. I present the theoretical references and political concerns that shaped and challenged Kroll's and Tschumi's practices of architecture. In this chapter, I also present points of contact on the modern and the postmodern debates between Kroll and Lefebvre and between Kroll and Tschumi in print.

Chapter VI focuses on the participatory architecture of La Mémé medical student housing (1969-1972) on the UCL medical campus outside Brussels by Lucien Kroll. The chapter offers a

nuanced understanding of Mémé's status as a social and political project across multiple constituencies and in connection with the spatial framework of Henri Lefebvre.

Chapter VII examines the first phase of Bernard Tschumi's inaugural project of Parc de la Villette in Paris (1982-1987). It diversifies the architect's rhetoric with local perspectives and experiences on the ground. I begin by discussing the history of the project. Then, I talk about the critical reception of Tschumi's work in architectural circles. Finally, I conclude with a phase-wise narrative on realization and lived practices on site.

Chapter VIII concludes the dissertation with a detailed appraisal of each project against Lefebvre's theory. Between his writings and built work, Kroll appeared consistent in his commitment to the politics of participatory practice. However, by framing and enacting this commitment in oppositional terms—politics versus aesthetics, networked versus centralized configuration, symbolic affinity versus top-down control—his architectural approach produced an exclusive building that eventually turned into an object of display on the UCL campus. From his earliest engagements with the politics of space to realizing his inaugural commission in Paris, Tschumi transitioned away from an explicitly revolutionary stance towards a strategy of resistance from a more in-the-moment activity. However, this move towards the "pleasure" of architecture—separate from both space and program—left the social and political nature of the production of space unaddressed.

The ambition of my dissertation is three-fold: first, to clarify the potentials and limitations of Kroll's and Tschumi's strategies for advancing the question of social engagement through architecture; second, to develop a framework for architectural research on social space involving material, ideological, and symbolic realms; and third, to create interdisciplinary spatial knowledge relevant to design scholars and practitioners, as well as the broader community of actors with whom we work.

CHAPTER II

Henri Lefebvre and Social Theory of Space (1968-1974)

Introduction

Over the past two decades, a large number of translations of texts by the French philosopher-sociologist, Henri Lefebvre have been published in English. Alongside, several articles and research papers engaging his theoretical content have appeared in the Anglo-American journals specific to fields such as planning and geography, sociology and critical cultural studies. Together, this diverse scholarship has inspired a critical reexamination of spatial and social theory. Among them, interpretive works have, in particular, discussed the significance of Lefebvre's spatial arguments for contemporary democracy and citizenship, urban politics and the symbolic meaning of places. Some commentaries have also outlined the implications of his perspectives for disciplinary practices such as architecture and planning. In short, attempts to engage Lefebvre's scholarly output have become widespread in recent years. Within this extensive set of publications, however, most works have identified and described Lefebvre's writings as deeply philosophical - "open in thought, but difficult to apply."[6] A few have remarked that his spatial work does not engage the empirical world in any concrete way, whilst others have argued that Lefebvre's arguments are limited in their capacity to inform the conceptual processes of designers, against the privileging of which, he wrote with great passion.

On the one hand, the ambition to seek instrumental uses of Lefebvre's work might be inherently misplaced. His texts function as an internal dialogue—connecting and reconnecting critical observations about society—and written in a manner to provoke thought, inspire

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[6] "Being Lefebvrian, it has been said, is more a sensibility, rather than a closed system" - Kofman and Leabs, "Lost in Transposition" in Henri Lefebvre, Eleonore Kofman, and Elizabeth Lebas, *Writings on Cities* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1996), 8.

discussion, and encourage new imagining.[7] On the other hand, any attempt to extend Lefebvre's spatial theory in directions useful for disciplines that share a common interest in the notions of space and society holds significant promise. Such efforts may illuminate several fields of study, and also present new ways to understand and review well-developed methods from within each field. Herein, lies the potential of this dissertation and a specific challenge for this chapter: How might we discuss the prolific work of Henri Lefebvre as directly relevant to architecture and urban design? Is it possible to arrive at an outline of Lefebvrian principles against which to evaluate the two case studies of my dissertation, given the shared notion of spatial production embodied in Lefebvre's work?

In approaching these questions, I focus on Lefebvre's critical theory of space developed over a series of works written between 1968 and 1974. This scholarly production was a result of his extended engagements with the political climate of postwar France and his numerous encounters with artists, architects, and planners during that time. Jointly, these involvements led to his best known writing on space, *The Production of Space* in 1974. Together, they also delineated the wider empirical context within which he framed his spatial critique, both as a philosopher and a sociologist. The claim to "empirical foundations" in Lefebvre's writings follows the research of Łukas Stanek and his influential book, *Henri Lefebvre on Space* (one of the sources from which I draw heavily in this chapter).[8] Certainly, Lefebvre's writings on space cannot be separated from his work on urban theory, the city, everyday life, and lived time – themes he devoted attention to between the late 1940s and early 1970s. Yet, to provide an in-depth historical account of each of these concepts in their overlapping complexities would require an entirely separate investigation, one beyond the scope of this chapter and the overall dissertation.

This chapter outlines the late 1960s critique of what Lefebvre considered the Modern Movement's view of space. First, I present Lefebvre's assessment of architectural and urban space against the background of his multiple engagements with the cultures of architecture and planning, immediately before and after the events of May 1968 in Nanterre. How did each of these involvements, for example, shape Lefebvre's reflections on the social meaning of space? Next, I discuss Lefebvre's proposed social theory of space and its key concepts in the form of

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[7] Ibid., 7–8.
[8] Few attempts have managed to discuss Lefebvre's philosophical questioning by grounding this inquiry in an empirical context. Among them, Lukasz Stanek's historical work on Lefebvre is noteworthy. Łukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory*, Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory (Minneapolis [Minn.]: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

three central critiques: the critique of abstract space; the critique of specialized knowledge; and the critique of technocratic utopia. I present each of these critiques as principles with which to connect with the respective works of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi. Finally, I conclude with a brief summary of these principles and plan for the subsequent chapter. On the whole, however, this chapter should be read in relation to Chapter III, which lays out the concurrent questioning of space and social life in postwar design theory between the 1960s and 1980s. The shared goals of these chapters are to present the intellectual context of spatial critique in post-war design theory, and to locate Kroll and Tschumi in this environment of critical spatial scholarship. I interpret and explain Lefebvre's "conceptual triad" of space of methodological relevance to my fieldwork in Chapter IV.

Engagements with the Cultures of Architecture and Planning

In *The Production of Space*, first published in 1974, one of Lefebvre's main theoretical propositions stressed the importance of viewing geometrical spaces in relation to their everyday use and lived symbolic associations.[9] For Lefebvre, space was best understood not merely as a metric entity, but in terms of a mutually interactive relationship between geometric abstractions, actions of daily life, and culturally associative meanings. This notion of space as constituted by the interaction of several parameters endowed Lefebvre's concept with social relevance, cultural specificity, and greater potential for political transformation. Lefebvre's spatial proposition was part of his larger philosophical investigation into the processes of rapid modernization in France after the Second World War. During the 1950s and 1960s, his argument developed from within the context of aesthetics and politics, in particular, Lefebvre's direct involvement with avant-garde experimental groups such as the Situationniste International (SI) and Utopie. By the late 1960s, his theory, in its most concrete form, addressed the urban design and "functionalist" programming of planned modern cities – involving strict geometric plans, repetitive urban forms,

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[9] According to Stuart Elden, Lefebvre had described "geometric space" as "abstractive," and had likened it to "clock time in its abstraction of the concrete" as early as 1939. Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible*, Continuum Studies in Philosophy (London: Continuum, 2004), 187; Further, in *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre famously claimed, "space is a social product." Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Production de L'espace. (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991), 26.

and hard distinctions between and among landscapes.[10] Throughout his work, Lefebvre questioned modernist developments that embodied the logic of functionalism. Such environments, he believed, articulated a view of space as a neutral and an empty thing – determined solely by human activities that took place within it.

Lefebvre's proposition of space as a social product framed his interest in the conceptual, material, and cultural spheres of social life. Lefebvre's proposition addressed his concern about the disintegration of everyday life. This disintegration also sustained an illusion of space as a neutral entity. By the disintegration of everyday life, Lefebvre referred specifically to the physical, conceptual, and experiential partitioning of reality within a capitalist system of economy. This generalized condition of masking was inherent to modernism. Throughout his writings on space, everyday life, and the urban question, Lefebvre explained these twin concerns in terms of Marx's conception of alienation, in its simplest sense, a dual condition of "dispossession" and "estrangement" of labor and social relations under capitalism.[11]

Many translators and interpretive scholars have pointed out that Lefebvre extended Marx's understanding of alienation from the sphere of economic theory and sociology of labor relations to a general condition of the modern world. In his first volume of the *Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre noted, "alienation is experienced, encountered, accepted, ignored, and negotiated all in the realm of everyday life," and furthermore, "it is at once economic, social, political, ideological, and philosophical."[12] Lefebvre's concept of alienation was that of a modern capitalist totality implying the distancing of people from the world, from themselves, and from others around them.[13] Alienation exercised an overarching influence on social life under capitalism. It transformed urban space into a commodity, and made the process of establishing

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[10] Lefebvre expressed concerns about new towns in rural France and their effects on community life. About one such town of Mourenx, close to his birthplace of Navarrenx, he wrote, "Whenever I set foot in Mourenx, I am filled with dread … every time I see these (Le Corbusien) 'machines for living in' I feel terrified." Henri Lefebvre, *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes, September 1959-May 1961*, Introduction à La modernité. English (London ; New York: Verso, 1995), 118.

[11] Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre*, 42.

[12] Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, Critique de La Vie quotidienne. English (London ; New York: Verso, 1991), 249.

[13] This followed Marx's four forms of alienation: "alienation of workers from the product; of work from the worker; of man from his humanity; and of man from other men." See: Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre*, 42; and also: Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love, and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics*, International Library of Sociology (London: Routledge, 1999), 42.

meaningful ties with people and places difficult.[14] As a social condition, alienation prevented individuals from realizing their potential as active citizens. As a physical experience, it presented itself through the functionalist logic of planned urban spaces. Lefebvre's concept of alienation was, therefore, a social as well as a spatial concept subsuming both emotional and physical distancing in everyday life. The notion of alienation was implicit in his analysis of the gap between the spaces of geometry, daily practices, and symbolic meaning. But Lefebvre was not alone in this critique.

1957-1965: Aesthetic Experiments and the Renewal of Everyday Life

During the 1950s and 1960s, the Situationniste International (SI) employed Marx's theory of alienation as a conceptual basis for analyzing the capitalist logic of space.[15] The SI was a radical group of European avant-garde artists and intellectuals that came together in 1957 with a shared interest in resisting the alienating effects of capitalism.[16] "Urbanism renders alienation tactile," claimed Guy Debord and Asger Jorn—two prominent founding members of this group—in their criticism of what they viewed as constraint and complicity in Le Corbusier's urban planning schemes.[17] Like Lefebvre, the city was their site of analysis and engagement. According to Debord and Jorn, capitalist mechanisms reduce urban environments to instruments of technocratic power, and people to consumers of media and material conveniences (television, advertising, marketing, and so on). The collective ambition of the Situationists was to renew art and urban life as forms of everyday production made by anybody, for everybody – art *sans*

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[14] In *The Critique of Everyday Life*, for example, Lefebvre noted, "We need to think about what is happening around us, within us, each and everyday. We live on familiar terms with people in our own family, our own milieu, our own class … but the familiar is not the necessarily known. Familiarity … conceals human beings and makes them difficult to know by giving them a mask we recognize, a mask that is merely the lack of something." See: Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, Critique de La Vie quotidienne. English (London ; New York: Verso, 1991), 14–15.

[15] Jan D. Matthews, *An Introduction to the Situationists* (Quiver, n.d.).

[16] The pre-Situationist groups included – the Lettrist International formed of French intellectuals, most notably, Guy Debord and Michèle Bernstein; the International Movement for an Imaginist Bauhaus (IMIB) led by Danish artist Arger Jorn; CoBrA (short for Copenhagen—Brussels—Amsterdam) made up of artists and architects, most prominently, the Dutch artist-architect, Constant Nieuwenhuys; and the London Psycho-Geographical Society with Donald Nicholson-Smith (later Lefebvre's translator in English) and T. J. Clarke as important members. These founders collaborated for over a decade until the organization's dissolution in 1972. See: Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas, *Writings on Cities*.

[17] Jorn was particularly critical of functionalism in architecture, a motivation that led him to form the pre-Situationist group, the Imaginist Bauhaus (IMIB) in 1953. See: Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), 50.

bureaucratic and capitalist control.[18] The Situationists were deeply committed to uniting art, architecture and the city through approaches oriented towards experimentation and play. This was apparent in their specialized themes of psychogeography, dérive, détournement, situations, and most significantly, in the project of New Babylon (1956-69) by one of their architect members, Constant Nieuwenhuys.

Lefebvre came in touch with the SI group immediately after his expulsion from the French Communist Party (FCP) in 1957 or 1958. Although the association between Lefebvre and the Situationists did not last very long (and officially ended in 1962), the short-lived but intense period of contact confirmed a number of critical exchanges of mutual value to their spatial formulations. The Situationists' borrowed Lefebvre's theory of alienation in everyday life as well as his ideas of the commodification of urban space to develop strategies for social change. In turn, Lefebvre was inspired by the Situationists' radical concepts of spontaneity and play against specialization, bureaucratic planning, and state power.[19] Both shared an interest in revolutionary strategies for revitalizing everyday life – which the Situationists, with Lefebvre, understood as the undoing of the division of labor and alienation: "Everyday life is what remains once all specialization has been removed" (IS, p. 219).[20] Lefebvre conceived of revolutionary actions as "moments" while Debord referred to them as constructed "situations," ultimately incorporating the term in the naming of their group. Lefebvre attributed the first ever use of the expression *situations* (in the Situationist sense) to Constant's 1953 text, *Pour une architecture de situation* (The Architecture of Situations). All along Lefebvre empathized with the overall spirit of SI, but also remained critical of their strategies.

The "moment" emerged as one of the most significant concepts in Lefebvre's theory, relating space with time and revolutionary change. In his conclusion to the second volume of *Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre stated, "We will call 'Moment' the attempt to achieve the total realization of a possibility. Possibility offers itself; and it reveals itself. It is determined and consequently it is limited and partial. Therefore, to wish to live it as a totality is to exhaust it as well as to fulfill it. The Moment wants to be freely total; it exhausts itself in the act of being

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[18] Andy Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 31.
[19] Sadler, *The Situationist City*, 44–45.
[20] Martin Puchner, "Society of the Counter-Spectacle: Debord and the Theatre of the Situationists," *Theatre Research International* 29, no. 01 (2004): 9.

lived."[21] Lefebvre's conception of the moment acknowledged the role and value of different temporalities (everyday, periodic, lived) as well as the combined potential of specific events (action, contemplation, and the festival) for desired social change. The moment was neither a singular instant, nor a complete experience of the disconnectedness between procedures of capitalism and everyday life; neither an event exclusively defined by clock time nor an action that only addressed lived time. Rather, the moment was both – at once "collective and individual, repetitive and reversible, full of anticipations and insights into the future."[22] The revolutionary potential of moments lay in lived experiential engagements with the world, within "disruptions" of linear understandings of time and daily life.

In comparison, the constructed situation was exclusively an individualistic concept derived from the existential philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre and pre-Situationist theory. As Simon Sadler notes, "Sartre argued that life is a series of given situations which affect the individual's consciousness and will, and which must in turn be negotiated by that individual."[23] Pre-Situationist groups such as CoBrA, Imagist Bauhaus, and the Lettrist International explored the agency of art for lived experiences and social change.[24] The Situationists combined Sartre's notion of individual awareness with the pre-Situationist emphasis on artistic medium to redefine situations as tactical encounters that could be creatively constructed for "self-empowerment" and the desired transformation of the city. Further, in the fourth volume of *International Situationniste* journal published in 1960, the Situationists explicitly defined the situation as a concept founded on "the objectivity of artistic production," more radical than Lefebvre's theory of the moment. Whilst the Situationists showed interest in Lefebvre's concept of the moment, they also described it as excessively abstract for revolutionary change.[25] On his part, Lefebvre refused to see any transformative potential in the "short-term and theatrical" situations; he believed that social change (embedded in the notion of the moment) was a "slower and more

[21] Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of everyday life. Vol. 2* (London: Verso, 2002), 348.
[22] In his biography on Lefebvre, Sheilds notes that Lefebvrian moments are those experiences "when one recognizes or has sudden insights into a situation beyond the merely empirical routine of some activity … as during the Paris Commune or the experience of being in love." See: Shields, *Lefebvre, Love, and Struggle*, 58–59.
[23] Sadler, *The Situationist City*, 45–46.
[24] Ibid., 106.
[25] "Situationists interpreted Lefebvre's concept of everyday life but rejected his ideas on moments in preference to situations to develop empirico-utopian experiments around this notion." Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas, *Writings on Cities*, 2; See also: Mary McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life: An Introduction" in Deborah Berke and Steven Harris, *Architecture of the Everyday* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press : Yale Publications on Architecture, 1997).

comprehensive" process.[26] Finally, following ideological and personal differences, both parted company in the early 1960s.

Despite the split, Lefebvre and Constant's admiration for each other did not diminish. On the one hand, Lefebvre's *Critique of Everyday Life* and its attention to the lack of leisure in modern society found a special mention in Constant's work. On the other hand, Constant's writing—in particular, his conceptual city of New Babylon—influenced Lefebvre and inspired his ideas of utopian futures.[27] Constant posited New Babylon as a changeable infrastructure for urban nomads in search of play and adventure. The city was a "labyrinthine space" of continuous and overlapping sectors formed by and formed of human desires, mobility, and everyday encounters with unknown situations. Life in New Babylon was centered on ideas of leisure, not utilitarian work; on multiple social contacts, not assigned spatial relationships; on "unlimited social space," not "restraining ties to a permanent dwelling space."[28] Lefebvre credited Constant's plan for its radical critique of labor-based production and challenge to fixed relations between activities and spaces in a modernist city. More significantly, Constant's framework articulated for Lefebvre a spatial understanding of society at different scales, each overlapping, dependent, and continuous with the other. This representation of mutually interactive scales of space-society relationship pointed to Lefebvre's theory of space, suggesting a unity between different spatial moments, but also between architectural and urban experiences in any given development, a theme I shall be returning to in the following section on Nanterre and its urban architecture.

Between the mid-1960s and early 1970s, Lefebvre's theorization of social space matured as a result of his academic involvements at Paris X-Nanterre, concurrent connections with interdisciplinary groups such as Utopie, and parallel readings of the works of sociologist Charles Fourier and architect Ricardo Bofill among others.[29] Lefebvre's tenure as the professor of sociology and director of the *Institut de Sociologie Urbaine* (ISU) at Nanterre was critical to his

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[26] Mary McLeod in Berke and Harris, *Architecture of the Everyday*; See also: Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas, *Writings on Cities*, 12.

[27] Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas, *Writings on Cities*, 12; Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 220.

[28] Constant Nieuwenhuys, "New Babylon: Outline of a Culture 1960-1965" in Mark Wigley, Constant, and centrum voor hedendaagse kunst Witte de With, *Constant's New Babylon: The Hyper-Architecture of Desire* (Rotterdam: Witte de With, Center for Contemporary Art : 010 Publishers, 1998), 164.

[29] Lefebvre participated as a jury member in architectural competitions such as the *Grand Prix International d'Urbanisme et Architecture* competition in Cannes, 1969; supervised doctoral student work focusing on architecture and urbanism (most notably, Philippe Boudon's 1969 thesis on Corbusier's housing project in Pessac); founded a review *Espaces et Sociétés* with architectural historian, Anatole Kopp in 1970; organized a conference to celebrate the bicentennial of French socialist Charles Fourier (1772-1837) in 1972; and soon after, established influential contacts with architects Ricardo Bofill in Spain and Giancarlo de Carlo in Italy among others.

productivity throughout these engagements. It was during this time that he produced six seminal writings on the production of space starting with *Le droit à la ville* in 1968, its complementary text *Espace et Politique* in 1972, *L'irruption de Nanterre au sommet* in 1968, *La revolution urbaine* in 1970, *La pensée marxiste et la ville* in 1972, and finally *La Production de l'espace* published in 1974 (a year after his departure from Nanterre). The architecture and social landscape of Nanterre not only embodied Lefebvre's concerns with state-led planning programs, but also served as an immediate reference for his ongoing critique of the modernist view of space, in particular, the notion of abstract utopia he associated with Modernism. In the following section, I will provide a detailed description of Nanterre and its architecture of continuing value to understanding the phenomenal realm that inspired Lefebvre and furthered his spatial scholarship.

1965-1973: The Experience of Nanterre and Questions of Postwar Urban Design

During his professorship at Nanterre from 1965 to 1973, Lefebvre produced and supervised a considerable body of research that probed questions of contemporary urbanism. More specifically, in his capacity as a sociologist and the director of ISU, Lefebvre managed projects under contract with public institutions and conducted research that examined the spatial consequences of urban life around the use and consumption of resources.[30] This was part of his ongoing inquiry into the changing spatiality of modernization in France. In terms of university teaching, Lefebvre advised a large cohort of students, not limited to those studying urban sociology. In his teaching, he advocated for empirical observation as a method for understanding social landscapes: "Observation and curiosity of the world in which we live is the basis of intuition, questioning, and critique, and transformation."[31] Lefebvre expected that a combined perceptual and lived experiential analysis of Nanterre would offer the students a real basis to develop a critique of society. Such analysis informed his personal work at ISU and also found place in *The Production of Space*.

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[30] Lefebvre called this the "bureaucratic society of organized consumption," which was subsequently shortened by his students to "consumer society." His seminars on "bureaucratic consumer society" offered students a framework through which to begin articulating their sense of alienation and conflicted experiences in Nanterre. Kofman and Lebas, "Lost in Transposition" in Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas, *Writings on Cities*, 16.

[31] Lefebvre in Kofman and Lebas; Ben Highmore, *Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 150. Towards the end of his life, Lefebvre formulated 'rhythmanalysis' as a way to further define empirical observation in terms of "impressionism" and "description" of place, time, and movement, rather than data collection.

The environment of Nanterre, prior to the unrest of May 1968, was well captured in Jean-Luc Godard's 1967 film titled, *La Chinoise*.[32] In a long panoramic shot, the camera juxtaposed the sheds of North African workers with the functionalist architecture of the newly realized campus. Unlike the traditional French universities, which enjoyed a well-integrated existence with the cities in which they were located, Nanterre was designed on suburban land previously used by the Ministry of Defense to accommodate a growing student population.[33] The university grounds lay next to a *bidonville*, but in distinct separation from it. The inwardly oriented master plan comprised clusters of freestanding buildings encircling a shared sports facility.[34] According to an article in the journal, *Techniques et architecture* (1968), cited in Łukasz Stanek's historical research on Lefebvre, the master plan was meant to ensure the "rational functioning" of each of the three academic faculties: humanities, law, and political sciences.[35] The overall design put all three educational divisions in physical separation from the peripheral belt of slums, factories, warehouses, and low-income public housing. Both students and teachers were kept separate from the larger environment of working-class communities.

Nanterre represented an urbanism of social seclusion and spatial subdivision - a locus of glaring distinctions between modernist buildings and surrounding slums; between a regulated environment and an abandoned periphery; between students from posh Parisian suburbs and immigrant laborers from North Africa. It was to this phenomenon that Lefebvre drew his students' attention. In his own description, Lefebvre expressed displeasure with the place from the moment he first experienced it: "(Nanterre) contains misery, shantytowns, excavations for an express subway line, low-income housing projects for workers, industrial enterprises. This is a

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[32] Jean Luc Godard et al., *La Chinoise* (Port Washinton, NY: Distributed by Koch Entertainment, 2008). In an arresting scene, Veronique–one of the characters in the film and a philosophy student at Nanterre at the time–speaks of her encounters with the social contradictions in the landscape: "The University is surrounded by slums … workers housing or rabbit cages. In the mornings, I meet Algerian workers and the mechanics from Simca …we stop in the same cafes, we're at the same station together, we suffer the same rain and nearly have the same job. And that's where I understood the three basic inequalities of capitalism, and especially of the Guallist regime in France. First, the difference between intellectual and manual work; second, between town and country; and third, between farming and industry."

[33] The master plan of Nanterre was laid out for fifteen thousand students. The campus buildings were ready for occupation in 1964, but the Faculty of Humanities to which Lefebvre was affiliated opened a few years later in 1966. From 1964 to 1967, the enrollment into the institution doubled, and during the academic year of 1967-1968, more than five thousand students were admitted into the first year itself. The overcrowding of students stressed the academic fraternity and services, and further impacted the quality of education. See: Ryan Gallagher, A Situation for Revolt: A Study of the Situationist International's Influence on French Students During the Revolt of 1968. Honors Thesis for History University at Albany (Spring 2010); Lukasz Stanek, "Lessons from Nanterre," *LOG. 2008;(Fall):59-67.*, 2008, 62.

[34] Ibid.

[35] See: Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 180.

desolate and strange landscape." He added, "The university community in which the 'function of living' becomes specialized and reduced to a bare minimum—(…)—this community becomes the focus of sexual aspirations and rebellions (for) *segregation is an experience as well as a physical environment*" (emphasis mine).[36] The relationship between functional segregation, social experience, and space in Nanterre pointed to Lefebvre's ongoing concern with the larger contradictions of French society in the 1960s on the one hand, and those between top-down functionalist planning and ground experiences in the realm of everyday life on the other hand. In Nanterre, Lefebvre saw an "irruption" waiting to happen.

The campus became a site of student agitations and the ultimate epicenter of the May 1968 rebellion. In Lefebvre's view, the morphology of university spaces—"vast amphitheaters, small functional rooms, drab halls, an administrative wing"—contributed to these "events," in part, by making visible the capitalist mode of production and bureaucratic state action.[37] Drawing upon the Marxist notion of "production," and revising the term to include within it not just the production of things but also ideas, Lefebvre reflected on how the ideological production and reproduction of both the social relations of capitalism and a hierarchical French political structure had disintegrated the campus in physical, social, and experiential terms. Such disintegration not only embodied the instrumental view of space as a commodity or a "concrete abstraction,"[38] but also impacted the extent to which the various communities interacted with each other. Alienation remained central to the breakdown of space and sociability associated with functionalist urbanism.

From concerns with postwar processes of urban development to those pertaining to estrangement in everyday life, Nanterre represented a unique setting for Lefebvre to intensify his questions about the built environment. It was also around this time that his engagements with architecture multiplied. One of them involved a personal connection with the interdisciplinary Utopie group, founded at his own residence at Navarrenx in the Pyrenees, in 1966.[39] Utopie challenged the methods and practices of French governance and planning, and sought curricular

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[36] Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion; Marxism and the French Revolution.*, Irruption de Nanterre Au Sommet. (New York: [Monthly Review Press, 1969), 104-106.
[37] Ibid., 106.
[38] Lukasz Stanek, "Space as concrete abstraction: Hegel, Marx, and modern urbanism in Lefebvre" in Henri Lefebvre and Kanishka Goonewardena, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 62–79; See also: "Space as Concrete Abstraction" in Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 133–164.
[39] Jean Baudrillard and Stuart Kendall, *Utopia Deferred: Writings for Utopie (1967-1978)* (New York: Semiotex(e), 2006).

reforms at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (ENSBA) in Paris. Lefebvre's associates in this group included many of his then teaching assistants such as Jean Baudrillard and Hubert Tonka, landscape architect Isabelle Auricoste, and urbanist Catharine Cot, but also practicing professionals such as Jean-Paul Jungmann and Antoine Stinco among others. As a radical unit of students and design practitioners, Utopie gained strength from its heterogeneous makeup and a consistent critique of architecture and urban design practices from an "insider's" perspective. The members remained affiliated with the Ècole des Beaux-Arts in Paris as well as the sociology department at Nanterre, and also maintained ties with the same professional circles that they actively criticized. Their shared goal was to transform the twin systems of education and design practice from the inside out.

Quite like the Situationists, Utopie found value and inspiration in Lefebvre's writings.[40] Unlike the Situationists, however, their tactics explicitly employed design to critique design. Guided by the combined philosophies of Lefebvre and the Situationists as well as the architectural concepts of the British group Archigram, Utopie used collages, comic strips and satirical slogans to mock what they viewed as "the totality of rational technocratic planning."[41] In order to reach out to an audience of students and practicing architects alike, they published and distributed graphic commentaries in a review named after the group. Their creative work, however, was not limited to print media. Utopie also produced pneumatic and inflatable structures for people to inhabit space in playful ways, and furthermore, challenge conventions of permanence and static correspondence between space and use in modernist designs.[42] The members of Utopie, thus, carried out a conceptual critique of French cultural practices in the form of self-produced publications. They also experimented with actual materials and architectural techniques to allow practitioners and inhabitants to experience and enact alternative models of socialization. For Lefebvre, Utopie's work presented material possibilities for

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[40] Craig Buckely notes that Lefebvre not only served as an intellectual reference for the members of Utopie, but also played a "material role" in the creation of their magazine and the publication of their first three issues. See: Craig Buckely, "The Echo of Utopia" in Craig. Buckley and Jean-Louis. Violeau, *Utopie: Texts and Projects, 1967-1978*, Semiotext(e) Foreign Agents Series (Los Angeles, Calif. : Cambridge, Mass.: Semiotext(e) ; Distributed by the MIT Press, 2011), 9–28.

[41] The scholarship on Utopie has variously attributed both British and American Pop, from the Beatles to the painted comics of Roy Lichtenstein, from constructions of Buckminster Fuller to the ideas of Archigram as significant "creative" sources for the group's graphical and material explorations. See: Buckley and Violeau, *Utopie*; Marc Dessauce and Architectural League of New York., *The Inflatable Moment: Pneumatics and Protest in '68* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999); Baudrillard and Kendall, *Utopia Deferred*.

[42] See: Marc Dessauce and Architectural League of New York., *The Inflatable Moment: Pneumatics and Protest in '68* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999).

realizing social meanings of space. Yet, as Mary McLeod notes, "Lefebvre was too committed to improving ordinary lives to accept fantasy projects as sufficient."[43]

Lefebvre's association with Utopie ended long before the group's ultimate demise, a decade later, in 1978. Their mutual distancing, however, did not slow down his ongoing interaction with students, practitioners, and critical thinkers of architecture during that time. Whilst still at Nanterre, Lefebvre taught courses and lectured widely at the École Spéciale d'Architecture in Paris. His texts on space and urban theory—*La Droit a la ville* (Right to the City, 1968) and *La revolution urbaine* (The urban revolution, 1970)—found an audience among the 1968-generation of architecture students who sought changes to their education.[44] In turn, and per Stanek's research, several of these exchanges introduced Lefebvre to radical strategies from within the realm of design education. More significantly, they allowed him to view his sociological frameworks in relation to gaps between architectural practice and political engagement.[45] During this time, Lefebvre's contacts with students and design thinkers also grew within the context of doctoral supervision and participation in juried design competitions. Most prominently, Lefebvre served as an examining member on Philippe Boudon's architectural dissertation committee in 1969, and that same year, also participated as a jury member in the *Grand Prix International d'Urbanisme et Architecture* competition in Cannes. In unique ways, both involvements functioned as important references for Lefebvre's own theory of space. I will return to these engagements later in this chapter.

1970-1974: New Visions of Social Space

Finally, there were two other significant architectural parallels for Lefebvre's theoretical work in the early 1970s. The first was Lefebvre's reading of the 19th-century utopian thinker, Charles Fourier, and his ideas of social organization and the city, and the second was his review of the Spanish architect Ricardo Bofill and his "City in Space" project. In their respective writings on French sociologists of everyday life, Łukasz Stanek and Mark Gardiner, both provide comparable accounts of the influence of Fourier on Lefebvre's critical formulation of social

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[43] In his 1975 publication *Le Temps des méprises*, quoted both in McLeod and Dessauce's work, Lefebvre described Utopie as a "negative utopia," remarking that the group's anti-establishment position had taken their ideas to a point of zero possibility for any real transformation of the cultural arts. Mary McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life: An Introduction" in Deborah Berke and Steven Harris, *Architecture of the Everyday* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press : Yale Publications on Architecture, 1997), 24.
[44] McLeod in ibid., 25.
[45] Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 28.

space.[46] Fourier conceived of a utopian society centered on the ideals of collective living and social interaction, but one driven by what he termed as the "passions" of human beings – passions that correspond to the human senses; passions that concern relationships between and among people; and passions that involve a reinterpretation of work in terms of pleasure.[47] Fourier argued that each of these passions was important to create and sustain a harmonious society centered on the everyday "richness, variety, and complexity" of human experience.[48] Through sustained emphases on passion and pleasure, he sought to challenge the repression of "natural" desires in modern society. Fourier made explicit, however, that such harmony could only be realized in a new space – a self-managed "phalanstery (*phalanstère*)," in Lefebvre's understanding, "a space stimulating pleasures, relating one to others, and letting them reinforce each other."[49]

Lefebvre learnt about Fourier through the writings of the French poststructuralist Roland Barthes for whom Fourier's concepts of passion and harmony (defined further by his theory of association or phalanxes) were based on the juxtaposition of differences, not similarities between people. Fourier's phalanx was therefore a social grouping that accommodated and "exploited" social distinctions for the collective pleasure of diverse members within a given phalanstery. The form of the phalanstery had intrigued several architects, but Lefebvre's interpretation of it was different from the one popularized by individuals such as Le Corbusier.[50] Inspired by Barthes, Lefebvre saw the phalanstery, not as a singular building, but as an integral part of the Fourierest city: a "new space for a new society," embracing differences and upholding the political dimension of social living. At the same time, however, he was careful to view it as a concept anticipating his theory of "differential space" wherein social differences are "produced," not

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[46] See: Ibid., 170–179; Michael Gardiner, "Utopia and Everyday Life in French Social Thought," *Utopian Studies* 6, no. 2 (January 1, 1995): 90–123.

[47] Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 175–176; See also: Lars Larsen, "Giraffe and Anti-Giraffe: Charles Fourier's Artistic Thinking," *E-fluxe-flux* (n.d.): http://www.e–flux.com/journal/giraffe–and–anti–giraffe–charles–fourier–artistic–thinking (2011).

[48] "Fourier: The Tree of Passion" in Gardiner, "Utopia and Everyday Life in French Social Thought," 92.

[49] Lukasz Stanek, "Collective Luxury: Architecture and Populism in Charles Fourier," *Hunch. 2010;(14):128-37.*, 2010, 129.

[50] Fourier's notion of the phalanstery intrigued not just Lefebvre, but also architects such as Le Corbusier, whose Unité d'Habitation was a direct vertical interpretation. See: Anthony Vidler, "The idea of unity and le corbusier's urban form," Architects' Yearbook 12 (1968): 225-35 cited in ibid., 131; However, as Stanek notes, "Lefebvre embarked on a very different reading of Fourier from the one inscribed into the tradition of the architectural modern movement." Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 173.

induced, as Fourier had otherwise seemed to him to suggest.[51] Further, Lefebvre read the ambition to induce difference in Fourier's work as a "populist" one, seeking pleasure but within the realms of consumption and material needs. As Stanek concludes, "Lefebvre's texts about Fourier (therefore) end in a state of undecidability, hesitating over whether his work is topical as a "utopian" socialist or a "dystopian" socialist, that is to say, whether he is an author of a project of the architecture of pleasure and spontaneity or rather a prophet of the society of consumption and socialized worker."[52]

For Lefebvre, the Spanish architect Ricardo Bofill's The City in Space project provided a direction for future work. The City in Space was construed as an architectural resolution to the problem of urban explosion – a new typology of urban dwelling critical of then popular models of urbanism involving uniform high-rise blocks and dense sprawling suburbs. Bofill proposed a "superconcentrated city" comprising wide-ranging accommodation types, organized around communal spaces at multiple levels, and facilitating "choices concerning work, modes of life, intimate relationships, and the employment of free time."[53] The complex was a radical reconstruction of a postwar urban condition in which spaces were not ordered in functionalist terms, but configured according to rules of geometry as well as the practices of spontaneous living. The structure accommodated new forms of relationships, beyond the model of the "traditional bourgeois Catholic family."[54] Throughout the project's two-year long development, between 1968 and 1970, Bofill maintained that the city must be constructed by means of architecture, using novel methods that are not only "formal" and "structural," but also feasible with regards to emerging technologies and ongoing operations of the market.[55] For him, starting with a deductive approach of formal abstraction and following up with technology, social needs, and economy to make adjustments to that plan in an inductive way amounted to a process by which to combine abstract ideas and real practice.[56] The coming together of abstract and real worlds also resonated with Lefebvre.

In his 1975 work, *Le temps des méprises*, quoted by Stanek, Lefebvre commented that Bofill's The City in Space, like Constant's New Babylon, aimed at "specifying a new unity that

[51] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 372.
[52] Stanek, "Collective Luxury," 136.
[53] Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 206.
[54] Bofill in ibid., 210–213.
[55] Ibid., 206–210.
[56] Ibid., 206.

bridges architecture and urbanism, and offers a scale on which one can work and play."[57] In another piece that same year, an interview, Lefebvre considered The City in Space as a "possible starting point for a production of the contemporary city."[58] In Bofill's project, Lefebvre saw a new vision that was both utopian and concrete in its formal, social, and political parameters. The City in Space also served as a useful reference for his parallel writings on "concrete utopia," a notion I will be discussing in greater detail in the next section. In the end, the design, however, remained a visionary proposition. The scale at which it sought the reformulation of space-society relationships became a source of concern for the state. Bofill too withdrew from the project and its radical promise. Notwithstanding the abrupt end, Lefebvre remained fascinated by the project's conceptual and operative framework. In a much later 1987 interview in the journal *Society and Space*, he attested his faith in the field of architecture to produce new visions of the future within the limits and possibilities of a given situation.[59] In the same interview, he cited Bofill's idea as an example in this direction.

Each of these multidisciplinary involvements along with his earlier collaborations with the SI and Utopie furthered Lefebvre's theoretical writings on social space. Jointly, they lead-up to the release of his seminal work, *The Production of Space* in 1974. The core arguments of this book, however, were developed over articles published in the various issues of *Espaces et sociétes* – a journal that Lefebvre cofounded with the architectural historian, Anatole Kopp, whilst still at Nanterre, in 1970.[60] All issues of this review articulated Lefebvre and Kopp's enduring interest in urban politics, policy, and space. Among them, a number of copies advanced their common ambition to connect scholarly research on urban processes in Europe to those in Africa and Latin America. As Stanek states, "(*Espaces et sociétes*) included a series of essays about land rent and analyses of urban economies written from a Marxist perspective," and also that, "It featured several articles about processes of urbanization in Latin America (no. 3) … environment and

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[57] Lefebvre, Le temps des méprises cited in ibid., 205.
[58] Lefebvre, interview, Ricardo Bofill invité d'Inter-Actualités (1975) cited in ibid., 204.
[59] Gallia Burgel, Guy Burgel, and M. G. Dezes, "An Interview with Henri Lefebvre," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 5, no. 1 (1987): 27 – 38.
[60] For example, the inaugural issue explicitly featured Lefebvre's "agenda-setting manifesto," "Réflexions sur la politique de l'espace," in which he spelled out his central argument, "there is politics of space because space is political." For a detailed note on journal issues and themes, see: Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 39–40; Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre*, 183.

space in Africa (nos. 10 and 11) (and) the United States."[61] In short, Lefebvre and Kopp's journal was deeply political and international in both scope and content.

Similar to Lefebvre, Kopp was affiliated with the FCP, and furthermore, had practiced in Nanterre.[62] Among his other projects, he was well regarded for his book, *Ville et revolution* (1967), which introduced Lefebvre and other French thinkers to the works of the Soviet architectural avant-garde.[63] Lefebvre explicitly borrowed and modified Kopp's discussion of the concept of the "social condenser" from this book in order to describe the campus architecture of Nanterre.[64] On his part, Kopp's writings on urbanization and class struggle were largely inspired by the texts of Lefebvre on everyday life and the city.[65] The two scholars shared much in common, yet their friendship and Lefebvre's involvement with the journal, in particular, did not last very long. Scholars such as Kofman-Lebas and McLeod attributed the break up to what they viewed as journal's "inflexible dogmatism" and lack of "visionary speculation" about the urban condition,[66] whilst Stanek explained it in terms of Lefebvre and Kopp's conflicting perspectives on the "social program of the modern movement."[67] The growing disagreements between the two led Lefebvre to leave the publication soon after the release of its ninth issue.[68] Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* not on only continued the task of spatial and urban scholarship independently, but also extended it to the realm of architecture and urban planning.

Lefebvre's Social Theory of Space: Key Concepts, Key Principles

One of the central arguments in *The Production of Space* is that every space has a history, which accounts for the relationship between society and the space it produces. This history is

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[61] Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 39–40.

[62] See: Anat Falbel, "Anatole Kopp (1915-1990): The Engaged Architect and the Concept of Modern Architecture" in Dirk van den Heuvel and Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement. International Working-Party for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, *The Challenge of Change: Dealing with the Legacy of the Modern Movement*, At Head of Title: Proceedings of the 10th International DOCOMOMO Conference (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2008), 43–48.

[63] Anatole Kopp, *Ville et Révolution*. (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1967); Anatole. Kopp, *Town and Revolution; Soviet Architecture and City Planning, 1917-1935*. (New York: G. Braziller, 1970).

[64] Cited in Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 39, 188; Stanek, "Lessons from Nanterre," 63–64.

[65] Buckely and Violeau also cite Marx and the work of Utopie as significant references. See: Buckley and Violeau, *Utopie*, 58.

[66] Kofman and Lebas, "Lost in Transposition" in Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas, *Writings on Cities*, 23; Mary McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life: An Introduction" in Berke and Harris, *Architecture of the Everyday*, 25.

[67] Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 149.

[68] The issue discussed the role and meaning of disciplines such as "anthropology" and the "semiology of space" in the production of space. Ibid., 40.

neither a "causal chain of dated events" nor a distinct "sequence of customs and laws, ideals and ideology, and socioeconomic structures or institutions."[69] Rather, this history develops from spatial transformations related to changes in the modes of production, in Lefebvre's words, transformations from "nature to abstraction."[70] Reworking Marx's historical stages of social development, Lefebvre identified three interrelated spatial periods: absolute space, historical space, and abstract space. Absolute space is the space of ancient civilizations, sacred life, and lived social practices, one in which society appropriates nature and assigns it rich symbolic significance. Historical space is the space of market towns, secular life, and conceived social practices; it emerges from absolute space, as society begins to accumulate goods, money, and knowledge. Abstract space replaces historical space with the intensification of state power and the logic of capital. It is the dominant space of this era in which society quantifies land and conditions daily life through capitalist and bureaucratic state procedures.

Such an overlapping typology of space and its history offers a way to distinguish aspects of abstract space—what we may call the modern space of architecture and urbanism—from the space of preceding spatial and social formations. At the same time, this framework helps situate questions of modernity around interconnected relations of production, material and abstract, but also symbolic. These assertions follow Lefebvre's account that different historical periods coexist and that dominance of any particular mode of production never completely erases that of the previous spatial period. For Lefebvre, then, the modern space of capitalism too contained and resisted an ongoing tension between the three dimensions of social relations: the symbolic (lived experiential negotiations of people and places), the material (physical movement of labor and goods); and the conceptual (discursive programs of the State in the accumulation of capital; marking of territories, etc.).

The various real-world engagements of Lefebvre with the architects, planners, and thinkers discussed in the last section jointly articulate this core tension in his social theory of space. At the same time, they serve as a medium through which to understand this tension as a critique of modernist space, specialized knowledge production, and technocratic utopia. In this section, I will discuss each of these critiques as principles with which to establish connections with the two case studies of my dissertation. Namely, the critique of abstract space associated with

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[69] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 46.
[70] Ibid., 110.

functionalist urbanism; the critique of specialist knowledge and its formation; and the critique of traditional utopia and its visual primacy. The challenge of presenting Lefebvre's extensive theory of space around these concepts, however, is that such a schema would necessarily remain incomplete with regards to his entire corpus from the 1950s through the 1980s. In other words, the chosen outline may not serve as an all-inclusive framework for reading Lefebvre's social formulation of space. But, in the context of postwar design theorization as well as the key questions of this dissertation, it would prepare the way for subsequent chapters and case study analysis. Each of the following chapters, additionally, would elaborate and situate these critiques within relevant contexts.

Critique of Abstract Space

Throughout his wide-ranging collaborations with avant-garde experimental groups and his scholarly production at Nanterre, critical exchanges with students of architecture and mutually influential points of contact with practicing professionals, one condition of Modernism remained of immense concern to Lefebvre. This involved the relationship of modernist architecture with the abstract space of capitalist expansion. In his commentaries on urban development—including but not limited to the discussion of New Towns, the work of Soviet Constructivists, as well as the projects of individuals such as Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright—Lefebvre presented an understanding of how the practice of architecture structured and sustained abstraction. Writing in the 1970s, Lefebvre directed his criticism more specifically to the overall program of the Bauhaus, to which he also attributed a "historic role" in the production of abstract space. Lefebvre said, "If there is such a thing as the history of space, … then there is such a thing as a space characteristic of capitalism ... It is certainly arguable that the writings and works of the Bauhaus, of Mies van der Rohe among others, outlined, formulated, and helped realize that particular space."[71] Indeed, for Lefebvre, there was a direct connection between Bauhaus methods of conceiving and representing space in abstraction, and the emergence of capitalist social relations in Europe.

In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre claimed that the Bauhaus group "discovered" a new theory of space. This view focused on the interrelationships between and among objects, buildings, and places, and furthermore, recognized that they were all parts of the same

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[71] Ibid., 126.

continuous space. The notion of space as a "unified" medium interconnecting objects and locations carried new architectural potentials – "Space opened up to perception, to conceptualization, just as it did to practical action," and allowed the architect to "pass from objects in space to the concept of space itself."[72] Lefebvre added that the same potential, however, also gave rise to a specific contradiction. The unifying characteristic of abstract space, "sometimes represented in terms of an outline or a plan," created conditions for it to be split up into discreet sectors, which could then be privatized and turned into commodities for exchange in the market.[73] Like the architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri whom he met in the late 1960s,[74] Lefebvre believed that the "unity of abstract space accompanied and facilitated the unity of the processes of production, distribution, and consumption of developed capitalism."[75] He argued that the Bauhaus ideology played a fundamental role in reconfiguring European space along capitalist lines, and further concluded that the Bauhaus discovery of space, looked upon at the time as both "rational and revolutionary," in reality, "was tailor-made for the State."[76]

For Lefebvre, the contradictory nature of abstract space in postwar architectural discourse presented a problem, one that expressed itself fully—as both unifying and fragmented—in the program and everyday life of functionalist urbanism. Lefebvre wrote about this issue as early as the 1960s, first in his study of the town of Mourenx,[77] and subsequently in his commentary on Phillipe Boudon's research on Le Corbusier's Pessac housing. In each of these accounts, he pointed to the ideological treatment of space in the realm of abstract rationality and functionalist representation. "The text of Mourenx," Lefebvre described, "is 'totally legible' despite the architects' efforts to vary the lines," and further, "Every object indicates what its function is, signifying it, proclaiming it to the neighborhood."[78] In his preface to Boudon's thesis, he stated, "By building in a modern style and by taking due account of economic and social problems, (Corbusier) … wanted to create a functional system based on technological criteria."[79] Lefebvre saw each of these settings articulate the technocratic abstraction of space by means of which

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[72] Ibid., 125.
[73] Ibid., 355–366.
[74] Lefebvre and Tafuri met during the activities of the Unité Pedagogique d'Architecture no. 8 in Paris. See: Lukasz Stanek, "Space as Concrete Abstraction" in Lefebvre and Goonewardena, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life*, 69.
[75] Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 148.
[76] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 124.
[77] Lefebvre, *Introduction to Modernity*; Also see: Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre*, 62–65.
[78] Lefebvre, *Introduction to Modernity*, 119.
[79] Henri Lefebvre, "Preface" in Philippe Boudon, *Lived-in Architecture: Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited.*, Pessac de Le Corbusier. English (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972).

social life was formally contained within the notion of function. Specifically, he viewed both locations as embodying the "alienating" characteristics of abstract space that he attributed to modern architecture. Namely, "geometric homogeneity"[80] and "analogical affinity with the Cartesian tradition" reducing the living body to a metaphor.[81]

The body, in Lefebvre's conception, was an integral part of the lived experience "shattered" in abstract space. The body constituted a "practico-sensory" realm in which space was not only understood through individual sense perception in the moment, but also produced through active occupation, everyday gestures, and collective inhabitation over time. Lefebvre argued that abstraction turned the body into an inert entity; it failed to acknowledge the existence of space produced by the body's rhythms and lived time. The practice of design according to principles of abstract space broke down the body into various zones with assigned uses and prescribed meanings. Furthermore, such a practice programmed social lives in clock time towards efficiency and productivity. The body, however, opposes the spatial and temporal regimentalization by the forces of abstraction. In Lefebvre words, "(the body) will not allow itself to be dismembered without a protest, nor to be divided into fragments, deprived of its rhythms, reduced to its catalogued needs, to images and specializations." Lefebvre embraced this inherent opposition in abstract space and said that it gives rise to a "differential space," one of use and appropriation, oriented against the homogeneity of abstract space.

By no means did Lefebvre's theory address the conceptions of space in wider modernist traditions. Additionally, whilst Lefebvre's study of housing in Mourenx was informed by his first-hand experiences of growing up in the region, his critique of the Pessac housing was one-sided and focused exclusively on what he considered rationalist planning principles. Yet, the particular strength of his formulation lay in drawing attention to the dominance of representational logic over lived bodily practices – those scientific techniques that flattened out the lived experience of social bodies and reduced the complexity of everyday life in the "interests of power."[82] Lefebvre's critique of abstract space with regards to architecture was concerned with three factors: 1) the nature of abstract representations; 2) the realization of

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[80] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 288.
[81] Ibid., 200.
[82] Ibid., 367.

abstractions as an expression of state power; and 3) the abstraction of lived reality itself.[83] His social theory of space, therefore, sought to address his longstanding concerns with alienation in everyday life, develop an understanding of how space is socially produced, and emphasize the qualitative aspect of everyday lived experience in modernist practice. In empirical terms, Lefebvre's thoughts on Mourenx and Pessac housing, as Stanek suggests, prefigured the development of his "conceptual triad" of spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space. I will be introducing this tried very briefly in the following critique and discussing it in greater detail in Chapter Four.

Critique of Specialized Knowledge

The questions around abstract space raised by Lefebvre's theory were tied to alienation and the abstraction of everyday lived experience. However, they remained nested within his larger criticism of technocratic rationality and specialized knowledge production. Broadly, Lefebvre's theory of space involved the bringing together of physical, mental, and social fields of space – each of which, he argued, was handled separately by traditional philosophers, scientists, and social scientists.[84] In particular, Lefebvre criticized those knowledge models that reduced this overlapping complexity to a singularity. He added that their practice had given rise to a specialist who "imposed" a social order that was far removed from the everyday workings of society. In this light, not only functionalist architecture and urban planning, but also structuralism and formalism were objectionable to him. Lefebvre claimed that each of these forms of knowledge rendered an exclusive status to both the concept and specialist and, consequently, "extrapolated and pressed forward an analytic and non-critical knowledge into the service of power."[85] Throughout, Lefebvre saw the modern field of inquiry as one where the mental realm was privileged over its physical and social counterparts, and the space of people interacting with each other as well as with the material things over time was completely or partially left unexplained.

Further, in his introduction to *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre described modern epistemology as an incomplete and fragmented theory of knowledge, the study was incomplete because it ignored the relevance of a conscious human subject, who produces spatial knowledge

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[83] Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas, *Writings on Cities*; Also see: Chris Butler and Chris Adrian Butler, *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial Politics, Everyday Life and the Right to the City* (Routledge, 2012).
[84] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; See also: Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre*.
[85] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 106–107.

through perception, conception, and interpersonal lived experience. Similarly, such a theory of knowledge was fragmented because it had given rise to a number of reified disciplines – each providing unique descriptions of daily life (in physical, conceptual, and/or experiential terms) but with little understanding of the relationships between them. The view of spatial knowledge as inherently relational suggested that no empirical reality could be studied or known from a completely positivist standpoint; instead, it was only in dialectical thought that the phenomenal world could be explored in its entirety.

To think in terms of the dialectic meant to recognize social reality as a contradiction between thought, action, and the symbolic dimensions of everyday life. By adding the third element of symbolism to this formulation—symbols such as "images, emotions, affectivity, and connotations … that are integral to the lived and living language"[86]—Lefebvre sought to go beyond the contradictions between immaterial thought and material action, and interrelate the two practices within an explicitly bodily analysis. This facilitated an understanding of knowledge as conceived, practiced, and grounded in everyday lived experience. Furthermore, Lefebvre discussed each dialectical element as "the moment" that remained oriented towards the other and assumed prominence according to circumstances, "going from conflict to alliance and back again."[87] Put together, the dialectic was a continuous cycle of three interconnected moments articulating the continuity of different spheres of reality and resisting the intellectual fragmentation of social life into discreet fields of study. Lefebvre called this approach, "a science, a new field of knowledge"[88] that responded to the complexity and contradictions of urban life through equal emphasis on theory, practice, and the quotidian experience.

In order to consider this dialectic as an overlapping relationship between and among different knowledge production, I would like to briefly recapitulate Lefebvre's conceptual triad of social space here. Firstly, "spatial practice" constitutes knowledge as reproduced through physical practices, daily routines, networks, and pathways. These practices relate to reality as perceived. "Representations of space" are forms of abstract knowledge linked to the practices of visualization and scientific synthesis, but more specifically, to the structures of power associated

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[86] Christian Schmid, "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space" in Lefebvre and Goonewardena, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life*, 36.

[87] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis Space, Time, and Everyday Life*, Éléments de Rhythmanalyse. (London: Continuum, 2004), 11–13; Also cited in: Christian Schmid, "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space" in Lefebvre and Goonewardena, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life*, 33–34.

[88] Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis Space, Time, and Everyday Life*, xiii.

with the specialized coding of space. They correspond to the reality as conceived. "Representational space" is associated with knowledge arising from the everyday lived experience of inhabitants. It involves wide-ranging symbolisms and culturally associative meanings that contribute to local forms of spatial organization in opposition to the generalizations of the conceived realm. Representational space relates to reality as lived. In Lefebvre's view, space can only be understood in its entirety through a dialectical relationship between its material, ideological, and symbolic fields.

The pursuit of connections between the realms of abstraction (associated with the specialist as well as traditional disciplines) and the realms of concrete lived experiences (on the ground, at once individual and social) was at the core of Lefebvre's writings. In his third volume of *The Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre wrote, "(Knowledge) must respect lived experience, rather than belaboring it as the domain of ignorance and error, rather than absorbing it into positive knowledge as vanquished ignorance." A dialectical approach meant that specialized knowledge could no longer be reduced to a disembodied positivist scheme; instead it should draw on moments of space and remain contingent on "historically and geographically situated social practices."[89] Additionally, dialectical thinking understood as a model for thinking about the production of space appealed to an interdisciplinary research perspective, one that focused on all three processes of production, namely, the spatial practices, representations of space, and representational space. For architectural and urban research, this suggested a renewed focus on interdisciplinary methods and approaches that could help identify and examine not just the "variety of products of architectural practice," but also all "individual and collective" interpretations of architectural spaces as well as their appropriation.

Critique of Technocratic Utopia

The writings of Lefebvre on social space paralleled the period of mounting criticism against the architectural utopias of modernity, frequently associated with the CIAM, within Western Europe. Broadly, critics and thinkers around the late 1960s viewed utopian ideas as "projections of ordered spatial forms, of harmonious societies in which the ills of the present day are banished to another space and time."[90] Specifically, they saw utopias as technocratic visions directed

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[89] Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, 157.
[90] David Pinder, "In Defence of Utopian Urbanism: Imagining Cities after the 'End of Utopia,'" *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 84, no. 3/4 (January 1, 2002): 233.

towards shaping space and human behavior according to the rules of technocratic planning and tools of capitalist production. The Marxist architectural historian, Manfredo Tafuri, for example, denounced utopian experimentations—including those of the oppositional avant-gardes—in ideological terms as complicit with dominant capitalist interests.[91] Others such as the members of Utopie argued against futuristic orientations that privileged issues of space over the problems of society; they directed their practice towards addressing wider social inequalities and concerns of capitalist consumption instead. For most radical practitioners utopia held a negative connotation, one that did not adequately question the dominant capitalist framework within which architectural experiments of the future were conducted.

Like his peers, Lefebvre criticized projects that presented the utopian dream as a "closed and dogmatic system of signification;" propositions that turned away from the ground conditions of everyday life in pursuit of "unknown or misunderstood realities."[92] However, unlike them, Lefebvre did not entirely dismiss the creative potential of utopian models for recovering social life from the alienating effects of capitalism; instead, he sought to redefine how the concept could be understood. Against the static and specialist blueprints of abstract utopias, Lefebvre argued for a "concrete" and "experimental" utopia, simultaneously rooted in the critique of everyday life and the collective exploration of new possibilities.[93] As Mary McLeod notes, "Lefebvre was intrigued by the prospect of alternative possibilities, endless experiments, and new futures," but one "construed as a means by which individuals and groups could actively initiate the process of social transformation."[94] The notion of utopia as concrete and experimental implied *working with* as well as *working on* the realities of the present concealed from view, and building a new social consciousness that could create frameworks "where everyday life can flourish."[95] Throughout, it was Lefebvre's theory of space grounded in a collective will to remake social relations that sustained his tone of optimism, and distinguished his position on utopia from that of the other Marxist scholars, including Tafuri.

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[91] Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Progetto E utopia.English (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976); Cited in David Pinder, "Reconstituting the Possible: Lefebvre, Utopia and the Urban Question," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (2013): 13.
[92] Henri Lefebvre, "The Right To The City" (1968) in Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas, *Writings on Cities*, 151–152.
[93] Henri Lefebvre, "The Right To The City" (1968) in ibid., 151–159.
[94] Mary McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life: An Introduction" in Deborah Berke and Steven Harris, *Architecture of the Everyday* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press : Yale Publications on Architecture, 1997), 16.
[95] Nathaniel Coleman, "Utopian Prospect of Henri Lefebvre," *Space and Culture* 16, no. 3 (August 1, 2013): 354.

Further, at various places in his writings on space and everyday life, Lefebvre not only offered a new conception of utopia but also described an appropriate method for realizing that utopia. He called this approach, "transduction;" a theoretical and practical method of constructing possibilities not "out there," but from information latent in the otherwise commodified and regulated everyday life: "Transduction elaborates and constructs a theoretical object, a *possible* object from information related to reality and a problematic posed by this reality."[96] Unlike deduction and induction, its operation involves "an incessant feedback" process between "empirical observations" and "conceptual frameworks" used for identifying social problems and offering alternatives.[97] The feedback mechanism facilitates the testing of a given proposition as well as its explanation and continuous modification. Furthermore, it helps move utopian propositions away from "graphic and visual" primacy, and towards an identification and corresponding analysis of real social contradictions. The method of transduction, therefore, helps construct utopias that are simultaneously ideological and defined by concrete everyday experiences; in Lefebvre's words, "it introduces rigor in invention and knowledge in utopia."[98]

The notion of invention (possibilities) arising from the knowledge (problematics) of everyday life was central to Lefebvre's utopian project. He identified positive utopia in the architectural ideas of Ricardo Bofill and Constant; the revolutionary events of Paris Commune and May 1968; as well as the daily dreams, memories, and folklore of individuals and groups among others. Each of these moments presented a comprehensive understanding of space and social life; the *possibility* of what might be from within a seemingly *impossible* and fragmented reality. Each of these moments straddled the gap between "science and utopia, reality and ideality, conceived and lived" as it sought to "point the way towards a different space, towards a space of a different (social) life and of a different mode of production."[99] Lefebvre emphasized that the exploration of the dialectical relationship between the impossible and the possible was crucial for reconfiguring the relationship between space and society. For architecture and planning, this implied shaping alternatives by way of critical engagement with the contradictions

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[96] Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas, *Writings on Cities*, 151.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 61.

of reality as well as giving concrete form to *the possible* long before its realization, at least within consciousness.[100]

Scholars such as David Harvey, however, have commented that Lefebvre's theory of utopia is endlessly open, it "refuses specific recommendations" and leaves "the actual spaces of any alternatives frustratingly undefined."[101] According to Harvey, to realize a utopian plan is to engage with "closure (however temporary);" and to fail to do so is "to embrace an agonistic romanticism of perpetually unfulfilled longing and desire."[102] Harvey's criticism of Lefebvre offers a useful pause, but as Nathaniel Coleman writes, "it neglects aspects of his urban thought and practice, including how (Lefebvre) expressed related concerns himself."[103] Lefebvre's project was one of imagining a radical new way of living; it involved the study of the implications and consequences of transformative ideas on the ground. His method of transduction as well his ongoing commentaries on aesthetic experimentations articulated this active "path," if not necessarily a set "program or a plan" for realizing possibilities. In other words, Lefebvre's approach was not pure philosophical speculation. His theory of utopia was at once grounded in the critique of everyday life and the notion of possibility for the city and its people. In this light, the spatial writings of Lefebvre could themselves be viewed as concrete utopian – a "praxis"[104] and a concrete reflection on ideas of specific historical periods, covering a wide variety of sources, both philosophical and empirical, oriented towards a possible future.

Conclusion

Lefebvre's theory posits a radical understanding of social space in three overlapping critiques. Firstly, Lefebvre's critique of abstract space (and of modern architecture's contribution to the abstraction of lived reality) calls for a reformulation of architectural imagination centered on the living body as "a producer of space and a creator of differences."[105] Secondly, Lefebvre's critique of specialized knowledge production emphasizes coming to terms with the production of

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[100] Coleman, "Utopian Prospect of Henri Lefebvre," 358.
[101] David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, California Studies in Critical Human Geography (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 182–183.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Coleman, "Utopian Prospect of Henri Lefebvre," 360–361.
[104] Mary McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life" in Berke and Harris, *Architecture of the Everyday*, 16.
[105] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 396.

space as a process not exclusively limited to technocrats (architects and planners, developers and State authorities), but taking place much more widely, in conjunction with the daily life practices of local inhabitants. This follows his unitary theory of space that asserts an overlapping relationship between and among the three modes of production – specialist discourse, spatial practices, and symbolic gestures. In Lefebvre's words, "the true theoretical problem is to relate these spheres to one another, and to uncover the mediations between them."[106] Thirdly, and finally, Lefebvre's critique of technocratic utopia aligns his dialectical theorization of space-society relationship with a re-imagined practice, an ongoing mode of questioning and reflection through experiments embedded in "concrete" conditions.

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[106] Ibid., 298.

CHAPTER III

Questions of Space and Social Life in Postwar Design Theories (1962-1982)

Introduction

The 1960s critique of space within architecture and urban studies was premised upon a new social condition, upon the idea that meaningful social articulation could no longer be limited to specialized functions and invariant spatial configurations at the level of architectural or urban plan. European architects and urbanists not only expressed concerns about the prevalent functionalist discourse of the time—views that presupposed the organization of space according to the functional requirements of human activity—but also argued against alternative methods of social theorizing in then emerging systematized design programming. Such critical reflections on architecture's concern with social life were diversified by the re-politicization[107] of modernism on the one hand, and user-centered propositions of environmental design research on the other. In both trajectories, however, if space itself had become a category of variable importance,[108] the *spatiality* of social and political processes, or the view of space as entirely contingent upon context nevertheless proliferated.[109]

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[107] George Baird, "1968 and its Aftermath: the Loss of Moral Confidence in Architectural Practice and Education" in William S. Saunders and Peter G. Rowe, *Reflections on Architectural Practices in the Nineties* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 64–70.

[108] Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: a Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (New York, N.Y.: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 268. On space and spatiality, see: David Harvey, "Space as a Keyword," in David Harvey: A Critical Reader, ed. Noel Castree and Derek Gregory (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2008) and Bill Hillier, "Science of Space, Art of Place." World Architecture 185, 96-102.

[109] Spatial modifiers such as "personal space" (Sommer, 1969); "existential space" (Norberg-Schulz, 1971); and "defensible space" (Newman, 1972) outlined the disciplinary contours of this time, wherein diverse meanings were attached to space. David Harvey, in addition, talks about the range of meanings that continue to be commonly associated with space in academic and popular discourse so as to "render any general consideration of its properties as a hopeless task." See: David Harvey, "Space as a Keyword," in David Harvey: A Critical Reader, ed. Noel Castree and Derek Gregory (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2008), 70–93.

Specifically, in the twenty years between the publication of Team X primer in 1962 and Bernard Tschumi's participation in Parc de la Villette competition in 1982, there was an ebb and flow of perspectives delineating the social meaning of built space. In this chapter, I would like to draw upon George Baird's framing of radical architecture, and characterize these positions in the context of two trajectories suggested: architectural modernism and explicit interest in everyday life; and environmental design studies and involvement with everyday users, both of which could be seen as radical disciplinary modes responding to the functionalist understandings of space-society relationship, but with varying degrees of criticism and influence. Together, these distinct approaches mark out the extended climate of postwar design practice within which Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi were operating.

The bulk of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of these ambitions. As a way to summarize and situate the theoretical concepts relevant to this dissertation, I conclude, however briefly, with influential points of contact and common themes between the two trajectories.

Architectural Modernism and Everyday Life

My concern is not to restate the political history of interwar modernism, but to reevaluate the politicization of architecture that took place in the postwar period, particularly in the 1960s and 70s, in light of critique of society. This reevaluation, again, is less about seeking parallels between the political strains of modernism in the mid-1920s and early 1960s,[110] and more about presenting ways in which the latter generation of architectural thinkers and practitioners launched a political critique of "orthodox" modernism, however local and varied, by re-conceptualizing social life in terms of the spatial experience of the everyday. It is precisely during these decades that a turn to raising questions about the role and relevance of space for effective social transformation began to emerge as well.

The earliest involvement of modernism with the experience of everyday life, and its consequent political re-characterization, could be traced to the formation of Team X in 1956,

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[110] George Baird has argued that critical practices of the 60s and early 70s "re-politicized" modern architecture in ways distinct from the politicization of architecture that took place in the 1920s and 30s. Per Baird, early modern architecture was political in terms of the dispute within the camp of the moderns in connection with the founding of CIAM, which revealed significant divergences of opinion that were politically based. In continuation and comparison, however, the politicized artists and architects of 1968 sought to challenge the very camp of orthodox moderns, and engage everyday life in both praxis and pedagogy. See: "Architecture and Politics" in George Baird, The Space of Appearance (MIT Press, 2003).

which as Tom Avermaete notes, not only signified a generational change within the International Congress of Modern Architecture or CIAM, but also an "epistemological shift" in architectural modernism.[111] The members of Team X first met each other within CIAM at its ninth meeting in Aix-en-Provence in 1953. Architects such as Aldo van Eyck, Jaap Bakema, Georges Candilis, Shadrach Woods, and Alison and Peter Smithson, who were to later become widely known by this group, had criticized the methods of CIAM before, but it was only at this meeting that they formally expressed their discontentment with the organization's 1933 Athens Charter.[112] To them, the charter's rationalist principles of ordering space in terms of functional uses were inadequate for addressing the conditions of postwar urban society. In going beyond the abstract principles of planning, Aldo van Eyck and the Smithsons, in particular, grounded their work in art and politics, employing artistic means to address emerging emotional, social, and material needs.

Aldo van Eyck was a participant in the CoBrA movement between 1948 and 1951, and a mentor to Constant Nieuwenhuys, the organization's core member and a Situationist.[113] His famous playgrounds in Amsterdam were both influenced in part by the Situationist concepts of experience and play, and a result of his engagements with the writings of Jean-Paul Sartre, Johan Huizinga, and Norbert Weiner among others.[114] In seeking to connect people and places, Van Eyck designed each park in response to localized settings and in consultation with wider publics. His architecture of playgrounds, states Liane Lefaivre, "emerged from within a semi-hierarchical, semi-anarchic, highly participatory process involving many people over many decades."[115] At once an architect and an official of the Public Works Department, Van Eyck's engagements with park design were entrenched in all kinds of politics at the community level.

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[111] Tom Avermaete and Joan Ockman, *Another Modern: The Post-war Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAi, 2005), 74. Members of the younger generation of CIAM came to be known as Team X for the tenth CIAM congress they jointly organized in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, in 1956.

[112] Founded in 1928, the Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM) was the largest and most prominent international organization to develop and advance the ideas of modern architecture. Among other activities, CIAM had created a set of guidelines on urban planning called the Athens Charter, which was widely implemented in postwar Europe. For a short introduction to CIAM and Team X, see: Sarah Deyong, "Memories of the Urban Future: The Rise and Fall of the Megastructure" in Howard Gilman, Terence. Riley, and N.Y.) Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, *The Changing of the Avant-garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002), 25.

[113] CoBrA was the acronym of hometowns of the main artists of the Group: Asger Jorn from Copenhagen, Christian Dotremont from Brussels, and Karel Appel, Cornelis and Constant from Amsterdam. See: Simon Sadler, The Situationist City (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), 32.

[114] Liane Lefaivre, "Space, Place and Play" in Liane Lefaivre et al., *Aldo Van Eyck: The Playgrounds and the City* (Amsterdam : Rotterdam: Stedelijk Museum ; NAi Publishers, 2002), 16–57.

[115] Liane Lefaivre, "Space, Place and Play" in ibid., 44.

The Smithsons were members of the Independent Group, a unit formed of young artists, architects, and historians, including Reynar Banham, and closely associated with the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London from 1952 to 1956.[116] Their documentary practice of "collecting ads," capturing urban life in photographs, and writing about objects "as found" in the city positioned their experiments with real life exclusively in the realm of mass media and popular culture. Sharing a common fascination for those extraordinary instances of ordinary life, it was only a matter of time before Allison and Peter Smithson became Van Eyck's closest aid and co-authors in the publication "Team X Primer" in 1962.

At the CIAM 9 meeting, prior to this document, several members, including the Smithsons, exhibited works discussing everyday spaces. Three presentations, in particular: the "Habitat du Plus Grand Nombre Grid" by a group of architects working in Morocco comprising Georges Candilis, Shadrach Woods, Henri Piot and Vladimir Bodiansky; the "Bidonville Mahieddine Grid" by another group working in Algiers under the leadership of architects P.A. Emery, M. Gut, J. Lambert and others; and the "Urban Re-Identification Grid" by Alison and Peter Smithson working in Britain departed from CIAM's standard focus on "modern urban projects" as well as its conventional compartmental analysis of environments in terms of dwelling, work, transportation, and recreation.[117] Together, they complicated the given functional grid of urban planning, first presented by Le Corbusier at CIAM 6 in 1947, by expressing everyday life at a range of scales, from the dwelling to the city.[118] Candilis and others' "GAMMA grid," for example, studied bidonville of Carrière Centrale in Casablanca, Emery and group's "Mahieddine Grid" analyzed a self-built shantytown in Algeria, while the Smithson's "Urban Re-Identification Grid" was a visual documentation of street life in the working-class neighborhood of Bethal Green in East London. Quite like Candilis and Emery's respective ethnographic studies, the Smithson's presentation was a first-hand photographic survey of immigrant life in London. All

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[116] David Robbins and Hood Museum of Art., *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990).

[117] See, "Chronological documentation of Team X meetings," and in particular, notes on "CIAM Aix-en-Provence" as well as Annie Pedret, "Dismantling the CIAM Grid: New Values for Modern Architecture" in Team X et al., *Team X: 1953-81: In Search of a Utopia of the Present*, In Search of a Utopia of the Present (Rotterdam: NAi, 2005), 20–33; 252–257.

[118] The grid or "grille" was an important ideological and methodological feature of CIAM. It was originally designed by the French group ASCORAL, under the supervision of Le Corbusier, in 1947. To trace the developmental history of CIAM and learn about significant episodes, see: Eric Paul Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).

three grids, nevertheless, emphasized architecture's close involvement with the dynamics of everyday experience.

Jointly, these young practitioners marked an institutional shift in the Modern movement's understanding of social life, until then contained exclusively in the notion of "function" and organized purely in terms of clock time. Relatedly, and perhaps most importantly, their interests offered new ways of thinking about material space and its relationship with society. In the years to come, Van Eyck abandoned the term space altogether and replaced it with the notion of place. Based on studies of primitive housing in Mexico and Sub-Saharan Africa, and in keeping with the Dutch tradition of the *kinderspel* or "children's play,"[119] Van Eyck sought to recast modernist conceptions of space and time in pure social terms. He remarked, "Whatever space and time mean, place and occasion mean more. For space in the image of man is place, and time in the image of man is occasion."[120] Space, to him, was an abstract entity, an outcome of technocratic processes, whilst place was a social unit, a result of activities and daily rituals.

Like him, his Team X colleague and student Herman Hertzberger discussed the social content of architecture in both phenomenological and structuralist terms, which is, the assumption that "built architecture is capable of showing what is not visible and eliciting human associations you were not aware of before."[121] The notion of place put emphasis on observing everyday activities and on articulating experiences that spaces generate for people. To Van Eyck and other members of Team X, it offered a way to address the reciprocal connections between physical environments and symbolic meanings. More prominently, it facilitated their thinking in terms of "human association," "identity," "cluster," and "mobility" – terms that spoke at once to their collective fascination with the findings of social sciences and their shared desire to engage everyday life in poetic terms.[122] Influenced by early principles of structuralism and equally motivated by a desire to build, Van Eyck advocated for spatial "counterforms," which could

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[119] See discussions on "postwar child" and Johan Huizinga's concept of "Homo Ludens" in Lefaivre et al., *Aldo Van Eyck*, 39–41.

[120] Aldo van Eyck as quoted in Alison Margaret Smithson and Team X, *Team X Primer* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), 101.

[121] Herman Hertzberger, *Lessons for Students in Architecture* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010 Publishers, 1991), 230.

[122] Members of Team X introduced these relational concepts at the CIAM 10 meeting in Dubrovnik in 1956. Together, these terms marked out the team's to-and-fro movement between the wish to lay down ground rules for architectural practice and the wish to study human behavior as poetry, or in Jean-Louis Violeau's words, "an oscillation between poeticizing thought and conceptualizing poetry." For an excellent discussion on the role and meaning of each of these concepts, see: Jean-Louis Violeau, "Rules versus Behaviour: In search of an inhabitable world" in "Team X Studies and Papers," 176–178, accessed February 18, 2013, http://www.team10online.org/research/studies_and_papers.html.

support interactive patterns of everyday life and also define social possibilities of actual built work.[123] Throughout, however, it was Team X's simultaneous focus on deriving lessons from existing environments and on creating a sense of social interrelatedness within real space that continued to underpin their otherwise divergent involvements with everyday life.

In the following decade, a different group of modernist architects—away from structuralist ideas and anthropological concerns, but still following an implicit concern for society—rejected any potential of space to achieve social goals. In their respective capacities, Britain's Cedric Price and the Archigram Group and Italy's Superstudio linked architecture to "social repression" because it remained external to the particularities of everyday life. In each of their experimentations, they sought to reconfigure the relationship between man and environment by privileging idea over matter—the realm of concepts over built space—and pursuing projects with strong social goals, albeit, with little potential for implementation.

Archigram, for example, developed, employed, and relied exclusively on the visual language of science fiction and fantasy to critique mainstream modernism. The members of this group added heightened aesthetic character to modernist technology not to construct buildings, but to construct arguments and to mock a compromised profession. Similarly, Superstudio committed itself exclusively to the practice of architecture of ideas, giving further character to "paper architecture" and liberating design, as it were, from the constraints of labor and social structure. Quite like the Smithsons then, each of these groups used popular media to formulate a position, but unlike them, they remained married to the promise and potential of paper projects. The critique of these radical thinkers paralleled the student protests and a general climate of discontentment with the bureaucracies of the late 1960s, and yet their "technological utopias" had a limiting effect in altering the existing social order.[124] At best, their paper propositions marked the origins of autonomous architecture of the 1970s. The architectural theorist Thomas Dutton described this generation of radical thinkers as drawing-room architects, "(They) drew very well. They mourned a disfigured world and refigured it in solitude. They detached

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[123] Van Eyck believed that built forms could become *counterforms* to a society only if that society has a *form*. However, because contemporary society is fragmented and lacking in a real social form, such counterforms would result only when society brings together the individual and the collective in a reciprocal whole. His orphanage in Amsterdam articulated this desire in the form of interconnected sequence of family units, all united under a common roof. See: Alison Margaret Smithson and Team X, Team X Primer (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), 13.

[124] For an extended discussion on Archigram's contribution to architectural movements, and particularly, the trends of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, see: Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture Without Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005).

themselves from social movements that could benefit from their analyses and programs …
(They) spoke for people instead of with them."[125] Together, these practitioners did not explicitly
problematize the concept of space, but argued for a critical understanding of social relations in
theory.

Somewhere between the critical practitioner and the "drawing-room architect" was Utopie
(1966-1971), a French inter-formation of sociologists and architects. The group included the
writers Jean Baudrillard, Isabelle Auricoste, and Hubert Tonka, and the architects Jean Aubert,
Jean-Paul Jungmann and Antoine Stinco.[126] Utopie at once continued and enlarged the project of
Archigram by drawing parallel inspiration from the urban writings of Henri Lefebvre, the
technical and aesthetic works of Buckminster Fuller as well as the American comic book
graphics. Their vision of the built world was one in which "buoyancy, ephemerality, and
mobility" would replace the "inertia and repression" of postwar urbanism. As such, their critique
took the form of inflatable structures, which they viewed as playful contrasts to the rational and
economic workings of conventional practice. The concept of space was both theoretical and
practical in the work of Utopie. As a theoretical notion, it was implicated in their conversations
on politics of architecture and everyday life. As a physical entity, it found place in their
pneumatic designs. After May 1968, they even started promoting these structures in publications.
However, theirs was a short-lived group. Exactly a year later, in May 1969, the three architects
stopped any further publishing, abandoned their pneumatic ideas, and returned to more
traditional modes of practice and teaching. The demise of the group could be attributed to the
attack on "experimental architecture" from one their own members, Jean Baudrillard, and to the
perception that the group was advancing towards "utopian academicism," which removed them
from the very everyday life they wished to change.

In the following decade, the modernist architects' interest in space and everyday life took a
crucial turn away from the radical experimentations of the late 1960s. The 1970s experienced a
shift towards linguistic models, first in the formal advocacy of semiological meaning in the work
of Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, and subsequently in a critical

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[125] Thomas A. Dutton and Lian Hurst Mann, *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices*,
Pedagogy and Cultural Practice (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 203.
[126] Marc Dessauce and Architectural League of New York., *The Inflatable Moment: Pneumatics and Protest in '68*
(New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999).

resistance to linguistic analogies in the respective works of architect-theorist Bernard Tschumi and architectural morphologist Bill Hillier.

Published in 1972, Venturi and Scott Brown's seminal text *Learning from Las Vegas* brought together the findings of a series of academic studies on the "commercial vernacular" of the Vegas Strip at Yale University, beginning in 1968.[127] The first part of the book introduced the "new architecture" of a sprawling iconic landscape, of the automobile and the highway, of billboards and neon lights, of structures traditionally considered non-architectural in the academy. The second part of the book classified buildings into "ducks" and "decorated sheds," or those buildings whose form expressed what they were and those that used signage to express what they were, respectively. With this, they not only distinguished between "monumental" or "sacred" and "ordinary" or "profane" architecture, but also argued that the commercial signs and symbols of everyday spaces were "almost all right," that good architecture did not have to be all about form in space, that it could also embrace symbols in space.

Throughout, their critique was leveled at modernism's insistence upon the medium of space alone to communicate. They saw the Modernist rejection of "history, ornament, and denotative symbolism" as "irresponsible, empty, boring, and inappropriate," and viewed space as "the most tyrannical element in architecture." Their visually rich text, to some critics, implied an attempt to "evoke the everyday lived experience of the strip,"[128] while to others it was nothing more than a "deceitful document (that) allowed the spatial and structural economies of the International Style to be reproduced (even more economically) behind an inexpensive iconographic veneer."[129] Unlike the modernist architects of the late 1960s who worked towards producing radical social change, Venturi and Scott Brown argued for an acceptance of the reality as is.

In contrast to their anti-spatial rhetoric, Bernard Tschumi and Bill Hillier brought back questions of space relevant to the social project of architecture albeit in different ways. Two of Tschumi's earliest writings evidenced his interest in the social meaning of space. The first was an issue, "The Beaux-Arts since '68," which he co-wrote with Martin Pawley for Architectural

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[127] Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972).

[128] Ritu Bhatt, "Aesthetic or Anaesthetic: A Nelson Goodman Reading of the Las Vegas Strip" in Aron. Vinegar and Michael J. Golec, *Relearning from Las Vegas* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 19–30.

[129] Tony Ward, "The Suppression of the Social in Design: Architecture as War" in Dutton and Mann, *Reconstructing Architecture*, 53.

Design (AD) in 1971.[130] The second was an essay "The Environmental Trigger" that he prepared for a symposium at the Architectural Association School of Architecture (AA) in London in 1972, published in 1975.[131] The AD issue explained the significance of May '68 events for French architecture and architectural education. It reported Tschumi's fascination with the revolutionary promise of space. The Environmental Trigger discussed the potential of space to serve as an accelerator for social change. It analyzed if and how space could serve as a medium for social transformation.

In each of these writings, Tschumi, like the early modernists, was concerned with an approach to architecture that could change society. Using one mythical guerilla building in a derelict Parisian suburb as an example of successful rhetorical act, he concluded that for architectural space to have political and social outcome, specific signs to this effect were necessary. Tschumi argued that just as social groups of '68 catalyzed social change by revealing contradictions through rhetorical actions, for architecture to serve as a trigger for social change, it would be necessary to reveal contradictions specific to the nature of our discipline by subversive action. This implied putting architecture into crisis by focusing on the "disjunction" within the nature of the discipline between conceptual and empirical understandings of space.[132] In his theoretical work throughout the 70s, Tschumi used terms like "eroticism," "pleasure," "violence," and "transgression" as rhetorical lexicons to challenge prevalent spatial determinism and offer an alternative conception of the relation between space and society. However, it was not until his participation in the Parc de la Villette competition in 1982 and subsequent win in 1983 that his theoretical arguments began to take shape in concrete terms. Tschumi's design for Parc de la Villete in Paris was the first project that allowed him to apply his theory of space. It sought to combine—what he referred to as—the "pragmatics of building practice" with the "rigor of research" on space.

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[130] Tschumi, Bernard, and Martin Pawley. "The Beaux-Arts Since '68." Architectural Design, July 1971, p.565. In 1970, with Fernando Montes, Tschumi published Do-It-Yourself-City in the French periodical *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*. The project proposed to insert a series of devices into the built environment that would accelerate interactions between peoples, ideas, and places. It was Tschumi's first design program that aimed to generate new experiences through new modes of interaction. However, it was in Beaux-Arts that he first wrote about the politics of space. See also, Louis Martin, "Transpositions: On the Intellectual Origins of Tschumi's Architectural Theory," *Assemblage* no. 11 (April 1990): 23–35.

[131] Tschumi B. "The Environmental Trigger" in James Gowan, *A Continuing Experiment: Learning and Teaching at the Architectural Association* (London: Architectural Press, 1975).

[132] Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*.

In otherwise very different work, Bill Hillier in his theory of space syntax focused on the formal meaning of space and analytically described ways in which buildings and environments could be understood in terms of spatial "configurations." Hillier defined space as a configurational entity, a thing in itself, neither material nor abstract, but an intuitive relational "structure" exhibiting empirical characteristics.[133] He also explained that the relationship between space and society was an active one, that meaning space not only carried and reproduced existing social relations but configurations of space also reinvented new material conditions for daily life.

Tschumi criticized claims that architecture was pure language and that it involved an endless manipulation of the grammar and syntax of architectural sign.[134] Hillier was critical of borrowing concepts from other disciplines, particularly from linguistics in order to develop architectural discourse. He said such borrowing had reduced buildings to "objects" and architecture, to a passive form of knowledge. In his theory of space syntax, he approached buildings as spatial configurations with syntactic properties.[135]

Parallel explorations in architectures of everyday life during this time also included participatory models of design thinking and practice, most significantly in the seminal work of Belgian architect-writer Lucien Kroll. Sharing Lefebvre's critique of early modernist architecture and its reductive framing of social meaning in design, Lucien Kroll championed the role and meaning of user participation in architectural design. In 1969, students of the Catholic University of Medical School in Louvain approached him to design their accommodation. Influenced by protests in France the year before, they were eager to shape new ideas of collegiality on campus. They demanded an alternative to the design proposed by the University. Through subsequent meetings, conversation, and process-based sketches, Kroll explained his philosophy, "the relationship between people in a space that suits them—that is architecture." He added, "There are two ways of making (social) space. The first aims at a single predetermined objective. It is authoritarian, rational, and reductive. The other is a living process … about creation of

[133] Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

[134] Bernard Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994), 36.

[135] Bill Hillier, *Space Is the Machine: a Configurational Theory of Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

community."[136] Space, so he argued, should be designed according to the complexity of users' needs and from within the complexity of all such direct engagements.

I will be discussing the social themes and important influences in the work of Tschumi and Kroll in Chapter V. In the context of postwar social experimentation, I examine the extent to which Kroll's participatory practice and Tschumi's space-event-program theory embodied Lefebvre and the Situationist's view of space as a critical medium for social change.

Environmental Design Studies and Everyday Users

From within the realm of design theory and environment-behaviour studies, a generation of thinkers sought to address new and emerging postwar user needs by conducting positivist inquiries focused on user participation. The earliest advocates of participation came from a Design Methods background. Whilst the writing and teaching of systematic design methods began at Ulm in Germany in the 1950s,[137] it was only in 1962, at the inaugural "Conference on Design Method" at Imperial College in London that the field of Design Method research was officially launched.[138] Eighteen participants from a wide variety of design fields, including but not limited to, architecture, planning, engineering, and psychology convened for the first time to discuss and re-evaluate albeit in scientific terms, the creative process of design. The London conference, and subsequent meeting in Birmingham in 1965, aimed to develop the area that lay between traditional design approaches (based on intuition and experience) and new design methods (that involved the logical treatment of design problems towards more socially impactful solutions).[139]

In the words of Horst Rittel, one of the founders of this field, "The reason for the emergence of design methods in the late '50s and early '60s was the idea that the ways in which the large-scale NASA and military-type technological problems had been approached might profitably be

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[136] Cited in C. Richard. Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture*, Columns. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984), 166.
[137] The University at Ulm was originally established as a continuation of pre-war Bauhaus, with an eye to achieve an extreme form of functionalism in which architecture was viewed as industrialized building. See: Koos Bosma, Dorine van Hoogstraten, and Martijn Vos, *Housing for the Millions: John Habraken and the SAR (1960-2000)* (Rotterdam : New York, NY: NAI Publishers ; DAP/Distributed Art Publishers [distributor], 2000), 75.
[138] Nigel Cross, "Designerly Ways of Knowing: Design Discipline Versus Design Science," *Design Issues* 17, no. 3 (2001): 49.
[139] J. Christopher Jones and D. G. Thornley, *Conference on Design Methods; Papers.* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 53.

transferred into civilian or other design areas."[140] The significance of seeking a more rational and mathematical method for designing, in part, rested in the objective of aligning the discipline with science. More importantly, it lay in the need to address a perceived crisis between changes in technology and production mode on the one hand and emerging social needs on the other hand.

To this early generation of design researchers, the design method held very specific connotations. It implied the appropriate stating of problem as well as the application of computational methods, such as Operational Research (OR) models and systems theory in order to generate a more methodical framework for solving that problem.[141] The design researchers argued from within the positivist paradigm and endeavored to develop approaches that were analytically thorough. They broke down each problem into smaller solvable parts, and then recombined them into a linear synthesis solution. The sequence of activities involved understanding the problem, collecting information, analyzing information, and then synthesizing it. As such, they incorporated the question of "user" in logical terms as well, deriving solutions either from "user needs" or "user behavior."[142]

In their bias for all things empirical and quantifiable, the investigators reduced the user to observable patterns of her or his environmental actions. First, they observed and asked user groups for shared behaviors, characteristics of physical settings, and desired adjacencies. Then, they withdrew and analyzed data to create behavioral diagrams, matrices, and graphs. Finally, they transformed all data into usable design information and explicit design programs.[143] Following a fixed view of problem types and guided by a limited set of questions, however, they not only overlooked other possible environmental problems but also limited the breadth of final

[140] Rittel in an interview first published in Design Methods Group, *The DMG 5th Anniversary Report* (University of California, Department of Architecture, 1972), 5; and later reproduced in Nigel Cross, *Developments in Design Methodology* (Chichester: Wiley, 1984), 317. In the same interview, Rittel mentioned that within the span of a decade they realized that these early methods, drawn from the systems engineering techniques of military and space mission, were not wholly adequate to solve the problems specific to the field of planning and design.

[141] Cross, "Designerly Ways of Knowing."

[142] Jack L. Nasar, "Third Generation Design Methods" in Design Methods Group, Design Methods Institute, and Design Research Society, *Design Methods and Theories* (Design Methods Institute, 1980), 90. To Nasar, the early design methodologists departed from the traditional mode of designer as a pure form manipulator. He supported this claim with examples from two works: one, the early rational approach to user needs in Christopher Alexander's "Notes of the Synthesis of Form" (1964) and two, the systematic model of locating the interaction of human behavior and physical environment in Raymond G. Studer's "The dynamics of behavior-contingent physical system" (1967). Accordingly, "the relevance of the model to solving design problems is discussed and a strong stand is taken in favor of working with behaviorally oriented definitions of human needs and social organization rather than relying on topological solutions to design problems" as quoted in People and Buildings by Robert Gutman and Nathan Glazer.

[143] Henry Sanoff, *Methods of Architectural Programming*, Community Development Series; 29 (Stroudsburg, Pa.: Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross, 1976).

outcomes.[144] Additionally, by maintaining a strictly positivist view of the relationship between user behavior and physical space, they regarded all personal, social, and cultural factors that shape up a designer's identity as insignificant. Throughout, they maintained that there is no way to measure what goes on inside an individual's mind with validity. They viewed the designer as a "black box."[145]

Against the designer, the field of Design Method research created its own expert—"the methodologist," who served the role of an "information processor" placed between everyday users and design.[146] Such development came as a rude awakening for some members, particularly Chris Alexander and J.C. Jones, who then went on to openly criticize the movement for creating a specialist whose obsession with all things measurable had unfortunately severed links between people and their environments.

Influenced in part by the social and political climate of the late 60s and in part by the lack of success in the application of scientific methods to solve user-based design problems, both Alexander and Jones changed their perspectives radically, thereafter. Alexander departed from his position in *Notes on the Synthesis of Form* (1964) and realized the futility of performing extensive analyses to arrive at otherwise intuitive diagrams, in his words, "the uselessness of studying methods without doing and studying design."[147] Jones, on his part, embarked upon the investigation of new approaches that abandoned the step-by-step structure of early design methodology, and embraced the complexity of life through notions such as "chance" and "encounter."[148] In its ambition, such analysis shared connections with the modernists' efforts to

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[144] Nasar, "Third Generation Design Methods" in *Design Methods and Theories*, 90.

[145] Anthony Ward, "The Suppression of the Social in Design: Architecture as War" in Dutton and Mann, *Reconstructing Architecture*, 40. Ward argues against such "mechanistic conceptions" and states that the early methodologists "naively" viewed the designer as a "black box" whose inner life was unknowable but could be inferred by objective analysis of mathematical design outputs.

[146] Nasar, "Third Generation Design Methods" in Group, Institute, and Society, *Design Methods and Theories*, 90.

[147] Christopher Alexander, "The state of the art in design methods" DMG Newsletter Vol 5 No 3 (1971) in Design Methods Group and Design Research Society, *DMG-DRS Journal: Design Research and Methods* (J. Protzen, 1973), 133–135. In an interview with Max Jacobson, Alexander stated, "I've disassociated myself from the field … there is so little in what is called 'design methods' that has anything useful to say about how to design buildings that I never even read the literature anymore ... If the intent of the field actually had to do with making better buildings and better cities, I could get interested in it but as it is, I'm not. I no longer see my own work as part of it at all because I definitely *am* concerned with trying to make better buildings." The interview was reproduced in Developments in Design Methodology, pp. 309-316.

[148] J.C. Jones, "How my thoughts about design methods have changed during the years" in Design Methods Group, Design Research Society, and Design Methods Institute, *Design Methods and Theories* (Design Methods Institute, 1977), 48–62. The twin notions of "chance" and "encounter" suggested the "use of randomization procedures, which in turn, embodied a rational decision to let chance play a role in the process of design composition." For this note, see "The History of Design Methodology" in Cross, *Developments in Design Methodology*, 1984, 306. Despite their

expand functionalism in and through the notion of "flexibility." I will be discussing this in greater detail in the chapter on Lucien Kroll and his practice of creating flexible environments to facilitate diverse use and occupation.

Jones' contemporary, Horst Rittel too offered serious criticism of this methodological development. For him, the logical methods in general were not adequate for the "wicked problems" in planning and design thinking.[149] Rittel borrowed the phrase "wicked problem" from Karl Popper to distinguish between problems in the natural sciences, which can be solved in sequential steps logically, and those in the social sciences that can never be fully solved because they took place in multi-variant social and cultural contexts. He maintained that environmental problems involve a number of stakeholders and this renders them such complexity that they appear "vicious or tricky or difficult to tame, … and hence wicked." "Social problems," he added, "are never solved. At best they are only re-solved—over and over again."[150] On his part, he proposed a set of ten "taming" principles, all with an advocacy and participatory bent, for the next generation of planners and design methods researchers.[151] Since then, each of his principles—particularly, the "symmetry of ignorance"—has been criticized in light of more evolved understandings of the relationship between designer and inhabitants.[152]

The scientific-turn in design methodology was not without its own history. Nigel Cross traced the philosophical roots of Design Methods Movement to the modernist works of Theo van Doesburg, Le Corbusier, and Buckminster Fuller among others. [153] Doesburg's search for "an

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rejection of early design methods, both Alexander and Jones continued to adhere to the movement's underlying principle of looking at environmental problems objectively. While Alexander proceeded to work on "patterns," Jones gravitated continued the use of rational procedures in the name of randomization.

[149] Horst Rittel and Melvin M. Webber, "Planning Problems are Wicked Problems" in Cross, *Developments in Design Methodology*, 1984, 136.

[150] Horst Rittel and Melvin M. Webber, "Planning Problems are Wicked Problems" in ibid.

[151] Horst W. J. Rittel, *On the Planning Crisis: Systems Analysis of the "First and Second Generations".* (Institut für Grundlagen der Planung I.A., Universität Stuttgart, 1977). Rittel's ten principles were: 1. Symmetry of ignorance; 2. User participation; 3. The transparency of process; 4. The process of objectification; 5. No scientific planning; 6. A problem-helper, not solver; 7. The seasoned respectlessness attitude; 8. Moderate optimism; 9. Conspiracy of model planning; 10. Planning as argumentative process.

[152] Lars Lerup, *Building the Unfinished: Architecture and Human Action*, Sage Library of Social Research.v. 53 (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1977), 136. Lerup states, "In a 'symmetry of ignorance' between dweller and professional—neither knows the dweller's need. He also attributes the original reference of this phrase to Karl R. Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations; the Growth of Scientific Knowledge.* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1963), 29.

[153] Nigel Cross, "The Coming of Post-industrial Design," *Design Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 1981): 3; Cross, "Designerly Ways of Knowing," 1. Also See: Tom. Heath, *Method in Architecture* (Chichester [West Sussex] ; New York: Wiley, 1984), 13. Heath refers to Viollet-le-Duc's 19th century call for a "rational method" in architecture, a list of actions that must be performed to obtain a harmonious whole. This required "meticulous attention to the

objective system" for the production of the new object in modern times; Corbusier's notion of house as a "machine for living;" and Buckminster Fuller's espousing of "design science decade," all echoed the common desire among modernists and methodologists alike to produce design works based on objectivity and rationality, that is, "on the values of science."[154] On the one hand, the emerging mathematical orientation paralleled the ongoing technological developments and post-war demands for mass production. On the other hand, it brought back to notice the 1920s strain of scientism from within the Modern Movement. It is not surprising, then, that the formal principles of Modern Movement (re: functionalism) and those of the early Design Methods Movement (re: behaviorism), both came under attack in subsequent years. Arguing against privileged principles of scientific objectivity of the early 60s, practitioners and methodologists began to recognize that subjectivity and identity were integral to design. Specifically, those who changed their stance from within the Design Method Movement acknowledged that "issues of design" could no longer be separated from "issues of power."[155] The notion of power as shared design control in terms of wider user participation marked the birth of what Rittel referred to as the "second-generation" design researchers.[156]

Despite recurring criticism, the London and Birmingham conferences brought visibility to a core research group and helped found a new society called Design Research Society (DRS) in 1967 at the third conference on Design Methods in Portsmouth, UK. This was also the year when the Design Methods Group at the University of California at Berkeley got founded. Unlike the first two meetings, however, the Portsmouth Symposium went beyond the problematic issues identified in the early methods. Particularly, the participants and founding members turned their gaze to architectural and environmental matters (re: culture and society) and sought to develop methods centered on the question of user. In the words of Tony Ward, the co-chair of this meeting, "One of the pleasing aspects of the Symposium seemed to be the emergence of a very

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program of requirements, the selection of an appropriate method of construction, and the most judicious use of materials so as to produce a unity of expression."
[154] Cross, "The Coming of Post-industrial Design," 3.
[155] Ward, "The Suppression of the Social in Design" in Dutton and Mann, *Reconstructing Architecture*, 41.
[156] Horst Rittel and Melvin M. Webber, "Planning Problems are Wicked Problems" in Nigel. Cross, *Developments in Design Methodology* (Chichester ; New York: Wiley, 1984). In order to save the field of Design Methods from an untimely death, Rittel proposed the concept of "generations," following Kuhn's notion of "paradigms." Accordingly, he referred to the years between 1962 and 1969 the first generation of design methods, and said that a new second generation was about to emerge.

solid awareness of the (social) contribution that architects can make to the field."[157] To Geoffrey Broadbent, the conference triggered the spurning of the first generation design method experts: it brought scientists and behaviorists, such as Thomas Markus and Bruce Archer, Raymond Studer and Barry Poyner in direct confrontation with existentialists and Marxists, such as Janet Daley and Tony Ward himself.[158] Going by the conference proceedings, the friction between various man-environment positions was very much evident.

Talks by Markus and Archer continued the early design methodologists' preoccupation with linear problem solving through analysis, synthesis, and evaluation; whilst presentations of Studer and Poyner put emphasis on observing user behavior by empirical methods as well as on drawing objective conclusions from all such observations towards better designing.[159] In contrast, the contributions of Janet Daley and Tony Ward criticized the behaviorists for their exclusive reliance on "intelligent observations" to explain user-environment relations. Daley, in particular, argued against Boyner and Alexander's theory of deterministic environmental patterns for resolving "conflicts" between shared "human tendencies." Not only did she oppose the use of unclear terminology in their work but also the presupposition that everyone adapts to the environment in the same way.[160] Ward on his part reflected on the notion of environmental control and alluded to the principle of user participation in architecture as a way to make both the profession and the field of Design Method morally and politically more reflexive. He said, "We often accept the values of society as a starting point. At no time do we actually treat the user as our equal, as a designer in his own right. We never, for instance, ask the user what kinds of questions he would like to answer. We always give him questions, which we would want him to

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[157] Anthony Ward, "Introduction," 1968 in Geoffrey. Broadbent, Anthony Ward, and Portsmouth College of Technology, *Design Methods in Architecture.*, Architectural Association. Paper no. 4 (New York: G. Wittenborn, 1969), 11. In his introductory note on contribution, Ward referred to principles of participation as a means to dethrone the design methodologist-as-expert.

[158] Geoffrey Broadbent, "The Development of Design Methods – A Review" in Design Methods Group, Design Research Society, and Design Methods Institute, Design Methods and Theories (Design Methods Institute, 1979), 42.

[159] Thomas A. Markus, "The role of building performance measurement and appraisal in design method;" L. Bruce Archer, "The structure of the design process;" Raymond G. Studer, "The dynamics of behavior-contingent physical systems;" and Barry Poyner, "The evolution of environmental structures" in Broadbent, Ward, and Portsmouth College of Technology., *Design Methods in Architecture.*

[160] Ibid., 18. Also see, Janet Daley, "A philosophical critique of behaviorism in architectural design," 71-75.

answer. This reduces the user to a second-class citizen … and in turn, produces impersonal environmental solutions."[161]

The issue of impersonal spatial environments was taken up in 1968, when many Portsmouth participants gathered again at MIT for the First International Design Methods Conference. The main thrust of this event was to broaden the discussion of user inclusion in design. Addressing a wide range of environmental problems from architecture and planning to transportation, the conveners of the program maintained, however, that all design fields shared similar underlying processes; hence, all new and ongoing research on design methods should be compared and discussed simultaneously. Yet again, Tony Ward among others expressed his immense dissatisfaction with the conference's underlying premise that processes and products of design were independent of each other. He said, "Of the 20-odd speakers at the Conference none seemed remotely interested in the real world of people they were supposed to be designing for."[162] Drawing from Ronald Laing's work in psychiatry,[163] he maintained that "the logical act of designing an environment for another human being remained qualitatively different from the logical act of designing a machine part, because it involved an element of 'reciprocating choice' between the designer and the Other."[164]

In partial response to this, Ward and a few others including Henry Sanoff, Gary Moore, and J.C. Jones founded a separate organization at the end of MIT Conference. Committed to addressing reciprocal concerns in environmental design research, they named it Environmental Design Research Association (EDRA). EDRA sought to create a union between design science and participation research by enlarging the breadth of environmental design and adding social and behavioral scientists to the group. John Archer, one of the founders of this organization, described EDRA as a unit of "inclusive images," which would encompass behavior and the

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[161] Anthony Ward, "Rightness and wrongness in physical environment" in Ibid., 172. Equally critical of objective determinations were paper presentations by Amos Rapoport and J.C. Jones. Rapoport drew attention to the role and meaning of non-measurable values such as emotions and judgment in design process. He emphasized the impact of cultural experience on designer's ability to perceive the environment. Jones spoke against the two commonly held views of designer: designer as a genius magician or a "black-box" whose inner world can never be known, and designer as a logical "glass box," who follows a planned sequence of analysis, synthesis, and evaluation to make both design method and design criteria external for review and revision. See, Amos Rapoport, "Facts and Models," 136-146 and J. Christopher Jones, "The state-of-the-art in design methods," 193-197.
[162] Anthony Ward, "Introduction" in ibid., 12.
[163] R. D. Laing, *The Divided Self; a Study of Sanity and Madness.*, Studies in Existential Analysis and Phenomenology. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960); R. D. Laing, *The Politics of Experience.* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967).
[164] Anthony Ward, "Introduction" in Broadbent, Ward, and Portsmouth College of Technology., *Design Methods in Architecture.*, 12–13.

environment, or a holistic vision of the environment.[165] At the heart of EDRA, commented Sanoff, is an understanding of environment as "a complex adaptive or internally as well as externally open system."[166] Adaptability and indeterminacy were significant tropes in the work of radical modernists of the 1960s as well. In very many ways, both trajectories were translating and giving form to similar aspirations. In order to ensure that the system remained opened for cross-disciplinary dialogue, the founding members placed emphasis on the role and meaning of reciprocation and communication in community building: communication not just between various specializations but also between designers and users.

All three events—the Portsmouth Symposium of 1967, the MIT Conference of 1968, and the EDRA1 Chapel Hill Meeting of 1969—explored to varying degrees of success, the notion of user participation through social science methods. Broadly, the contributors sought to develop well-defined theoretical models and research designs in order to re-orient design methodology towards optimal man-environment relations. Specifically, they focused on generating new social and behavioral knowledge by making design transparent and discussing ways to make the design process both relevant and open for laity to participate with ease.

In 1971, however, a different group came together at the International "Design Participation" Symposium in Manchester to re-examine approaches of user participation in design. The meeting, sponsored by Design Research Society (DRS), brought known researchers like J.C. Jones and Nicolas Negroponte who had previously presented at the MIT conference, together with new faces such as Bill Mitchell, Yona Friedman, T.A. Markus, and Charles Eastman among others. In his contribution to the conference, the event co-convener Nigel Cross acknowledged the need for design fields to respond to the growing concerns of those traditionally at the receiving end of any development: "the layman."[167] The aim of the conference was to establish a community of design researchers concerned with social issues and to provide a necessary "methodological reorientation … possibly through citizen participation."[168] The Manchester meeting discussed the notion of participation in a number of ways, from advocacy mechanism in

[165] Henry Sanoff and Sydney Cohen, "Preface" in Environmental Design Research Association., Architect-Researcher's Conference., and Environmental Design Research Conference., *EDRA; Proceedings of the Annual Environmental Design Research Association Conference.* ([Raleigh, N.C.], 1969), V.
[166] Ibid., VI.
[167] Nigel Cross, "Here Comes Everyman" in Nigel. Cross and Design Research Society., *Design Participation: Proceedings of the Design Research Society's Conference, Manchester, September 1971* ([London,]: Academy Editions, 1972), 11.
[168] Nigel Cross, "Here Comes Everyman" in ibid.

planning practice and issues of control in adaptable environments to computer-aided design methods and a re-examination of the notion of design expertise. Each of these positions was clarified using a mix of diagrams, flow charts, graphs, and/or simulation models, in other words, all "technically-determined ideologies" that endeavored to make the design process easy to follow and to participate in fully.[169]

The proceedings of these meetings jointly constitute a significant documentation of second-generation design methods literature. Most of them involved participatory design frameworks to help bridge the gap between the designer and the user. However, as Jeremy Till notes, it is difficult to identify much of what is now perceived of as participation within this record.[170] First, the contributions emphasizing user participation left significant political controls out of the conversation. At the Design Participation Conference, Nigel Cross said that the omission of political aspects of design was deliberate, in that, in setting up the conference program he was looking for "examples of new technologies and new techniques which might be side-stepping conventional political controls." [171] He concluded, "That the conference seemingly had to come around discussing politics, suggests that this may have been a fallacy."[172] Most researchers hoped to achieve user harmony by simply externalizing the design process. The need for a detailed and more sustained engagement with real political structure to help facilitate design decisions involving differing expectations and evolving conflictual interests was never considered. Rittel's claim that design is inherently political and that the designer must be an "activist," [173] in the end, remained just that.

Second, the design method group as a whole continued to place emphasis on explicating and demonstrating design process through logical diagrams and computer aids, in other words, focusing on developing a systematic method for designing successful design products rather than on conducting a critical examination of the design process itself. The shared assumption was that both technique and technology could liberate the user. This meant formulating newer ways to make design process open for increased user participation, but through technical means. As

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[169] Jeremy Till, "The negotiation of hope" in Peter. Blundell Jones, Doina. Petrescu, and Jeremy. Till, *Architecture and Participation* (New York: Spon Press, 2005), 28.
[170] Jeremy Till, "The negotiation of hope" in ibid., 24.
[171] Cross and Design Research Society., *Design Participation*, 14.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Horst W. J. Rittel (Interviewed by Donal P. Grant and Jean-Peirre Protzen), "Second-generation Design Methods" in Cross, *Developments in Design Methodology*, 326. Originally published in The DMG 5th Anniversary Report: DMG Occasional Paper No. 1 (1972), 5-10.

Cross remarked, "By making the design process more open and explicit, computers … open the way for a wider range of participants to contribute to the process."[174] The years between the late-60s and early-70s witnessed a significant rise in research involving computers and computer-aided design. At the MIT conference in 1968, half of the contributions were directly concerned with the use of computer aids.[175] Negroponte's Architecture Machine Group (1970) looked at the computer as a designer in its own right, with or without a human partner.[176] Bill Mitchell's paper at the Design Participation Conference of 1971 situated the role and meaning of participation in computer-based experiments.[177] In each of these cases, however, the limits and possibilities of participation remained determined by technology, and dependent on the degree and nature of user's access to that technology.

Finally, for the second-generation design methodologists, design remained an instrumental problem-solving exercise, guided by logic and methods of measurement. There was very little in these procedures that allowed for making new discoveries. J.C. Jones clarified, "To think of designing as 'problem-solving' is to use a rather dead metaphor for a lively process and to forget that design is not so much a matter of adjusting to the status quo as of realizing new possibilities and discovering our reactions to them."[178] Furthermore, the identification of a problem implied the existence of an expert. In his opening remarks at the Design Participation conference, Banham argued that the design methodologist was an expert professional for as long as the problem existed; in never seeing the problem fully solved, he insured his survival and guaranteed his authority and position of privilege over others.[179] Till points out that the problem with the problem is not just the way it leaves out any potential for new possibilities, but also the manner in which it suggests an "exclusionary act," quite antithetical to the ideals of social participation

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[174] Nigel Cross, *The Automated Architect*, Research in Planning and Design ; 4 (London: Pion, 1977), 123.

[175] Ibid., 24.

[176] Nicholas Negroponte, "Aspects of Living in an Architecture Machine" in Cross and Design Research Society., *Design Participation*, 63-67. Negroponte was part of the Architecture Machine Group at MIT founded in 1967. His understanding of participation, like computation, was one in which methods of designing are altered by an "emulating" agent: user in participation and machine in computation.

[177] William Mitchell, "Experiments with Participation-oriented Computer Systems" in ibid., 73–78.

[178] J. Christopher Jones, *Design Methods* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1992), xxix. This was a revision from his earlier view in "Design Method Reviewed" in Sydney A Gregory and University of Aston in Birmingham., *The Design Method* (London: Butterworths, 1966), 295–309, where he put emphasis on creating optimal relations between man and environment through systematic problem-finding and problem-solving.

[179] Reyner Banham, "Alternative Networks for the Alternative Culture?" in Cross and Design Research Society., *Design Participation*, 16.

in design.[180] Most researchers of Rittel's second-generation, despite their anti-expert stand, continued to engage users on terms defined by them. At best, they served as technical intermediaries, committed to retaining their authority whilst communicating a transparent design process and employing an argumentative position to resolve differences between various positions at each stage.[181]

If the Design Methods Movement and groups such as Design Research Society (1967) and EDRA (1968) provided an introductory record of participation-oriented scholarly undertakings in the 60s, the Community Architecture Movement in Britain and Advocacy Planning Movement in the United States outlined the early professional ambitions of user participation in the 70s. Nick Wates and Charles Knevitt's book, "Community Architecture" traced the first formal use of this term to the establishment of "Community Architecture Group" in 1976, under the auspices of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA).[182] The group's leader Rod Hackney and his self-help Black Road Area Improvement Project in Macclesfield served as a valuable point of reference for subsequent generations of community architecture enthusiasts.[183] In this iconic work, Hackney worked with neighborhood residents to form a Residents' Association and used his professional status as an architect to launch a campaign against the local council's decision to clear out the neighborhood. Under the 1969 Housing Act, Hackney was able to claim that the area was eligible for a general improvement grant, and qualified for upgrading rather than clearance.[184] Soon enough, he became the lead architect of the project and worked with tenants in the reconstruction of their property.

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[180] Jeremy Till, "The negotiation of hope" in Blundell Jones, Petrescu, and Till, *Architecture and Participation*, 36.
[181] It might be useful to return to Rittel's principle of "user participation," proposed to improve the methodology of design process where the expertise is distributed all over the participants such that nobody has any justification in claiming knowledge to be superior to anyone else's, communicating a transparent process to users, and adopting an argumentative structure wherein the act of designing consists of making up one's mind in favor of or against positions, in other words, sharing the risks and consequences with users. See: Horst Rittel, "Second-generation Design Methods" in Cross, *Developments in Design Methodology*, 1984, 324–325.
[182] Nick Wates and Charles Knevitt, *Community Architecture: How People Are Creating Their Own Environment* (London ; New York: Penguin, 1987), 32. According to Wates and Knevitt, the term "community architecture" was first used by Fred Pooley in "A mirror to architecture today: toward a community architecture" (inaugural address as RIBA President), RIBA Journal, December 1973. Then, they point out that the term "community architecture" with the meaning as espoused by them was first used by Charles Knevitt himself in "Community Architect, Mark 1 – Profile of Rod Hackney," BD, 11 July 1975.
[183] R. Hackney, "(b) The Black Road Improvement Area," *The Journal of the Royal Society for the Promotion of Health* 95, no. 1 (February 1, 1975): 41–45, doi:10.1177/146642407509500115.
[184] Paul Jenkins, Joanne Milner, and Tim Sharpe, "A brief historical review of community technical aid and community architecture" in Paul Jenkins and Leslie. Forsyth, *Architecture, Participation and Society* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2010), 31.

Wates and Knevitt described Hackney's role as exemplary in that it went beyond the workings of a "normal" architect who designs and supervises from distance. They referred to him as a "community architect" who engaged the actual residents in deciding the future of their neighbourhood. [185] To these architect-authors then, the community architecture movement embodied the *ideals* of democratic decision-making; it involved all concerned individuals in the shaping and management of their environment. The authors' emphasized that a community must have a say in every decision-making process of design. This helps the profession build and sustain a "pragmatic, humanitarian, and responsive" work ethic.[186] Throughout, Wates and Knevitt positioned "community architecture" in binary opposition to "normal" or "conventional architecture," in their words, "a totalitarian, technocratic, top-down … and impersonal" architecture.[187]

Despite inclusionary intentions the community architecture movement suffered from several limitations and internal inconsistencies. First, the movement claimed an apolitical stance, "beyond Left/Right politics … not rigidly pro or anti public or private ownership of land, public or private development agencies …"[188] This was despite the fact that its intellectual foundations were built using some of the most political voices of the time, namely those of Jane Jacobs, Robert Goodman, John Turner, and Colin Ward. Jacobs' "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" (1961) was at once social and political in its observation of everyday life and fight for the future of Greenwich Village;[189] Robert Goodman's "After the Planners" (1971) was deeply political in its criticism of advocacy planning and its unintended disempowering consequences;[190] John Turner's work on squatter housing and self-help development involved politics of land ownership and land management;[191] while Colin Ward's writings called the very act of user participation political because it involved redistribution of resources.[192] Such ambivalence, points out Till, could be attributed to the community architects' longing for a

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[185] Wates and Knevitt, *Community Architecture*, 73.
[186] Ibid., 25.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid., 21.
[189] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* ([New York]: Random House, 1961).
[190] Robert Goodman, *After the Planners.* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972).
[191] John F. C. Turner and Robert Fichter, *Freedom to Build; Dweller Control of the Housing Process.* (New York: Macmillan, 1972); John F. C. Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).
[192] Jeremy Till, "Architecture of the Impure Community" in Jonathan Hill, *Occupying Architecture: Between the Architect and the User* (London: Routledge, 1998), 66; Colin Ward, *Tenants Take Over* (London: Architectural Press, 1974); Colin Ward, *Housing: An Anarchist Approach* (London: Freedom Press, 1976).

politics of "consensus," where a middle position is taken—not rigidly this or that—so as not to offend left or right views.[193] And if that were not enough, the eventual sanctioning of their mode of practice by none other than the Prince of Wales brought to fore the movement's ultimate political leanings.

Second, the community architects asserted that they played the role of enablers and local facilitators, competent enough to manipulate the design process in favor of user groups. They believed that working with people facilitated better use and management of resources and fostered healthy ties with all partners, including politicians, bureaucrats, and the community. On this, they set themselves apart from conventional architects, whom they saw as "elitist, remote, and inaccessible experts," exclusively in service of landowners and developers.[194] As such, they denounced conventions of common practice and sought to build equal partnerships involving methods to educate people to solve their own problems.[195] These seemingly innocuous intentions have since been criticized because of their neutralizing consequences, lacking in creative potential to bring about any transformation at all. The philosopher, Gillian Rose for example, notes that in community architecture movement while the (conventional) architect is demoted, the people do not accede to power either. In relinquishing power, the community architect also relinquished her or his knowledge (Till). The community architect, in some respects, was quite like a second-generation design methodologist operating on the principle of "symmetry of ignorance." The architect and environmental psychologist, Linda Groat takes this point further when she says that in such circumstances, the architect simply becomes the device by which a community group's building needs are realized, but not transformed.[196] The architect's effort to empower the user actually leaves neither the architect nor the community empowered.

Finally, and along similar lines, the members and supporters of this movement were unabashed in their dogmatic opposition to the principles of modern architecture, in their words, conventional architecture.[197] In a two-page spread, Wates and Knevitt contrasted community architecture with conventional practice in strict oppositional terms. This included notions such as

[193] Jeremy Till, "Architecture of Impure Community" in Hill, *Occupying Architecture*, 67.
[194] Wates and Knevitt, *Community Architecture*, 24.
[195] Ibid., 20–21.
[196] Linda N. Groat, "Architecture's Resistance to Diversity: A Matter of Theory as Much as Practice," *Journal of Architectural Education (1984-)* 47, no. 1 (September 1, 1993): 3–10, doi:10.2307/1425223.
[197] Wates and Knevitt, *Community Architecture*, 157. Some lofty proclamations: "the ghosts of the degenerate inheritors of the Modern Movement in architecture and planning—whose paternalistic, technocratic, and dehumanizing influence for the last fifty years has made it the single most disastrous episode in the whole history of the built environment—can finally be laid to rest."

active users-passive recipients; 'one of us' versus 'one of them;' multiple use versus single use; unselfconscious about style versus fashionable style; flexible versus fixed, and bottom-up versus top-down. [198] The problem with binary oppositions is that it privileges one concept over the other and in turn, destroys the possibility of discussing their relationship any differently. Also, as Till suggests, it leaves each term intact, altering none.[199]

If the Community Architecture Movement in Britain started conversations about inclusivity and democratic participation in practice, the Advocacy Planning Movement in America tried to formalize this ideal by demanding the creation of several *plans*, each of which took the interests of various groups into consideration.[200] The first model of advocacy planning came into being with the publication of Paul Davidoff's 1965 article entitled, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning."[201] Davidoff worked with poorer communities in Philadelphia and New York, and experienced a sense of disconnect between specific social and economic problems of minority groups and then prevalent rational and comprehensive planning proposals. He sought to make planning mechanisms more inclusive by extending representation to those traditionally excluded in society. Specifically, he asked planners to actively participate in the political arena and consider not just the material but also the social and economic aspects of built environment. Throughout, Davidoff argued against the notion of planner-as-technocrat working for public planning agencies; instead, he proposed the role of planner as an "advocate," an effective voice for the underrepresented classes. It was in the representation of many that he rested his argument for pluralism in planning.

Despite noble prescriptions, Davidoff's advocacy model came under severe criticism from several quarters within design practice, most notably in Robert Goodman's 1972 publication, "After the Planners."[202] Goodman acknowledged Davidoff's aspiration for an "effective urban democracy," but also pointed out that the model did little to transform the status quo. Goodman called planners and architects "soft cops" for employing dominant codes through drawings,

[198] Ibid., 24–25.

[199] Jeremy Till, "The negotiation of hope" in Peter. Blundell Jones, Doina. Petrescu, and Jeremy. Till, *Architecture and Participation* (New York: Spon Press, 2005).

[200] Walter L. Schoenwandt, *Planning in Crisis?: Theoretical Orientations for Architecture and Planning* (Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

[201] Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31, no. 4 (1965): 331–338. Jane Jacobs' The Death and Life of Great American Cities is often associated with early concepts of advocacy planning.

[202] Goodman, *After the Planners.*

programs, and buildings.[203] As planners themselves were subjects of government control, their attempts to incorporate the disadvantaged could never bring about the desired redistribution of power and resources. Others added that despite their social motivations, it became evident that individual preferences and political agenda ultimately shaped the planning problem and its final resolution. As such, advocacy planners functioned more as manipulation-planners, altering just those aspects of the problem that would yield profitable results. Eventually, they became more interested in their own careers rather than following through the wishes and needs of the community that they were representing.[204] Finally, as Schonwandt notes, the biggest problem with Davidoff's model was that it did not provide any concrete mechanism to dissolve the actual disputes that arise between different interest groups.[205] The notion of pluralism involving divergent expectations and conflictual exchanges remained ill defined.

Over the course of time, however, proponents of advocacy planning developed new models to overcome the shortcomings in Davidoff's proposition. The 1970s witnessed the emergence of Neo-Marxist ideology of planning, especially in Europe. Although primarily theoretical, this view argued against planning practice and called it deceptive—in the service of capital—and incapable of altering the "use-value" of any setting. In the realm of pragmatic practice, others sought an appropriate space for debating the political agenda. American planners such as Norman Krumholz and Robert Mier advocated for social equity by holding active positions within the city administration, and not from a theoretical standpoint alone. They saw themselves making effective changes by debating official policy as experts in that arena. Still others' saw value in John Friedmann's 1973 publication "Retracking America" and shifted focus from regulation to communication. This eventually led to the model of planning as "Transactive" or "Communicative." Finally, there were those who distanced themselves from the model of advocacy planning completely and practiced "Radical Planning." In this, they relinquished their professional status as planners and worked outside planning administrations, in complete opposition to governmental organizations or economic interests or both.[206]

A wide range of concurrent social advocacy work in architecture was perhaps best demonstrated in Richard Hatch's 1984 publication, "The Scope of Social Architecture."

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[203] Introduction, ibid., 13.
[204] Schoenwandt, *Planning in Crisis?*, 8–9; Schoenwandt quotes Lisa R. Peattie, "Reflections on Advocacy Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 34, no. 2 (1968): 80–88.
[205] Schoenwandt, *Planning in Crisis?*, 9.
[206] For a complete overview of each of these modes of planning, see: Schoenwandt, *Planning in Crisis?*.

Published to serve as a guide for practice, *The Scope* contained many examples of then advocacy practices—a total of twenty-six built works of varying scales and complexities—from self-help SAR-inspired projects to works exploring the relationship between architecture and community to ideas involving citizens in the design of their districts. All published works remained committed to exploring architecture's social responsibility. With the exception of Yona Friedman and Lucien Kroll, however, none of the practitioners featured in the book kept the discussion on the active nature of space alive. For his project *Lycee David* in Angers, France (1980), Friedman explored the notion of space-as-communication and developed a language for effective communication between architect and user using aspects of graph theory. In his effort to design *Zone Sociale* at the Catholic University of Louvain Medical School campus in Belgium (1971), Kroll discussed the concept of space as a living process and experimented with how future users might be involved in producing their own environments. The book brought together voices of practitioners and critics, but left out accounts of real inhabitants. To some, it was an "arbitrary" collection of projects "lumped together" with little or no concern for wider social and contextual differences. For others, the book was a telling record of the life and death of social advocacy projects.[207] In some ways, the publication not only exhibited a wide scope of community architecture movement as described by Wates and Knevitt but also spoke to the notion of social architecture as introduced by the behavioral psychologist, Robert Sommer in the early 1980s.

Sommer's 1983 launch entitled, "Social Design: Creating Design With People in Mind" called for a new subfield within architecture and environmental design dedicated to the needs of users, a method of design thinking and practice that combined participatory planning methods and social science concepts.[208] Quite like its "community architecture" counterpart in the UK, the movement argued for the inclusion of user needs and aspirations in the design process and sought to "correct the misfits between people and the built environment."[209] Sommer emphasized that issues of architectural form cannot be divorced from the lives of its occupants, and that the

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[207] Anthony Ward, "The Suppression of the Social in Design" in Dutton and Mann, *Reconstructing Architecture*. Ward noted that many projects lost their vitality over time and some even ceased to survive despite initial excitement. He attributed this to the changing political atmosphere. All projects were collected before the arrival of Thatcher-Raegan-Bush governmental policies. Of the fifty-six (56) community centers listed in *The Scope*, only the "Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development" continued doing transformative urban development work in the South Bronx and other areas of New York.

[208] Robert Sommer, *Social Design: Creating Buildings with People in Mind* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1983).

[209] Ibid., 10.

inclusion of occupant needs should be architecture's primary preoccupation. Unlike the community architecture development, however, it advocated for a liaison between architecture and environmental behavior, and outlined specific skills including but not limited to training in methods to determine how people are affected by the built environment, in techniques for involving users in planning decisions, and in communication skills to address different cultural and contextual backgrounds among others. Quite like a participatory planner then, the social designer was expected to "let go" of her expertise in order to connect her training to the everyday knowledge of users. Throughout, Sommer's goal was to develop a theoretical framework that helped organize and guide the ongoing efforts of social designers.

Conclusion

By means of a historical overview of two decades, 1962 to 1982, I outlined a range of positions that shaped the wider climate of social experimentation within architecture and environmental design. In order to return to core concerns of space and society, however, I would like to conclude this chapter with what I view as a common set of concerns and questions important to the trajectories of architectural modernism and environmental design research discussed thus far.

Questions of social life - Whereas a group of international avant-garde architects incorporated social concerns in the notion of everyday life, those from within environmental design research either reduced it to a source of information or contained it in the notion of community. However divergent their translations of social life may have been, architects and methodologists shared a common interest in learning from existing environments. In the first mode, anthropological observations and sociological studies of everyday life became central to the revisionist experiments. Together, they helped define modernism's "socio-political orientation."[210] In its parallel mode, user-focused methodologies reinstated the value of everyday experiences in environmental design. The design methodologists focused on the relationship between "expert analyst" and "naïve public." Such sustained emphasis on user needs informed the directions and attitudes of various research groups, primarily in Britain, and their attempts to

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[210] George Baird, "1968 and its aftermath: the loss of moral confidence in architectural practice and education" in Saunders and Rowe, *Reflections on Architectural Practices in the Nineties*, 66.

employ a systematic methodology to advance a participatory theory of design. Both trajectories sought to critically redeem functionalism from its "deterministic excess"[211] by incorporating questions of social life *as is* and more directly into the principles of architectural design.

Questions of space – In an increasingly political context, both trajectories approached the question of neutrality of physical space. On the one hand, radical architects either advocated for political values of space or claimed just the opposite, that is, space cannot achieve social goals - it has no political meaning. In either stance, they offered a critique of society by explicitly problematizing space and discussing its limits and potentials for social reform. On the other hand, design researchers from within a design-as-positivist science paradigm aligned themselves with tenets of environmental psychology, social phenomenology and existentialism. They challenged the determinism and apolitical attitude of scientific design theories, and enlarged the role and meaning of "the expert" to accommodate participation of wider individuals. Throughout, these researchers did not revise the category of space itself, but raised questions on how it could be shaped in relation to politics of participation. In professional practice, the analysis phase of participatory design methods, for example, initiated the concept of architectural programming, and later gave rise to the field of post occupancy evaluation (POE). Whilst the positivistic basis of such evaluation has since been criticized in light of more inter-subjective understandings of place, they continue to hold relevance in some quarters of contemporary environmental design research.[212]

Rather than setting up radical experimentations of modernism in opposition to participatory orientations of environmental design, this chapter has analyzed their respective foci and shared tendencies. For many architects, the collaboration with social scientists, and particularly the behavioral scientists, also suggested new ways of thinking about modernity, or "what a Modern architecture might be."[213] In Chapter V, I will examine the practices of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi in this light. Specifically, I will discuss their reformulations of social life as well as their views on architectural agency - ambitions that were inherent in the trajectories of both architectural modernism and environmental design research.

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[211] Forty, *Words and Buildings*, 142.

[212] Anthony Ward, "The Suppression of the Social in Design" in Dutton and Mann, *Reconstructing Architecture*, 39. Ward directs attention to the positivist principles of both "programming" and "post occupancy evaluation" and says that like other forms of analysis, these fields continued to strip design from its historical and ideological complexities.

[213] Dell Upton, "Architecture in Everyday Life," *New Literary History* 33, no. 4 (2002): 708.

CHAPTER IV

Logical Argumentation and Case Study Strategies: Two-Phase Combined Research Design

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to investigate the connections between theoretical formulations of Henri Lefebvre and the architectural practices of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi. More specifically, the dissertation examines the extent to which the seminal writings and built works of Kroll and Tschumi articulate Lefebvre's conceptualization of the social production of space. This project involves two interrelated inquiries: 1) a critical examination of the definitions of space in the works of Lefebvre, Kroll, and Tschumi, and 2) an empirical evaluation of the intentions and lived experiences of Kroll's Medical Student Housing and Tschumi's Parc de la Villette against Lefebvre's spatial framework. In order to address the whole scope of relationships, a combination of research strategies is necessary. This chapter will discuss the overall methodological framework and describe in detail the two-phase combined research strategies and corresponding investigative tactics used in my dissertation. The next three chapters will examine each set of research questions and their related strategies in detail. However, before proceeding to this discussion, I will define the terms and concepts employed throughout these chapters.

In their seminal book *Architectural Research Methods*,[214] Linda Groat and David Wang distinguish between the broader structure of research study and the techniques used for carrying out that study. The authors refer to the former as a strategy and the latter as tactics. Strategy implies a general research plan and the overall process of research inquiry; tactics entail specific techniques used for realizing that plan, including instruments employed for data collection and

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[214] Linda N. Groat and David. Wang, *Architectural Research Methods* (New York: J. Wiley, 2002). Also see: Linda N. Groat and David Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2nd ed. (Wiley, 2013).

data analysis. The conceptual difference between strategy and tactics is widely recognized within the fields of architecture and environmental design research. However, Groat and Wang's approach has added value for this dissertation because they explain these two operations as interconnected levels of research, responding to a common set of questions, and embedded within a larger framework of systems of inquiry. This allows strategy and tactics to be viewed as interrelated processes, rather than separate products, of a research investigation.[215]

In their model, Groat and Wang describe systems of inquiry as "broad assumptions about the nature of reality, knowledge, and being."[216] The authors' emphasize that strategies and tactics are framed by distinct systems of inquiry, whether explicitly stated or not. With this, they offer clarity in distinguishing between individual procedural operations, otherwise mixed up in various research methodologies.[217]

This chapter uses the terminology and methodological framework of Groat and Wang. By focusing on Kroll's and Tschumi's design intentions as well as local inhabitant's experiences of their respective projects, including how these divergent stories connect with Lefebvre's theory of space, the overall project follows the authors' use of "intersubjective" system of inquiry, one that assumes that a given setting can be known intersubjectively through socio-cultural engagement.[218] Based on the research questions identified in Chapter I as well as the discussion of interdisciplinary contexts carried through in Chapters II and III, this dissertation establishes the overall strategy as integrating logical argumentation and case study strategies in a two-phase combined research design.

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[215] Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2013. There are two components to this valuable addition. Firstly, following the American behavioral scientist, Abraham Kaplan's classic work *The Conduct of Inquiry*, the authors' discuss strategy and tactics as processes of a research investigation (see: Abraham Kaplan, *The Conduct of Inquiry; Methodology for Behavioral Science.*, Chandler Publications in Anthropology and Sociology (San Francisco: Chandler Pub. Co., 1964). This view encourages the researcher to consider tactics in relation to a given strategy and in response to a given research question. Here, Groat and Wang highlight the importance of an investigator's research question in shaping their choice of tactics within a particular research strategy. Secondly, the authors frame the distinction between strategy and tactics by broader systems of inquiry and schools of thought. Their suggested heuristic involving four concentric frames—system of inquiry, school of thought, strategy, and tactics—emphasizes continuity between all levels of research methodology. Throughout, Groat and Wang maintain that even though their proposed procedural levels may not predetermine the choice among a range of strategies or tactics, there should be a consistent logic within the overall system.

[216] Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2013, 9.

[217] Ibid., 11. The authors' draw attention to instances where someone claiming to be doing a phenomenological or experimental study may in fact be confusing a distinct school of thought (phenomenology) or a strategy (experimental) for a methodological tactic.

[218] Ibid., 78.

Two-Phase Combined Research Strategy: Logical Argumentation (Phase One) and Case Study Research with Qualitative Tactics (Phase Two)

The combined research model integrates multiple research strategies that speak to complementary research questions. Furthermore, the framework combines distinct methodological tactics within each of those strategies, including but not limited to, qualitative and quantitative techniques. Most research methodologists tend to discuss the combination of methods at the level of tactics and in terms of these two techniques alone. However, any such exclusive emphasis on qualitative and quantitative tactics might limit the scope and potential of research frameworks within fields such as architecture and environmental design research.[219] Going beyond the qualitative-quantitative divide, I locate the discussion of combined methods in my dissertation at the level of strategy.

My dissertation joins logical argumentation and case study strategy in a two-phase combined research design.[220] The elected strategy responds to the following sets of questions: 1) How do Henri Lefebvre, Lucien Kroll, and Bernard Tschumi define space and discuss its relationship to society? 2) How do Kroll's and Tschumi's work embody the ideas of Henri Lefebvre in built form? The logical argumentation approaches the question of how each of the theorists under study define space and discuss the relationship between society and space, whilst the case study research strategy—with multiple qualitative tactics—examines the ways in which Kroll and Tschumi's chosen projects embody Lefebvre's critical spatial framework. In order to clarify the terms and concepts used by the respective theorists, the two-phase research design places logical argumentation before the case study research phase. Both phases, however, remain linked by the writings and ideas of all three spatial theorists.

The table below summarizes the overall research framework combining logical argumentation and case study strategies. The research questions shape the choice of investigative tactics within each strategy.

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[219] Groat and Wang note, "Given that environmental design research necessarily addresses the complicated dynamics of physical settings, purposive actions, and interpretations of meaning over time, many studies are likely to encompass a broader range of research designs than in other fields or disciplines." Ibid., 443.

[220] The phased approach in my research investigation follows the writings of John Creswell, who described three models of integrative research designs: 1) the two-phase approach; 2) the dominant-less dominant design; and 3) the mixed methodology design. A two-phase approach involves conducting a study in two distinct and separate phases such that the researcher is able to present the procedures and paradigmatic basis of each phase, thoroughly. See: John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1994), 177–190. See also: Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2013, 443-447.

Overall Research Framework	Research Strategies	Research Questions	Investigative Tactics
A Two-Phase Combined Research Design	**Phase One: Logical Argumentation**	How do Lucien Kroll, Bernard Tschumi, and Henri Lefebvre define space and discuss its relationship to society?	A narrative structure of analysis involving primary writings and translated works
	Phase Two: Case Studies with Qualitative Tactics	How do the selected works of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi embody Henri Lefebvre's understanding of social space in built form?	Physical trace and naturalistic observations on site
			Semi-structured interviews with specialists of each project and critical review of project-specific literature
			Mapping exercise and interactive questionnaire with local inhabitants

Relating Research Questions, Strategies, and Tactics

Phase One: Logical Argumentation Research Strategy

Logical argumentation is a rhetorical strategy by way of which the otherwise disparate and previously unknown logical conceptual systems are systematically and rationally framed and interconnected into a single explanatory system.[221] The objective of logical argumentation

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[221] Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2002, 301–302. The authors argue that logical argumentation is implicit in various modes of research and writing. For example, the convention that "correlation" does not imply

strategy is to build broad explanatory theories.[222] My research employs logical argumentation to frame the theories of Lucien Kroll, Bernard Tschumi, and Henri Lefebvre in terms of the concepts central to this dissertation—space and society—as well as the relationship between them. First, the argumentation introduces Lucien Kroll's architecture of community participation and Bernard Tschumi's architecture of event space. Then it approaches the primary research question—How do Lucien Kroll, Bernard Tschumi, and Henri Lefebvre define space—by methodically analyzing it in three parts: 1) How do Kroll, Tschumi, and Lefebvre approach modernist conceptions of space? 2) How do they address the limitations and potentials of this view? And 3) How do they define the relationship between society and space? Each part speaks to the parent question by comparing and interconnecting three approaches into a multi-variant explanatory system on space. On this, every segment begins by studying Kroll and Tschumi's theories of space. The implications of their arguments are then compared to Lefebvre's formulation of social space. Against Kroll and Tschumi's normative intent, Lefebvre's analytical argument is employed as a critical, but consistent and shared philosophical referent.

The tactics for this phase of research entailed a critical review of published materials on questions of space by Kroll, Tschumi, and Lefebvre. For the two architects, in particular, the tactics involved studying writings that were closer in time to their respective built projects.

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causality is a logical argument that works against using correlation to infer a direct causal relation between variables of the researcher's choice. The argument draws its logical coherence from the fact that the researcher employs real-world variables - which may be characteristics of "physical features, of people, of activities or of meanings" (p.209) and which are assumed to impact the socio-physical setting under study. Similarly, qualitative research also uses a logic but one, which is not constructed to follow preset notions (for example: Grounded Theory). The researcher allows the theory to emerge from the data instead – analyzed and strung together in a logical order.

[222] Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2013, 379. The authors identify a range of explanatory systems along a three-part typological spectrum comprising mathematical/formal, mathematical/cultural, and cultural/discursive frameworks—in the order from being based entirely on mathematical rules to being largely discursive and deriving coherence from the cultural worldviews in which they remain embedded. Ibid., 385; Also see: Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2002, 302–303. Mathematical/Formal systems like "Shape Grammar" (March and Stiny, 1985) argue for a syntactic rationale in space organization and express it in a mathematical language with the aid of computer; Mathematical/Cultural systems like "Space Syntax" (Hillier and Hanson, 1984) use rule-based propositions to analyze space and form and produce data which is also representative of socio-cultural values; and Cultural/Discursive systems like David Wang's (1997) unpublished dissertation on "Cognitive-Aesthetic Theory of Dwelling: Anchoring the Discourse on the Concept of Dwelling in Kant's Critique of Judgment" attempt to distill a worldview into a logical argument such that the theoretical clarity in the outcome sheds light on new ways to comprehend a facet of human interaction with the built environment. Examples of what the authors describe as "design-polemical theories" reside in the cultural/discursive typology. Design-polemical theories are those whose "persuasive force" resides in polemics, that is, in a designer's ability to express a conviction for their work and ultimately influence design thinking and practice on a wider scale. OMA's theory of "Bigness" is an example of design-polemics. Groat and Wang state that inquiries into the strengths and limitations of such theories as manifested in built form and lived experiences are relatively underexplored areas in architectural research. Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2013, 116–122.

Lucien Kroll's Medical Student Housing Complex in Woluwé-Saint-Lambert, Brussels was realized between 1969 and 1975, and then again, between 1979 and 1982. His writings on space and participatory architecture soon followed the building of La Mémé in 1972—the first residential unit on campus and one of the two case studies of this investigation. Bernard Tschumi's Parc de la Villette in Paris was conceived of as a competition entry in 1982 and its various features were completed in 1998. Tschumi's writings on space and program, however, both preceded his winning proposal for the competition and continued through much of the park's construction in the 1980s. Henri Lefebvre's theory of social space, in comparison, was developed between 1968 and 1974. His prolific work not only included books and articles, but also involved exchanges with architects and planners.

For the purposes of this research, I selected Lucien Kroll's accounts of La Mémé in the publications between 1975 and 1987; his critique of conventional architectural practice in the articles written between 1983 and 1988; as well as his notes on participatory process released in 1987. On Bernard Tschumi's theoretical work, I referred to his essays on space written in 1975 and 1976; on architectural program written between 1981 and 1983; and on the theory of architecture and disjunction written between 1984 and 1991. I also looked at Tschumi's early writings on urban life and politics of space published between 1970 and 1972. Finally, on Lefebvre's theory, I looked at the English translations of his seminal works on space, originally written and published in French between 1968 and 1974. Throughout, a critical appraisal of each theorist's work in a comparative framework and with respect to the research question helped articulate unexplained ideas and contradictions in their individual claims. My tactic was to systematically synthesize distinct arguments and understandings of the relationship between space and society, and provide a thorough review of their respective formulations of social space.

Whether a research approach implicitly employs logical coherence or whether it explicitly outlines a logical argumentation strategy, the logic to frame the conceptual system would always need to be evaluated against accuracy. Groat and Wang point out, "Internal logical consistency does not guarantee accurate explanatory power."[223] It is only in testing the proposed theoretical proposition, can the claims of a theory be verified or rejected. This condition helped identify the second phase of research design: the case study strategy. The case study methodology offered a valuable parallel to the reality as suggested by the overall logical system. Through fieldwork, the

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[223] Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2002, 334.

dissertation focused on the lived experiences of theories under discussion and sought to make a different kind of sense of that same reality.

Phase Two: Case Study Research Strategy

A case study research is defined as an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon or setting, both historic and contemporary.[224] In *Architectural Research Methods*, Groat and Wang identify the following five characteristics of case study research strategy: 1) a focus on studying cases in their real-life contexts; 2) the capacity for research design to explain causal links; 3) a potential for theory development; 4) the use of multiple sources of evidence for triangulation; and 5) the ability to generalize to theory. My choice of case study research strategy speaks to each of the aforementioned conditions. Firstly, the dissertation examines Lucien Kroll's La Mémé and Bernard Tschumi's Parc de la Villette as settings situated in their real-life contexts, both historical and present-day. Secondly, the project seeks to explore ways in which Kroll's and Tschumi's distinct approaches embody Lefebvre's theoretical formulation of social space in built form. Thirdly, the research builds on Lefebvre's theory of space and uses his three "fields of space" as a framework for critical study. Fourthly, the fieldwork employs qualitative tactics to gather and make sense of multiple sources of evidence: documentary evidence in the form of writings and drawings; notes from interviews with architects and specialists; detailed observations of human activities on site; and recordings of local inhabitant's lived impressions in each study. Fifthly, the dissertation develops Lefebvre's theory in directions useful for architecture.

One of the other well-regarded authorities of research methodology, Robert K. Yin, has consistently emphasized that a case study research strategy is particularly suited for "how" and "why" questions.[225] In his seminal book *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* he said, "*How* and *why* questions are more explanatory and likely to lead to the use of case studies … because such questions deal with operational links needing to be traced over time."[226] For Phase Two, my project asks: How do Kroll and Tschumi's design works embody Lefebvre's

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[224] Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2013, 418.
[225] Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Applied Social Research Methods Series (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994).
[226] Ibid., 6.

understanding of social space in built form? This question identifies the explanatory purpose of my dissertation as defined by Yin. In other words, through a case study research design, the project seeks to describe ways in which Kroll and Tschumi's individual articulations of Lefebvre's concept of social space produce very different qualities of lived spatial experience. The investigation not only incorporates the recollections by specialists involved in the making of these environments, but also examines the experiences of locals inhabiting each of these settings. By juxtaposing design intentions with lived knowledge, the research brings to light the various understandings of social values of space. Through fieldwork, the dissertation creates a layering of ideas of personalities involved in the project from the past and their experiences and continued expectations of the setting from the present. This approach addresses Yin's note on how case study research might help trace links within settings over time.

Identifying Case Studies

My choice of multiple-case design was determined by the nature of research inquiry. I was interested in conducting a comparative analysis of seminal disciplinary strategies that embodied Henri Lefebvre's philosophical formulation in unique ways. Specifically, I sought to evaluate the potentials and limitations of divergent architectural responses to questions of social meaning as raised by Lefebvre. I framed the research questions in ways to articulate these interests. I selected those case studies that responded to the larger socio-political context in which Lefebvre was writing. In Chapters II and III, I explained my choice of architectural theorists for study. I located the design practices of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi in relation to the spatial writings of Henri Lefebvre. I also marked out the postwar climate of architecture and environmental design experimentations within which Kroll and Tschumi were operating. In this section I will explain my choice of case study settings of relevance and value to this dissertation.

The two case studies of my research are: 1) Lucien Kroll's La Mémé in Woluwé-Saint-Lambert outside Brussels; and 2) Bernard Tschumi's Parc de la Villette in Paris. Both settings mark out significant moments in the development of respective theorist's formulations of social space. Both projects were also the closest in time to the published writings of Henri Lefebvre on space. Despite extensive documentation of both commissions in print media, the social makings of each of these environments have rarely been discussed. My interest in examining these

seminal works stems from three reasons: One, by focusing on social stories integral to both studies, I am interested in providing an alternative reading of leading works of architecture. Further, by conducting a comparative case study analysis, I am seeking to understand how a shared philosophical reference inspired two distinct practices that continue to hold influential status in contemporary practice. Finally, by centering on La Mémé and Parc de la Villette, I am not suggesting that the respective sites be viewed as ideologies frozen in time; instead, my work tries to study the manifestation of Kroll's and Tschumi's principles at social level, and probe the ongoing impact and consequences of their respective designs against Lefebvre's spatial framework.

The planning and execution of La Mémé and other buildings of the Medical Complex at UCL in Woluwé-Saint-Lambert was an important marker in the development of Kroll's philosophy of participatory architecture. Prior to the building of student quarters at UCL, Kroll had participated in select but important housing and urban design commissions in Central Africa and Europe. His long-term involvements in Rwanda (1961-1969), for example, inspired him to pay close attention to the local ways of life and construction practices. Quite like Aldo van Eyck, whose extensive journeys to tribal cultures shaped his thought and practice around symbolic values, Kroll's experiences in Rwanda encouraged him to develop frameworks for "spontaneous" and "flexible" architecture centered on questions of community life: "how people live and would like to live, what their cultural options might be, and what customs are practiced in the place."[227] Even his blueprint for Rwanda's new capital city, Kimihurura (1969) suggested a general, non-Cartesian plan, which could be locally adjusted and developed by people over time.

The other formative experience for Kroll was working with the noted Belgian educationalist Claire Vandercam on Maison Familiale (1956-6, 1968) in Braine-l'Alleud near Brussels. The experience of working with Vandercam and the children offered him insights into how groups of people identify with a place; organize themselves physically; and interact with one another in a non-authoritarian way. More significantly, this involvement led him to ask how designers and inhabitants might come together in some form of "facilitated unity."[228] In one other Grouped

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[227] Wolfgan Pehnt, "Return of the Sioux" in Lucien Kroll, *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 8.

[228] In Kroll's words, "(Vandercam) taught me far more than I could possibly have gleaned form specialist literature, academic programs, or practical studies." Kroll in Ibid., 28–31.

Residential Development (1962-65) in Brussels, Kroll tested out an interactive method to involve the tenants in the making of their habitat at various moments during the design development phase. He interviewed the future dwellers and drew several conceptual plans based on their diverse interests and expectations. On this experience, Kroll remarked, "I discovered that each (desire) was different, and that attraction and aversion create a cityscape truer than any created on paper."[229]

Each of these projects helped build Kroll's theory and practice of participatory architecture. Jointly, the design projects outlined his core architectural concerns—dynamics of social life, participatory building, use of diverse materials, and a critical resistance to prescriptive order. However, it was only with the commissioning of La Mémé and other buildings at UCL in 1969 that all of these ideological developments were brought together and tested out for the very first time at an entirely new scale.[230] Over the last four decades, La Mémé, in particular, has come to be held up as an exemplar of participatory architecture. To date, it remains one of Lucien Kroll's most published and widely recognized projects in the world.

Unlike Kroll's more applied and tangible lessons from building practice and wider experiences in the field, Bernard Tschumi's social and political concerns in architecture were located entirely in academic teaching and writing. Towards the end of his studies at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich (ETH), Tschumi interned in Candilis Woods Josic office in Paris. When the student protests began in May of 1968, Tschumi was still working in Paris. As per his biographer, Gilles de Bure, Tschumi not only observed the protests first-hand, but also participated in those events and arrested as a result of his participation. In 1970, Tschumi moved to the UK and began teaching at The Architectural Association (AA) School of Architecture (London) and Portsmouth Polytechnic (Portsmouth). He became a full time faculty at the AA by 1975, and traveled across the Atlantic, to teach at Princeton University and Cooper Union by 1982. Tschumi's publications during this time—"Beaux Arts since '68" in 1971, review of Lefebvre's *Le Droit a la Ville* in 1972, and "The Environmental Trigger" in 1972/75— demonstrated the influence of May '68 on his work. They also showed his interest in the study of urban space and revolutionary action. All three writings were in dialogue with Henri Lefebvre. Each of them accompanied Tschumi's teachings on urban politics.

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[229] Lucien Kroll, *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 32.
[230] Lucien Kroll, "Architecture in the making: For ecology against the odds" in Ben Farmer and H. J. Louw, *Companion to Contemporary Architectural Thought* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1993), 424.

Within AA's supportive environment, Tschumi taught and wrote about architecture and social action. Although he credited Lefebvre for drawing attention to the social and political values of space—"(Lefebvre) talked about the politics of space by saying the city was a project of society on the ground"—he also critiqued his work for not providing concrete tools for architectural and planning practice. I will be discussing Tschumi's engagement with Lefebvre's writings in Chapter V. However, at this point it is useful to note that each of these early articles illustrated Tschumi's architectural goals throughout the 1970s and preceded his essays on questions of space and a new theory of architecture, centered on the interconnections of space, event, and movement.

Identifying the Logic of Case Studies

The two case studies of my dissertation are unique in their respective programs, patronage, and particularities of site. Other than the motivating force of Henri Lefebvre behind their work and larger socio-political events of the time, the two settings share no typological and programmatic similarities. The case studies of my work, as such, constitute the logic of "theoretical replication" as suggested by Yin.[231] In *Case Studies Research*, Yin provides an important guideline when considering the nature of case studies for examination and their numbers. He states that the researcher must identify the specific purpose of each case within the overall inquiry when considering the type of cases. This is to help establish a replication logic, wherein the findings of one case could be replicated in another.[232] In other words, the researcher must consider multiple cases as one would consider multiple experiments. Yin describes two types of replication: 1) literal replication and 2) theoretical replication. A literal replication is a multiple-case study design logic in which similar results could be predicted between cases. A theoretical replication is multiple-case study design logic in which contrasting results are expected between cases but for predictable reasons.[233] The use of theoretical replication in this dissertation follows the nature of research investigation and accompanying research questions. In particular, the logic of theoretical replication provides an opportunity to cover and evaluate the

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[231] Yin, *Case Study Research*.
[232] Ibid., 45.
[233] Ibid., 46; See also: Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2013, 432.

respective architectural positions of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi against a shared theoretical framework of Henri Lefebvre.

Theoretical Framework for Fieldwork

In Chapter Two, I discussed Lefebvre's position on modernist conceptions of architectural space and the value of his theoretical formulation for this dissertation. In this chapter, I will explain my interpretation and application of Lefebvre's spatial triad for empirical work. Lefebvre's "conceptual triad" of space is central to his theory of production of space.[234] In the opening chapter "The Plan of the Present Work" of his seminal *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre offered this triad as a model for understanding the dialectical relationship between space and society—space at once constitutive of and constituted by a multitude of social relations—as well as a framework for structuring the rest of his book. The triad has been written about extensively by various authors, and has been interpreted widely by those seeking to understand his oeuvre in relation to architecture and urbanism. However, the literature that uses this formulation as an analytical model is relatively sparse. Therefore, it is important that I first establish how this study employs Lefebvre's spatial triad, before proceeding with a discussion of my choice of investigative tactics.

The essence of Lefebvre's triadic formulation is that space is a social product, born at the junction of three interrelated "fields" of space: the "physical," or the space of nature and material reality; the "mental," or the space of abstraction and ideology, and the "social," or the space of symbols and lived senses.[235] The concept of the field in Lefebvre's writing is a crucial one; it is both a spatial metaphor and an epistemological position,[236] aimed at bringing together the overlapping dimensions of space otherwise handled separately by traditional philosophers and social scientists – including those with a functionalist bias from within architecture and urban planning. Lefebvre maintained that our homogenous cities and segregated social environments were both a direct translation and a practical consequence of the notion of space divorced from the social processes of its production. In seeking theoretical unity and historical specificity

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[234] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Production de L'espace. (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991), 33.

[235] Ibid., 11–12.

[236] Michael Pryke, Gillian Rose, and Sarah Whatmore, *Using Social Theory: Thinking through Research* (London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE in association with the Open University, 2003).

between all three fields, he described them as objects of three distinct yet simultaneous processes of production: "spatial practice," which produces the perceivable aspects of space; "representations of space" that involves the conceptual production of space; and "representational space," which entails experiences of space as lived and produced over time.[237]

Lefebvre's conceptual triad in its most general sense included the physical, mental, and social space, and in its more tangible form, consisted of spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space. To this model, however, he added a third set of corresponding terms: the "perceived moment," the "conceived moment," and the "lived moment" of spatial production.[238] Following Nietzsche and Hegel, Lefebvre used the notion of moments to qualify the relationship between space and everyday life in terms of lived time, and also to emphasize the fluidity and continuity between all three processes of production of space. In the words of Rob Shields, "(Lefebvrian) moments are themselves essential forms in which everyday contents are arranged in recognizable patterns … in themselves but glimpses: 'Partial totalities, I see them as 'points of view' reflecting totality."[239] To identify each moment in empirical terms, then, would be to capture all but glimpses of the complexity of the overlapping spatial fields.

Further, by discussing each field using two terms—spatial practice / perceived moment; representations of space / conceived moment; and representational space / lived moment— Lefebvre urged that a spatial field be concurrently viewed as a process and a product of production. Spatial practice / perceived moment, for instance, is both a practice that we perform everyday including our daily routes and commonly identified destinations, and a space that can be perceived—seen, heard, smelt, felt, and so on.[240] Representations of space / conceived moment is both a process of thinking, reflecting, and cognizing, and a plan that can be discussed using symbols and specialized language. Representational space / lived space is both a lived-in-the-moment experience of being present in space, and a realm that "evokes a deep sense of meaning."[241] Any empirical work that employs Lefebvre's conceptual triad must, therefore, consider both process-based and product-centric dimensions of each spatial field. Lefebvre's

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[237] Ibid., 38–39.
[238] Ibid., 15.
[239] Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love, and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics*, International Library of Sociology (London: Routledge, 1999), 60.
[240] One the more lucid discussions about the complexity of each spatial field can be found in a recent article by Jana Carp, which explains the interrelated aspects of each field using concrete examples. See: J. Carp, "'Ground-Truthing' Representations of Social Space: Using Lefebvre's Conceptual Triad," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 28, no. 2 (December 1, 2008): 129–142.
[241] Ibid., 133.

conceptual triad seats the active conceptualizing of environments in a dialogic relationship with both our perceptions as well our memories and lived inhabitation of those places. The relations between and among fields not only address how we produce space, but also how space impacts our daily lives.

The emphasis on the notion of simultaneity of fields, however, posed unique questions for my fieldwork and subsequent analysis: How to devise investigative tactics that could help distinguish each moment otherwise coincident with the other? How to synthesize data from individual field tactics in order to attend to the complexity of social space, and also determine the degree to which the selected case studies embody Lefebvre's formulation of social space?

In developing a methodical application of Lefebvre's conceptual triad and devising appropriate tactics for data collection and analysis, I recognized the value of detecting three distinct moments of the triad in relation to their corresponding forms of knowledge. Spatial practice / perceived moment, for example, entails all observable patterns of daily life, and as a result, identifies knowledge of places as perceived by senses. Representations of space / conceived moment focuses on the abstraction and conceptualization of environments, and accordingly, engages intellectual knowledge. Representational space / lived moment encapsulates the experiences of people actively inhabiting real-life settings, and therefore, speaks to lived insights of those settings. By attending to all three interactive forms of knowledge, I wanted to present different accounts of the same project without privileging one form of knowledge over another. Not only did this address Lefebvre's assertion that social space implies great diversity of knowledge,[242] but also helped understand how the conceived realm of architects and environmental designers might engage the local inhabitant's daily use of space and their experience of the environment over time.

Additionally, this strategy acknowledged the overlapping tasks of environmental psychology and social theory on the one hand—"reflections of the way people see the world and think about it"[243]—and architecture and cultural studies on the other hand—"the production of meaning by making form, enabling program, and structuring space."[244] In short, by detecting three spatial fields and juxtaposing three interrelated forms of knowledge into a comparable whole, I brought

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[242] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 73.
[243] David Canter, "In Search of Objectives: An Intellectual Autobiography." In I. Altman & K. Christensen (eds.) Emergence of Intellectual Traditions, Human Behavior and Environment, v.11 (New York: Plenum, 1990), 4.
[244] Thomas A. Dutton and Lian Hurst Mann, *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices*, Pedagogy and Cultural Practice (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 161.

to light the social and spatial components of each case study from all relevant perspectives. The diagram below illustrates my interpretation of Lefebvre's critical formulation of social space in terms of the respective spatial fields, processes of production, and socio-spatial moments, and also, their corresponding investigative tactics. The tactics are explained in the next section.

(Physical Field)
Spatial Practice /
Perceived Moment

Example:
routes, paths,
destinations +
sensing: seeing,
smelling, hearing,
tasting, touching,
and so on.*

Tactics:
observation studies

(Mental Field)
Representations of Space /
Conceived Moment

Example:
plans, images,
specialist discourse +
thinking and reflecting*

Tactics:
semi-structured interviews;
review of published
documentation

**socially
produced
space**

(Social Field)
Representational Space /
Lived Moment

Example:
home, nature, festivals +
living-in-the-moment,* memory

Tactics:
interactive mapping exercise

* Examples adapted from J. Carp, "Ground-Truthing" Representations of Space (2008).
Fig. 2 Interpreting Lefebvre's Conceptual Triad

Distinguishing Fields, Identifying Tactics

This section gives an overview of qualitative tactics associated with each spatial field and its corresponding spatial moment. In both case studies, a comparable set of tactics was employed. Firstly, the spatial practice / perceived moment of physical field was studied by recording physical trace evidence and naturalistic behavior of activities on site. Secondly, the representations of space / conceived moment of mental field was identified by conducting semi-structured interviews with architects and other specialists of the two projects. Thirdly, the representational space / lived moment of social field was analyzed using interactive mapping

exercise involving local inhabitants of the respective settings. Before carrying out any of these activities, however, I obtained a human subjects approval from the University of Michigan Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (IRB). The process involved submitting a formal application that made explicit the objective and specific aims of the project; scientific design of the project including all investigative tactics and supporting documentation; plan for protecting the confidentiality of research data; and a brief description of how the research was designed to accommodate specific cultural norms. My proposal was placed in the category of research exempt from ongoing IRB review and approval. No additional changes were made to the proposed tactics and all fieldwork abided the generally accepted principles of responsible ethical conduct of research.

Distinguishing Physical Field: In order to identify the physical field of human perception, I employed two types of observation techniques: 1) Physical trace observation and 2) Naturalistic observation. Physical trace observation is a systematic way to study an environment for all significant imageable traces left behind by people.[245] The approach helps to detect the social needs added to a given setting, and also get a sense of what the people who use that environment might be like – their culture and wider affiliations. Trace observations can be recorded using photographs, sketches, notations, or a combination of one or more of these approaches. Naturalistic observation, in comparison, is a method of observing and recording people's conduct in natural settings with minimal or no interference with the observed behavior. The technique allows researchers to learn about ways in which people use a given environment. Naturalistic observations can be recorded through note taking, mapping, and photography. In this dissertation, I used both techniques, albeit, to different degrees of prominence to examine each case study. I used physical trace observation technique as the primary method to examine the spatial appropriations at La Mémé, and naturalistic observation technique as the primary tactic to document a range of activities at Parc de la Villette. My choice of dominant observation method for each setting followed the overall program and typology of case studies, and in particular, the objective to test out the respective architect's claims vis-à-vis the social use of space.

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[245] John Zeisel, *Inquiry by Design: Environment/behavior/neuroscience in Architecture, Interiors, Landscape, and Planning* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006), 161.

At Le Mémé, I marked out all manipulations of space and their traces by the resident graduate students and academic staff of the university. Specifically, I used photographs, sketches, and location mapping of objects on a plan drawing to document various use-based adaptations of space, displays of self, and public messages. [246] Following the methodology of noted sociologist, John Zeisel, I observed three sets of traces: 1) Objects added or removed from the setting; 2) Physical separations made on different floors; and 3) New connections made between and among parts of the building. It must be noted, however, that the building and its various floors were kept locked for security reasons throughout. I could access floors only when I knew a resident student and/or was accompanied by a member of the University staff. This posed some difficulty in taking note of physical surroundings on dissimilar floors. In all visits, I relied heavily on photography for documenting significant physical traces. I will explain specific challenges to this particular operation in the next section on gaining access.

At Parc de la Villette, I walked and mapped out park activities at different times of the day on my base map, and also used a variation of the static snapshot technique to locate public activities and behavior. This involved moving at a constant speed throughout the park and taking mental snapshots of the various uses of space as well as recording the presence of people and their activities in space. I repeated this four times (10am-12pm; 1-3pm; 4-6pm; 7-9pm) each day for a total of two days in order to cover both wide ranging activities and all park spaces at each two-hour cycle. I conducted this exercise on a regular weekday and a public holiday. Before starting my recordings, however, I conducted an informal pilot observations of all activities that took place in the park; marked out all current physical conditions, including accessible/inaccessible areas, temporary installations, and construction zones; and documented each structure and its condition of use, misuse, and disuse. All recordings involved three groups of people: adults, youth, and children.

Unlike trace observations, which do not require specific vantage points for recording physical traces, naturalistic observations rely on carefully determined positions for minimizing any risk of influencing observed behavior. In a naturalistic observation study, thereby, the researcher-observer is either a "recognized outsider"—making her or his formal affiliation and purpose, explicit—or a "marginal participant"—minimizing interactivity with others so that the

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[246] Zeisel, *Inquiry by Design*.

inhabitants do not behave any differently.[247] I was a recognized outsider at both La Mémé in Brussels and Parc de la Villette in Paris. I obtained permissions to study each place from the park and university administration offices respectively, maintained my affiliation as a visitor and a student researcher, and carried all relevant recording devices such as sketchbooks, plan drawings, and a camera. I paid attention, however, to where I sat down to record my observations and also took care in how I noted them. Throughout, I tried my best to avoid giving odd clues that might arouse unwanted suspicion. I was successful in my self-selected vantage points at each site, except on two occasions. On my third day on the Brussels campus, I was asked not to take pictures of the local school, especially when the kids were out in the play yard. On my last day at Parc de la Villette, I was stopped and questioned by a local youth at one of the follies; he had mistaken me for an inspecting member of park administration.

Distinguishing Mental Field: In order to identify the mental field of conceptual representation, I conducted semi-structured interview sessions with various specialists of the two projects. These included architects and sociologists, members of governing boards and engineers. My goal was to gather the perspectives of various individuals on the respective designed settings and their social histories. All questions were aimed at unveiling how each case study was conceived of and realized, and how the question of symbolic meaning was addressed. Alongside, I reviewed the published material on La Mémé and Parc de la Villette to study the architectural representations of each environment.

Semi-structured interviews are interviews structured around a set of open-ended questions, which have the potential to generate a rich personal narrative of the subject matter being considered. I chose this form of interviewing in order to encourage my interviewees to recall their involvements in the respective projects, and more importantly, to share their wider experiences without feeling constrained by specific expectations. Each interview brought up newer ideas and newer questions, and also allowed me to clarify interviewee responses on the spot. Further, the conversational nature of every interview added the much valued comfort and confidence to our relationship. Most interviews were carried out in person, either at the specialist's home or their work environment. Others were carried out over the phone in a controlled setting on campus.

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[247] Ibid., 197–199.

Every interview started with a brief introduction of my research project and finished up with emerging questions for my work and me. Each interview lasted for about an hour and a half. With the exception of two, all interviews were conducted in English; the others were carried out in French. All interviews were recorded using a hand-held digital device with permission. Throughout, my choice of interviewees was determined by a need to go beyond the common view of architect as the sole expert of any designed setting. I wished to involve the voices and experiences of all such specialists who worked with the architects to make each project significant and possible at various stages. Prior to fieldwork, I made a comparable list of specialists and their affiliations with the aid of published literature. Drawing from this material, I contacted each of them via e-mail and sought formal permissions to conduct interviews at a mutually agreed upon time and date. Additionally, I shared the abstract of my dissertation research during this initial contact phase to prepare every interviewee ahead of time and also garner her or his individual trust. The document not only introduced my academic affiliation and study background but also outlined the interview format and promised confidentiality to the respondents. The issue of confidentiality was very important because the interviewees were well known professionals in the field; it ensured that all information would be used for academic purposes only and that further permissions will be sought before publishing any part of that record.

The interview guides were designed around four general areas, covering background and personal history; history of the project; elected strategy and nature of involvement; and the specialist's practice and design philosophy, including significant sources of inspiration. I modified the questionnaire to suit the background of each specialist, whilst also ensuring to obtain similar areas of information from each interviewee. This gave me a flexible working structure to conduct all interviews. Broadly, the semi-structured guide consisted of fourteen primary questions, and an equal number of follow-up questions prepared ahead of time. The questions moved from general to particular and from particular to general. Specifically, the protocol consisted of six background questions regarding personal education and career trajectory, pertinent social issues at the start of the project, and an appraisal of the larger environment before the project got built. The interview questionnaire also asked six questions exclusive to the project, from its conception to realization. Finally, the procedure ended with questions about the agency of architecture and the architect to engage various social milieus.

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Along with the interviews, I studied a wide array of published records of each project in both scholarly and popular print media. Over the years, both Kroll and Tschumi have published extensive descriptions and details about their respective works, including original drawings, architectural programs, and processes of design. The earliest story of Kroll's La Mémé appeared in the mid-1970s, first in Architectural Association Quarterly in 1975 (AAQ), and subsequently in L'Architecture d'Aujourdhui ('A'A') in 1976.[248] The AAQ account, in particular, presented a numerical brief of the initial commission; the written program; Kroll's participatory approach to design; his specific role as an architect in the political process; and all supporting drawings and photographs. At least a dozen different articles have since been published between 1976 and 2007 on this highly notable project, several authored by Kroll himself. Bernard Tschumi's self-authored narrative on Parc de la Villette was first published in 1987 in French, complete with original drawings and design details.[249] The competition brief was released by Etablissement public du Parc de La Villette (EPPV) in 1982.[250] This rare volume included the architectural program; data on the existing site; rules of the competition; and graphic documentation, including photographs. A detailed analysis of each of these materials and their relationship with data from fieldwork will be discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, respectively.

Distinguishing Social Field: In order to identify the social field of lived experiences, I carried out interactive mapping exercises with the locals on each site. The mapping technique has been widely used within architecture and planning studies for collecting people's knowledge and spatial understanding of environments. First popularized by urban planner, Kevin Lynch and cultural anthropologist, Amos Rapoport in the 1970s, maps have since become an extremely valuable tool for learning about cultural meanings assigned to physical environments.[251] In my study, however, I used a variation of the mapping technique adapted from Ann Lusk's published

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[248] Lucien Kroll, "Soft Zone" in Architectural Association (Great Britain), "AAQ, Architectural Association Quarterly." (December 1975); Portrait de Lucien Kroll in L'Architecture D'aujourd'hui.," *AA*, n°183, janv-févr. 1976.

[249] Bernard Tschumi, *Cinégram Folie, Le Parc de La Villette*, New Designs (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987).

[250] *Parc de La Villette : Concours International.* ([Paris] :: Etablissement Public du Parc de la Villette,, 1982).

[251] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City.*, Publications of the Joint Center for Urban Studies (Cambridge [Mass.]: Technology Press, 1960); Amos Rapoport, *Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man-environment Approach to Urban Form and Design*, Urban and Regional Planning Series.v. 15 (Oxford ; New York: Pergamon Press, 1977).

dissertation on "attractive destinations" along selected greenways within the United States.[252] In her project, Lusk sought to inquire into the characteristics of destinations as identified by greenway users, including their frequency and locations throughout the length of designated paths. With the aid of surveys, observations studies, physical measurements, and a toolkit comprising maps and stickers, she was not only able to determine significant destination points where multiple attractive features converge, but also identify general patterns for each of her six case studies.

In my fieldwork, I adapted Lusk's technique to gather the local inhabitant's impressions of Kroll's La Mémé and Tschumi's Parc de la Villette. Specifically, using narrative questions, cue sheets and a pack of stickers, I asked occupants of both places a comparable set of questions. Each cue sheet and survey was prepared in both English and French in order to facilitate wider participation of individuals on site (see Appendices A and B for cue sheets used at La Mémé and Parc de la Villette respectively). At Le Mémé, I asked the resident graduate student community to place stickers at approximate locations of building floor plans and campus map where they spend most time during day; their favorite areas; preferred view directions; and places they dislike. I also asked the participants to write descriptions of places they identified on those maps. Throughout, I carried out this exercise with graduate students who lived in the residential facility and also allowed me access into the building. At Parc de la Villette, I asked park users to place stickers at the approximate locations of places such as points of entry; view directions; and preferred/non-preferred destinations. Using a questionnaire, I also asked them to write the descriptions of locations on the map, including important aspects of those places. Throughout, I approached adults who stopped and appeared to have the time to talk. I gathered clues from language, body language, and clothing to distinguish between locals and tourists. Towards the end of this interactive exercise at both places, I requested each participant to provide voluntary demographic information – all of which was then entered into a computer as a subset of analysis. In Brussels, seven graduate students volunteered their time to participate in the exercise. My fieldwork coincided with their academic study break, so only a handful of students were present on campus. In Paris, fourteen people volunteered to share their experiences of using the park on frequent basis. I conducted both mapping exercises and observation studies over a period of two

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[252] Anne Christine Lusk, "Guidelines for Greenways: Determining the Distance to, Features of, and Human Needs Met by Destinations on Multi-use Corridors" (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 2002).

weeks each, ten to twelve hours per day, and accounted for a diversity of responses in terms of age, gender, and residential background (see Appendix C for information regarding participants' backgrounds).

Prior to visiting my case study sites, I prepared a field kit consisting of maps and drawings, stickers and cue sheets, a notebook, and a clipboard. For La Mémé, I produced a set of three base maps consisting of a building level plan, a site plan, and an aerial image of the building in the context of its immediate surroundings. For the first two drawings, I reproduced and modified Lucien Kroll's floor plan of La Mémé as well as his detailed site plan of "Zone Sociale" featuring the medical faculty, restaurants, school, metro, administration, and also gardens. I took both drawings from *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects*.[253] Upon reaching the field, however, I secured the remaining ten floor plans of La Mémé—including six levels of the adjoining restaurant and meeting zone—as well as a total of nine and seven floor plans each of the adjacent La Marie and Ecumenical Centre respectively from the University administration. I also secured a site plan courtesy of the university. For Parc de la Villette, I produced a set of four base maps consisting of a site plan, a modified site plan with Tschumi's three overlapping systems of organization, a map of the park in the context of the city, and an aerial image of park in the context of its immediate neighborhood. I adapted and reproduced the first two drawings from Patricia Seang Hui Ribeiro's published M.Sc. Thesis at the University College London entitled *Space in Bodies and Bodies in Space*.[254] For the context specific drawing, however, I reproduced the original image by Bernard Tschumi from *Cinégram Foli: Parc de la Villette*.[255] For all aerial images, I used high resolution site-specific Google Maps. For each site, I prepared a total of fourteen drawing sets.

My kit also consisted of equivalent sets of stickers and cue sheets. I purchased stickers from local stationery stores based on their symbolic relevance. They were enclosed in cue sheets that contained instructions for using the stickers and placing them appropriately on the map. The cue sheets also carried a survey to collect basic demographic information such as gender, age group, length of stay and/or frequency of visit to each location, and place of permanent residence. For each site, I produced a total of fourteen cue sheets and survey duplicates. Since I anticipated

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[253] Kroll, *Lucien Kroll*.
[254] P. S. H. Ribeiro, "Space in Bodies and Bodies in Space: An Examination of Bodily Experience in Parc de La Villette" (Masters, UCL (University College London), 2005).
[255] Tschumi, *Cinégram Folie, Le Parc de La Villette*.

navigating each location on foot and also conducting the interactive mapping exercise directly with people on site, I added a notebook and a clipboard to the kit for ease with all field-based activities.

Gaining Access for Observation, Interviewing, and Mapping

All field investigations involve challenges of gaining access to resources and people for carrying out on-site operations. Such challenges can vary to a great extent, depending on the nature of case studies and choice of investigative tactics. Strategies for gaining access are often described as acts of negotiation in the field; they not only require formal preparations before the start of the project, but also demand ongoing social skills to establish trusting relationships with environments otherwise foreign to a researcher.[256] Further, the chosen approaches in gaining access can impact ongoing research. Therefore, "getting out" of research sites and also "getting back" to them matter as much as "getting in" in order to gain information and "getting on" with work on the field.[257] I have already discussed the preliminary processes of getting in, namely 1) securing formal permissions to conduct my fieldwork through University of Michigan's Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (IRB), and 2) making the initial contact with all relevant people for interviewing. In this section, I will focus on stories of getting on with my field investigations in Brussels and Paris, and familiarizing myself with each case study site.[258] I will also discuss how I got out of each site and the options for getting back to it in the future. I write about these experiences because they provide added value to my field recordings and also contribute to my analysis of each case study.

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[256] Martha S. Feldman, Jeannine Bell, and Michele Tracy Berger, *Gaining Access: a Practical and Theoretical Guide for Qualitative Researchers* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003). Feldman describes access as a critical part of doing research, not only because one must "get in" in order to gain information but also because the process of "getting in" affects what information is available to the researcher. She discusses access as a several stage process that centers on building and nurturing relationships of value to both the research project and the individuals involved in helping researchers gain access.

[257] Buchanan, D., Boddy, D. and Mc Calman, J. "Getting In, Getting On, Getting Out and Getting Back" in Alan. Bryman (ed.), *Doing Research in Organizations* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1988).

[258] I had carried out two more interviews, one each in New York City and Seattle. However, this section focuses on the time spent exclusively in Paris and Brussels. Due to the logistics of International travel, I reversed the order of case study examinations, that is, I conducted my first field study in Paris and from there traveled to Brussels. The European component of fieldwork covered a total of five weeks in the spring semester of 2012. The period was divided equally between the two cities.

Due to extended preparatory work in the United States, my arrival and stay in Paris was pleasant. Whilst my basic proficiency in French and my appearance gave me away a foreigner, the environment of my international hostel and the large immigrant neighborhood of XIXe arrondissement made me feel extremely comfortable in the new surroundings. Parc de la Villette was located close to my hostel and bulk of my fieldwork involved camping out on site from early morning to late night, every day. During first few visits to the park, I spent time exploring the site and observing local habits. I walked the entirety of the park and also its immediate environment to get a sense of the different edge conditions. I observed the daily life that unfolded both inside and outside the setting at different times of the day. Throughout, I dressed and walked about in a relatively casual but attentive manner in order to blend in as much as possible. In addition, I familiarized myself with the sounds of colloquial French as spoken about in the streets of Paris. By the third day, I felt comfortable enough about my presence in the city and gathered sufficient ease to invite locals to participate in my mapping exercise. During this time, I also re-established contact with individuals scheduled for in-person interviews.

The people I interacted with on my first few visits to the park acknowledged my attempts to speak with them in French and also complimented my knowledge of their language. This boosted my confidence and catalyzed all subsequent interactions. Initially, however, it seemed difficult to get the locals to talk to me. Therefore, I used a hook to get them interested in my work—the hook was a self-introduction in French, which not only explained my affiliation with The University of Michigan and the academic purpose of this exercise, but also my cultural background.[259] Such an informal presentation of self before the start of each mapping exercise allowed people to open up to me and share their experiences with ease throughout the task.

In order to diversify work on site, however, I interspersed the mapping activity with observation studies. I was a little nervous carrying my field kit around and taking pictures of people occupying different areas of the park. I did not wish to raise alarm or impact observed behavior. Near the end of the trip, I realized that one of the follies was the domain of unemployed youth from the neighborhood. Whilst taking pictures of this structure, a man peeped out and summoned me angrily. Upon moving closer, he asked me to clarify my background and purpose. Fearing that he might take away my camera and my study maps, I explained to him that

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[259] Most people found it intriguing that a doctoral student of Indian nationality and affiliated with an American University was conducting field research in Paris.

note taking and photography were part of my fieldwork. Just when I began to realize the limitations of my language and expression, a local artist who was out in the field himself came to my aid and pacified the youth. The artist in turn became one of the respondents in my mapping exercise.

My experiences of conducting formal interviews were rather uneventful in comparison to these challenges. Among the different people I corresponded with, the meeting with a noted French sociologist turned out to be the most memorable. She spent hours with me talking about the competition, the social scenario of that time, and her involvement in the initial study of Parc de la Villette site. In addition, she offered me valuable cues to locating the original competition program and also led me to two of her peers. Whilst I could not contact the individuals she referenced in time for a meeting, I was able to access the institution, which carried the original competition document upon my return to the United States.

The subsequent experience in Brussels was equally pleasant, but highly improvised to accommodate daily challenges. Upon first arriving at the UCL campus in Brussels, it did not take me long to locate La Mémé. However, soon after entering the building, I realized that further access to each floor was restricted to those with access code. My first meeting with the members of University administration reconfirmed this observation and I was left with little option but to seek out individuals who might be willing to let me into their quarters. One of the first people I met on campus was the owner of a local boulangerie that was located right across from the arrival level of La Mémé. Due to its visual and physical proximity to my case study, I spent considerable time at this place during my fieldwork. In addition to narrating the history of the place, the boulanger provided me with information regarding an English conversation group called "Café Anglais" that met at the boulangerie every Wednesday afternoon. Members of this group, led by a campus pastor and his wife, were students at the University. Upon learning about my project, they not only showed me the place but also led me to other people who might be available and interested to participate in my mapping activity. Over time, my contacts multiplied and I gained access to other floors of the building as well. Each and every respondent, however, wondered why I was studying a seemingly nondescript building.

The people on campus were supportive and very helpful throughout this exercise. One of the major factors that helped me seek access was the fact that I had traveled all the way from America to study a building that most occupants felt nothing exceptional about. On the one hand,

the students were intrigued and curious to learn about the history of the building they inhabited. When I showed them the architectural documentation of Kroll's work from the 70s, their interest in my project peeked. On the other hand, the University administration did not appear particularly enthusiastic about Kroll's design. They were used to queries about Kroll's work and were aware of site's history. Nevertheless, the staff members offered cooperation at all levels. They provided me floor plans of La Mémé and adjoining student buildings on campus and also led me to other contacts, one of whom had served as a the secretary of building in the 1970s. One member of administration even doubled up as my translator and guide when others insisted on speaking in French during our meetings. She helped me translate the responses of one of my interviewees who had worked with Kroll at various stages during the construction of the building.[260] She also provided me physical access to all the remaining floors and rooms that had been vacated by students away on exam study leave.

During observation and mapping tasks, I was dressed in a casual way, but for all meetings and exchanges with the University staff, I changed into semi-formal wear. All along, I never encountered any opposition to my note taking and photography. However, at one place, near a school compound (also designed by Kroll), I was asked not to take pictures when kids were out playing. Overall, however, my status as student helped to facilitate meaningful exchanges with people of the university residential complex. My sincere attempts at speaking French coupled with keeping all interactions formal helped build a healthy rapport with students and academic staff alike.

Upon the completion of my fieldwork, I was careful to thank everyone in Paris and Brussels for their assistance and active participation in my project. I gave out "Made In USA" pencils as a token of appreciation to all the participants of my mapping activity. I sent thank you notes to my interviewees and e-mails of gratitude to those who helped me access important field based resources at both locations. I did this not only to express my gratefulness, but also as a way to leave the two sites in preparation for all future trips. One of the greatest drawbacks for any researcher is the inability to gain access to their site of empirical investigation. Challenges to gaining access can inform several aspects of a research project, yet not many researchers

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[260] I was not as lucky to interview Lucien Kroll in person. Due to unanticipated conflict in his schedule, we were unable to hold the meeting as scheduled. I interviewed him over the phone upon my return to Ann Arbor. Nevertheless, Kroll was exceptionally helpful right from the first e-mail correspondence. I thank him immensely for his time and patience, and also for sharing materials on his project that are currently out of print.

describe their access to the field in their methodology reports. I believe that all qualitative fieldwork is based on stories, and if the stories fail, the research might fail too.

Conclusion

The combination of logical argumentation and case study strategy allowed this research to develop a coherent outline for examining the works of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi against the theoretical framework of Henri Lefebvre. Logical argumentation allowed the research to interconnect previously unrelated theoretical positions of Kroll and Tschumi, and clarify their respective understandings of the relationship between space and society. The case study strategy with qualitative tactics helped investigate each architect's seminal work with regards to other specialists' perspectives and also alongside the local inhabitant's patterns of space use and lived impressions of each setting. The fieldwork generated material for a thorough investigation into the potentials of each case study. Further, the analysis of gathered data made visible the divergent expectations and experiences among the various groups, thereby signaling the promise of each architect's elected strategy and design theory to address wider social meaning.

Logical argumentation and case study strategies, whilst most appropriate for addressing the research project and questions, were not without their respective limitations. On the one hand, logical argumentation helped identify and organize Kroll and Tschumi's theoretical positions regarding social and political values of space in ways previously unknown. On the other hand, however, the approach turned my research into a meta-discourse, and limited it to a textual representation of individual architect's theoretical claims. For this reason, I tested out Kroll and Tschumi's principles using case study strategy involving two distinct case studies determined by the logic of theoretical replication. Both case studies offered a concrete basis to evaluate the respective theorist's conceptions of space. However, a major limitation of using two dissimilar case studies was the lack of statistical generalizability. How might the two cases be generalized beyond themselves into a wider context of architecture and environmental design research? My goal was not to make claims for statistical generalizability; rather I sought to understand the limits and possibilities of Kroll and Tschumi's elected strategies, and by extension, two discrete modes of architectural practice that continue to hold relevance in contemporary design thinking.

In this way, the ambition of my project was to arrive at conclusions, which could be generalizable to the theory of social and political mindedness in architecture.

CHAPTER V

An Inquiry into the Definitions of Space: Discussing the Theoretical Works of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi

Introduction

In this chapter, I inquire into the definitions of space and its relationship to society in the works of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi. By summarizing their definitions, I hope to elucidate the theoretical references and political concerns that shaped and challenged Kroll's and Tschumi's positions on and practices of design. Contemporaneous to philosopher Henri Lefebvre and the Paris-based Situationist Group (1957-1972), and among a roster of architects and thinkers that responded to the climate of May 1968 in Paris, the revolution itself held different meanings for each of them. For Kroll (b. 1927), the '68 revolution offered a moment to pause and reflect on how environments are socially produced, marking a trajectory that had started almost a decade prior with movement through Belgium and Rwanda. For Tschumi (b.1944), the '68 revolution was the starting point for thinking about the politics of space and how space might produce social meaning, a point that extended to practices in London, and subsequently, in New York.

The chapter is structured around three parts: 1) Lucien Kroll and Participatory Approach to Space; 2) Bernard Tschumi and the Politics of Space; and 3) Henri Lefebvre, Lucien Kroll, and Bernard Tschumi: Points of Contact in Print. The first two parts introduce Kroll's and Tschumi's individual works in the context of the primary question: How do they each define space and discuss its relationship with society? Each segment begins by studying Kroll's and Tschumi's theories of space. The implications of their arguments are then compared to Lefebvre's formulation of social space in the third part, where I bring together their post-68 responses to a

common set of framing questions on architecture and the city. I conclude the chapter with by revisiting the central question and comparing the respective claims.

Lucien Kroll and Participatory Approach to Space

Sixteen years after the release of Philippe Boudon's seminal study *Pessac de Le Corbusier* in 1969, the book was republished as *Pessac II, Le Corbusier 1969-1985*.[261] Pessac II supplemented the author's original work on lived-in transformations of Corbusier's housing (1925) by epilogues from eight practitioners, including Lucien Kroll, a pioneer in participatory architecture. Since Boudon's visit, many of the structures had deteriorated either from a lack of repairs or from individual changes. By the mid-1980s, some units were brought back to their former realization under a new program financed by the state. The epilogues each discussed Pessac with reference to the tensions between lived-in practices and renovation policies. In this set, Kroll's commentary was striking.[262] As Henri Lefebvre before him, whose foreword marked both releases,[263] Kroll argued for a design approach that structured Pessac's future around the inhabitants' needs, activities, and desires. In the ongoing restoration work, he saw the Modernist orthodoxy unfold; one that aimed at preserving the setting rather than honoring change. The becoming of "Disney World," as he described Pessac, showcased the technocratic response to solving the housing problem as efficiently, fast, and cheaply as possible.[264] Kroll concluded that

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[261] Philippe Boudon and L Bony, *Pessac de Le Corbusier, 1927-1967: étude socio-architecturale ; suivi de Pessac II, Le Corbusier, 1969-1985* (Paris: Dunod, 1985).

[262] Lucien Kroll, "Faire ou laisser faire?" (To do or to do nothing?) in ibid.

[263] In his opening note, Lefebvre described Boudon's analysis of Corbusier's Pessac housing (1925) in exemplary terms, citing its importance for the discourse on space and its production. In particular, he credited Boudon for assessing a well-known functional project of the "most celebrated architect and urbanist of modern times" with reference to "what living in a house really is: an activity." In so doing, Boudon's work confirmed for him that there was more than one level at which an environment could be examined: firstly, the conceptual level, at which architects and urbanists make plans without constraints; secondly, the practical level, at which those plans meet ground conditions and utilitarian needs; and thirdly, the urbanistic level, at which the interpersonal connections and everyday activities of individuals and groups become noticeable. He added that this last level not only demonstrates a "concrete rationality," or a way of life imbued with social meaning, but also helps to produce a new type of space, "a differentiated social space." Lefebvre's comments were consistent with his then developing theory of space and the city. They prefigured the "conceptual triad" of his seminal work—*The Production of Space*—through which he framed the relationship between architecture and urbanism on the one hand, and everyday life on the other. Boudon's thesis brought to light this dialectic. It also raised the question of architectural brilliance: the extent to which a project's conception and built realization might allow people to continue to include their needs and desires over time. Philippe Boudon, *Lived-in Architecture: Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited.*, Pessac de Le Corbusier.English (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972).

[264] "The heirs of Walt Disney completed the giant companies of Disney Land, Disney World and Epcott …Techniques, finance, and psychology sell these beautifully calculated and executed images of candy. What urban

there are always two attitudes to building an environment: centralized or networked. The centralized attitude is concerned with creating "admirably calculated and executed" objects; the networked alternative is about opening up the architecture to intervention by the inhabitants.[265] More than a decade later, he expressed a similar concern. This time, however, against the university instituted changes in La Mémé, the student housing project he famously led between 1969 and 1972 on the UCL Medical Campus outside Brussels.

To Kroll, this argument against allowing residents to re-create architecture with lived-in practices, this opposition to the way spaces change and grow with the inhabitants was unthinkable. He believed that such an approach stifled the core values of a socially engaged and incremental tradition of architecture to which he belonged. Though he started his training at the St. Luc School in Liege, Kroll left this institution after two years to study architecture at the Ecole Nationale Supérieure de la Cambre and urban planning at the Institut Supérieur et International d'Urbanisme Appliqué (ISUA) in Brussels. Kroll's inquiry into the role that space and architecture play in people's lives began with Gaston Bardet (then director of ISUA), and developed through professional practice as well as teaching, in connection with such groups as the Dutch SAR and the Situationist International.

Through his scholarship and pedagogy, Bardet developed a "humanistic" theory of urbanism to address the problems of postwar development in French cities. Bardet, as historian Nicholas Bullock notes, was particularly critical of Le Corbusier's urban propositions, first explained in *La Ville Radieuse* (The Radiant City) in 1935, presented as La Charte d'Athens (The Athens Charter) in 1943, becoming a key manifesto of the Modern Movement through CIAM, and ultimately adopted as legislation to support postwar reconstruction efforts in France.[266] In Corbusier's "functionalist" city, defined in terms of living, working, recreation, and transportation, Bardet identified a lack of concern for the integrated and evolving nature of community life. Instead, Bardet, educated by French planner Marcel Poëte and with influences from Scottish urbanist Patrick Geddes and American historian Lewis Mumford, advocated for understanding the city as a "natural organism" and a "living entity," at once structuring and

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planner would dream a tunnel beneath every street, a general computerization, completely hidden technical services, a city populated by happy adolescents, children with rich parents: Paradise? It is built light, much imitated, easy to throw." Ibid.

[265] Ibid.

[266] Nicholas Bullock, "Gaston Bardet: Post-war Champion of the Mainstream Tradition of French Urbanisme," Planning Perspectives 25, no. 3 (July 1, 2010): 348, 347–63.

structured by exchanges among community groups.[267] Methodologically, this implied moving away from rigid zoning formulas and towards surveying, analyzing, and visually notating the activity patterns of its people.[268] At the heart of his urban theory lay an interest in working with the "social topography" of a place: how people interact with site to shape a milieu and build a sense of community over time.[269]

The task of the planner in Bardet's view, therefore, was not only to develop plans around the plurality of urban life, but also at a scale that would allow individuals to flourish within and across communities.[270] Furthermore, as the director of the applied studio at ISUA, of which Kroll was a member, Bardet expanded this framework into the teaching of design, understood in the broadest sense to include collaboration, that is, working with and on diverse competencies and aspirations. Specifically, Bardet's theory of "organization polyphonique," a translation of which one may see in Kroll's conception of La Mémé, involved subdividing the design team and placing each member in charge of two or more requirements of the same project. For Bardet, this was a way to integrate "empathy" into the design process, to orient the students away from top-down conventions, and to recast design as a shared, co-creative process through which to negotiate between individual ideas and collective expression. Although Kroll did not adhere to the Christian values and spiritual motivations underpinning his instructor's philosophy,[271] the importance that Bardet attached to strengthen the social values of place, as well as to developing expertise centered on people's agency were among the foundational ideas of Kroll's practice. This approach, augmented through encounters in the field, impacted how Kroll viewed architecture and its relationship to society. Two of these practice-based experiences were particularly formative.[272]

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[267] Ibid., 354.

[268] Ibid., 355–356.

[269] Bullock, "Gaston Bardet"; See also: Bullock, "Charting the changing approches to reconstruction in France: Urbanisme 1941-1956" in John Pendlebury and Erdem Erten, *Alternative Visions of Post-War Reconstruction: Creating the Modern Townscape* (Routledge, 2014), 190–194; and Rosemary Wakeman, *The Heroic City: Paris, 1945-1958* (University of Chicago Press, 2009), 173–174.

[270] Bullock in Pendlebury and Erten, *Alternative Visions of Post-War Reconstruction*.

[271] "By the mid-1950s (Bardet) turned away from planning to write in increasingly fervent terms on religious subjects." See: Patrick Bouchain and Collectif, *Simone et Lucien Kroll, une architecture habitée* (Arles: Actes Sud Editions, 2013), 20–21; Bullock in Pendlebury and Erten, *Alternative Visions of Post-War Reconstruction*, 190–91. Further, as Bullock notes, Bardet's Catholic Humanism paralleled the social priorities of the Vichy regime.

[272] Kroll's professional career began in collaboration with his fellow student at la Cambre, Charles Vandenhove, in 1951. He set up his own practice in 1957. Between 1952 and 1957, Kroll and Vandenhove undertook several built commissions, which included independent homes, chapel and parish halls, and industrial exhibitions.

The first was the gradual conversion and reorganization of the Maredsous Abbey for the Benedictine monks near Namur between 1957 and 1972.[273] As per Kroll, and following Bardet, it was in this environment that he first experienced working with different voices: "I could question all those who were involved in the project several times. This seemed to me the most banal way to understand the task at hand. I did not know the group, their practices, and above all, how they shape their personal spaces. Without this knowledge, I could only impose academic and abstract patterns."[274] Through dialogue and mutual understanding, Kroll not only re-programmed the abbey barn into a youth camp and craft workshop, but also responded to the monks' need for an assembly space by building a structure that could be modified and enlarged following the principles of Dutch architect John Habraken and the SAR (Foundation for Architectural Research) technology. Kroll's trusting relationship with the monks throughout this process also earned him his first international commission in Rwanda in 1962.[275]

The second and subsequent project was the design of an apartment cluster in Auderghem-Brussels, conceived and realized between 1962 and 1965.[276] Here, Kroll gathered a group of friends, associates, and relatives among others to imagine a much more cohesive living organization than one presented by the owner. Rather than buyers of land, the group wanted to see themselves as co-generators of place. Instead of independent villas, the members saw value in integrated living. Using his architectural training, Kroll worked with the tenants' desires and individual concerns, negotiated plans, and embodied the "neighborliness" of the project in a way that was comparable to, but cheaper than prevalent welfare development schemes.[277] Furthermore, by designing a contiguous space and by using wholesale materials, Kroll was able to move their group away from detached single-family residences and expensive individual contracts. To create an affordable community life, trusting of one another with differences, was their goal. Later, Kroll remarked, "My motto was: Everyone has the right to argue with everyone without compromising the livability of the whole."[278] To this day, Kroll and his wife,

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[273] Christian Hunziker, "Portrait de Lucien Kroll" in *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui 183*, 1976; Lucien Kroll, *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 18–21.

[274] Lucien Kroll in Bouchain and Collectif, *Simone et Lucien Kroll, une architecture habitée*, 41.

[275] For the Benedictine monks of Maredsous Abbey, Kroll designed the Gihindamuyuga Monastery in Butare, Rwanada (1962-1968). This commission, in turn, led him to other projects with the Rwandan government between 1966 and 1967. See: Kroll, *Lucien Kroll,* 22-31.

[276] Christian Hunziker, "Portrait de Lucien Kroll"; Ibid., 32–35.

[277] Kroll, *Lucien Kroll*.

[278] Kroll in Bouchain and Collectif, *Simone et Lucien Kroll, une architecture habitée*, 58.

collaborator, and well-known French landscaper and pottery artist, Simone, both live, practice, and cultivate gardens in this block.

Weaving together his formal education under Bardet and successive lessons from collaborative practice, Kroll articulated the importance of dialogue and difference in engendering the livability and neighborliness of an environment. In subsequent years, Kroll integrated these twin qualities into the concept of the "vicinitude."[279] For him, the vicinitude was both form and experience, "the opposite of urban solitude … the minimal proximity, vicinity, contiguity, and nearness" vital for individuals and communities to thrive. He clarified that such proximity was "impossible … to induce using (mechanized) forms and judicial purviews."[280] Instead, the vicinitude stemmed from a different attitude, from creativity that was open, dialogic, and distributed, not abstract, closed, or singular. Kroll was careful not to reduce the vicinitude to a "homogenous unit, a religious grouping, or a gated community;" rather, he framed it as a complexity sustained through ongoing negotiations between diverse interests, components, and forms of knowledge. [281] Attitude was key.

Indeed, it was this attitude that led Kroll to position participatory architecture as a shared and expanded practice, centered on people, their daily habits and lived experiences, but equally on the reconfiguration of industrial building methods and local skillsets, away from their "Taylorist" stronghold. Kroll wrote about his working method in various journals throughout the 1970s, but it was his book entitled, "Composants—fait-il industrialiser l'architecture?," first published in 1983 and subsequently released as "An Architecture of Complexity" in 1987 (tr. by Peter Blundell Jones) that explicitly put his practice in conversation with politics, aesthetics, and the building industry.[282] Here, Kroll presented an alternative to what he saw as the underpinnings of

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[279] In his introduction to *Simone and Lucien Kroll*, French philosopher Thierry Paquot traces the development of Kroll's concept of the vicinitude to Bardet's training, in particular, to French sociologist René Maunier's theory of "vicinité" in *Précis d'un traité de sociologie* (1943) that Kroll had read about as a student. Vicinité in Maunier's work implied a sense of "neighborhood" or "kinship" experienced in fine-grained morphology of old towns. For Kroll, however, the vicinitude was less about reconstructing the morphology of the past, and more about offering a socially inclusive alternative to the functionalist plan. See: Thierry Paquot "Simone et Lucien" in ibid., 15–32.
[280] Lucien Kroll, "Aufsatz: Architecture of Conglomerates – Fraunhofer IRB – Baufachinformation.de," 2010.
[281] Lucien Kroll in Bouchain and Collectif, *Simone et Lucien Kroll, une architecture habitée*, 58, NaN-59.
[282] "(Composants) was written in protest against the current preoccupations of certain designers and manufacturers, men of power and influence who are preparing, under the pressure of false economy, to devastate architecture." Further, "In our time, the relationship between architecture and industry is of crucial importance. We bear witness … to the obsession of leaders in both fields with consumerism and creature comforts, to their nostalgia for the 1950s when anything could be sold to anyone, and we also show how the naïveté of the manufacturers is passed on relentlessly from one generation to the next along with their skills." And finally, "We demonstrate an attitude towards industrial components which will permit a new kind of decentralization and a rebirth of the pluralist image."

Taylorism in the works of the "militaristic" modernists and the "pretty" post-modernists: "The modernist pioneers got together in Athens to write themselves a charter for architecture and planning, and Le Corbusier rewrote it to purify it more completely of all reference to tradition, all hesitation, all disorder," and further, "Post-Modernists turn out to be united only in their rejection of modernist forms and in their efforts to detach themselves aesthetically and technically from everything modernist. Yet only appearances change, while underlying procedures and techniques remain the same."[283] In both practices, Kroll saw architecture being realized according to a private vision through rationalizing procedures of economy and speed. In both instances, Kroll witnessed metrics and prescriptions set by the manufacturers. And in both set of responses, Kroll saw a lack of engagement with how architecture is produced on paternalistic logic.[284] In contrast to these considerations, Kroll was keen on seeing "political creativity" at all levels of architectural production, from conception to built realization to lived inhabitation; creativity involving actors and skillsets across a diverse spectrum.

The emphasis on attitude in Kroll's work shared parallels with that of architectural approach in Giancarlo de Carlo's writing. In his seminal piece, entitled "Architecture's Public," the Italian architect and co-founder of Team X, de Carlo challenged what he saw as the Modern Movement's elitist premise, one that reduced architecture to an authoritarian act "for" the public. Instead, de Carlo, embodying the democratic spirit of the late 1960s, argued for viewing architecture as a political and participatory process "with" the public, wherein every participant was the architect and every action inscribed the built environment. Quite like de Carlo, Kroll reformulated the relationship between the products and producers of architecture with reference to participation, use, and the user. But Kroll politicized this argument further by connecting design and use to aesthetics and the building industry. Kroll encouraged his readers to reject excessive specialization and repetition that reproduced Taylorist bureaucracy in both image and form. Instead, and with reference to six of his commissions, he illustrated an approach that adapted, expanded, and decentralized construction systems to embrace values such as "spontaneity and collective instincts," as well as "ambiguity, complexity, subtlety, and

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Lucien Kroll and Peter Blundell Jones, *The Architecture of Complexity*, Composants. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987).
[283] Ibid., 10–11.
[284] As per whose logic: "Is it our own? That of capitalists, of charity, of corporate power?" Ibid., 10.

contradiction" in lived inhabitation.[285] In this book and other writings, Kroll centered his approach on people (how inhabitants add needs and re-create architecture), on technology (how experimenting with industrial building methods and local skillsets create variety), and on the redistribution of power (how to undermine the Taylorist division of architectural production and engender creativity in use).

Finally, Kroll's critique of hierarchy in architectural production also carried with it the Situationists' call for re-imagining the user as principle protagonist in the production of art, in the Situationists' embrace of uncertainty over routine. In Debord's theory of the "constructed situation," the users were the actual producers, both designers and builders of creative events, who responded as much to one another as to the physical space around them. Kroll emphasized upon the Situationists' connection between the social and aesthetic realm not only in design, but also in teaching. In his 1981 piece, entitled "Can Architecture be Taught," Kroll narrated his brief experience with role-play in pedagogy.[286] Kroll's aim was to bring social reality into the academic studio, to have his students assume project-based roles, to respond to each other's expectations, and above all, to teach "why it is that architecture is not made by the architect."[287] Kroll asked his students to become representatives of various interests, to participate in decision-making workshops so that can they learn from each other's perspectives, address questions as they arise, and balance individual expression with group work. In the end, however, he left teaching, feeling frustrated about what he saw as an academic cocoon: "…reality was nonexistent, remote, deformed, it hardly penetrated into this cozy sanctum, with its slow pace of life, in which the world was remodeled with trivia and illusions."[288] Despite good intentions and best effort on the part of students, Kroll found the entrenched "isolationalism" of academia, the privileging of what he considered formal abstraction over contextual play, hard to reconcile.

What do these experiences suggest for the way Kroll viewed space and its relationship to society? For Kroll, the incorporation of daily needs, practices, and desires into the processes of design and construction offered a way to weave together the discourse and practice of space. Kroll's commentary against the "Disneyfication" of Pessac housing was an important example in

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[285] In Kroll's words, "We must remain coldly critical and not be seduced by power or propaganda, and we must question hypocrisy, so that in the end we can take advantage of the means, and make the most of every opportunity to exploit prevailing conditions as the expressive basis of an architecture." See: Kroll, *Lucien Kroll*, 10–15.

[286] Lucien Kroll and Byron Mikellides, "Can Architecture Be Taught?," *Journal of Architectural Education* 35, no. 1 (September 1, 1981): 36–39.

[287] Ibid., 36.

[288] Ibid., 39.

this realm. In Pessac's restoration work, he saw the reappearance of the Modern Movement's (CIAM) indiscriminate plan to manipulate space as if it were a neutral entity that could be molded by policy, program, or drawing to contain and direct social life. Instead, Kroll with his awareness of voice and difference saw space as a projection of everyday practices on the ground, which together with open decision-making and adapted construction systems rendered space its heterogeneous and material quality. Pessac's spaces not only changed and grew with people's lived-in rituals, but also with reference to its physical configuration.

Throughout his writings, Kroll seldom theorized space. However, he frequently used the term "paysage" to discuss space and its relationship to society: "What we mean by 'paysage' is what is produced by innumerable compatible actions of inhabitants who continually weave the relations between things, and not the big arbitrary decisions which produce the monumental, which produce propaganda," and further, "We say 'paysage' in the sense of a complex medium … a longue durée, involving the past, the present, and the future, a framework on which the proposed new project is only a moment in history and continues to evolve without us."[289] Paysage as space, in other words, was both an outcome and an extended process of decision-making between and among negotiators, which included the inhabitants, but also designers and other technical experts, both in the moment and those associated with the project over time. Society was implied in its agency as a milieu of social relations that structure space. The relationship between space and society for Kroll was one of mutuality: the organization of social relations was the organization of space.

Bernard Tschumi and Program-Oriented Conception of Space

Four years after the release of Henri Lefebvre's *Le droit à la ville,* the Architectural Design (AD) magazine featured a review of the book in September 1972 by Bernard Tschumi. Tschumi (or Tchumi as printed) was then a tutor at the AA school in London.[290] He summarized the main points of the book and concluded with a commentary. *Le droit à la ville* was the first of

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[289] Lucien Kroll, À propos de la réalisation des "Vignes Blanches" à Cergy-Pontoise, 1977 in Bouchain and Collectif, *Simone et Lucien Kroll, une architecture habitée*, 74.
[290] Bernard Tchumi, "Henri Lefebvre's 'Le droit à la ville" in Architecture Design (September 1972): 581-2.

Lefebvre's five seminal writings on the social production of space.[291] In this pioneering work, itself a culmination of a series of essays, Lefebvre presented a radical new imagination of the city that lay outside state or capitalist control. The city, for Lefebvre, was an actively lived environment where individuals, not defined by their legal status or citizenship, produced urban space following their needs, desires, and daily life practices. The book highlighted the contradictions between state structure and everyday life, and called for people's right to resist "alienation" and to take ownership of space through use. According to Lefebvre, the right to the city was as much a theory of urban space as it was a theory of urban social relations, but Tschumi saw the text more as a social study than a spatial one: "It says littel [sic] on the theoretical level—no planner, no revolutionary will find there the long awaited tools of objective attack, only students will—for, his methodological distinctions are above all important in the social sense."[292] Tschumi acknowledged that Lefebvre's writing "usefully defines different levels of consciousness of society," but also noted that it considers space "only as a product of the social structure."[293] Tschumi saw immense value in Lefebvre's analysis of urban society, in the idea that society "errupts" through "expressed desire" in the city, and that by mapping out these desires, one could make visible urban contradictions. However, by viewing space as "only" a product of social relations, he found Lefebvre's text limited in offering an understanding of the roles that space and architecture could play in addressing these contradictions. That same year, Tschumi's wrote a paper entitled, "The Environmental Trigger" (published 1975), in which he responded to this lack and developed an argument on architecture's social and political agency.[294]

To Tschumi, the pursuit of liberation and political desire through architecture was fundamental. Having lived through the events of May 1968 in Paris, he questioned the "twenties"

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[291] *Le droit à la ville* in 1968, its complementary text *Espace et Politique* in 1972, *L'irruption de Nanterre au sommet* in 1968, *La revolution urbaine* in 1970, *La pensée marxiste et la ville* in 1972, and *La Production de l'espace* published in 1974. See also: The English translation of Le droit à la ville in Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (tr.), "The right to the city" in Writings on Cities, Oxford: Blackwell, 1996, pp.63-181.
[292] Tchumi, "Henri Lefebvre's 'La droit à la ville', 582.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Bernard Tschumi, "The Environmental Trigger" in James Gowan, *A Continuing Experiment: Learning and Teaching at the Architectural Association* (London: Architectural Press, 1975); The text was first prepared for and delivered at the AA Symposium in 1972. See: Bernard Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994), 6.

view of architectural space as a revolutionary instrument for structural change.[295] Formally educated in Zurich at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) and trained in Paris under Candilis-Josic-Woods (teachers at the École and leading members of Team X), Tschumi's inquiry into the relationship between society and space grew out of the actual sites and activities of the '68 protest, and in connection with the theoretical works of Lefebvre, the Situationists, Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, Denis Hollier, and Georges Bataille.[296] By 1970, Tschumi started teaching at the Architectural Association in London, encouraging his students to reconsider how architecture might address urban conflicts, in his words, "to design the conditions" rather than "to condition the design" of upheavals.[297] Following Lefebvre, and quite in the spirit of that time, Tschumi was critical of architecture's complicity in the political status quo.[298] But he remained committed to what he called the project of "architectural imagination." Tschumi reflected: "A key slogan of 1968 was 'Imagination takes power.' I felt at that time that while many social and political activists were articulate about the mechanisms of power, they often forgot the first term of the equation: imagination."[299] Within the supportive environment of the AA school, and in coordination with thinkers on art, architecture, literature, and film, he furthered his inquiry. "The Environmental Trigger" was an important text in this context.

By way of a more general theory of uprisings in cities such as Belfast, Liverpool, London, and Los Angeles, Tschumi first aligned his position in "The Environmental Trigger" with that of Lefebvre— "Urban rationality and efficiency have been a cover for political and social strategies that find more and more difficulty in containing growing discontent and contradictions"[300]—and then couched his strategies for action within architect's specific environmental knowledge: "Environmental knowledge (not building) can contribute to polarizing urban conflicts and

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[295] Tschumi challenged the assumptions underlying the experiments of revolutionaries such as Russian Constructivists, the notion that new society and social behaviors may follow new organizations of space. See: Tchumi, "Henri Lefebvre's La droit à la ville," 583.

[296] Ellen Dunham-Jones, "The Generation of '68-Today; Tschumi, Koolhaas and the Institutionalization of Critique," Proceedings of the 86th ACSA Annual Meeting and Technology Conference (1998), pp.527-33, 528.

[297] Tschumi, Introduction in *Architecture and Disjunction*, 6.

[298] "The Architectural Paradox" in Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*.

[299] Ibid., Introduction, 15.

[300] Tschumi identified conflicts over housing inequalities and land control in the hands of a few as contradictions in society, and stated that these contradictions often remain covered up by moral and political order. Quite like Lefebvre, Tschumi also argued that architects did little to reveal these contradictions and that they continued to produce and reproduce the dominant power relations by a. adapting space to the existing socioeconomic structures and b. devising programs, which reproduced the status quo. He concluded that the practice of architecture had failed to effect desired social change and that it concealed social contradictions by serving as an extension of social power structures. Tschumi, "The Environmental Trigger" in Gowan, *A Continuing Experiment*, 91.

inducing a radical change. Architecture is the adaptation of space to the existing social structures…The only possible architectural action of a revolutionary nature is rhetorical."[301] Tschumi's emphasis on environmental knowledge was tied to his interest in building urban consciousness, in using the knowledge and experience of urban contradictions to construct "an essential background to actions of decisive nature."[302] And further: "to accelerate the process of collapse and to turn urban conflicts into new structures."[303] Confronted with the question of architecture as a revolutionary force, Tschumi offered three alternative approaches to "influence" social change: 1) rhetorical actions, 2) subversive analysis, and 3) counterdesign.

Rhetorical actions included tactics such as squatting and temporary occupations of space that rendered a sense of "immediacy" to pursuits of awareness building. Tschumi's subversive analysis—the direction he took to raise questions about space and architecture—was part of his interest in "demystifying" knowledge about how environments come into being. In comparison and in connection to both rhetorical action and subversive analysis, counterdesign was explicitly architectural, in that it aimed to transform plans and perspectives from being an "end-product" (tied to the establishment), to becoming a radical artifact (tied to a specific political concern). Using the work of Italian radicals such as Superstudio ("Continuous Monument," 1969) and Archizoom ("No-Stop City, 1969) as examples of counterdesign, Tschumi however cautioned against the appropriation of such counter products for mass consumption: "Not only is (counterdesign) meant to be an ideological explanation that intends to demystify and discredit the architectural daydream, but also it can be effective only if part of a public mobilization (exhibitions, meetings) of the threatened ones against schemes that negate their right to the city."[304] In other words, for Tschumi, it was through public mobilization that architectural representations could assume and sustain its transformative meaning.

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[301] Ibid., 93.
[302] Ibid., 92.
[303] Ibid., 95.
[304] The tools for influencing change through architectural means in Tschumi's text extended Lefebvre's critique of the profession in useful directions for both students and design practitioners. At the same time, those tools shared parallels with three distinct views of space that Martin Pawley and Tschumi pointed out in their analysis of the French political and educational context in "Beaux Arts since '68." I will discuss this text, published in AD in September 1971, in the section on his intellectual points of contact with Lefebvre. For the purposes of current discussion, however, it is useful to note that Tschumi's own work on questions of space, a form of "subversive analysis," gradually adopted tactics of "counterdesign" with works such as "Advertisements for Architecture" (1975-1977), "The Manhattan Transcripts" (1978-1981), and Parc de la Villette (1982-1987). Ibid., 98.

Through rhetorical action and counterdesign, Tschumi extended the problem of contradictions internal to society into the nature of the discipline itself, particularly, with respect to its essence, space.[305] In *Questions of Space* (1975) Tschumi said that to define space etymologically meant two things, "to state the precise nature of space": a descriptive dimension of concern to philosophy, mathematics and physics and "to make space distinct": a normative dimension of traditional concern to art and architecture. Tracing this etymological distinction to the history of spatial concepts within architecture he argued that the nature of the discipline too was split between two approaches; one, a conceptual approach that focused on ideas and defined architecture as a thing of the mind, architecture as a "dematerialized" discipline; and two, an empirical approach that focused on the senses and defined architecture as the experience of material space, architecture as "a praxis, with all its subjectivity."[306] Referring to the split within the nature of the discipline between its conceptual and the empirical dimensions, Tschumi said that architecture was about two terms, the concept of space and the experience of space, and further described the relationship between the two as a contradiction.

Architectural space, Tschumi explained, was conceptual for it was the product of the mind and yet architectural space was real for it affected bodily senses. In order to illustrate this dualism, he borrowed the metaphorical opposition between the *Pyramid* and the *Labyrinth* from literary theorist Denis Hollier's book on surrealist George Bataille (1974) and said that the conceptual approach to architecture could be visualized by the Pyramid or the "ultimate model of reason" while the empirical approach to space could be imagined by the Labyrinth or the "prison of sensations."[307] From the perspective of the Pyramid, architecture was concerned with stating the nature of space, a concern that positioned the discipline exclusively in the realm of concepts. It was here, he argued that essence preceded existence, the modernist Avant-garde felt free to act, idea dominated matter and the discipline of architecture became "dematerialized." The Pyramid for Tschumi symbolized a withdrawal from material reality and represented a realm that offered freedom from socioeconomic constraints of the actual building processes. Against this and from the perspective of the Labyrinth, architecture was concerned with making space distinct, a

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[305] "Architecture was about two mutually exclusive terms—space and its use, or in a more theoretical sense, the concept of space and the experience of space. The interplay between space and activities appeared to me as a possible route to bypass some of the obstacles that accompanied many anxieties about the social and political role of architecture." Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*, 17.
[306] "The Architectural Paradox" in ibid., 48–50.
[307] Ibid.

sensory concern that put emphasis on movement, daily life practices, and on the shaping and perception of distinct spaces. It was however a prison for he explained that in the act of determining the boundaries of space, new spaces were always created through sensory interplays between the actual limit of space and other objects occupying wider space. Therefore, unlike the Pyramid offered no possibility of release.[308] Between the binaries of the Pyramid and the Labyrinth, the conceived space and the perceived space, theory and practice, reason and perception, object and subject, rationality and irrationality, and the conceptual and empirical approaches to architecture, Tschumi argued that it was impossible to simultaneously conceive and perceive the same space, "architecture (…) always misses something, either reality or concept."[309] That is, while architecture constitutes the reality of experience, this reality gets in the way of concept, and while architecture constitutes the abstraction of absolute truth, this truth interrupts feeling. The relationship between the two for Tschumi was, therefore, a contradiction: architecture was both a Pyramid and a Labyrinth, and he defined this contradiction as an "architectural paradox." Tschumi clarified that the paradox was not in the impossibility of simultaneously perceiving the spatial concept and a spatial reality, but in simultaneously experiencing a space through perception and movement, and thinking that we experienced that space, in other words, the impossibility of conceiving and perceiving the same space at the same time.

Furthermore, in borrowing the statement "The concept of dog does not bark" from Dutch philosopher Spinoza, Tschumi situated the architectural paradox in the post-structuralist critique of the stability of Saussure's sign.[310] In Tschumi's articulation of the opposition between the concept and experience of space, it was the functioning of Saussure's sign that provided him the literary parallel with which to substantiate this argument further. In Saussure's structural linguistics the signified was privileged over the signifier.[311] Saussure claimed that the signified

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[308] For Tschumi, the Pyramid represented the conceived space or the dematerialized mental space where matter was molded by reason. The Pyramid focused on the analysis of architectural object, excluded the question of the subject (ref. subject-object dualism), and sought to arrive at "ideal" architectural forms through the manipulation of "linguistic metaphors." In contrast, the Labyrinth represented the perceived space, or the space of the senses where matter was defined by perception. The Labyrinth negated the abstract object and dealt with the human subject's sensorial reality. Ibid.

[309] Ibid., 28.

[310] See: Louis Martin, "Transpositions: On the Intellectual Origins of Tschumi's Architectural Theory," Assemblage, no. 11 (April 1990): 23–35.

[311] In the Saussurian view the relationship between the signifier (real sound image) and the signified (abstract concept) was arbitrary and differential. He explained it is arbitrary because there is no reason why the letters or the sound of the phoneme "d-o-g", for example, would produce an image or a concept of a four-legged animal in our

(the abstract concept) was pure and transcendental, and that *meaning* is evoked within language itself and not by an individual external to language. According to him, we are all born into a language system which predates us and which is independent of us. When we use language, we not only enter into its structure of rules, but also into a repository of cultural meanings evoked in those rules. Through this, a sign becomes established in a linguistic community and when that happens, an individual willfully is never able to alter it.[312] What also follows from Saussure's explanation is that within the bounded constitution of the signifier and the signified, the sign is stable, and that language consisting of signs and formed of arbitrary and differential rules between the signified and the signifier is self-contained, self-regulating, and always complete in itself.

In laying the foundations of semiology, however, as Louis Martin notes, Saussure privileged the spoken dimension of language over the written: relegating writing to a supplement of speech.[313] The spoken word for him guaranteed an immediacy through which meaning was evoked and communicated instantly. Saussure argued that in the spoken word, there never existed a temporal or spatial distance between the speaker, the speech, and the listener, as the speaker would always hear themselves speak at the same time as the listener.[314] Saussure's both positions: the stability of the sign and the belief that the spoken word alone represented concepts and meanings in real world was subsequently critiqued in the works of post-structuralists, Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida. On the one hand, Barthes reversed Saussure's proposition with his emphasis on the text. On the other hand, Derrida gave similar priority to writing, and further emphasized that meaning, as explained by Saussure, was not a product: static, singular, and born out of a structure of rules of a sign system, but that meaning was a process: always shifting, plural, and generated within a sign system by a series of interpretations.[315] For Derrida, the written language brought the reader to the realization that binaries, as discussed by Saussure,

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brains. There is nothing inherent in these written signs or their auditory impressions, which is directly connected to the nature of dogs. Furthermore, it is differential because the way in which the signifiers are processed has nothing to do with their relationship with the signified. Instead, the processing of signifiers is a result of their difference from other signifiers. Between the signified and the signifier then, meaning is evoked in their relationship of difference and such differences could be understood as binaries: dog is a sign, an animal that barks rather than mews (a dog is not a cat). See: Richard Kearney, *Modern Movements in European Philosophy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

[312] Richard Kearney, *Modern Movements in European Philosophy*.

[313] Martin, "Transpositions."

[314] Richard Kearney, *Modern Movements in European Philosophy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

[315] Ibid.

were not mutually exclusive, but that there were ideas in the text that overlapped these dichotomies in ways that they would exist in both. It was this endless overlap, which he contended, led to the undoing of the stability of the sign and the structure of a linguistic system. Extending this post-structuralist critique of the stability of Saussure's sign to architecture, Tschumi borrowed the famous dictum of Spinoza and to it, added his own, the "concept of space is not **in** space". Through this he explained that meaning is not located in real space, and that there is a "disjunction" between the concept of space and the experience of space. Tschumi was critical of the particular premise of architecture, the idea that meaning is inherent to architectural form. He referenced film theory, quoting Gilles Deleuze's "the concepts of film are not given in a film," to support his own.[316] The implication of Tschumi's claim was that (architectural) space is neutral, and that meaning is not permanently embedded in space. Instead, through his notions of the "event" and "program," Tschumi explained that space does not exist in itself and that meaning is constantly evoked through events that take place in space, as well as the use to which a space is put, or that meaning is associative.[317] For Tschumi, the notion of the "event" was critical means for understanding space and its relationship to society.

In his theorizing of the event, Tschumi drew parallels with literary theory and said, "the unfolding of events in a literary context inevitably suggested parallels to the unfolding of the events in architecture."[318] The notion of event in Tschumi's theory referred to "situations" that emerged out of the dynamic movement of bodies in space as well as from the interaction and interrelation between bodies in motion and objects in space. In both space and time, events gave rise to unexpected uses of space. Tschumi explained that a number of events, mutually independent, comparable or completely different, when put together constituted what he referred to as the "program." Tschumi's conception of the program was a departure from the traditional idea of an architectural program as a list of functions. He critiqued the programming of space in terms of function and commented on the institutionalization of political power through such programming. Between space, event and program then, Tschumi's theory implied that meaning was dependent on social conditions, but unlike the structuralist argument of meaning being

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[316] Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*, 252.
[317] Bernard Tschumi and N.Y.) Museum of Modern Art (New York, *Event-Cities: Praxis* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994).
[318] Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*, 146.

absolute, pure and stable, Tschumi claimed that it was relative, changeable and dynamic, made possible through the intersections of three otherwise mutually exclusive entities.

To further explore the architectural paradox, Tschumi turned to the literary texts of Roland Barthes and Dennis Hollier on Georges Bataille, and superposed Barthes' *Pleasure of the Text* onto Bataille's *Theory of Eroticism* (1974).[319] In The Pleasure of the Text, Barthes associated the theory of the text with the concept of pleasure. Considering a literary text as an object of analysis, he argued that linguistic models by themselves cannot be used to explain a writer's literary text because one, such analysis would abstract the elements of the texts to the extent that it would ultimately fail to reflect its idiosyncrasies, and two, it would also completely ignore the reader's personal appreciation and reading of that text. Through this he described that text as an object was split between the writer and the reader and suggested that only a third term could subvert this split. He introduced the concept of *pleasure* as this third term and further explained that it can free literary semiotics from structural rules because pleasure as a concept lay beyond any particular ideology. Barthes claimed that in the text of pleasure, it is not the fixed ideas, but languages (or, forms) that get transmitted. In this way, the exchange of the text between the writer and the reader did not involve any particular idea to be transmitted from the former to the latter. Through this, the central concept in semiology—the definitive link between the signifier and the signified—got challenged, making the signified a non-definitive entity. Barthes offered the work of surrealist Georges Bataille, who did not "counter modesty with sexual freedom but (…) with laughter," as an example of the third term and said that concept of pleasure did not proceed from "liberalism" but from "perversion," and that it was this perversion that also carried the erotic side of the pleasure of the text.[320]

Bataille had examined the notion of eroticism in relation to its corresponding elements of taboo, transgression, death and pleasure.[321] He said, that the "knowledge of eroticism (…) demands an equal and contradictory personal experience of prohibitions and transgressions" (p. 36). Transgression was therefore the move toward ecstasy in the face of an overwhelming rational nature and this he described as integral to eroticism. Bataille's theory of eroticism was

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[319] Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, Plaisir Du Texte. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975); Georges Bataille, *L'erotisme* (Editions de Minuit, 1972); See also: Georges Bataille, *Erotism: Death & Sensuality*, Erotisme.English (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1986).
[320] Martin, "Transpositions." See also: Joseph Wong, "Reading of Tschumi, Spring 1993, MIT (ref: http://personal.cityu.edu.hk/~bsjwong/tschumi.htm).
[321] Renata Hejduk, "Death Becomes Her: Transgression, Decay, and eROTicism in Bernard Tschumi's Early Writings and Projects," *The Journal of Architecture* 12, no. 4 (September 1, 2007): 393–404.

centered on the dialectical relationship between rationalizing thought and an internal individual experience. He explained this dialectics through the notion of taboo and said that "if we observe the taboo, if we submit to it, we are no longer conscious of it (…) for the inner experience of eroticism demands from the subject sensitiveness to the anguish at the heart of the taboo no less great than the desire which leads him to infringe it. This is religious sensibility, and it always links desire closely with terror, intense pleasure and anguish."[322] However, Bataille's notion of the inner experience was not the same as mystical experience; it had nothing to do with an ineffable or an indescribable moment. Instead, the inner experience was a notion through which he proposed to rethink the contradictory relations between rational thought and perceived experience. He was convinced that language can and does communicate even the deepest and the most interior of experiences.

Superposing Barthes' Pleasure of the Text onto Bataille's Theory of Eroticism then, Tschumi further described a metaphorical correspondence of the architectural paradox with eroticism and life and death, and following Barthes, proposed that the solution to architectural paradox lay in a third term: the "inner experience of eroticism", which he arrived at by conflating Bataille's notions of eroticism and deep interior experience.[323] In describing the first metaphorical correspondence of architectural paradox with eroticism, Tschumi borrowed Bataille's notion of "eroticism as the pleasure of excess rather than the excess of pleasure." Tschumi defined pleasure as a double concept, involving both mind and senses, both conception and perception, and explained that just as sensory experience of space or the Labyrinth alone does not constitute architecture, the pure pleasure of senses alone does not define eroticism. Instead, eroticism by nature was both a universal concept as well as a particular and personal experience; and architecture with its paradoxical nature of both conceptual and empirical realms was the ultimate erotic object. In the second metaphorical correspondence of the paradox with life and death, Tschumi transposed Bataille's contemplation of death and its association with decay onto architecture. He referred to useful buildings and buildings under use as "young life" and termed historic white ruins as "decent death". Between the two, he redirected his criticism toward Modernism, and called it puritanical for separately admiring both life and death and condemning

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[322] Bataille, quoted in Karla L. Schultz, "Bataille's 'L'Erotisme' in Light of Recent Love Poetry," *Pacific Coast Philology* 22, no. 1/2 (1987): 78–87.
[323] Martin, "Transpositions."

decaying buildings where the two come together.[324] Tschumi identified this moment of the coming together of both life and death as an erotic moment, and once again defined eroticism as a double excess: the excess of architecture's rationality and the sensual pleasure of seeing the building as a process of decay. Architecture in its state of decay became erotic and he illustrated this paradoxical correspondence in his 1975 Villa Savoye Advertisements for Architecture.

Through this work, Tschumi showed the taboo surrounding many of the modern movement's attitudes. He criticized the then "functionalist" view of architecture, which rested upon the model of hygiene, efficiency and use, that is, of the "seamless coincidence between space and its use" and where "the building (…) must work, answering to its designated use."[325] In contrast, Corbusier's Villa Savoye in its state of filth, decay and non-use offered Tschumi the perfect example to challenge such self-imposed limits of correspondence between space and its use that further deemed everything functional of value and everything non-functional as of non-architectural value. The only way out, he proposed, was "the imaginary blending of the architectural rule and the experience of pleasure." Through the concept of pleasure, Tschumi emphasized upon the need to overcome unacceptable yet dominant rational rules of correspondence of space and use (program); rethink the relation between space and everything that happens in space (event); and go beyond rational experience toward an experience as generated out of unexpected uses and interactions in space. The pleasure of architecture lay in the "experience" born out of confrontation of material space, social event and the architectural program. In this way, the reconciling space or the space of inner experience was one that was formed and always forming by the intersection of his theoretical triad: space, event and program.

Points of Contact in Print: Henri Lefebvre, Lucien Kroll, and Bernard Tschumi

Among the journals and exhibition catalogues that curated the post-68 impulse in architectural thinking, two are particularly noteworthy for this chapter: 1) the 1981 catalogue, edited by Chantal Béret and Lucette Lombard-Valentino, and titled *Architectures en France: Modernité/Postmodernité* (Architecture in France: Modernity/Postmodernity); and 2) the 1983 ArtPress Special on architecture, also edited by Chantal Béret in partnership with Catherine

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[324] Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*.
[325] Bernard Tschumi, "Urban Pleasures and the Moral Good," *Assemblage*, no. 25 (1994): 12.

Millet, and titled *Libérer L'Architecture* (Liberating Architecture).[326] Together, these publications not only mark out points of scholarly contact between Lucien Kroll-Henri Lefebvre (Modernity/Postmodernity), and Lucien Kroll-Bernard Tschumi (Liberating Architecture), but also allow us to compare their individual responses to a common set of framing questions concerning the state of modernist architecture in France, as well as the rest of Western Europe. Before enlisting their shared themes, let us consider these publications one by one.

The 1981 Modernity/Postmodernity catalogue accompanied the exhibition by the same name at the French Institute of Architecture in Paris. The volume included a total of 28 contributions from writers, thinkers, and architects—all mostly French with the exception of American architect-theorist Charles Jencks, Italian architect-historian Bruno Zevi, and exiled Cuban architect Ricardo Porro. The majority of works reviewed the French architecture in the years between 1970 and 1980, and offered critical reflections on emerging debates in the region. However, rather than classifying these debates as oppositions—modernity versus postmodernity—Béret's curatorial frame positioned them as "schools of thought" on a spectrum—from modernity to postmodernity—sharing mutual "affinités."[327]

In her two-page editorial, Béret offered a critique of the Modern movement's universalizing ideology by narrating the rise and fall of Cité Olivier de Serres at Villeurbanne, a housing project built in 1962 and demolished after a series of protests in 1978. In her view, the Villeurbanne residents' resistance was a "logical response" to the acts of violence inscribed in its urbanism and socio-economic conditions.[328] Close on the heels of May '68 events, these protests confirmed for Béret the "ruptures" and "conflicts" within the "theses of the Modern Movement":

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[326] Centre de création industrielle, "Architectures en France modernité, post-modernité.," 1981. Béret, Chantal. "Libérer l'architecture," Art Press, Spécial Architecture, 1983.

[327] In her introduction titled, "La querelle des architectes: vieux Modernes, jeunes Anciens, nouveaux «Ni-Ni»" (The Architects' Dispute: Old Moderns, Young Ancients, New "Neither-Nor")," Chantal Béret notes: "Schématiquement, et au risque d'être arbitraire, on distinguera quatre tendances principales qui vont de la Modernité à la post-modernité. Ce ne sont pas pour autant des catégories étiquetables, délimitées et imperméables les unes aux autres-des points communs pouvant les ramifier en d'autres jeux d'oppositions-mais plutôt des affinités d'école et de pensée." (Schematically, and maybe arbitrarily, we distinguish four architectural trends that range from modernity to postmodernity. None of them are to be read as bounded and impermeable categories. Rather, they branch out of common concerns, less as oppositions and more as shared affinities and schools of thought). Architectures en France: Modernité/Post-Modernité. Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1981, 7.

[328] "A la violence de l'architecture répond logiquement une résistance violente" (To violent architecture the logical response is violent resistance). Here, Béret also criticized Le Corbusier's "effort international" by describing it as a form of Taylorism. However, and following Monique Yaari, Béret comments on the whole were directed less towards Corbusier and more towards what she viewed as the modernist dogma: "The rebellion chronicled by Béret … is in the final analysis more critical of the establishment than of Le Corbusier." Ibid., 6; Monique. Yaari, *Rethinking the French City: Architecture, Dwelling, and Display after 1968*, Architecture, Technology, Culture ;2 (Amsterdam ; New York: Rodopi, 2008), 13–14.

"Lost illusions… the curse is brought down … on housing projects and bedroom communities, … inevitable consequences of capitalist pragmatism and the spread of materialism whether through rejection (on the part of the inhabitants), political discourse … or polemic."[329] At the same time, she also expressed caution against the doctrine's complete dismissal: "Into the vacuum created by the collapse of the modernist dogma … one could (now) see the return of two contradictory truths: past and present, scholarly and the popular … (side by side) … a set of imaginations … not based on a single principle, but on the development of (multiple) meanings."[330] Béret saw connections between and among emerging trends in the French architectural profession. She resisted assigning them entirely to the category of postmodern aesthetics, particularly as popularized by Charles Jencks, and furthermore, concluded by stating that there is room for multiple positions to emerge and coexist with and through the modernist doctrine.[331]

Two years later, the 1983 ArtPress Special on architecture—"Libérer L'Architecture"—brought together a wider range of architects, as well as artists, writers, philosophers, historians, and sociologists from both Western Europe and the United States to address the then disciplinary problematic: how to respond to the modernist dogma with criteria specific to various national cultures?[332] This time around, Chantal Béret and her co-editor Catherine Millet created an extensive schema for classifying authors' contribution; their new vocabulary included such pairings as "Outside and Inside; Architect and User; Past and Present; Past, Present, and Future; Dream and Reality; Sky and Earth; and Art and Architecture."[333] This diagram furthered Béret's interest in the multi-variant language of post-68 architecture, in her words, "a language that takes

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[329] Ibid.; Also, see the full original quote and translation in: Monique. Yaari, 13.
[330] Centre de création industrielle, "Architectures en France modernité, post-modernité.," 7.
[331] Ibid. "Que cent fleurs s'épanouissent, que cent écoles rivalisent." (Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred flowers compete).
[332] Spelled out more clearly in co-editor Catherine Millet's piece, "libérer l'architecture": "Les architectes et les théoriciens de l'architecture qui s'élèvent contre le Style International et ses conséquences dogmatiques, leur reprochant d'emprisonner sous une même chape de béton le monde entier, ne sont ils pas animés du même chape de béton le monde entier, ne sont-ils pas animés du même sentiment que les organisateurs, par exemple, des récentes expositions de Documenta ou Zeitgeist à Berlin, soucieux de résister à l'uniformation des styles en mettant l'accent sur des critères propres à certaines cultures nationales?" (Architects and architectural theorists who objected to the International Style and its dogmatic consequences, reproaching them to imprison under the same screed, are they not animated by the same concrete scenery the world, are they not animated by the same feelings as the organizers, for example, of the recent Documenta or Zeitgeist exhibition in Berlin, eager to resist the uniformity of styles with emphasis on criteria specific to certain national cultures?), 5.
[333] Ibid.,3 Lucien Kroll's contribution "Pour une demilitarization de l'acte de bâtir" (For a demilitarization of the act of building) was featured under "Architect and User" whilst Bernard Tschumi's "Architecture, limites, et programme" (Architecture, limits, and program) was placed under "Dream and Reality."

into account the memory of local context" through various operatives such as "accumulation, collage, fragmentation, participation, and computing technology."[334] In these tactics, Béret saw a way of liberating architecture from what she considered the "violence of modernist space" and its "rationalist straightjacket."[335] However, in her editorial piece, she once again concluded not by arguing for a total escape from the modernist doctrine, but by wondering about its "unavoidable" co-presence: "Is the way to reconsider the dualities of abstraction / realism, archaism / modernity, fascination of the past / interest in the future ... young Ancients / old Moderns through the doctrine commonly seen as pernicious"?[336]

In the accompanying piece, Catherine Millet articulated questions similar to Béret's when describing their motivations for, and experiences with, the special issue: "We called this volume 'Liberating Architecture' … to transcend the rigidity of doctrines, as well as any economic and technocratic power. But, perhaps (doing so) is taking it to another trap: this issue is proof enough that architects are not against dialogue, but those who respond to such a call also benefit from a whole network of interconnected references, symbols, myths, of impressions, of unconscious resonances," in short, "one is never fully liberated, as one always maintains a thousand linkages."[337]

Seen together, the editorial contents of Modernité/Postmodernité and ArtPress volume structured the discussion on emerging debates in French architecture around three interrelated themes. The first theme involved an explicit criticism of large-scale French housing projects along with a commentary on the type of expertise and socio-political conditions that produced them. Béret's opening sentiments on Villeurbanne protests and modernist technocracy in both publications set the tone for how the contributors' might approach this concern. The second theme focused on wider symbolic references inherent in emerging architectural trends—symbols that brought to surface a new set of dialogical frameworks of architectural thought and professional practice. The ArtPress issue expressed this ambition more clearly, particularly in framing the question of liberating architecture from the influence of economy and modernist technocracy as a paradox. The third theme called upon a broader reflection on modern/postmodern architecture and urbanism, as well as their French inflection following the

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[334] Béret, "Un passage par l'eclectisme." Ibid.,5
[335] Béret's point of reference may have been the Villeurbanne revolts, although she did not explicitly cite this example here. Ibid.,5
[336] Ibid.
[337] Ibid.

events of May 1968. Béret was interested in the authors' nuanced critique of the modernist doctrine—not limited to architectural style—and the ways in which a diverse group of French intellectuals might inform debates on the relationship between the modern and the postmodern. It is at these three interconnected scales that we might read the respective arguments of Lefebvre, Kroll, and Tschumi. Let us turn to their contributions.

In his article for Béret and Lombard-Valentino's catalogue, Lefebvre argued against two dominant and oppositional scales of production of space: 1) that of urbanism defined by the logic and practices of technocrats and planners, and 2) that of architectural form conceived in isolation from urban constraints and everyday life. At the level of urbanism, Lefebvre saw the planners' map as an abstraction and a tool with representational power over city's architecture. He cited military cities, princely towns, and colonial cities as examples of such logic in history. He also found evidence of this power in modern-day French towns such as Évry in the suburbs of Paris. At the architectural level, Lefebvre discussed the limitations of formal prototypes, each with their own symbolisms and ideologies. He noted that such projects lack urban unity, and furthermore, observed this "close to a point" in Ricardo Bofill's Marne-la-Vallée housing construction near Paris (1978-1982)—a marked departure from his previous appreciation of Bofill's "City in Space" project (1969-1972).

On the one hand, Lefebvre's argument for the catalogue remained consistent with his spatial writings from the late-1960s to mid-1970s. As with each of those influential works, here again, Lefebvre structured the discussion on French urbanism and architecture around issues of social space: "How to bring to surface the relationship between urbanism and architecture if not through a general theory of social space … a theory far from being complete, an ongoing product of research and interdisciplinary work." On the other hand, Lefebvre added many more contemporary examples to advance his theory. Among them, his critique of Bofill's Marne-la-Vallée housing was particularly striking. Lefebvre not only found this project exclusive in form and style, but also withdrawn from the social and political processes of urbanization in the city. The extremes of urbanism and architecture summarized for him the "disjunctions" between "mental space, projected space, and social space" in contemporary French landscape. Lefebvre stressed that "social space in its most comprehensive sense must include both urbanism and architecture, as well as territorial organization, communication networks, information networks, etc." And further concluded that it is at this inclusive scale—"points of contact, but also

differences, disagreements, and fractures"—that we may collectively begin to produce a new city and a new architecture.

One could read a version of Lefebvre's argument about relations between things and systems in Lucien Kroll's contribution to the same volume. In the text titled "Participations," Kroll described his design approach as a way to produce an architectural "tissu" (tissue) that weaves together a range of relationships in space, whilst also honoring "the unknowns, the mysteries, the absurdities, the contradictions … the depth of history, actions as well as their evolution—both private and collective." In contradistinction to an environment evocative of Roman or American military camps—"rangement" (arrangement)—the tissue symbolized for Kroll a "complex texture … organic, intuitive, Taoist, Situationist, religious." Towards this end, he called for a simultaneous "decolonization" of the architectural profession defined by an authoritarian paradigm (hinting at CIAM-led motivations) and a renewed "contact" with the "vulgarity" of everyday life: "Architecture has mingled with the poor neighborhoods of New York, Peru, Brussels, India, etc. to rebuild new convictions and to relativize previous certainties … the new 'paysage' (landscape) is produced by successive negotiations and countless small, compatible decisions. And not one by artifice and calculated control; by residential gestures, not shapes or objects."

The notion of landscape ("paysage") is a recurring theme in Kroll's work. As with subsequent writings, he used it here in a dual sense: an outcome of relational actions and an attitude that embraces the contradictions of everyday life. It is more when illustrating the latter that Kroll, like Lefebvre, touched upon the need to mediate scales of bureaucracy through expert negotiation. In his introductions to two housing projects—Vignes-Blanches and Alençon—Kroll discussed how he dealt not just with their material constraints, but also with a range of actors, including developers (Vignes-Blanches) and planning officials (Alençon) to create "differentiated landscapes" suitable for all. Through these cases, Kroll also clarified that participation is not without accountability, precision, or skill. Rather, it is about honing each of those qualities in a networked setting: "(Participatory architecture) rejects and moves instinctively away from rigidities, orders, systems; it models itself on differences and (on building) relations; (Architecture as practiced) is open: welcoming of future initiatives."

Two years later, in his essay for the ArtPress Special—"Demilitarizing the act of building"—Kroll made an even stronger appeal for transcending prevalent technocratic hierarchies and

functionalist norms via emerging architectural means including, but not limited to, participation.[338] Through a series of oppositions between machine aesthetic and political creativity, between top-down hierarchy and mutual affinity, Kroll made a plea for structuring new spaces around the "associative desire" of people: how people relate to each other and to the city at large. He stressed that without this concern the resulting architecture may simply remain "dead," or even, "cold." The latter was in particular reference to Post-Modern aesthetics, which he framed as a rather rushed reaction to the Modern movement: "The disgusting Post-Modernists search aggressively for the most immediate means to leave as fast as possible the suspicion of being 'modern.' The quickest ways … are travesty, jokes, simulated madness, mathematical games, lack of self-esteem."[339] Architecture thus produced held little or no meaning for people. Instead, Kroll placed emphasis on building a "patient" resistance to modernist conventions, one that worked with and on social differences with sensitivity and care. Kroll added that such process proceeds first of all from an attitude—an understanding of how different collaborators identify themselves with the space being built. Without it even the most explicit of participatory approaches may fall short in creating truly inclusive environments.

Neither Lefebvre nor Kroll were isolated critics of postmodern aesthetics and social architecture in these volumes. However, they were certainly among the most political contributors in the group—each emphasizing the role and value of ambiguities and conflicts in architectural building and meaning making. In comparison, Tschumi's piece in ArtPress, placed under the section "Dream and Reality," offered a more nuanced critique of then moment in French architecture and urbanism. Tschumi's thrust for this volume was on re-stating the terms of his engagement with Modernism: "In rethinking Modernism, we must rethink the relationship between form, meaning, and use."[340]

Tying together the revolutionary focus of "The Environmental Trigger" and the introspective content of "The Architectural Paradox," Tschumi's article for ArtPress entitled, "Architecture, Limits, and Program," discussed issues of representation, space, and movement in light of two specific works: "The Manhattan Transcripts" (1976-1981) and "Screenplays" (1978). In Manhattan Transcripts, Tschumi wrote: "By arguing there is no architecture without event,

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[338] Lucien Kroll "Pour une démilitarisation de l'acte de bâtir" in *Art press*. ([Paris]: [publisher not identified], Impr. Le Scorpion), 1983), 18–19.
[339] Ibid., 19.
[340] Bernard Tschumi, "Architecture, limites et programme" in ibid., 41–42.

without program, without violence, the Transcripts attempts to bring architecture to its limits, as they insert particular programmatic and formal concerns within both the architectural discourse and its representation."[341] By replacing the traditional program with cinematic narratives, and by adding fragments of photographs and notational signs (lines and arrows) to architectural drawing, the Manhattan Transcripts sought to offer a new interpretation of the design process that was about "the complex relationship between spaces and their use; between the set and the script; between 'type' and 'program'; between objects and events;"[342] a design process that embraced the Situationist détournement to build a transgressive program around non-correspondence between space and what happens in space. In this article, as with his previous works, Tschumi was less interested in issues of aesthetics and form, and more in asking how the twin concepts of détournement and event might outline a new architectural paradigm centered on conflict and contradiction: "Thus, the Transcripts never attempt to transcend contradictions between object, man, and event in order to bring them to a new synthesis; on the contrary, they aim to maintain these contradictions in a dynamic manner, in a new reciprocity and conflict."[343] In this piece, it is also instructive to see Tschumi address questions of French architecture and future possibilities at an urban scale, at once an evolution of and a reflection on his original inquiry into urban analysis and critique.

I will conclude this section with Bernard Tschumi and Martin Pawley's guest edited issue of AD (Architectural Design) magazine, entitled "Beaux Arts Since '68," which marked one of Tschumi's earliest theorizations of space and the city in connection with the writings of Henri Lefebvre.[344] The aim of this summary is to highlight the context of 1968 as presented by Tschumi as well as to note his discussion of Lefebvre's theory of space in that context. "The Beaux Arts" carried two interrelated sections. In the first section, Tschumi and Pawley chronicled the 1968 protests at the École de Beaux Arts in Paris, in particular, the actions of UP6 (Unité Pédagogique 6) who revolted against the École curriculum for failing to address the practical problems of urban growth and social housing in design teaching: "the story begins with the disintegration of a system of architectural education that once led the world and then came

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[341] Bernard Tschumi and N.Y.) Museum of Modern Art (New York, *The Manhattan Transcripts* (London : New York, NY: Academy Editions ; Distributed to the trade in the USA by St. Martin's Press, 1994), XX.
[342] Ibid., 7.
[343] Tschumi and Museum of Modern Art (New York, *The Manhattan Transcripts*.
[344] Tschumi, Bernard, and Martin Pawley. "The Beaux-Arts Since '68." *Architectural Design,* September 1971.

within fifty years to represent all that was archaic, corrupt and obscure about architecture."[345] In student revolts, Tschumi found his own concerns articulated, particularly around the state of education and architecture, the "technocracy" tied to the processes of urban and educational decentralization on the one hand, and the consolidation of power on the other hand. It is here that the authors reference Lefebvre's "La vie quotidienne dans le monde moderne (Everyday Life in the Modern World)" (1968) and cite examples of social resistance from Nanterre to Covent Garden to note how "class struggle is to be found in the fabric of urbanization" as well as point out the complicity of planning and architecture profession: "worse still the Diploma became more of a passport to a proletarianized career of draughting for a salary."[346]

In the second section, Tschumi and Pawley describe the tactics of détournement that came to form the basis of the UP6 students' political action. Unlike other students in the university who furthered the objectives of their affiliated party, the authors note that the UP6 students "began instead to rebel against their probable fate as architects—'guard dogs of the bourgeoisie—and to choose between the destruction of the institution within which 'guard dogs' were trained, and the subversion of the aims of the institutions whilst maintaining its existence."[347] Tschumi and Pawley described the students' elected strategies by the Situationist concept of "détournement," and argued that through their subversive actions—from demonstrations, print media, and critical reports on housing to direct action in factories and slums—the students were successful in "changing the *meaning* of (École's) curriculum."[348] The authors reference Lefebvre once again, noting that of the three "postures" that emerged from this climate, the Lefebvrian view that "space has a political meaning" was both observed in and extended by the actions of UP6 students who saw space not only as a social product, but also as a "social accelerator, a tool capable of speeding up social tendencies of one kind or another."[349] Tschumi and Pawley

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[345] Ibid, 536.

[346] Ibid, 538-539.

[347] Ibid, 564.

[348] Ibid., 565.

[349] Tschumi and Pawley point out that the volatility of late 60s produced several theories surrounding the political and social value of space. The first view held that space has political meaning and that it should be conceived of as a social product. This was the central argument in the writings of Henri Lefebvre. In *Réflexions sur la politique de l'espace* (1970) / *Reflections on the Politics of Space* (1976), he wrote, "there is politics of space because space is political." It implied that space is not an abstract entity that could be manipulated by policy or ideology. It is political because it has social content. The English translation of Lefebvre, H. *Réflexions sur la politique de l'espace* in 1 appeared as "Reflections on the Politics of Space," Antipode 8, no.2 (1976): 30-37. See also: Andy Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006). Merrifield notes that Espace et société was formative in Lefebvre's spatial turn. The journal was launched by Lefebvre with Anatole Kopp. For Anatole Kopp's

concluded the article by acknowledging the role and importance of détournement in making visible urban contradictions, in mobilizing political consciousness, and in bringing about "an upheaval in the division of labor itself."[350] This argument shaped much of Tschumi's writings and work in the years following. Specifically, in Lefebvre's notion of space as a political entity as well as in UP6 students' use of détournement as "social accelerator," Tschumi found a basis for redefining architecture's radical potential.

Conclusion

Through a series of projects in Belgium, Rwanda, and France, and through concurrent notes against the "militarization" of the architectural field, architect-writer Lucien Kroll described space as both a social activity and a milieu that "nurtures" that social activity. Using the notion of paysage, Kroll went past the view of space as a calculated setting, and aligned it with daily life practices, with what he called "innumerable compatible actions of inhabitants who continually weave the relations between things." Kroll's formulation implied that social relations not only remain embedded in space, but that they also produced space.

In series of writings from the 1970s to the 1980s, architect-theorist Bernard Tschumi attempted to define space as a material condition that intersected with occurrences in space (events). The social organization of space was at the core of Tschumi's theoretical questions. Through his formulations of the event and program, Tschumi implied that meaning is dependent on social conditions, and furthermore, that meaning is relative, changeable, and dynamic. These notions also imply that space is nothing without human activity to give it meaning – space is

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comments on political space, see: Tschumi, Bernard, and Martin Pawley, 565-566. The second view of space claimed that space cannot achieve social goals, that it has no political meaning. Having witnessed the effects of uprisings on cities, writers and architects rejected the potential of space to serve as a revolutionary tool, and a means to produce new environments. They linked architecture to "social repression" because it remained external to everyday life. The third view of space at this time held that the meaning of space comes from direct engagement, in other words, from real analysis of building process in relation to class struggle. "Let's get rid of this insane teaching about space, this play which has nothing to do with reality. From now on the building sites will be the core of militant work," proclaimed the students of architect-teachers, Jean-Pierre Le Dantec and Jean-Claude Vernier's in Paris in 1970. Le Dantec and Vernier were the staff members of Unité *Pédagogique* 6 (UP6), an educational détournement that defied the French Ministry's reorganization of the Beaux-Arts School into five new teaching units—Unité *Pédagogique*—after the May '68 events. They held seminars and lectures outside the university system, which they described as a feudal system that perpetuated class segregation. The UP6 students took jobs as unskilled laborers in factories and lived in slums to experience the hierarchy and division of labor first hand. Ibid., 565–66.

[350] Ibid., 566.

neutral and non-existent without event. To Tschumi then, social information remained embedded in the event and program. Tschumi saw space as an entity separate from the other two elements of his triad. The implication of Tschumi's argument was that between society and space, space as a material condition remained constant while society in its notion of event changed constantly. Tschumi described social condition in terms of what happens in space, those unexpected situations that result from the dynamic movement of bodies in space, as well as from the interaction and interrelation between bodies in motion and objects in space. He also discussed the social unit in his re-conception of the architectural program. Program was written beforehand whilst events were completely un-anticipatory. The unexpected uses and interactions in space rendered the relationship between society and space as a constantly changing one. Throughout this time, Tschumi denied the social nature of space as otherwise described by Lucien Kroll and Henri Lefebvre.

CHAPTER VI

Seeking Participation, Seeking Change: Lucien Kroll and the Politics of La Mémé, Brussels

Introduction

In 1978, the Architects' Journal published a series of opinion pieces in support of Lucien Kroll's medical student housing, discontinued prematurely, on the outskirts of Brussels.[351] The site lay unfinished, the gardens lay destroyed, and the structures lay covered with temporary materials. After completing just four of the eight proposed buildings, the Louvain University dismissed Kroll from further involvement in the project. The journal's Astragal came in overwhelming support of the architect. The columnist criticized the university administration for abandoning the original plan and for limiting the future of an exceptional work. Among the print items that followed, many asked the international community to add voice to the students' campaign to reinstate Kroll. A different perspective on the issue came from the university professor and general administrator Michel Woitrin. In a short but crisp rejoinder to the editor, Woitrin remarked: "I do not think it is beneficial, either to the architect or the university, to discuss publicly why the program entrusted to the architect had to be curtailed; however, your readers should know that the information given is highly incomplete and does not correspond to the facts on several points."[352] In the remainder of the letter, Woitrin neither clarified those facts nor offered any corrections; rather, he ended his note by stating that people entrusted with the responsibility of realizing a project could be changed when "very serious reasons require it."[353]

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[351] Astragal, the columnist of The Architects' Journal, first reported on April 26 (p.786) that Lucien Kroll was ordered to leave the project in 1975 and that the "future of the post-modern architect looks bleak." A series of columns and letters followed, some in support—May 31 (p.1036) and June 7 (pp.1092-1093)—others in opposition—June 14 (p.1140) and June 21 (p.1190): *The Architects' Journal* (London: Architectural Press (1978).

[352] Michel Woitrin, "The Other Side of Louvain" in *The Architects' Journal* June 14 (London: Architectural Press 1978), 1140.

[353] Ibid.

Two years later, in a piece entitled "Architecture and Bureaucracy," Kroll recounted the landscape of the same incomplete site, bulldozed gardens, and protesting students.[354] He also spoke about ideological differences, of the distinct moments of cooperation and frustration, with the university authorities. By then, Kroll was rehired to complete a new project, not the rest of housing units, but the site's metro station. The university approved his plan to build an artificial ground as a roof for the station and as a unifying space for the already completed buildings. The proposal was consistent with Kroll's longstanding emphasis on connections—"to join architecture with the gardens and the gardens with the facades"[355]—uniting the various residential structures. However, his criticism of Louvain University remained. Responding specifically to the changes in policies that suspended his master plan and razed the formerly cultivated lands, Kroll reflected, "(In a battle of ideologies) Even gardens are not innocent."[356] To create a social space innocent of politics, in other words, was an unthinkable prospect for Kroll. Yet, he appeared conflicted about matters of negotiation accompanying such politics. Kroll was proximate to the site and its program. But, he opposed the university administration throughout the project.

This chapter revisits one of the most talked about works of participatory design within architectural circles, namely, the medical student housing at the Université Catholique de Louvain (UCL) near Brussels, led by Lucien Kroll from 1969 to 1972. The research focuses on the commission's first building, La Mémé, an architectural icon and the longest surviving counter-point to the university's medical campus. The chapter asks: How might we understand the potentials and limitations of Kroll's approach in relation to the overlapping politics of Mémé's conceptual, material, and lived reality (all three terms drawn from Lefebvre's theories of the period in question)?

[354] Lucien Kroll, "Architecture and Bureaucracy" in Byron. Mikellides, *Architecture for People: Explorations in a New Humane Environment*, A Studio Vista Book 192 p. (London: Cassell, 1980), 162-170.
[355] Lucien Kroll, "Anarchitecture" in Richard C. Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture*, Columns. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984) 170.
[356] Lucien Kroll, "Architecture and Bureaucracy" in Mikellides, *Architecture for People*, 166; See a different version of the same sentiment: "(…) not even flowers are innocent," in "Anarchitecture," 170.

The Project History and Description

Newly separated from its historical core in Louvain, the Brussels campus furthered a longstanding institutional conflict, one that oscillated between ambitions for authority and dialogue. Following the events of 1966 and 1968,[357] the administrative team led by Michel Woitrin was keen to assert campus-wide unity towards greater ease-of-functionality. Recalling the same experience, however, the officials were also sympathetic to the student community's desire for a social environment open to its non-academic surroundings. Prior to Kroll's commission, they hired the Brussels-based architectural firm of Henri Montois and Partners to realize this ideal.[358] Montois responded to Woitrin's idea by offering a pedestrian-friendly functionalist plan. But for their residences the students sought just the opposite. In the sprit of democratic action, they asked for two major changes to the original plan. Firstly, they wanted the residential zone to have mixed-uses with shared features of attraction to the families of nearby neighborhoods; secondly, they demanded that feedback from the local residents be considered in the overall proposal.[359] Whilst the university officials accepted the students' first suggestion, they did not approve of the second, citing technical requirements as grounds for refusal.[360] Instead, they agreed to allow the students to select their own architect, but again, from a list

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[357] The UCL was located in the Dutch-speaking Flemish region of Belgium, but functioned primarily as the francophone center of higher education for much of the nineteenth century. It was not until the mid-1930s that the university officially approved the teaching of courses in both languages, French and Dutch. "The academic superiority of French language throughout this period accompanied the domination of French-speaking bourgeoisie in national politics; the high economic status of Wallonia (the francophone south); and the slow recognition of Flemish as the second national language. And this situation continued until the 1960s when questions of language, equality, and identity started to resurface in Belgium, and alongside, the Dutch-speaking provinces began to experience signs of economic prosperity. With this, the demand for linguistic and cultural parity too intensified at the UCL." Specifically, the institution's acceptance of French supremacy coupled with a rising call for Flemish identity made conditions ripe for an upheaval. The first declaration of independence in 1966 led to an even more intense revolution in 1968. These movements, together with the expansion of academic programs, resulted in the ultimate splitting of the university into two new campuses. "The French-language division of the UCL moved to Wallonia (in Woluwé-Saint-Lambert, Brussels and Louvain-la-Neuve), whilst the Dutch-language division remained in Flanders (in Leuven), but attained a new title of Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KU Leuven)." See: Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976*, ix, 254 p. (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[358] Montois described his "resolutely modernist" approach as grounded in "simplicity, efficiency, and (modular) standardization." Kroll positioned his work in explicit contrast to each of these principles. Henri Montois, "UCL University: Faculty of Medicine, Master Plan" in Georges Binder, *Montois Partners: Selected and Current Works*, Master Architect Series IV 256 p. (Mulgrave, Vic.: Images Pub. Group, 2001), 98.

[359] Ibid.

[360] As per Kroll, see: Lucien. Kroll, *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 36–37.

prepared by the administrators.[361] Kroll's name featured at the end of this list.[362] The development of Brussels campus, in short, articulated an ongoing paradox of competing jurisdictional claims. It was with regards to such paradox, that Kroll found a practical justification for his participatory approach.

La Mémé occupied a strategic location between academic laboratories in the north, administration units on the west, and the contentious gardens to the northwest. Its conception covered two years and involved a series of workshops with the students and University officials. Combining the participatory impulse to questions of technology and architectural expertise, Kroll envisioned the new living quarters to not only offer continuity of exchanges between students and residents of the town at large, but also accommodate modifications to suit additions and evolving needs over time. Mémé was realized as a fully open structure, with public facilities such as offices and multi-functional rooms configured on four levels below the artificial ground, and different accommodation types arranged in two halves on eight levels above it. Among them, the flat half of glazed windows were apartments for individual living, whilst the stepped eclectic section enclosed larger suites for shared living.[363] A typical floor plan on the flat half carried a single corridor flanked by standardized rooms and utilities. In comparison, the layouts of the stepped other-half were variable, punctuated by Kroll's "wandering columns,"[364] with or without terraces. Here, Kroll experimented with the Dutch architect John Habraken's system of structure and infill; a system that allowed the student residents to select their façade, move internal partitions, and create self-identified spaces for communal living.[365]

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[361] From an interview conducted with Lucien Kroll in February 2013.

[362] Ibid.

[363] Kroll referred to the flat section as the "fascist" side and the stepped half as the "normal" side, largely in response to their contrasting spatial layouts affording opportunities for social interactions to different degrees. Lucien Kroll, *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 46.

[364] Ibid.

[365] For the realization of Mémé, Kroll articulated two goals: first, to go past the limitations of conventional sequence of construction and bring together both industrial and human means of creating a living environment; and second, to seek a technique of production that was open to the use of engineered elements and encouraging of personal choice. In order to recognize these ambitions and put together a building that was neither repetitious nor limiting in its industrial and organizational possibility, Kroll looked at the research on industrial manufacturing in mass housing carried out by John Habraken and the SAR office in nearby Eindhoven, Holland in the 1960s. He was drawn to the SAR approach of theorizing the building process as an adaptable system, one in which the formal components of base infrastructure ("support") and interior fillings ("infills") remained mutually accommodative, but separated. Kroll embraced the underlying principle of SAR, but he also translated the system to suit their design approach. See: Lucien Kroll and Peter Blundell Jones, *The Architecture of Complexity*, Composants. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987); N. J. Habraken, *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972).

In addition to these apartments, Mémé offered a third type of living arrangement. These were the double-heighted "lofts" on the top two floors of the building.[366] The lofts had wooden stairs that connected levels similar to stairs, which connected some floors on the "normal" side. However, unlike other units, the lofts were designed in accordance with the wishes of those student groups that shared extra-curricular interests. Each of the self-identified groups— "musicians, athletes, gardeners"—planned the space according to their own ideas of collective living.[367] Although, Kroll and his design team later built the interiors, he remarked, "These lofts achieved an exceptional urban agglomeration … where the groups would develop their own territory for their activities ... in peaceful cooperation with the proprietors."[368] Through each of these three measures, Kroll sought to give a unique living experience to all inhabitants, either in groups or as singles. Furthermore, the building was designed to remain open and accessible through numerous entries at all times of the day and night—encouraging encounters between and among all constituents, including members of the administration as well as the townies. The eclectic façade with terraces served to only amplify this ideal. In Mémé, we may see the elements of a shared space, constituted politically, through participation.

Critical Reception

Within a short period of time after completion, La Mémé became well known among thinkers and practitioners of architecture. Knowledge of the project's participatory method, in particular, followed several of Kroll's self-authored writings on the subject, most notably, the article titled, "The Soft Zone," translated by Steven Brown and released in the *Architecture Association Quarterly* (A.A.Q.) journal in 1975.[369] But the first concise understanding of the

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[366] Kroll, *Lucien Kroll*, 48.
[367] Ibid.
[368] Ibid.
[369] The article was first published in French under the title, "La Maison de Woluwé au site de l'Université de Louvain, AAQ (September 1974). Both versions included notes on the official program, participating constituencies, design method, and a self-reflective summary of the architect's role in the overall scheme. The Soft Zone, in particular, offered the first comprehensive narrative of La Mémé to an English-speaking audience. See: Lucien Kroll, "The Soft Zone" in Architectural Association (Great Britain), AAQ, Architectural Association Quarterly, December (1975) ; Brief accounts of the project, however, were published a year before, in 1974, in the French journals, *Neuf, La Reléve,* and *Clés pour les Arts*. The AAQ article accompanied Kroll's writing, "L'esthétique de l'improvisation" published in the inaugural issue of Archives de l'architecture moderne (AAM), *Bulletin des Archives d'Architecture Moderne* in October 1975. For a full listing see: Kroll, *Lucien Kroll* (1987); The AAM was founded in 1968 by a group of architects and historians in Brussels dedicated to the creation of architectural

project's potential contribution to the field came with Charles Jencks' influential book, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* in 1977. Seeking to define the Post-Modern aesthetic from within a wide range of international projects built between 1960 and 1980, Jencks placed Kroll's work in line with what he termed as "adhocism," an architectural intention wherein "disparate parts are unified creatively for a specific purpose."[370] The specific purpose, in Jencks' view, was that of outlining a new direction for inclusive architecture, one centered on the practice of improvisation and pluralism. He observed, "(Kroll's) buildings show a complexity and richness of meaning, a delicate pluralism, that usually takes years to achieve and is the result of many inhabitants making small adjustments over time."[371] Whereas Jencks attributed the success of Kroll's architecture to the actions of the local community, he also noted that the overall correspondence between and among materials and forms could not have been realized without Kroll's specialized "orchestration."[372] In this light, Jencks wondered if participation was "oversymbolized" on campus, and Kroll's improvisation had gone "too far spread all over the site in every detail."[373] Therein, he identified a problem, a possible "totalitarianism of enforced participation."[374] Since then, the project and its claim to democracy in the realm of aesthetics and politics have drawn favorable, but also few pointed remarks from architecture critics.

Some thinkers have called La Mémé and Zone Sociale a product of pseudo-participation or a "simulacrum" of architecture trying to be inclusive. In the 1995 publication, *Contemporary Architecture in Belgium*, the Belgian architect-critic, Geert Bekaert described the participatory design of Mémé as "simulated anarchy," an architecture that creates the illusion of participation and choice, but in fact, is very rigid in experience.[375] In particular, Bekaert criticized Kroll's

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archives, exhibitions, and publications. For a detailed contribution of the organization and its journal, see: Isabelle Helena Lodewijk Doucet and Delft University of Technology, *From Penser La Ville to Faire La Ville: Brussels' and Architecture's Engagement with the Real* (TU Delft, 2010).

[370] "Adhocism" was one of the six "tendencies" that Charles Jencks identified with the Post-Modern aesthetic. The others being: Historicism; Straight Revivalism; Neo-Vernacular; Metaphor and Metaphysics; and Postmodern Space. Jencks employed these markers to produce an evolutionary tree of what he considered postmodern architectural projects realized between 1960 and 1980. See: Charles Jencks, "Post-Modern Architecture" in K. Michael Hays, *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1998), 310–311.

[371] Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, 136 p. (New York: Rizzoli, 1977), 105–106.

[372] Charles Jencks, "The Language of Post-Modern Architecture" in Hays, *Architecture Theory since 1968*, 311–312.

[373] Charles Jencks, "The Language of Post-Modern Architecture" in ibid.

[374] Ibid., 311.

[375] Bakaert had critiqued Kroll's work in print before, but in this volume, he sought to position his views explicitly in relation to what he called the "commonplace of life." I will be explaining this concept in the following paragraph. Bekaert's Contemporary Architecture was, therefore, not a survey of postwar architecture in Belgium. Rather, it was

adoption of the principles of SAR, which he saw as another type of planned infrastructure, maintaining an overall building form by restricting individual freedom to a living unit. In Bekaert's view, Kroll offered a rather limited palette of possibility and change, invariably retaining the control of design, from façade to the interiors. With reference to the dynamic reality of Belgian everyday life, he questioned if Kroll's architecture was any more "democratic, spontaneous, or freer" than the one realized by Henri Montoi for the hospital building across the site.[376] In this light, he added, "Kroll's version (of formalism) may be fun, but only in the touristic sense in which a walk through the remodeled Bruges or Disneyland can be relaxing" (parenthetical emphasis mine).[377] By describing the project as a simulated landscape and Disneyland, Bekaert dismissed La Mémé with having any social or political currency.

The question of everyday life has occupied a central place in Bekaert's writings since the early 1970s.[378] In his studies of contemporary architecture of Belgium, Bekaert observed how the otherwise dispersed and seemingly banal Belgian landscape was simultaneously unique to people's daily life practices. Bekaert called this situation the Belgian "commonplace" or *gemeenplaats*: the practice of building and living "one way today, another way tomorrow" with no reference to any one exclusive form.[379] He used the notion of the commonplace to develop a new approach to architectural criticism, one placed explicitly within the "immediacy of (everyday) life."[380] And noted, "The commonplace is a protest against rational uniformity. It is common and popular … in the universal sense that Marx alluded to with his description of the proletariat as a section of society, which is not just being oppressed, but a section where … the

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an attempt to present the commonplace of Belgian architecture. Geert, Bastin, Christine Bekaert and Jacques Evrard, *Contemporary Architecture in Belgium* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1995), 96.

[376] Ibid., 95–96.

[377] Ibid., 96.

[378] See: Geert Bekaert and Francis Strauven, *Bouwen in België, 1945-1970*. ([Brussel: Nationale Confederatie van het Bouwbedrijf, 1971); Cited in: Doucet and Technology, *From Penser La Ville to Faire La Ville*; As early as the 1970s, Bekaert linked the concept of the commonplace to architecture of Adolf Loos. Bekaert stated, "(Loos) took pride in the fact that the quality of his architecture could not be photographed. A personal relationship needs to develop with the situation, the site, and the work. Not through some kind of strange model or an external reference, but through the commonplace." See: Geert Bekaert, Christophe Van Gerrewey, and Geert Bekaert, *Rooted in the Real: Writings on Architecture* (Mechelen: WZW Editions & Productions, 2011), 92.

[379] Bekaert saw the commonplace not as a "fertile breeding-ground for intellectualism," but as a condition "closely linked with the all aspects of day-to-day life." The commonplace has "little to do with theoretical insights, it evolves from a clear need." See: Geert Bekaert, "Belgian Architecture as Commonplace. The Absence of An Architectonic Culture As a Challenge" (1987) in Geert Bekaert and Christophe Van Gerrewey, *Rooted in the Real: Writings on Architecture* (Mechelen: WZW Editions & Productions, 2011), 91–92.

[380] Ibid., 92.

tradition of the trite … is more important than cultural forms of expression."[381] Bekaert's notion of the commonplace was, in other words, both aesthetic and philosophical, but also uniquely political; he associated it with the everyday living practices of Belgian domesticity. It was against this formulation that he criticized Kroll's student housing and its assertion of affording flexibility and agency to its community. In Mémé, Bekaert did not see participation responding to the dynamic and ever-changing characteristics of the Belgian commonplace.

To this day, Bekaert continues to be among the most vociferous critics of Kroll's architecture, particularly its assertion of incorporating the creative nature of everyday life, anchored in possibility and change. An examination of the same claim, however, produced an entirely different narrative, some seven years later, in the writings of the Canadian environmental planner, Richard Milgrom. Milgrom set out to explore the similarities between Henri Lefebvre's theory of space and everyday life, and Kroll's participatory design.[382] Specifically, in a journal article first published in 2002, and subsequently expanded upon and republished in 2008, Milgrom extended Lefebvre's spatial triad of representations of space, spatial practice, and representational space to the architectural practice of Kroll. He demonstrated ways in which Kroll's design of Mémé responded to all three elements of the triad and offered an understanding of how might a "differential space" be produced through novel methods.[383] For Milgrom, the notion of differential space, formulated by Lefebvre in opposition to abstract space, implied a design approach that embraced the possibility of both social and ecological diversity, one grounded in the needs of the local inhabitants as well as their capacity to continually produce space. In Kroll's self-defined "Situationist" approach as well as the appropriation of SAR system, he saw this possibility being realized not only at the level of architectural form, but also the symbolic value of users and the spatial practices of everyday life[384]—conditions that Bekaert otherwise equated to masterful control and creative simulation.

Drawing exclusively from Kroll's self-written accounts of Mémé and contrasting them with the "other campus architecture of the period" (namely, the academic buildings designed by Montoi), Milgrom concluded that Kroll's work is "atypical" and "rare" in design fields: "Unlike

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[381] Ibid.
[382] Richard Milgrom, "Realizing Differential Space? Design Processes and Everyday Life in the Architecture of Lucien Kroll," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 13, no. 2 (2002): 75–95.
[383] Richard Milgrom, "Lucien Kroll: Design, difference, everyday life" in Henri Lefebvre and Kanishka. Goonewardena, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
[384] Ibid., 276.

most other designers, Kroll acknowledges that difference in environments that humans inhabit and create does not fit into fixed sets. His methods seek these differences (through participation, from conception to construction) rather than working to suppress them …"[385] In Milgrom's analysis, in other words, La Mémé and Zone Sociale appeared nothing like a Disneyland. Rather, he considered them as lively environments that "accentuate the differences present in the resident communities and the particularities of local contexts, while inviting change over time."[386] Additionally, and unlike Bekaert who disregarded Kroll's work as fraudulent, Milgrom assigned it a mark of honesty: "(Kroll) realizes that his desire for full participation, for giving voice to all users, is an unrealistic expectation within current social structures,"[387] but also that, "in order to have any chance of implementation, a new vision must be based in an understanding of the social processes that would be involved in realizing that vision."[388] That both Bekaert and Milgrom based their appraisal of Kroll's architecture on a partial and incomplete understanding of such processes, however, is particularly striking.

On the one hand, Bekaert's account joined the commentary of other critics such as Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre in describing La Mémé as an example of populist architecture. On the other hand, Milgrom's literary assessment amplified the narrative of Wolfgang Pehnt, and to some extent, even that of Charles Jencks, each of whom described Kroll's approach in overwhelmingly positive terms. Either set of views, however, focused exclusively on the project-as-realized with little or no commentary on the wider politics of its conception and multiple stages of realization. Correspondingly, and furthermore, each of these reviews—whether negative or positive—saw Kroll's architectural response in dichotomous terms: responding to the desires of the student community in light of the political events in Louvain, and the functionalist rationalism of Montois' architecture. None of the accounts evaluated the project in the context of Kroll's tense relationship with the university throughout the commission and beyond. In fact, all of the assessments reduced the university to a set constituent. The inclusion of cultural politics as well as the expectations and experiences of the university staff, I argue, complicates the project's political ambition and offers a nuanced understanding of its accountability to participating members as a whole. The critical reviews, in short, were rather simplistic, and quite like the

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[385] Ibid., 274–278.
[386] Ibid., 265.
[387] This comment followed Kroll's own statement, "a type of politics unrealizable at present." See: Lucien Kroll, "Architecture and Bureaucracy" in Mikellides, *Architecture for People*, 162–163.
[388] Lefebvre and Goonewardena, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life*, 277.

published accounts of the project's pre-history, remained couched within the binary logic of dialogue and autonomy.

Conception, Realization, and Lived Inhabitation

How might we understand the participatory work of Lucien Kroll? What has been Mémé impact on the resident academic community? To what extent does the project continue to embody the diversity of experiences and expectations of inhabitants across generations? In order to answer these questions and enrich our understanding of the project, I examined Mémé not just on paper, but also on ground. I reached out to the architect as well as the members of the university administration; juxtaposed Kroll's published accounts with those of other experts; and finally, collected evidence of current inhabitation on foot and compared it with lived-in ambitions outlined by Kroll and the student participants at the start of the project. In short, in this section, I will further illustrate the social story of La Mémé in three consecutive phases: conception, realization, and lived inhabitation. The discussion is both descriptive and analytical; it builds on a range of voices and cultural activities associated with Kroll's participatory architecture on the one hand and the project of social space on the other hand.

It must be noted that the design process for Mémé and its construction system has been widely acknowledged in local and international journals, collected volumes on participatory design as well as scholarly books on contemporary architecture. Kroll, himself, has provided detailed documentation of his method and philosophy. Whilst the gap in each of these accounts vis-à-vis the question of contextual politics endures, one notable exception is Maureen McGee's thesis titled: *Lucien Kroll: Student Housing at Woluwé-Saint-Lambert* completed at the University of Virginia in 2009. McGee's published work not only throws light on the political context of Belgium in the 1960s, but also relates this record to the history of the commission and Kroll's elected methodology. The thesis successfully complicates Kroll's project beyond its popular understanding within the participatory movement in architecture. However, McGee assesses the social potential of the project based on evidence from literature and interviews on site alone. Despite this, her historical notes, particularly those involving exchanges with Raymond Docq—then construction engineer of the project—have been of immense value to my dissertation. Docq was not available for comments during my fieldwork. As with the previous

section, I have consulted and duly credited the published transcriptions of McGee's exchanges with Docq in the following section as well.

Conception

To understand how the design of La Mémé was conceived, let us start with the University's original program and Lucien Kroll's interpretation of it. The brief for the residential zone filled up a single document and enlisted a range of functions to cover a four-hectare site. These functions were grouped into six broad categories, namely, "accommodation for households;" "restaurants;" "culture and worship;" "sports facilities;" "social facilities;" and "services and shops."[389] Each of these functions, furthermore, carried a variety of uses with assigned built up areas. La Mémé was designated as the student headquarters and the first building to be built on site. The numerical program of this unit as well other buildings adhered to the design guidelines prepared and included by Woitrin in his report of 1967. In particular, the building- and campus-level distribution of residential and social activities followed Woitrin's plan to actively connect diverse interests and make the place attractive for the neighborhood as a whole. The original program, thus, remained simultaneously rooted in distinct functions and ongoing possibilities for wider social exchanges. On the one hand, the emphasis on mixed-use development indicated the administration's sustained interest for the site to provide a lively experience. On the other hand, however, the same emphasis also suggested a way to address student demands without entirely doing away with university control.

In his accounts, Kroll described the brief as a simple document, "precise about intentions and vague about performance."[390] Within this duality of exactness and ambiguity, control and spontaneity, he located an opening; that opening was the importance that the students and staff members jointly placed on the question of diversity of use and experience. The first few years of collaborative work were, therefore, mutually fulfilling. Kroll called it the "honeymoon period," one defined by an all around willingness to consider diverse points of view across constituencies.[391] All participating members appeared to share this perspective. The UCL authorities not only paid attention to students' wishes, but also took part in their meetings with

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[389] Architectural Association (Great Britain), "AAQ, Architectural Association Quarterly.," 49; The program called for a total of 40,000 square metres of construction. See: Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture*, 170; Kroll and Blundell Jones, *The Architecture of Complexity*, 38.

[390] Architectural Association (Great Britain), "AAQ, Architectural Association Quarterly.," 51.

[391] Lucien Kroll, "Architecture and Bureaucracy" in Mikellides, *Architecture for People*, 166.

Kroll. These discussions made them aware of the students' desire to rebuild the spirit of Louvain quarters in Woluwé.[392] Each of these meetings also allowed Kroll to experiment with the participatory process and gain added clarity about their "collective aims."[393] In the words of one of my interviewees and a former student participant, "Everyone was in the same direction: the university, the engineers, the administrator himself, the technicians, the students as well as the architect."[394] Kroll added, "(The) authorities approved everything enthusiastically and work commenced on the first buildings."[395] However, the period of cordial relations was short lived. At the end of two years, when the construction of La Mémé neared completion, cracks between university's expectations and Kroll's design ideas began to surface.

Throughout the commission, from conceiving the project to building it on site, Kroll responded to the issue of diversity at three interrelated levels: participatory design and decision-making process; nature of building technology and means of construction; and choice of architectural aesthetics. The participatory design and decision-making process covered three overlapping stages. Each of these stages functioned as a hands-on workshop with the student community. Jointly, the design workshops were not only aimed at reinterpreting the numerical brief in terms of everyday use and relationships, but also directed towards generating a lived understanding of occupants' needs, and furthermore, strengthening their interpersonal contacts. In Kroll's words, "each of us lived like a resident."[396]

In the first stage, the study groups focused on building the foundation of the project, with stories. The participants illustrated their daily life practices concerning both academic and non-academic routines in narrative form. Over the course of several meetings, Kroll and his design team assembled various resident descriptions to produce a tabulated re-interpretation of the housing program, one based solely on student-acknowledged needs. This new list identified requirements such as "shops run by students," "kitchen garden on terraces," and a "room for celebrating parents silver wedding anniversary" among others.[397] Further, and as per Kroll, the exercise brought to light several desires of the student community such as the possibility to

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[392] Interviewee I1.
[393] Mikellides, *Architecture for People*, 164.
[394] Interviewee I2.
[395] Kroll in Mikellides, *Architecture for People*, 164. As per Kroll, this was also the period when university officials were busy building the town of Louvain-la-Neuve on one hand, and addressing emerging issues of the adjoining hospital on the other. As such, they were not heavily involved in the activities of Mémé and its planning.
[396] Architectural Association (Great Britain), "AAQ, Architectural Association Quarterly.," 58.
[397] Ibid.

transform "some rooms into an apartment for a family," construct "floors and walls in empty spaces," establish "points of reference within the site," and so on.[398] In short, the first stage of programming allowed Kroll to juxtapose the university-given numerical brief with the community-generated categories of preferred uses. Additionally, the students' overall aspiration to have changeable and multipurpose spaces clarified for him the need to mix-up functions throughout the site. This may have also led him to consider John Habraken's infill system for residential construction, one that I will discuss in the next section.

In the second stage, Kroll and the medical student community set out to simultaneously explore a range of mixed-use configurations around a physical plan. The participants divided themselves up into groups of two to three persons each. Each group undertook to study one programmatic requirement from the typologies generated previously. A total of six teams defined by six program groups emerged, namely, restaurants, accommodation, shops, administration, culture, and landscape.[399] In order to avoid the groups from turning into silos of expertise, Kroll asked participants to double up in responsibility, that is, assume primary and secondary responsibility for two different programmatic elements. "Each team," Kroll expressed, "ended up with an imaginary program" involving "relationships, contracts, incompatibilities, common functions divided in time."[400] What followed were a number of permutations and combinations of volumes and linkages between and among programs—arranged and rearranged—on the site model using colored plastic foam. During this process, the participants not only took ownership of their respective programs, but also critiqued other groups as they mutually configured uses, both vertically and horizontally, across the site.

In the final stage, Kroll broke up the arrangements not once, but twice—first in terms of geographical zones, and then in terms of vertical levels.[401] He called for a healthy mix of ideas, identities, and aspirations, and furthermore, encouraged student participants to partake in contestations of space-use, both physically and experientially. Throughout, Kroll steered away from what he referred to as "recreating a society of specialists."[402] That is, in order to avoid groups from being too attached to their assumed programs, he changed them ever so often. The shuffling of groups, he explained, prevented individual programs from becoming "separated,

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[398] Ibid.
[399] Ibid., 62–63.
[400] Ibid., 62.
[401] Ibid., 63–64.
[402] Ibid., 63.

hard, homogenous conceptions." Furthermore, the mixing up, he continued, allowed each team to retain their "past history"—building with and building upon traces of the previous group.[403] What resulted in the end was not just an organization of mixed-use spaces with inter- and intra-connections to the surroundings, but also an understanding of which building would be built and occupied on the site first. Kroll added, "It was the medical students who decided the siting (of Mémé) … and its general characteristics as well."[404]

The workshops were held on-site in Brussels, during the week, and off-site in Chevetogne, at weekends. A large majority of them brought together Kroll's design colleagues and friends, university representatives and students to "find," in Kroll's words, "a common language for architects and non-architects alike," but more importantly, "to scaffold a complex social project" and "experience the unanimities, the contradictions, the incompatibilities" of ideas and activities.[405] Clearly, Kroll appeared to be open to receiving diverging ideas and working with them. All along, however, he was also aware of his specialty and training as an architect. In particular, he described his role in such terms as a "facilitator" and an "animator," one who "possesses enough authority not to have to display it, and who can at any moment challenge or break the system."[406]

In these accounts, Kroll's notion of expertise appears to prefigure Jencks' characterization of his role as an "orchestrator" on the one hand and Billig's concept of the "hunched-shouldered" expert on the other. However, as will be seen, neither of these roles completely set him free from tensions between democracy and authority, those that he experienced in subsequent phases and articulated in successive writings. In other words, despite the openness of approach and self-acknowledged proficiency in collaborative thinking, Kroll's perspectives only reinforced distinctions between traditions and practices. For example, in his 1985 article titled *Anarchitecture*, he said, "Ours is primarily a political project and not an aesthetic one. It is more or less ungeometrical, anti-authoritarian, anarchical, that is to say, human."[407] And afterward in 1987, "We instinctively avoided every kind of authoritarian imposition threatening the landscape: bureaucracy, closed working methods, isolation, factory processes, and ordering

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[403] Ibid.
[404] Ibid., 65.
[405] Ibid., 58.
[406] Ibid., 65.
[407] Lucien Kroll, "Anarchitecture" in C. Richard. Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture*, Columns. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984), 167.

systems," and embraced instead, "a world of openness, cooperation, osmosis, empathy, mimesis, and fluidity."[408] Kroll's participatory rhetoric remained couched within a series of dichotomies, explicitly denouncing what he called a "paternalistic order" in favor of "everyday culture and everyday style" in "all its contradictions."[409] That paternalistic order was a reference to none other than the university administration.

Realization

The concern for diversity at the level of building technology and means of construction, choice of craftsmanship and overall architectural aesthetics were tested out in meetings and on-site discussions with engineers and masons, administrators and students throughout the realization phase of La Mémé and beyond. Some among them further clarified the proto-history of Mémé in Louvain, both for Kroll and the university officials. In particular, it was revealed during these deliberations that despite the intensity of Walen Buiten protests in Louvain, most of which were directed towards the key runners of the university, the French students shared a great rapport and camaraderie with their Dutch counterparts. In the words of one of my interviewees, then student and participant in these discussions, "We had very good relations with all traders and residents of the city. I lived (in Louvain) for five years and I never had to speak Dutch; everybody spoke French. (Besides) the Dutch Mémé was located on the same street as the French Mémé."[410] Furthermore, the interviewee recalled, "La Mémé in Louvain was a multi-functional house with kots, one where the President of the Medical Club, the Vice-President, the Treasurer as well as the person responsible for social affairs lived together with the Secretary and other students."[411] At these meetings, in short, it was the French student's cultural privilege and identity coupled with their interest in coexisting and co-sharing space with peer groups that became most apparent for Kroll.

It must be noted here that the interviewee's privilege to speak her own language—French—without any difficulty or challenge in a predominantly Dutch-speaking region of Belgium is particularly revealing of the linguistic politics of the time. Additionally, her recollection challenges the often-held understanding that the French students had to reassert their linguistic

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[408] Lucien. Kroll and Peter Blundell Jones, *The Architecture of Complexity*, Composants. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 39.
[409] Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture*, 167.
[410] Interviewee I2.
[411] Interviewee I2.

identity in Woluwé after being driven out from Louvain. Rather, the anecdote suggests that it was their desire to intensify the social experience from Louvain in light of set institutional practices that informed design decisions during the construction phase of this project. Combining the underlying ideology of participatory process with questions of technology and means of spatial production, Kroll envisioned the new living quarters not only to allow for active exchanges between and among students and urban residents of the town at large, but also accommodate spatial modifications to suit their social additions and evolving needs over time. For him, this further translated to experimenting with proportions of construction modules that were at once friendly to human adjustments and compatible with the overall building system. Specifically for Mémé, he adapted Habraken's SAR scheme of structure and infill as a way to condemn "repetition," and at the same time, celebrate diversity and difference, self-build and flexibility.

In his response to the local needs and history, Kroll chose to do away with the traditional process of construction. He believed, "traditional construction expresses more-or-less organized, more-or-less habitual sequence of building acts and richness and skill associated with them. And heavy prefabrication … involves a loss of workers' skills and abilities as machines take over the building site."[412] However, he added, "Open industrialization joined to craftsmanship shows us the way to participation and self-direction, and enables us to demonstrate in the act of construction the possibility of decentralized society."[413]

Specifically, Kroll followed the SAR modular grid of 20cm for structural members and 10cm for infill partitions, extending in both directions in plan, but chose to do away with its fixed "functional zones" for service networks and equipments.[414] Further, he extended the concept of temporary infills onto the façade, juxtaposing portable partitions with removable window frames. Finally, he set up the columns on a 90cm grid, varying them in diameter and shape—some square, others rectangular. At all three levels, the reinterpretation of SAR technology allowed Kroll to propose wide-ranging industrial components of equally diverse dimensions and materials on the one hand, and extend choice and combinatorial freedom to future occupants on

[412] Lucien Kroll, "Anarchitecture" in Richard C. Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture*, Columns. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984), 171.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Lucien Kroll and Peter Blundell Jones, *The Architecture of Complexity*, Composants. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 57.

the other. In addition, by varying the arrangement and shape of columns, he ensured that the plan of each room was different.[415]

However, the actual realization of this ideal was not without interruptions. As per Kroll's accounts, working with structural engineers was challenging, especially in advocating for a non-regular structural system lacking in repetition of any one dimension or experience.[416] Add to this, the differences in interior planning meant cutting out floor slabs and connecting levels in some places whilst opening up walls and enlarging spatial volumes in others. Furthermore, and following McGee's interactions with Raymond Docq, Kroll's ambition to create extraordinary environments using ordinary materials implied asking construction teams to build inventive wall surfaces using a combination of local materials. Such repeated requests and "improvisations," though well intentioned, often led workers to withdraw from the project as per Docq.[417] Those who stayed, however, became life-long collaborators. These included masons who mixed concrete blocks and bricks as well as carpenters who added natural impressions to concrete formwork. In Kroll's eyes, each of them performed as "artisans," producing unique structures and laying the foundation for student inhabitants to "leave their mark" on the site as well.[418] All construction work followed Kroll's work ethic to standardize the building process at the human level and to go beyond the dictates of industrial fabrication that many contractors and engineers were accustomed to. But the same ethic also adversely impacted the future of his commission and further strained his relations with the university. The shifting relations between Kroll and the university led to several modifications in this building as well as other sites on campus. In the next section, I will narrate the changes specific to Mémé and their associated lived impressions.

Lived Inhabitation

"Mémé was avant-garde and the site was user-friendly. We had a priest who lived with us; he celebrated weddings, baptisms, and maintained a 'caisse noire' or slush fund to support group events as well individual students in need. Mr. Kroll was very attentive to conviviality; he did not want anyone to live alone. The building's openness made it very popular among students, but at times, also very noisy. The corridors were drafty and the windows were too big to clean without

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[415] Ibid., 44.
[416] Kroll in Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture*, 179; Kroll and Blundell Jones, *The Architecture of Complexity*, 43–45.
[417] McGee, *Lucien Kroll*, 58.
[418] Kroll in Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture*, 175–176.

specialized help … Mr. Kroll installed colorful doors with top and bottom portions that could be opened and closed separately. We joked that they were like the doors of an animal trailer (except no one knew which side was the animal). We felt we were being watched from all sides, with not enough privacy."

—Secretary of Medical Students (1976)[419]

"*We as students were very excited about the idea of a building that didn't look like any other. And the building was also quite revolutionary because (Kroll) did not build walls inside; he just made some separations that were easy to remove and be put in another way. He expected that the students would change the inner organization according to their needs, which would mean about every academic year, there would be a new group of students who would sit together and do all the work of reordering space. You will not be surprised to know that this never happened. The infill walls were put in place after a long democratic decision by a group of students in the first year and then never removed. So that was a dream (of Kroll) that did not come true.*"

—Sixth-Year Student Resident (1977)[420]

My study of the inhabitants' daily life practices and experiences of the setting followed analytical tactics derived through the interpretive framework of Lefebvre's conceptual triad of space. In Chapter IV, I had described three sets of investigative tactics corresponding to three interrelated forms of knowledge, namely, conceptual, perceptual, and lived experience. The last two sections presented the conceptual dimensions of this project by juxtaposing a number of published accounts with interview responses of participants in the field. In this section, I discuss the various modifications carried out by the university as well as their subsequent appropriations by current occupants. Then, I relate these transformations to the lived impressions of resident students using the mapping exercise introduced in Chapter IV. I documented many of these changes in photographs as well as on plan layouts of accessible floors. In each of these instances and throughout my fieldwork, the semi-structured interviews remained a common means through which to record both the university officials and Kroll's past and ongoing expectations from the project. Jointly, the observations and analyses on site responded to questions as follows: What were the activities of the building's inhabitants? What were the motivations behind the changes

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[419] E-mail correspondence with then Secretary dated May 24, 2012.
[420] Phone interview with then student resident conducted on August 26, 2014.

introduced? How did Kroll react to the extent and manner in which the university altered the architecture of Mémé? I have organized the narrative around three distinct constituencies: the university administration, resident students, and Kroll himself.

The University's Perspective

In the last forty years, since the completion of La Mémé in 1972, the building's structural and spatial flexibility has been variously challenged. In structural terms, firstly, the service networks posed many problems. Kroll had placed all technical services within a system of "provisional ducts," "independent of the movable partitions," but accessible at points "foreseen as advantageous."[421] Kroll's goal was to keep the sanitary systems largely covered up, but also open and approachable at select places for upkeep and maintenance. Such an infrastructure, however adaptable, called for frequent repair and reassembly for engineers. In the words of one of my interviewees and current construction engineer, "(Kroll's) ideas on paper were good, but in reality, the building was a mess to maintain."[422] Another interviewee added, "The pipes were hidden in plaster. There were big problems with water infiltration inside the building."[423] Secondly, the roofing and window finishes required constant work. The construction team witnessed leaks from a number of terraces soon after the completion of the building. The interviewee engineer complained, "All terraces had to be redone due to water accumulation and regular dampness in rooms; the original surfaces were designed with improper drainage."[424] As for the windows, the glazed blocks on the so-called "fascist" side of the building were not only difficult to clean, but their aluminum frames harbored condensation and mold in rooms.[425] Lastly, according to the officials, the building was not fully designed to meet the local fire and safety regulations. In her work, McGee quoted Docq as saying, "Meme was actually closed for two years right after the building's inauguration to make living spaces conform to fire codes."[426] In short, at all three structural levels, the engineers and local administration felt that Mémé was conceptualized without much thought to its continuing and future maintenance.

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[421] Kroll and Blundell Jones, *The Architecture of Complexity*, 53.
[422] Interviewee I3.
[423] Interviewee I1.
[424] Interviewee I3.
[425] Interviewee I3.
[426] McGee, *Lucien Kroll*, 74.

In spatial terms, the general planning of the building—open to the public and open from within—raised concerns about security and privacy among officials and the subsequent generation of students alike. Firstly, the building had several entrances on each floor and all floors with their multiple spatial configurations remained fully open to the external world. As per one of my interviewees, even the internal office and individual bedroom doors were split so as to encourage visual contact between and among peers.[427] Add to this, the open fire-escape staircase multiplied private entrances to each floor, but also became a source of anxiety with regards to security over time. On the one hand, then student residents saw each of these measures as "user-friendly;" but on the other hand, they noted that the openness contributed to a more "noisy" and "less private" residential experience.[428] The officials shared students' concerns and subsequently initiated several measures to regulate the building. The doors and floors have since been closed and replaced by powered button entrances such that only those with access code have the means to enter. Secondly, the university removed the provision of flexible partition walls and replaced all divisions with permanent infills. According to one of my interviewees and the current representative of maintenance and technical division at the university, "It was the student contingent that ultimately asked for the apartments to be made smaller and permanent," and that, "The need for control came from the students, not the administration."[429] This argument, if only partially, rests on Kroll's remark in 1977 when reflecting on his relationship with the students and university staff, he expressed, "We co-operated with very active students and representatives of the institution who were lucid, competent, and extremely receptive," but that, "It was only later that they degenerated and became bureaucratic."[430] This is to say that although the student community of the 1970s, in particular, remained oriented towards building and living as a community, Kroll remained cautious of the future of this cooperation in light of rising bureaucratic control.

The exact time period of the first major changes to the building remains uncertain, but many other alterations, including those involving the replacement of doors and entrances were carried out some fifteen years ago, and still others concerning the replacement of surface materials on the roof as well the windows is being undertaken in phases at present. The wooden paneled

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[427] Interviewee I1. This argument is consistent with McGee's onsite research and interviews.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Interviewee I3.
[430] Lucien Kroll, "Quartier des Facultés Medicales à Wolumé St Lambert-Bruxelles" in Makoto Uyeda et al., *GA Houses 3* (A. D. A. Edita, n.d.), 24.

windows have been replaced once before already, but the university plans to change them one more time when they redo the façade. By and large, during my visit, the university contended, "They have made all the modifications they wanted; and that there will not be any further transformations in the building other than the regular cleaning and occasional paintwork of surfaces."[431] The official I interviewed stressed further, "They do not want to change the building anymore; they would keep Mémé functional for ease with maintenance and associated costs."[432]

The Resident Students' Perspective

Interactive Mapping Exercise: In my fieldwork, I asked the resident students to indicate their impressions of living in Mémé as well as on campus through a mapping exercise. Specifically, I graded my cues in ways to elicit responses of preferred and not-so-preferred aspects of inhabitation at levels, both individual and collective, and in spaces, both private and shared. The mapping task, as described in Chapter Four, involved the use of representational stickers on their choice of floor plans of the building. Some of these activities were solitary, whilst others were public—involving conversations and exchanges between and among residents themselves. All communication, however, took place in shared spaces of Mémé. In most instances, I was given an opportunity to see individual rooms only upon completing the exercise. At each session, I answered the participants' emerging questions and learnt more about the lived surroundings through interaction. In all, seven residents participated in the mapping exercise. The small respondent size was due to two factors. Firstly, my field visit coincided with the end of second semester in mid-May and extended over a total period of two weeks, before the examination session in June. Most students were off on study break during this time. Secondly, the security controls in the building made it difficult to access students easily and at different times of the day. The environment, as Kroll had forecasted, appeared regulated through and through. I must note that my goal here was to deploy individual perspectives within a transformative framework, to gain insights into residents' lived-in practices, and to triangulate that information through related tactics as explained in Chapter IV.

The mapping task and its corresponding observation tactics covered a total of nine units associated with seven individual respondents (designated as R1, R2, … R7) on four residential

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[431] Interviewee I3.
[432] Ibid.

levels: levels 03 (R7), 04 (R2), 06 (R1, R3, R4, R5, R6), and 07 (R5, R6). Out of these, six participants had rooms in the so-called "normal" side of the building (levels 03, 06, 07) and one (R2) had their unit in the so-called "fascist" side (level 04). Furthermore, out of a total of nine accessed units, six faced east overlooking Les Arches (the footbridge and court connecting Zone Sociale to the academic buildings in the north), and three faced west, including the one on the "fascist" side, with a view towards Jardin Martin V (the open court enclosed by the restaurant, Mémé and central administration building). Also, out of each of those nine units, five units—all on level 06—had direct access to shared terraces, three of them facing east (R1, R5 and R6) and two facing west (R3 and R4). All units on the "normal" side were clustered around a shared kitchen-living-dining space located either centrally as on levels 03 and 06, or adjacent the entrance as on level 07. The single unit on the "fascist" side had access to a relatively smaller kitchenette and dining space at the end of the corridor. The mapping exercise also covered three non-residential floors: two participants (R2, R7) placed stickers on level 00, one participant (R5) impressed on level -1, and two participants (R3, R7) marked out level -2. All except one participant (R1) also used the wider campus map to signify their likings for places at large. All along, my objective was to use this interactive mapping tactic to inform the examination of the relationship between the three fields of space as identified by Lefebvre, that is, to study how Kroll's theory and practice participation played out in residents' lived experiences and daily practices of using the building.

Irrespective of the side of the building, facing west or east, all students had similar responses vis-à-vis preferred places—both individual and collective—within Mémé. With regards to individual units, the respondents used the representational "red star" to mark out their respective bedrooms as spaces they felt most at home. All, except one (R6) also dotted their personal rooms with the representational "yellow smiley" indicating places they liked to spend most time during the day alone. Further, all residents except one (R4) used the "red arrow" to indicate enjoyable views from the comfort of their separate rooms. With regards to common kitchen and dining spaces within the building, however, five out of seven students responded positively. Four participants (R2, R3, R4, and R7) used "red stars" and two (R1 and R7) impressed with the representational "blue smiley" to indicate places they spent most time with others. The remaining two students (R5 and R6) expressed indifference. Additionally, out of a total of five units with terraces, two respondents (R1 and R4) used the representational "green star" to indicate

preferences for terraces as connecting spaces of joy, whilst the remaining three (R3, R5 and R6) expressed indifference. One participant (R2) marked the semi-enclosed stairwell on the south side of the building facing east as well as the connecting space outside the entrance vestibule on level 00 with a "green star" each, and all residents except one (R7) overlaid their shared spaces with the representational "red arrow" for good views.

I had expected the physical configurations of floors on either side of the building to play a significant role in the students' feelings. For their positive impressions of the rooms, however, this was not the case. My observation studies and interactions revealed that the students responded positively to their apartment units and floor layouts not because they were unique, but because they were identical in experience and degrees of privacy. In contrast, the physical organization and arrangement of shared spaces on either side of the building had major bearings on the residents' lived experience. For example, the student's viewed the shared kitchen-living-dining space located centrally on a given floor plan more favorably than the one positioned at the end of the corridor. They rated the former highly because of their quality of experience as well as their capacity to accommodate multiple uses all year long. The presence of attached terraces to each of these spaces further added to their relative higher score. The latter, as the respondent R2 described, was tiny and largely viewed as a space for dining only. Additionally, whilst none of the respondents explicitly identified friendships with co-residents as factors of contributing value to their positive feelings, the existence of these bonds was evident throughout the mapping exercise as well as in procedures of gaining access into the building (see Chapter Four).

Unlike the predominantly similar responses to preferred places within Mémé, the responses to non-preferred places did not assume any one majority. With respect to individual units, for example, even though every participant expressed positive feelings, two participants (R5 and R6) impressed negatively on rooms, not theirs, but rather their friends' on level 07 (formerly lofts). Also, only four out of seven respondents (R1, R2, R3 and R4) placed the representational "sad face" on the elevator core of levels 04 and 06 each. Out of the remaining three, two participants marked out level 07 (R5 and R6 as previously described), one participant (R5) labeled the dance room on level -1 and one other (R7) expressed indifference. Likewise, only three participants used the representational "rectangular sticker" to variously highlight the most inconvenient spaces within the building. Among them, one student (R3) labeled the entrance to the bar, another (R7) marked the multipurpose room on level -2 as well as the path leading to the metro

station, underneath the artificial ground, on level 00, and one other (R4) emphasized the entrance foyer on level 06 as their least convenient space.

From the study, it appears that the physical configurations of rooms and floors as well as their location in the building played a role in the negative values expressed. Firstly, the two respondents (R5 and R6) jointly attributed their not-so-preferred feelings for units on level 07 to their relative isolation from the rest of the building. Secondly, even though all students enjoyed the privacy of rooms and rated their individual units highly, some (R1) expressed dissatisfaction with the size of their room, others (R2) were less pleased with the environmental effects of the floor-to-ceiling glazing in their room, whilst still others (R4 and R7) were concerned about the "irregular" placement of the column in their rooms, one that put restrictions on both furniture arrangements and free movement. Thirdly, two residents (R3 and R7) on levels 06 and 03, each complained about high noise levels and undesirable smells from and near the bar on level -2. One other respondent (R5) similarly complained about noise pollution, "up until 4:00 am every Wednesday," from activities in the dance room on level -1. Each of these participants lived on the once "normal" side of the building, directly above the spaces in question. Finally, the elevator core on levels 04 and 06 remained one of the most negatively valued spaces inside the building. The participants attributed this not only to poor maintenance, but also to its relatively "dark" and "isolated" location.

Throughout my interactions with the current residents, one sentiment endured and stayed consistent across groups and floor levels: that sentiment was their collective non-interest in Kroll's systems of flexibility and choice. I had asked each of my interviewees during the mapping task if they were willing to consider Kroll's initial architectural provisions. The students were neither aware of Mémé's conceptual, material, and participatory history nor expressed interest in reviving the original infrastructure of spatial variety and open access. Rather, all of them individually discussed the importance of personal space, distinct and separate from shared spaces. All listed the demanding academic curriculum as reasons for privileging privacy over publicness, permanence over changeable architecture. Besides, whilst many had immediate neighbors as friends, not all had personal ties with floor mates at large. Some had friends who lived in Mémé on the same floor (R3 and R4), others who lived on separate floors (R1 and R2), and most had friends who lived in other residential buildings, both on and off campus. The social events within the building were restricted to occasional dinners in shared

dining and kitchen spaces. Terraces, they said, were used infrequently for social gatherings. Throughout, the participants were surprised to learn that I had traveled from the USA to study their housing. None of them could comprehend the significance of Mémé in local and international architectural circles; they had not even heard or read anything about Lucien Kroll.

Physical Traces: A comparative photographic analysis of life and physical traces of various places within the building is revealing. The archival photographs of level 06, Fig. 3 and Fig. 43 for example, illustrate instances of terrace use for activities such as dining and group discussions respectively. Whereas outdoor furniture items like the table and benches in Fig. 3 suggest that such gatherings were a planned feature in the 1970s, folding chairs in Fig. 4 indicate that these may have been unplanned meetings, scheduled periodically nonetheless. Each of their illustrative current counterparts at the bottom—Fig. 5, Fig. 6, and Fig. 7—however, exhibit conditions of limited-use: a lazy chair at one corner, a plastic tray underneath the external stair, and clusters of garbage bags by the openings. Together, these "leftovers," to use Zeisel's term, furthermore, point to the less preferred status of terraces today. The limited traces in these images also remain consistent with evidence from my interactive mapping exercise wherein none of the participants assigned them any feelings. In comparison, the attached side-terraces on level 06 Fig. 8 facing east and Fig. 9 facing west reveal a slightly different story. Fig. 8 shows remains of repair work and construction equipment whilst Fig. 9 displays a plastic beverage crate on an ill-maintained surface to the immediate right of the external door. The image also shows the wearing away of external wall and other scars on window- and doorsills. Neither of these places has sittable furniture nor other traces of habitation. However, the fact that the respondents attributed positive values (the representational "green stars" and "red arrows") to each of them supplements evidence from the mapping task in which they favored the attached terraces for views and individual needs rather than group activities. The type of access—directly attached to the rooms—contributed to their personal use as well. Besides, the terrace in Fig. 8 may look temporarily abandoned due to ongoing renovation and insulation work, as also explained by the university structural engineer (Interviewee I3).

A similar comparison between the archival images of interiors of level 04 and their present day equivalents reveals significant changes over time. Fig. 10 and Fig. 12 are noteworthy in this regard. The image on the left of Fig. 10 illustrates a typical room on the so-called "fascist" side of Mémé. The wall surfaces of the room, one of which is a temporary infill, have fabric wall-

coverings on them with added maps and other pinups. The ceiling is distinct with exposed rafters. The glazed wall facing west has one of its panels covered up with a temporary curtain. The room has wide-ranging furniture from a bed and a large study table to what appears to be a trunk by the windows with mementoes and a stool with flowerpots on the side. Overall, the room appears to be personalized. Fig. 12 illustrates shared kitchen and dining room at the end of the corridor. The room shows kitchenette clutter as well as other non-traditional articles such as a blackboard and tack-board on its opposite walls. The image is demonstrative of a space accommodating multiple uses. It is suggestive of how the space may have been used for wider discussions and gatherings as a group.

The corresponding images demonstrate similarities, but also significant differences. The infill partition in Fig. 11 is replaced with a solid wall. The ceiling of the room is uniform and suspended below the rafters. The glazed wall has a permanent arrangement for curtains. On the whole, the room has basic furniture, no wall coverings, but remains personalized nevertheless with such items as a bookshelf and an additional study desk. Similarly, Fig. 13 presents a much-simplified arrangement. The kitchenette clutter is visible, but the walls are bare with no features demonstrative of other activities. Additionally, the absence of pinup boards and other items in the present-day counterpart indicate that the space is less identified with multiple uses; it presents an image of a space used exclusively for cooking and dining. This was corroborated with recordings from my informal conversations with some of the residents. Additionally, the single corridor leading up to this room too does not demonstrate signs of adaptation. Between the private room and shared spaces, the former exhibited more prominent significations of use than the latter.

With regards to the so-called "normal" side of the building, the space with free standing "wandering" columns is an iconic representation of the original SAR layout and its potential for inhabitation. It not only exhibits conditions from before the installation of permanent walls, but also displays modes of occupancy associated with creating ones own quarters. At an individual level, the 70s layout shows a self-identified space with flexible desk and ceiling bar for personal use. At the collective level, similar adaptability flourished.

Among their present-day counterparts some rooms appear to be minimally adapted (Fig. 10) whilst others exhibit not-so-comfortable adjustments (Fig. 16). The room in Fig. 14 and Fig. 15 is completely transformed into a standardized layout with flushed walls and a regular

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arrangement of furniture. In comparison, there are many more things strewn around the brightly painted blue column in Fig. 16. The access to personal terrace is restricted and tinned food items lay on the sill. The column in Fig. 16 similarly divides up the room into a series of overlapping spaces but none too wide to afford easy arrangement of furniture. Experientially, these rooms were much smaller than the rooms on the so-called "fascist" side of the building. However, their respective shared spaces remained much larger. The "normal" side retained distinctions between volumes, but none of the interviewed residents identified this contrast as a preferred feature during the interactive mapping task. The clutter in these spaces is nominal and signs of personalization take the form of wall posters and messages on tack boards. One of them, in particular, appropriated a poster with the message, "vas-y étudiér toi !!!"

It must be noted here that the "fascist" side of Mémé was designed for individual inhabitation, and that its standardized layout remained unaltered over the years. The internal conversions carried out by the University were restricted to changes in the conditions—if not the placement—of walls and ceilings on the one hand, and to those of control and access on the other hand. In comparison, the "normal" side of Mémé was configured for collective living using a modified SAR grid. The layout of this section, however, witnessed significant changes since the 1970s. The University replaced the movable partitions with solid walls approximating a regular arrangement of rooms circling around a preexisting grid of Kroll's "wandering columns." Similar to the "normal" side, entry on each floor was limited to residents with access code. To further analyze these transformations, I asked: What do the observed physical traces on either side of the building reveal about the strengths and limitations of the respective spatial configurations for lived-in alterations?

On the "fascist" side, a rise in structural permanence and social controls reinforced the individual status of rooms, afforded privacy to residents, but on the whole, lent itself to personalization over time. The same factors also impacted access to common areas and reduced the status of the shared kitchen and dining area to that of an amenity. None of the interviewed residents desired to multiply the occupancy of their kitchenette with activities such as group study or meetings. It may be so that an evolution in the nature of relationships and expectations between and among residents affected their collective motivations to take over the common space through use.

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On the "normal" side, Kroll's seemingly flexible system turned out to be rather rigid and resistant to the configuration of individualized spaces. The 10cm and 30cm specialized grid seemed not very accommodative of the new layout; it ensured that there was no repetition. Furthermore, a combination of evidence from physical traces and the mapping exercise reveal that the residents made adjustments in their rooms not to change them to habitual use, but rather to make explicit the various difficulties afforded by those spaces for individual living. This had less to do with how the university converted the floors and more to do with rigidity implicit in the chosen grid. On the one hand, the university-led attempts at standardization produced relative tiny rooms. On the other hand, within each of these rooms, the occupants objected to Kroll's organic columns because they made daily movement and furniture arrangements difficult. In the end, the so-called "fascist" grid contributed to a higher degree of personalization than its once organic counterpart.

Conclusion

Based on a combined literary and qualitative analysis, I would acknowledge that the status of Kroll's work as a social and political statement is concerning. At the same time, however, I am prepared to go past the project's binary reception within disciplinary circles as either undemocratic and rigid or democratic and transformative. The evaluation of the project against Lefebvrian principles brings to fore severe limitations in Kroll's participatory approach, but it also makes visible the accompanying contextual vulnerabilities. This I argue can contribute to future work in the area. I will discuss Kroll's approach in relation to Lefebvre's critiques one by one in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VII

Between City and Park: Bernard Tschumi and the Program of Parc de la Villette, Paris

Introduction

In December 1982, ahead of Parc de la Villette competition's jury decision, the local newspaper Quartiers Libres (Q.L.) published a series of stories documenting the lives, memories, and aspirations of people from the neighborhood. One such member, Nicole Fallet, who was a contributing voice to Collectif La Villette and served as president of the local association for the promotion of art and culture, wrote a short vision piece entitled, "To feel the site."[433] Fallet, as if writing to the jury, expressed the importance of being in the place, of smelling it, of walking through it: "And everyone should do the same: architects, the competition jury members, technocrats ... to know the place on foot." She described the site's "North-South lifeline, the canals, the dragon (sculpture)" as "a world of water, land, open spaces, a microcosm of the universe," with a rich history and an open future, "a world before it changes." And like her peers, wondered if the residents would be allowed to "breath" into the new environment, to make it their own, to manage a "common Villette," to animate the park with their participation. Some 25 years later, in "Rethinking the French City," literary and cultural studies scholar, Monique Yaari, provided a glimpse into the world as it developed through Bernard Tschumi's winning proposal.[434] In her appraisal, the park's management not only met, but exceeded local expectations through wide-ranging programs and personnel that ensured that the place served as a venue for the arts and culture collaboration at both local and global levels. That same year, another scholar and sociologist Anne Querrien, who had consulted on workshops with neighborhood residents at the time of the competition recounted that whilst the park of today

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[433] Nicole Fallet, "À La Villette: Ressentir Le Site," *Quartiers Libres No. 18*, December 1982.

[434] Monique Yaari, *Rethinking the French City: Architecture, Dwelling, and Display after 1968*, Architecture, Technology, Culture ;2 (Amsterdam ; New York: Rodopi, 2008), 347–51.

may continue to host wide-ranging programs, its plan to simultaneously build the capacities of neighborhood youth and co-manage the park never flourished.[435]

Positioned at the intersection of such different voices, this chapter reconnects the expert rhetoric that surrounds the Parc, including the widely-published accounts of Bernard Tschumi's proposal, to the actual people who use the park from the neighborhood and elsewhere in Paris. Specifically, the chapter raises the question of the extent to which Tschumi's program and materialization of concepts for the park address issues of inclusion and experimentation as shared by the people and included in the brief. The chapter begins with the history of the project and commission, proceeds to discuss the critical reception of Tschumi's work in architectural circles, and continues with a phase-wise presentation of the project.

History of the Project and Commission

La Villette is located in the 19e arrondisement of Paris, connecting the city's immigrant and working class neighborhood to its banlieues (suburban municipalities) and serving as an important zone between the two. After its industrial abattoirs shut down in 1974, the land, held by the city of Paris was sold to the state, and a number of local and international competitions were organized to re-imagine the vast area, marked by two perpendicular canals—Canal de l'Ourcq and Canal Saint-Denis—and covering a total of 55 hectares (more than a kilometer from north to south and more than 700 metres at its widest from east to west). The first of these competitions—"Concours pour l'aménagement du secteur de la Villette"—was staged in 1976 to re-purpose the site with multiple uses such as "housing, offices, shops, cultural activities, and a park."[436] However, in 1978, following programmatic disagreements, the competition was closed. Soon thereafter, then president Valery Giscard d'Estaing declared that La Villette would be developed into a science museum, an auditorium, and a park. In June 1979, the ministry of culture established a public institution, l'Établissement Public du Parc de La Villette (EPPV), to manage and develop this plan. In 1980, the EPPV held a design competition for the science

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[435] Kim Trogal and Sam Vardy, "Resistance and Activist Research: A Workshop with Brian Holmes and Anne Querrien," *Field: A Free Journal of Architecture* 3, no. 1 (2009): 49–57.

[436] For a complete introduction to the Parc de la Villette competition, see: Lodewijk Baljon, *Designing Parks: An Examination of Contemporary Approaches to Design in Landscape Architecture, Based on a Comparative Design Analysis of Entries for the Concours International, Parc de La Villette, Paris, 1982-3* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 1992), 26. Baljon had participated in the 1982 park competition as a team member of Baaker and Bleeker from the Netherlands, one of the nine joint winners of the first phase of the competition.

museum, and architect Adrien Fainsilber won the commission. In 1982, the design of park assumed a stronger focus under the country's new president François Mitterand, and specifically, in connection with his Grands Projets – a set of 7 architectural and urban design projects, envisioned almost entirely by Mitterand to enhance the cultural and civic might of the city. In May 1982, then minister of culture Jacques Lang announced an international competition for the park—"Concours International: Parc de la Villette"—and in June, the EPPV president Paul Delouvrier, in coordination with the park project director François Barré, released the competition brief.[437]

The structure of the brief has received widespread attention in architecture, landscape, and cultural studies press. The brief covered two volumes and included six sections, listed in this way: 1. Rapport d'objectifs -- 2. Programmes -- 3. Données sur l'existant -- 4. Règlement du concours -- 5. Documents graphiques -- 6. Photos. (Or, 1. Report on Objectives; 2. Program; 3. Data on Existing Site; 4. Rules of the Competition; 5. Graphic Documents; and 6. Photos.).[438] The overall report was ambitious and detailed. It called for a radical new way of imagining the park: "a new type of urbanity" that was "concurrently active, permanent, and experimental," "an outdoor cultural facility, closely linked to the neighborhood as well as adjacent towns," and a "meeting place and space of dialogue" that was inclusive of everyone, regardless of income and place of origin.[439] The report started with these objectives to ensure that Parc de la Villette would be an "urban park of the twenty-first century," not a reproduction of Haussmann's urban vision, or the traditional English garden paradigm, each of which saw the park only as a space of retreat, hierarchical in the overall system of "squares, parks, and woods," exclusive and permanent in use, and one that the EPPV concluded did not represent the spirit of the time. Instead, having surveyed the history of Parisian parks, the points of reference for the EPPV were the parks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: "(Palais-Royal, Luxembourg, Tuileries) played a part in the social life of the city: as an urban place of encounter and interchange, … constantly visited

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[437] *Parc de La Villette : Concours International.* ([Paris] : Etablissement Public du Parc de la Villette, 1982); See also: Alan Tate, *Great City Parks* (Routledge, 2015), 135–36. That same year, in August, Bernard Reichen and Philippe Robert were selected to restore Grande Halle (former slaughterhouse) on site. In 1984, internal competitions were held for expanding the auditorium to and locating the state-run Conservatoire National Supérieur du Musique et de Dance in Cité de la Musique, a competition through which architect Christian de Portzamparc was declared the winner. Barré was also the former editor-in-chief of the journal L'Architecture d'Aujourdhui.
[438] Ibid.
[439] *Parc de La Villette*, 3.

by a miscellaneous public … the garden added or adapted over the years."[440] The brief positioned La Villette in this tradition, in "the art of gardening" as well as the task of urban planning, in nature as well as culture, in the local community as well as the city at large, in the present day as well as its evolving future.[441]

Specifically, the program required the participants to address the issue of use, invention, and social inclusion around three integrated themes: urbanism (man and the city), pleasure (the body and the mind), and experimentation (knowledge and activity).[442] The EPPV wanted the place to respond to the district's social demographics and to the dynamics of city life in equal measure. They raised the question of accessibility, as well as the question of integration with the city of Paris, asking all groups, across age and ethnic difference, from the immediate neighborhood to wider municipalities, to use and make park their own at all times of the year, night or day: "It is a large residence in the open air, with a choice of facilities, in addition to open space for free imaginings."[443] The EPPV also called upon the competition participants to reconcile the Cartesian split between the body and the mind through design, to engage people's senses as well as their intellect through sensory play, differentiated surfaces, festivals, and public programming: "Sometimes Descartes must by forgotten to discover Rabelais."[444] Additionally, Barré advocated for a "flexible" design that would promote and sustain DIY workshops, music making, gardening, and other types of unprogrammed activities in the park: "A living, active culture is sought in which theory and practice are not separated."[445] In its sustained emphasis on plurality, however, the brief cautioned against a "hotchpotch of assorted programs." Instead, the EPPV called for participants to create a space that both "diversified" and "unified" these themes, one that organized the relations between them in landscape, architectural, and compositional terms.

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[440] *Parc de La Villette*; Also see: Baljon, *Designing Parks*, 37.

[441] "Historically, the art of gardening is part of our culture; the shaping of nature according to an ideal model. Gardens reflect a vision of the world and of capability. This symbolic dimension should not be forgotten, for, in addition to the use of the park, the symbolic function has become impoverished in recent decades. Symbols of the present ought to be incorporated into the contemporary park." Also, "La Villette is a large project that has to combine urban planning and cultural innovation. That is the magnitude of the ambition. It is an innovative cultural project. The park serves as a new cultural instrument. It is part of an urban planning policy that completes the city and, at the same time, opens it up to the suburbs." See: *Parc de La Villette*; Also see: Yaari, *Rethinking the French City*, 325; And: Baljon, *Designing Parks*, 38–39.

[442] *Parc de La Villette*.

[443] Ibid.; Baljon, *Designing Parks*, 39.

[444] *Parc de La Villette*; Quoted in: Baljon, *Designing Parks*, 39; See: Yaari, *Rethinking the French City*, 436. As Yaari notes: "Rebalais's Abbeye de Thélème was a sixteenth century literary utopia, a community open to educated men and women wishing to cultivate in equal measure their bodies and minds, and pursue urbane interaction. Its motto was 'Do as you please'."

[445] *Parc de La Villette*; Quoted in: Baljon, *Designing Parks*, 39.

Here, the brief also recognized the importance of working with the remaining buildings of the abattoir, of coexisting with the history of the place.

Finally, the brief outlined considerations for the future management of the park. The Rapport d'objectifs stated: "The complex and innovating character of the park necessitates special management. The area must be arranged in such a way that it is safe without having to make a show of strength. Consider Stendhal: La beauté est une promesse de bonheur'. The park is a cultural facility in the open air. For this reason, a special staff under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture is necessary, in addition to the customary horticultural management."[446] But, the management requirements were just not limited to personnel and site security. The brief called for participants to achieve a design that would address the question of boundaries and access, of accessibility and integration with the cultural history of the place, the area as it was before the park and the area it would become in connection with local communities. By this time, and in response to appeals from the ground up, community meetings with the resident groups of the 19e arrondisement about the park had begun. I draw here on Quartier Libres (Q.L.), a neighborhood newspaper (est. 1978) that documented aspects of this "consultation" from 1982 to 1987. The competition brief, however, was already drafted by then.

In October 1979, five years after the closure of La Villette abattoirs, the Q.L. reported that the people of 19e arrondisement were anxious that the state cared little about integrating the future of this prime land, their heritage, with the district and its adjoining municipalities. The EPPV was then a newly instituted authority. A year later, in October 1980, with the demolition of many of the existing structures and a concurrent appointment of architect Adrien Fainsilber as the architect of the science museum, there was still a great amount of concern that the party had excluded the people of 19e arrondisement from the decision-making process regarding La Villette's future. In Spring of 1982, alongside the drafting of "Concours International: Parc de la Villette" competition brief, the resident associations of 19e arrondisement announced the formation of "The Collectif La Villette" (CLV) as a way to advocate for their representation in the competition jury and all subsequent meetings. In their words, "We call for a tripartite

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[446] Ibid; Cited in: Baljon, *Designing Parks*, 40; Monique Yaari provides a detailed account of the origins and programmatic development of the Association de Prévention du Site de la Villette (the APSV) for the site's security in 1986. See: Yaari, *Rethinking the French City*, 348–50.

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organization involving the association, the state, and the city of Paris; a public survey; and a process of permanent consultation."[447] Their press release read as follows (I quote here in full):

"On the grounds of the old slaughterhouses of La Villette, which belong to the State, the government has decided to establish the National Museum of Science and Technology (the largest building in the old slaughterhouse), an Auditorium (concert hall), the National Conservatory of Music and Music Museum, and finally, a 30 hectare park, whose form and content are still being defined and will be part of an international competition." The residents continued: "These regional and national scale accomplishments will significantly change the lives of our neighborhoods. Such projects will only encourage the rise of rents and land speculation, and chase out the most disadvantaged populations. The government has provided on these lands, prestigious facilities that do not include the necessary facilities for the inhabitants of the surrounding areas." And finally: "We people want to have our say! The 19e arrondisement, disadvantaged in terms of employment and social housing, lack of community facilities, demand that the City of Paris and the state meet our needs and effectively fight against land speculation."

By December 1982, "The Collectif La Villette" (CLV) gained a foothold in the EPPV via a single vote in its 21-member competition jury that otherwise comprised 5 landscape architects, 5 architects (including 1 representing the Ministry of Culture), 3 historians, 3 artists, 2 policy specialists, 1 biologist, and 1 EPPV board member (Barré himself).[448] The jury was presided by Brazilian landscape architect Roberto Burle Marx. The CLV, represented by architect-sociologist Bernard Bourgade, was concerned about the extent to which they would be able to "defend" the concerns of the local inhabitants given their tiny representation in the jury. They released a wider call for participation among the community that said: "To help the Collectif La Villette be the broadest reflection of people, participate in the meetings, and especially the public debate organized by District Free Press on 5 December 1982." And concluded with hope: "It is important that the cry of neighborhoods are expressed at this meeting and subsequent architecture and planning workshops. A dream." Throughout this time, the Q.L. published a series of short pieces on the history of La Villette towards generating consciousness among then residents about their district and culture.

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[447] Collectif La Villette, "Le Point de Vue Du Collectif La Villette," *Quartiers Libres No. 16*, Spring 1982.
[448] For a complete listing, see the program jury reproduced in: Jean-Pierre Chupin, Carmela Cucuzzella, and Bechara Helal, *Architecture Competitions and the Production of Culture, Quality and Knowledge: An International Inquiry*, 2015, 244.

As sociologist Anne Querrien recounts, a series of consultation workshops were held at the beginning.[449] Querrien was involved in the consultation process between the EPPV and the neighborhood groups. "The consultation work took place over a few months, in which the research group began to build relations amongst the differing (sometimes competing) groups in the locality. This process, of enabling the youth groups to become organized and to participate in the self-managed spaces of the park, was stopped abruptly. A different research group, with another agenda, was employed to continue the task. They pretended to organize activities for the youth whilst still refusing to put confidence in their capacities of self-management."[450] I will discuss the unfolding of this process in the next section and critique. For now, however, it is useful to see Querrien's comments alongside François Barré's vision to allow the park to be used by all, in particular the people from surrounding districts, as well as in relation to the goals of the CLV, which included the following: "1) To facilitate the dissemination of project development as well as active representation of neighborhood interests in the decision-making process; 2) To take required actions to respect the socio-economic characteristics of the neighborhood otherwise threatened by real estate speculation accompanying the project; 3) To advocate for harmonious integration between the park and its surroundings, and resist seeing the park as an exclusive entity; 4) To promote the development of cultural and sporting life involving the youth, immigrants, and people of all age groups and identity markers, including the retired and the disabled; and 5) To fight against nuisances."

In summary, each of the discussed considerations—culture and nature, district and city, people and use, inclusion and experimentation, management and consultation—were among the most prominent elements of the park's extensive brief. These considerations also made the brief, in Lodewijk Baljon's words, "complicated," "diverse," and "overfull in view of the available size of the site."[451] The challenge for the participants, therefore, was to design a space that would combine activities in the moment, but also allow for their newer configurations to take form and shape in the future. I will discuss Bernard Tschumi's winning proposal and interpretation of the brief subsequently. However, I must note here that the jury examined a total of 472 entries from

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[449] Interview with Anne Querrien in Paris (dated: May 11, 2012). Also see: Trogal and Vardy, "Resistance and Activist Research: A Workshop with Brian Holmes and Anne Querrien."
[450] Ibid., 51–52.
[451] Baljon, *Designing Parks*, 42.

around the world.[452] Due to difficulties in reaching a final decision, 9 submissions were awarded a joint first prize and another round of competition was initiated.[453] In this phase, each of the winners was asked to provide a detailed plan of their respective proposals. After prolonged debate, Bernard Tschumi was awarded the commission to design the park.[454]

Critical Reception

The conception and realization of Tschumi's masterplan for Parc de la Villette generated tremendous response among architects and thinkers in the academic press. The design was viewed as an embodiment of Tschumi's discourse on space, event, and program - a clever interpretation of the brief's plural ambitions, or what might a park "for the twenty-first century" be as both a *grand project* for the city of Paris and a social space for its immediate working class neighbors. However, one of the first critical takes on the park's pluralistic claim came with Charles Jencks' 1988 article in Architectural Design (AD) entitled, "Deconstruction: The Pleasures of Absence."[455] This piece articulated Jencks' position on "Deconstruction" with reference to a number of international works built between the late 1970s and the late 1980s by architects such as Frank Gehry, Rem Koolhass, Bernard Tschumi, and Peter Eisenman. In this lineup, Jencks offered both a cautionary note and critical praise for Tschumi's Parc de la Villette, which he described as "a type of avant-garde Disneyland," *if* realized as per plan. On the one hand, this plan included Tschumi's superimposed systems of points, lines and surfaces, which

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[452] All 471 entries were catalogued and presented as case studies in a book by the EPPV. Whereas the submissions of 9 finalists were discussed in detail, those of the remaining entries were presented as general schemes. Marianne Barzilay, Catherine Hayward, and Lucette Lombard-Valentino, *L'invention Du Parc: Parc de La Villette, Paris : Concours International = International Competition 1982-1983* (Paris: Graphite, 1984).

[453] Among the finalists, there were 3 architects, 3 landscape architects, and 3 comprised teams with both architects and landscape architects: "Bernard Tschumi (architect, USA); OMA/Rem Koolhaas (architect, GB); Bernard Lassus (landscape architect, F); Gilles Vexlard (landscape architect, F); Sven Ingvar Andersson (architect/landscape architect, DK); Arriola/Fiol/Gali/Qunintana (architects, ES); Alexandre Chemetoff (architect/landscape architect, F); Bakker and Bleeker (landscape architect, NL); Jacques Gouvernec (architect) with Jean-Pierre Raynaud (landscape architect, FR)." See: Chupin, Cucuzzella, and Helal, *Architecture Competitions and the Production of Culture, Quality and Knowledge*, 252; Baljon, *Designing Parks*, 26.

[454] For a critique of jury decision, see: Françoise Choay, "Critique," *Princeton Journal: Landscape 2*, 1985, 211–14; For a summary of Choay's criticism, see: Chupin, Cucuzzella, and Helal, *Architecture Competitions and the Production of Culture, Quality and Knowledge*, 243–45.

[455] Charles Jencks, "'Deconstruction: The Pleasures of Absence,' ed. Dr. Andreas C. Papadakis," *Architectural Design* 58, no. 3/4 (1988): 17–31.

Jencks remarked upon favorably.[456] On the other hand, however, it called for a collection of themed gardens by designers, whom Jencks identified as "a roll-call of late-Modernists," such that if they "all do their own thing, the result would be one of the oddest agglomerations of the 20th century … integrated through abstraction and the internalized references of art and architectural worlds."[457] It was in light of such integration that Jencks offered his criticism: "This (integration) contradicts basic Deconstructionist theory and the intentions of Tschumi which are always concerned with *différance*, not unity" (emphasis mine).[458] Jencks remained committed to the view that unless the individual garden designers are "chosen from a wider spectrum – and this would mean the inclusion of post-modernists and traditionalists – the result will be unintentionally monistic," and furthermore noted, "real pluralism … must be founded on a wider set of public languages than a restricted abstraction."[459] For Jencks, Parc de la Villette appeared to be at cross-purposes in its public intention. He concluded, "There can be no doubt about the pleasures of Tschumi's constructions and layout," however, "(we) are seeing here the style of urban anomie raised to a high art … one of the most recurrent archetypes of late-modernism."[460]

A year prior to Jencks publication, a much severe critique of Tschumi's design came from philosopher and former Utopie member, Jean Baudrillard. In his preface to Isabelle Auricoste and Hubert Tonka (ed.) *Parc de la Villette*,[461] Baudrillard placed Tschumi's design in a broad cultural context and the very "destiny" of architecture: "everything leads us to believe that we shall continue to advance inexorably towards a blend of culture and life, towards a denial by culture itself of its distinctive traits, and the many attempts to adapt works of art, architecture in particular, to the social banality of behavior. In this sense, the ensemble of La Villette can appear, in its entirety, like a zoo of everyday life. We no longer seek to create an exceptional object that is unusual, transcendent, that electrifies the imagination. Instead, we create a synoptic

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[456] In Tschumi's masterplan and layered logic, Jencks saw the potential for "chance and coincidence," for "incongruities and discontinuities" to assume form. He also argued that the "superimposition" of late-modernist works will "further the disjunctions." Ibid., 23.

[457] Ibid.

[458] "The concept of disjunction is incompatible with static, autonomous, structural view of architecture. But it is not anti-autonomy or anti-structure; it simply implies constant mechanical operations that systematically produce dissociation (Derrida would call it *différance*) in space and time, where an architectural element only functions by colliding with a programmatic element." Ibid.; Bernard Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994), 212–13; First appeared in: Bernard Tschumi, "Disjunctions," *Perspecta* 23 (1987): 108–19.

[459] Charles Jencks, "'Deconstruction: The Pleasures of Absence,' ed. Dr. Andreas C. Papadakis," 24.

[460] Ibid., 25.

[461] Jean Baudrillard, "Préface," in Isabelle. Auricoste and Hubert. Tonka, *Parc-Ville Villette: Architectures*, Vaisseau de Pierres ([Paris?]: Champ Vallon, 1987), 4–5.

anthology of urban walkways and urban living, the epitome of experimental cohabitation."[462] To Baudrillard, the contemporary society was one where commodity and commodification had taken over people's imagination to lead a different way of life, one that could be distinct from consumerist technologies, things, and institutions: "Walt Disney inaugurated an era of infantile paralysis of the imagination, and this virus threatens all enterprises, in that they can no longer be reclaimed from an individual or collective imagination projected onto its own desires."[463] Architecture as an embedded practice was not exempt from this experience, and any design that sought to establish "conditions" for new possibilities, as Tschumi claimed, was utopian.[464] The park incorporated the city and its activities, yet remained separate from them. It "imposed a contemplative stroll," but remained closed to "secular confusion" that stemmed from being in the city.[465] In Tschumi's public space, in short, Baudrillard saw no possibility for transformative urban life. At its best, La Villette was a theatre set, or as Monique Yaari transcribes, a simulacrum of public space: "It's got the ghosts of architecture, of the city, of culture, technology and art, laid out in a more complete and intelligent manner," and further, "The park and the museum seek to disguise and exorcise the devastation and desertification of the town. But the real picture is that of the devastated city, and the real drama is between that and the Ideal City."[466] Parc de la Villette for Baudrillard lacked in both authenticity and the potential to influence society despite Tschumi's theory of disjunction between space and use, between architecture and institutional power.

Both Jencks' and Baudrillard's discussion of La Villette as Disneyland—limited in symbolic and revolutionary capacity—are noteworthy because they positioned Tschumi's work critically from within an expansive and largely favorable set of reviews on the project. Following Yaari, however, one other review that compared La Villette and Disneyland, but concluded on quite the opposite note, was a study by Tara Short, entitled "Of Mice and Madness," released in *The Journal of Architecture* in 1998.[467] Unlike Jencks and Baudrillard, Short examined the two

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[462] Ibid., 5.

[463] Ibid.

[464] La Villette, however, was a "lighter utopia" compared to other *grand projets*, "a place where walking, looking, playing, and resting become in themselves 'follies' and fantasies; a recreational space, and not a flow converter; a diverter, not a converter." Ibid., 4–5.

[465] Ibid., 5.

[466] Ibid.; Also see: Yaari, *Rethinking the French City*, 352–53.

[467] Tara Short, "Of Mice and Madness: Questions of Occupation Interpreted through Disneyland and Parc de La Villette," *The Journal of Architecture* 3, no. 2 (January 1, 1998): 147–69; Yaari, *Rethinking the French City*, 354–55.

projects against Manfredo Tafuri's theory of utopia, described as a "means of eliminating the risk of the future," and in light of spatial occupation: "The parks provide intense spaces for occupation, but in quite incompatible ways."[468] By connecting utopia and occupation to themes such as eroticism, transgression, movement, functionality, hygiene, and temporality, Short argued that Tschumi's "Parc de la Villette … functions as a public site for the Parisian everyday life, which certainly includes people at the cafés and young men playing football on the field," and that, "(its) pluralism should not be misread as a reaction of our society but rather as a means of deconstructing the identities of these signs." By using a system of signs but completely "destroying" their meaning, Tara contended that Tschumi acknowledged the dominant capitalist system, but also worked within it to heighten the lived experience of its users and inflect the system with new symbolisms. The park, in other words, was nothing like a Disneyland - neither submissive to nor representative of our commodified society.

The critique of Parc de la Villette saw Tschumi's interpretation of the brief and "built theory" in dichotomous terms: as either incapable of going past the dominant space of modernity and establishing new kinds of relationships between "program, form, and ideology," or offering a radical new infrastructure for the public to produce "event" and open up different social, political, and cultural possibilities within it. Furthermore, either set of reviews remained marked by highly sophisticated analysis of the park, but will little or no engagement with people and politics on site. Even Short's brilliant piece kept the discussion on "occupation" at the theoretical level. In this chapter, I will connect my discussion on the conception and realization of the park to observations and interactive mappings on site to go past the dichotomous reception in architectural circles, and highlight the extent to which, and how, Tschumi's design approach has set conditions of lived possibility.

Conception

In 1982, the same year that La Villette competition call was announced, sociologist Galen Cranz released her book on the history of urban parks in America. Cranz's study, which gained

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[468] And further, "occupation is an essential element in the works of both Bernard Tschumi and Walt Disney. Setting the stage, Tafuri states that the importance of a user in architecture is a fairly recent development, as a result of capitalist ideology. Tschumi gives exceptional significance to the user in architecture, as an agent for dismantling tradition. Disney capitalized on the desire for participation, filling a demand for interaction in our society." Short, "Of Mice and Madness," 149, 153.

broad readership among urban designers and landscape architects alike, surveyed the park systems of New York City, Chicago, and San Francisco from the 1850s to the present in terms of their physical design and social values. The research identified four types of parks from the "pleasure ground" and "reform park" to the "recreational facility" and "open space system," and concluded with a vision for the future: "The potentiality of parks to shape and reflect social values is still by no means fully appreciated or understood. Those with an interest in the character of urban life should seize on parks as one of the vehicles for the realization of their particular visions, and debate about parks should revolve around those visions."[469] Cranz's call for integration between parks and urban life was coincidental with Barré's call for an "urban park" that went beyond the dichotomies of nature and culture. Following her seminal work, Tschumi invited Cranz to serve on the La Villette competition team as a consultant.[470] By then, they had already been shortlisted with eight other groups for the second round. In Tschumi's competition entry, Cranz saw a role to "strengthen the overall conceptual system and link it back to the program in a convincing way."[471] Cranz may have described her contribution as "just that," but in coordination with Tschumi's concept and the work of other designers on the team, it rendered a coherence that was a result of a shared underlying perspective. Their entry ultimately stood first in the competition and Tschumi was awarded the commission to realize the plan.

The organizational structure of Tschumi and his design team's final entry has been widely written about by the architect himself as well as by scholars and critics over the years. In their competition text, as if echoing Cranz, Tschumi stated: "*The park forms part of the vision of the city,*" and further, "We aim neither to change styles while retaining a traditional content, nor to fit the proposed program into a conventional mold, whether neoclassical, neoromantic, or neomodernist. Rather, our project is motivated by the most constructive principle within the legitimate "history" of architecture, by which new programmatic developments and inspirations result in new typologies. Our ambition is to create a new model in which program, form, and ideology all play integral roles."[472] Tschumi's new model comprised three autonomous and

[469] Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America*, xiii, 347 (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982), 253–55.

[470] Other members of the competition team included: Luca Merlini, Alexandra Villegas, Luca Pagnamenta, Phoebe Cutler, William Wallis, and Jon Olsen. See: Auricoste and Tonka, *Parc-Ville Villette*, 6.

[471] Interview with Galen Cranz (dated: June 6, 2012).

[472] Excerpt from the competition text in Bernard Tschumi et al., *Tschumi: Parc De La Villette*, Parc de La Villette, 239 p. (London: Artifice Books, 2014), 20; Also see: Endnotes in Alan Tate, *Great City Parks*, 218 p. (London ;

superimposed systems—points (the system of objects), lines (the system of movements), and surfaces (the system of spaces)—each with its own possibilities and limits, mediating between the site, concept, and programmatic constraints: "the overlay of different systems thus creates a carefully staged series of tensions that enhances the dynamism of the park."[473] Through superimposition, Tschumi sought to prevent the "ascendancy of any one privileged system," to "dislocate and de-regulate rather than establish La Villette's meaning," and to align architecture to "event."[474]

One of the core criteria for the park in Barré's brief was that it must be "concurrently active, permanent, and experimental." Tschumi's system of geometry was in equal parts a response to this criteria and a continuation of his own interest in moving past the notion of urban design as either "a composition," or "a complement," or "a palimpsest." Each of these strategies to him upheld the traditional order and hierarchy in design: the power of the architect and the architectural concept to shape meaning and its dispersal.[475] Instead, Tschumi claimed: "I attack the system of meaning. I am for the idea of structure and syntax, but no meaning." The emphasis on structure and syntax did not imply that the park would be empty of meaning, rather that, as Peter Blundell Jones notes, albeit critically, it will have no "coherent" meaning, that it will allow the individuals to interpret the park in their own way without any pre-assigned or deterministic meaning.[476] "Whatever meaning the park may have is a function of interpretation," said Tschumi, "(meaning) is not resident in the object or in the object's materials."[477] In the context of Deconstruction theory, this further implied that Tschumi rejected the potential for architecture and the Modern tradition to function as a language and signify meaning. Instead, through "random" layering of three autonomous systems, he aimed to create "disjunction" between form

New York: Spon Press, 2001), 2013. Tate describes this correspondence as "a milder version of Galen Cranz's concluding statement in The Politics of Park Design (1982)."

[473] Bernard Tschumi, *Cinégram Folie, Le Parc de La Villette*, New Designs (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987), 5–6.

[474] Ibid., VI–VII.

[475] In his introduction to this volume, Tschumi stated: "When confronted with an urbanistic program, an architect may either a) design a masterly construction, an inspired architectural gesture (a composition); take what exists, fill in the gaps, complete the text, scribble in the margins (a complement); deconstruct what exists by critically analyzing the historical layers that preceded it, even adding other layers derived from elsewhere—from other cities, other parks (a palimpsest); d) search for an intermediary—an abstract system to mediate between the site (as well as all given constraints) and some other concept, beyond city or program (a mediation). Tschumi, *Cinégram Folie, Le Parc de La Villette*.

[476] See: Peter Blundell Jones, "La Villette," *Architectural Review*, August 1989, 54–59.

[477] Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*, 203.

and function, space and use, and in the Saussurian sense, the signifier and the signified. Neither a unity between parts nor some "absolute truth" was the goal of this project.

The system of points represented a set of coordinates, a rhythm, a grid of small buildings called "folies" that acted "initially independent of the park, program, and site," but when put in place, gained meaning through its use. Tschumi's follies were red, three-storeyed 10x10x10-meter cubes laid out at 120-meter intervals, each constituting a "neutral space" waiting to be programmed and transformed. Tschumi described them as "points of intensity" through which to distribute the program and encourage movement throughout the site. At the time of submission, the folies were presented sans variations, as identical cubes to amplify their perception in the overall scheme. Granz, who served as a member of the competition team, described this gesture as one of her design contributions. Subsequently, through such rules as "repetition, distortion, superimposition, and fragmentation," Tschumi demonstrated the different combinatorial possibilities of the same unit. In Tschumi's words: "… in its basic structure, each Folie is bare, undifferentiated, and industrial in character; in the specialization of its program, it is complex, articulated, and weighted with meaning."[478]

The system of lines denoted passageways, facilitating "high density pedestrian movement across the site" through such channels as covered galleries, spanning the length and breadth of the site, tree-lined walkways linking different activities, and a curvilinear "cinematic promenade of gardens" intercepting the orthogonal pathways at various points.[479] Using the techniques of framing, sequencing, and montage, Tschumi conceived of the promenade as a continuous filmstrip, where "each frame of a sequence reinforces or alters the parts that precede or follow it."[480] Recalling Barré's criteria of sensory play, engaging both mind and senses, Tschumi orchestrated the promenade as an experience of being in the city, of catching glimpses of the previous or subsequent sight as one walked through its thematic gardens. The promenade was also one of the more collaborative systems of the park: a number of designers were invited to design its gardens, one for each frame.

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[478] Tschumi suggested the following "programmatic combination of folies: L5L cinema-restaurant, piano-bar, video theatre, observatory, shops, running track, possibly small radio studio. N5: children's folie, drawing workshop, tarzan-bar, slide, water games, the administration. N7: folie of spectacles, water wheel, first aid clinic." Tschumi, *Cinégram Folie, Le Parc de La Villette.*
[479] Ibid., 8.
[480] Ibid.

The system of surfaces was defined by programmatic needs that required "large expanses of horizontal space," such as the need for "play, games, bodily exercises, mass entertainment, markets, etc." These were spatial systems of "compacted earth and gravel," providing the freedom and choice to assemble and carry out activities in groups. Surfaces were meant to "offer a park material familiar to all Parisians"—grass, gravel (and water)—a space that Yaari notes sat in contrast to the otherwise restricted and "manicured lawns of traditional French parks."[481] Additionally, this system integrated the two halves of the site by treating Canal de l'Ourcq as one of its elements. "The system of surfaces," as per Cranz, "treated the canal as a 'seam,' rather than a barrier, which is how most others saw it in the competition." The surfaces included a large circular lawn in the middle, a triangular counterpart on the side, and several others spaces lacking in any definite shape. Together with the perpendicular galleries and the grid of folies, they lay in dialogue with the geometry of abattoir buildings and canals, and served to distribute potential programmatic needs and use throughout the site and beyond.

The winning proposal by Tschumi and his team was not only a realization of his theoretical work on the relationship between space, event, and program, but was also its advancement with and through other references in architecture, literature, and philosophy. In 1988, Tschumi wrote: "I would claim that the first deconstruction/superimposition work was my Manhattan Transcripts (1976-1981). It addressed architectural as well as programmatic disjunctions, while combining both abstract and figurative elements. (The second) Joyce's Garden (1976-1977) took a literary text as program and used the point grid as mediator between the architectural and the literary: a superimposition of two heterogeneous texts. The Parc de la Villette (1982-) is the 'largest discontinuous building in the world' and the first built work specifically exploring these concepts of superimposition and dissociation."[482] As claimed, it was through his theoretical explorations

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481 Yaari, *Rethinking the French City*, 336.
482 While teaching at the Architectural Association School in London, Tschumi gave his students a project: they were to take James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* (1939) and design a landscape plan from the text. Each student was assigned a point on a grid of Covent Garden and asked to take the text as the program. Tschumi called this the "Joyce's Garden project." That same year, Tschumi was working on another project called the "Manhattan Transcripts." In this work, he experimented with correlating concepts of event, activity, and movement with points, lines, and surfaces. "Transcripts," Tschumi said, "were neither a real project nor a utopian fantasy; rather they were attempts to transcribe an architectural interpretation of reality." The transcripts explored Manhattan archetypes – the park, the street, the tower, the block and represented them using techniques such as sequence and montage developed from post-war French literature and film theory. The primary objective of this project was to examine and provide new means for the representation of movement and events. Tschumi added, "The explicit purpose of Transcripts was to transcribe things normally removed from conventional architectural representation, namely the complex relationship between spaces and their use; between the set and the script; between type and program;

that the design of park came to question the correspondences between "space and use, program and context, form and function, structure and meaning." And the use of point grid, with incomplete folies, only heightened the programmatic deviations and dissociations, or as Tschumi put it, "the madness."[483]

In a one-page official announcement of the competition, the objective read as follows: "The future of La Villette Park … will be an urban park, alive and busy, owing to its cultural nature will become, if possible, a model for all XXIst century parks."[484] In Tschumi's proposal, the jury observed this potential. The "garden of folies" not only demonstrated to them an experimental approach to producing and perceiving the connection between nature and culture, but also promised a range of possibilities for the use and management of site. Whilst the objective of the competition was to select a project that offered a complete new thinking of the traditional park, Tschumi dispensed with the notion of park altogether to embed into design "the disjunctions and dissociations of our time" as well as to "suggest another way of inventing the city."[485]

Realization

It is difficult to talk about the realization phase of a project that not only challenged the conventions of design and perception, but also its production. In this regard the first realization

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between objects and events. Their implicit purpose had to do with the twentieth century city" (1981). Transcripts were, therefore, a means to test his ideas using multiple devices - a technique which subsequently became one of the strategies for the design of Parc de le Villette. Bernard Tschumi and N.Y.) Museum of Modern Art (New York, *The Manhattan Transcripts* (London : New York, NY: Academy Editions ; Distributed to the trade in the USA by St. Martin's Press, 1994); Bernard Tschumi, "Parc de La Villette, Paris," *Architectural Design* 58, no. 3/4 (1988): 32–39.

[483] Tschumi evoked two key theorists to discuss his concept of madness. Quoting Michel Foucault in his preface to *Cinégram Folie*, Tschumi stated: "In madness equilibrium is established, but it masks that equilibrium beneath the cloud of illusion, beneath feigned disorder."[483] And subsequently, quoting Maurice Blanchot in the section "Concept of Folie" he added: "Madness would then be a word in perpetual discordance with itself and interrogative throughout, so that it would question its own possibility, and therefore the possibility of the language that would contain it; thus it would question itself, since the latter also belongs to the game of language." For Tschumi, the very conception of the folie as a neutral, incomplete structure awaiting form and meaning through programmatic permutations and social use evoked madness, at once calling into question that "normality" of architectural elements ("typologies, modern movement dogmas, rationalism, and other "isms" of recent history) and advocating for an experience of reality that lay somewhere between "the pragmatics of built realm" and the "absoluteness of concepts." See: Tschumi, *Cinégram Folie, Le Parc de La Villette*, i, 16; Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*, 174–75.

[484] Présidence de la République Française, "Parc de la Villette: Communique from the Presidency of the Republic," new release, 8th April, 1982. Quoted in: Chupin, Cucuzzella, and Helal, *Architecture Competitions and the Production of Culture, Quality and Knowledge*, 241.

[485] Preface Tschumi, *Cinégram Folie, Le Parc de La Villette*, i.

of Park de la Villette could be traced back to *The Manhattan Transcripts* preceding the competition. For our discussion, however, I will continue from the last section and outline, where possible, the products and processes of realizing the brief and the winning proposal. Of interest here is not only theory as built, but also the manner in which different concerns on the ground were accommodated in connection with the brief during the project's first phase from 1982 to 1987. The drawings and general planning documents were prepared between 1983 and 1984. The first set of construction began in 1985 and continued through 1987. The park was opened to the public on October 12, 1987.[486]

The competition team was small compared to the team that Tschumi assembled upon being appointed as the "general contractor" of the commission. In his biography on "Bernard Tschumi," Gilles de Bure notes: "To form a team, Tschumi drew on an old associate form the AA, Colin Fournier, as project manager and (Kate) Linker as artistic advisor." And further: "The brilliant Peter Rice … stopped by the office regularly to shed light on structural matters. Last but not least, Jean-François Erhel, a veteran of new town planning, lent his experience in construction management and administration."[487] The team was diverse, but it changed in composition one more time during the construction phase of the project, and whilst none of the consultants from the original competition endured, most of the designers continued on to work with Tschumi at what eventually became his Paris office. Together, the office produced more than four thousand drawings and seventy models.[488] But, the process of consultation with communities in the neighborhood remained at its nascent stage throughout this time.

At an October 1983 meeting, François Barré and Bernard Tschumi responded to the CLV and their questions about the park and its future for the neighborhood. The interview, published in the local newspaper, Q.L., highlighted their plan to work with existing structures; carried notes on the use and future maintenance of the park; and ended with Barré's views on consultation.[489]

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[486] For a complete chronology and list of architects and team members, see: Ibid., 56.

[487] Gilles de Bure, Jasmine Benyamin, and Lisa Palmer, *Bernard Tschumi*, Bernard Tschumi.English, 239, [1] (Basel ; Boston: Birkhäuser, 2008), 54.

[488] Two of the earliest books that published a few of these drawings, with extracts from the competition report, and other supporting texts were *Cinégram Folie: Le Parc de la Villette* (1987) and *La Case Vide La Villette* (1986). La Case also included the essay "Point de Folie: Maintenant l'Architecture" by Jacques Derrida, another "Trick/Track" by Anthony Vidler, and an interview by AA Chair, Alvin Boyarsky Tschumi, *Cinégram Folie, Le Parc de La Villette*; Bernard Tschumi et al., *La Case Vide: La Villette, 1985*, Folio 8 ([London]: Architectural Association, 1986).

[489] "À La Villette : La Concertation À L'épreuve. Entretien Avec François Barré, Bernard Tschumi et Élisabeth Philipp Réalisé Par Le Collectif La Villette Le 28 Octobre 1983 À l'Établissement Public Du Parc de La Villette.," *Quartiers Libres No. 21*, Fall/Winter 1983.

Throughout this session, the folies remained a common point of reference for Barré and Tschumi as well as the CLV members, in particular, their potential for programming and occupancy in ways that was inclusive of and compatible with neighborhood needs. Neither Barré nor Tschumi had concrete plans for integrating the two. The same was their response about involving neighborhood youth in running the park's facilities. Barré hinted that they were thinking about leaving one or two folies for local use, "open to meet specific demands" from the district. However, and elsewhere Anne Querrien recalls that this plan never came to fruition.[490] Ultimately, when the CLV asked Barré about his views regarding community consultation, he responded by saying: "(Consultation) is very difficult to do, but essential at the same time. We feel that people have to come to us if they want us to do things together. We often miss, without doubt, the reflex to go and interact with people. (But) we have an interesting project, a fairly rich program, which requires a lot of facilities. We are seeking proposals on the part of associations about how to build this space. The program is not yet fixed and it will evolve."[491] Barré remained both reserved and optimistic about working with local groups in the daily management of park.

The first group of red folies, in enameled steel, was built around the center of the site. Tschumi's biographer de Bure attributed this move to strategic decisions regarding budget and future financing of the park. Tschumi and Serge Goldberg (Paul Delouvrier's successor as President of the EPPV) "were aware that the peripheries of the park would be attractive to commercial investors," and further, "they knew that if the central folies were built, the rest of them would follow easily."[492] The construction of folies followed this plan. Further, Tschumi invited French architects, Henri Gaudin and Jean Nouvel, and the Italian architect Gaetano Pesce to adopt a folie each and to expand upon its matrix. Gaudin's "The Gardening House," Nouvel's "Gallery of Computer Games," and Gaetano's "Children's House" each were complementary to Tschumi's overall ambitions.[493] Gaetano's proposal was particularly resonant with the desires of the resident groups of 19e arrondisement, as discussed at Tschumi and Barre's meeting with the

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[490] Trogal and Vardy, "Resistance and Activist Research: A Workshop with Brian Holmes and Anne Querrien."
[491] Barré continued: "The Collectif structure is a bit heavy, but that may be necessary, as you are a collective. Relationships always have a somewhat formal and bureaucratic side to them, but then we see, that this does not (always) facilitate a working relationship." Collectif La Villette, "À La Villette : La Concertation À L'épreuve. Entretien Avec François Barré, Bernard Tschumi et Élisabeth Philipp Réalisé Par Le Collectif La Villette Le 28 Octobre 1983 À l'Établissement Public Du Parc de La Villette."
[492] Bure, Benyamin, and Palmer, *Bernard Tschumi*, 65.
[493] For detailed discussion on each of their contributions, see: "Architecture et Paysage: Urban Park La Villette: Des Folies Du Parc," *Techniques & Architecture* Février-March, no. 370 (1987): 62–79.

representatives of the CLV. But, this invitation remained on paper and did not materialize as planned. In the end, Tschumi designed all of the 26 folies.[494]

The thematic gardens of "cinematic promenade"—some on the ground whilst others sunken—followed a similar fate as the folies. In the final competition submission, the gardens were conceived of as a collaborative venture, to be designed by invited architects and designers. Out of a total of ten gardens, however, only half were realized as per plan. The remaining five gardens were designed by Tschumi. Architects and artists who contributed their designs to the park included: "The Fog Garden" by French landscape architect, Alain Pélisier; "The Dunes and Wind Playground" by French architects Isabelle Devin and Catherine Rannou; "The Trellis Garden" by French landscape architect Gilles Vexlard and artist Jean-Max Albert; "The Garden of Shadows" by German landscape architect Ursula Kurtz; and "The Bamboo Garden" by French landscape architect Alexandra Chemetoff, with Madeleine Renan and artists Daniel Buren and Bernard Leitner. The hugely anticipated collaboration between Jacques Derrida and Peter Eisenman, entitled "Choral Work," was also never built. In short, none of the "roll-call of Late Modernists," about whom Jencks had expressed his criticism came together to eventually design for the park. Among the gardens designed by Tschumi were: "The Garden of the Dragon" (with French artist François Ghys), "The Garden of Mirrors," "The Garden of Equilibria," "The Garden of Childhood Fears," and "The Garden of Islands." The dragon garden was amongst the most notable in this group because it doubled up as a cultural and historical artifact, repurposing neighborhood needs with a garden around it.

In addition to the thematic gardens, Tschumi's system of lines included the north-south and east-west galleries—Galerie de la Villette and Galerie d'Ourcq—covered by a continuous, undulating steel-and-aluminum canopy and upper level walkways supported on steel columns. The spacing of these columns varied along either axis and the suspension rods too were built of different lengths. Whereas the north-south galleries connected the two points of entry to the park, their east-west counterparts extended the park into communities lying outside of Boulevard Periphérique. Furthermore, each of the north and south points shared proximity with other structures, namely, the Museum of Science and Technology with the Géode (a domical Imax theatre) and the eighteenth century Maison de la Villette (formerly Rotonde des Vétérinaires) to the north, and the nineteenth century Grand Halle with Fontaine aux Lions and Théâtre Paris-

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[494] See: Bure, Benyamin, and Palmer, *Bernard Tschumi*, 65.

Villitte to the south. Finally, the galleries (built in collaboration with engineer Peter Rice) also stood out in contrast with another set of lines, the tree-lined gravel pathways—Allée du Belvedere and Allée du Zenith—encircling the third and final system of surfaces: the circular and triangular grounds (Prairie du Cercle and Prairie du Triangle). The superimposition of three systems, together with the permutational logic of folies and the construction of cinematic promenade lent themselves to a range of occupational and movement patterns throughout the site. Added to this, the park was designed without walls, that is, its boundaries extended into its surroundings to allow the public to traverse it as any city block. But, the questions that remain are: How has Tschumi's theory of disjunction impacted people's activities and lived experiences? In what ways, and to what extent, does the park function as a city? To consider Parc de la Villette as a "park of the twenty-first century" opens up questions about how and for whom? In the following section, I will discuss my field observations and findings from interactive mapping exercises to address these questions.

Lived Inhabitation

At La Villette, I carried out both naturalistic observation and an interactive mapping exercise to understand the connections between the plan as drawn and its present-day modifications, between the project as conceived and the site as actively lived. In this section, I have grouped my observations into the following four categories: 1) Park's current conditions, with descriptions of restricted zones, new additions, and pop installations, 2) Folies, their use-based designations and degrees of accessibility, 3) Pilot observations of common activities during the day; and 4) Detailed mapping of park activities, four times a day, on two days (a regular weekday and a public holiday). Following a discussion of these observations, I will present my findings from the interactive mapping exercise, and conclude the section by interrelating the field study with questions about the management of the park.

Naturalistic Observations:

1) Throughout my week and a half long visit to Parc de la Villette, the place was active with people across age, gender, race, and geographical difference. A large percentage of activities took place in the open: in Prairie du Cercle; along north-south and east-west galleries (Galerie de

la Villette and Galerie d'Ourcq); and on grounds adjacent Allée du Zenith. Most buildings were closed, either from temporary occupation or from requiring an entrance fee. A number of open areas too were rendered inaccessible due to construction and maintenance work. These areas included: Prairie du Triangle and Folie Café (F8, see below); "Garden of the Dragon"; "Espace Chapiteaux" (venue for circus arts) by the bridge entry over Canal Saint-Denis and Quai de la Gironde; the zone north of Museum of Science and Technology around the Metro (including Folie Horlage F26); Trabendo club (or, Folie F9); and the south-east zone originally designated as car park (to be transformed into Phiharmonie de Paris). Each of these places was fenced off, serving as temporary edges to people's daily movement in and through the site.

Since the opening of the park, the place had also grown to accommodate new permanent facilities. These included: Zenith auditorium (1984), Argonaut submarine (1991), and Cabaret Sauvage or the Equestrian Center (1997). Zenith and the Equestrian Center continue to function as private event spaces on lease. At the time of my visit, the park also had a few provisional structures added to its grounds. Most notably was the outdoor exhibition "Beyond Gravity" by Chinese artist Li Wei, comprising a total of fifteen giant photographs lining the folies and Canal d'Ourcq to its north. As if mimicking the programmatic ambitions of the park, Li Wei's photographs of bodies, suspended in air, raised questions about Chinese modernity and aimed to "offer a new way of seeing ourselves and our surroundings" in the context of place, politics, and power. Other additions included a biking rink for children, an ice-cream parlour, and temporary play areas such as a merry go-round, edging the canal and the Cercle.

2) Among folies, most structures had assigned uses, whilst others were free-standing matrices, doubling up as thoroughfares or vantage points for observing the entirety of park. Some of the folies were ill maintained and less inviting than others. A few of the folies were also closed to the public (please refer to drawings in the Appendix section to follow their locations). Specifically, access to Folie du Canal (F16) was restricted due to its current use as a physiotherapist center. Its dark curtains also kept the structure visually enclosed. Another, a Park Workshop Folie (F17) served as a venue for local workshops, and remained closed for wider use. Finally, Folie des fêtes (F11) too remained opaque to the public and under maintenance during my visit. In the list below, those folies with restricted access have been marked with an * (asterisk) sign:

F1:   Information Center

F2:   Entrance to Cité de la Musique

F3:   Folie of Theatre, in front of le théâtre Paris-Villette (hosting workshops and educational events with and for children and youth of local schools)

F4:   Folie Janvier (named after the chief architect of La Villette slaughterhouse and cattle market, currently used as an office of park administrative officer).

F5:   Folie Philharmonie (serves as the administration and ticket office of Cité de la Musique)

F6:   Folie La Villette (Hosts educational workshops on nature, culture, heritage, and performing arts)

F7:   First Aid Folie (open to public, Monday-Friday)

F8:   Folie Café* (located on Prairie du Triangle, which was inaccessible and fenced off at this time. The café, however, is intended to complement events such as open-air cinema during summer months)

F9:   Trabendo* (a private nightclub)

F10:   Folie des vents et des dunes (marks the entrance to the Garden of Wind and Dunes for children)

F11:   Folie des fêtes* (access restricted: leased out for workshops and courses on cultural mediation, as per park's website)

F12:   Folie Belvedere (with ramp and spiral staircase offering great views of the park)

F13:   Zenith Ticket Office

F14:   Folie rond-point des canaux (marking an entry point at the intersection of the two canals)

F15:   Folie des Marveilles (hosts workshops for children and a restaurant)

F16:   Folie du Canal* (leased out to a physiotherapist center)

F17:   Park workshops* (entry restricted; invites public groups and associations to host workshops)

F18:   A gateway that connects the southern half of the park to Equestrian Center and park's north half

F19:   Folie Kiosque (invites group use and hosts outdoor summer concerts)

F20:   Folie Observatoire (offers great views of the park)

F21:   Folie Argonaut (a museum of interest to young and old)

F22:   Stairway (located on cinematic promenade near Equestrian Center)

F23:   Folie de l'écluse (leads to the bridge over Canal Saint-Denis to the Quai de la Gironde

and Avenue Corentin Cariou)

F24:   Restaurant

F25:   Information Center (northern entrance of La Villette in front of Avenue Corentin Cariou)

F26:   Folie Horloge (frames the clock tower dating back to 1877 at the entrance to former abattoir)

3) During the first few days of my visit, I took note of a range of activities in the park. Not all walking, running, or strolling activities, for example, were limited to paths or the lawn surfaces. There was a lot of cross movement across landscapes, especially among people with kids. Collectively, the park's activities included the following:

People playing Frisbee

People playing football

People reading

People enjoying a picnic

People playing games

People watching people

People with partners

People walking dogs

People lugging suitcases

Kids running and walking along the North-South and East-West axes

People walking kids in strollers

People eating

People sketching and drawing

People by themselves

People lying on grass

People jogging

People loitering

People biking

People watching mime performances

People staring at the folies

People exercising in groups

People dancing in groups

People playing music

There was an orchestrated ease throughout the park, carefully monitored by Park's security personnel. However, some of the activities also appeared to follow a schedule. For example, there were pre-allocated times to play football on either half of Prairie du Cercle such that no one activity or group dominated its use. There were transgressions, but also a sense of conviviality and cooperation between those groups and the security guards.

4) Finally, to map out public activities as well as their distribution at different times of the day, I documented the site on two full days, from 10 am to 9 pm, one each on a weekday and on national holiday. The observations of regular weekday are as follows:

10 am-12 pm: A large majority of people accessed the park from its points of entry by Folie F14 and Folie F23, crossing over Canal Saint-Denis on foot or on pedal from the west, and continuing on with their stroll along Galerie d'Ourcq, or occupying Prairie du Cercle, or both. Activities on Prairie du Cercle included morning picnic, group exercises, and a musical performance. There was noticeable people watching and loitering around Place de la Fontaine, and strolling and biking along the N-S Galerie de la Villette and its diagonal Allée du Zenith. Among gardens, the Garden of Equilibrium witnessed intense use by youth from the neighborhood. This was followed by the Garden of Mirrors, which had more strollers and couples using the space. Finally, the space at the corner of two canals, by Folie F19 too saw several people angling, reading, and resting. On the whole, however, it was the E-W Galerie d'Ourcq that experienced most activity. The folies remained insignificant in use.

1-2 pm: During the early hours of the afternoon, there was an overall redistribution of people across the site, with the N-S Galerie de la Villette, anchored at Place de la Fontaine on the south and the Metro stop on the north, becoming a much busier movement axis than its E-W counterpart. The prominent points of entry were the bridge crossing over Canal Saint-Denis on the west, as well as metro stops to the north and south of the park. Whilst Prairie du Cercle witnessed a slight decrease in individual and group activity, other spaces such as the one at the corner of two canals on the west and Place de la Fontaine to the south gained strength in numbers. Activities in each of these spaces included angling, group exercises, and couples strolling. Among gardens, however, the Garden of Equilibrium continued to be used actively by young adults across genders. Folie F10 (marking the entrance to the Garden of Dunes and Wind) gained in prominence, as did Folies F1 (Information Center), F13 (Zenith ticket office, with

people queing up for an evening show), F12 plaza (group exercise), and F24 (restaurant). F20 (Folie Observatoire) saw some activity from across the Geode.

4-6 pm: Towards the evening, the north and south entry points became considerably busier, followed by the entry point from the bridge over Canal Saint-Denis. Its pedestrian counterpart on the west served more as a point of exit than entry. Overall, all of the open spaces in the park saw a rise in public activity, especially Prairie du Cercle (with the addition of small groups in football practice), the N-S Galerie de la Villette, and the diagonal Allée du Zenith, as did the the Garden of Dunes and Wind (with parents and children), and Follies: F10 (entrance to the Garden of Dunes and Wind), F13 (busier and longer queue at the ticket counter) and F12 (plaza being used by young adults). Also, whereas the corner surface continued to witness activity in pairs, the most sustained concentration of people, however, took form and shape in the green shaded space across from Prairie du Triangle. Here, musicians of African heritage played songs that marked the site and filled the air with their sustained presence.

7-9 pm: In the evening, the tree-lined diagonal alleyways, Allée du Boulevard and Allée du Zenith, along with the N-S and E-W galleries—Galerie de la Villette and Galerie d'Ourcq— became extremely busy with walkers, joggers, strollers, and those en route to the Zenith auditorium. The Prairie du Cercle saw a reduction in concentrated activity and spread throughout its surface (most noticeably people in pairs or groups exercising). Additionally, more diverse set of actors—painters and artists—appeared on the scene, especially at corner sites, across Canal d'Ourcq. There was also a rise in movement from the Museum of Science and Technology into the park, along the Géode. Whilst the cinematic promenade was quieter, the Garden of Acrobatics saw much activity among youth. Except Folie F13 (Zenith ticket counter) none of the folies assumed prominence in terms of their use.

Correspondingly, the observations on a national holiday ("Victory Day") were a little different from those described above, particularly, as there was a higher concentration and range of people using the park in much diverse ways throughout the day. The observations are as follows:

10 am-12 pm: Points of entry from the east, west, and the south – all filled up the lower half of the site more than the upper half. Whilst the movement was spread evenly, Galerie d'Ourcq emerged as the most prominent axis. Similarly, there was greater movement around Grande Halle compared to other days. Among surfaces, both Place de la Fontain and Prairie du Cercle

registered intense use. However, whilst activities around Place de la Fontain were limited to people watching and loitering, those on Prairie du Cercle saw football practice sessions in 3 smaller groups, as well as morning picnic activities. Also, the area defined by Allée du Belvedere, the tree-lined alleyway of Prairie du Cercle, Galerie d'Ourcq and Galerie de la Villette saw lots of children's activity since it doubled up as a biking rink. Among gardens, the Garden of Dunes and Wave as well as the Garden of Acrobatics saw extensive use among children and youth respectively. The cinematic promenade too witnessed greater use, with many more couples than usual strolling through it or resting along the path. Among folies, there was even distribution of people using open folies such as F12 (with ramp and spiral staircase) and F18 (gateway), intense use among parents and children entering the garden through F10, and among those visiting the parc for the first time at F1 (information center).

1-3 pm: The concentration of activities shifted towards the centre, not as much on the lower half of Prairie du Cercle as the upper half (football practice, people watching, resting, lying on the lawns). The provisional play areas, namely, biking rink and merry go-round too witnessed greater use as did the Garden of Dunes and Wind and other surfaces across the canal, in particular, the area at the corner of Canal d'Ourcq and Canal St-Denis (resting against the photographic installation and reading). The N-S Galerie de la Villette became the prominent axis, with most points of entry being the north and the south. Among folies, F10 continued to remain busy, whilst F7 gained new users. Also, a stream of people crossing into the park from the Museum of Science and Technology occupied Folies F20 (Observatory) and F21 (Argonaut). The Folie F24 (restaurant) saw a rise in activity both inside and outside. Finally, people watching and loitering continued on Place de la Fontaine, and for the first time in a week, the lower thirds of Prairie du Triangle too saw a group picnic and play activity involving adults.

4-6 pm: This was the busiest time of the day, with both people and activities distributed evenly throughout the site. All surfaces, gardens, movement axes, points of entry, and open folies demonstrated active use across age groups. Additionally, the corner space edging Canal d'Ourcq and Canal Saint-Denis, the green space across from Prairie du Triangle, and the provisional area edging the canal and the Cercle, once again, transformed into sites of intense unprogrammed activities (led by mime artists, Afro-beats music, and children's play, respectively). All open folies too witnessed use, in particularly, Folie F10 (Kioske) that saw a group of women practicing aerobics dance and Folie F2 (ramp and stairs) doubling up as a site

for skateboarding and temporary bike rentals. The cinematic promenade too attracted people of all age groups, particularly children. There was similar busyness among gardens in the park.

7-9 pm: The activities started slowing down and becoming concentrated around and within Prairie du Cercle (football games, group picnics, unprogrammed play activities with children, couples). The adjacent folies F10 (entrance to the Garden of Dunes and Wave), F11 (outdoor plaza), F12 (ramp and stairway) and F19 (Kioske) too continued to be used by groups of people, resting and loitering. This was also the time when football teams occupied both sides of the Cercle, such that Park security had to interrupt and close one of the games to make space for others on the lawn. Whilst the north and south anchor points functioned as main points of entry, however slow the traffic, their counterparts on the west served primarily as exit zones for individuals from the neighborhood and others moving onwards into the city. The two zones of unprogrammed activities—the corner space edging Canal d'Ourcq and Canal Saint-Denis and the green lawns across from Prairie du Triangle—continued being used by the respective groups. The gathering around music and food continued to grow in the latter area.

Interactive Mapping Exercise:

During my fieldwork, I asked people to indicate their impressions of using the park. The goal of this exercise was to see the values that individuals assign to various features of the park, and furthermore, to examine what might their combined responses suggest about those features as well as the activities that take place there. As described in Chapter Four, I was able to interact with 14 respondents over a weeklong period. The mapping task involved the use of representational stickers on people's choice of park's physical features. All of these activities were public. At each session, I raised questions about the park and learnt more about the respondent's lived experiences on site. Each of the participant responses (designated as R1, R2, … R14) has been tabulated in Appendix E and presented as a set of maps in Appendix G.

Among the participants, 8 were habitual users, mostly from 19e arrondisement, who used the park either daily or 1-3 times a week, whilst the remaining 6 were from other parts of Paris, who used the park variably, between 1-4 times per year. The habitual users placed all of the stickers to mark out points of entry, areas that make them feel they have arrived in the park, pathways and places that contribute to their sense of enjoyment, and views. In this group, the least used representational stickers were the rectangle and the sad face for the most boring and disliked

park features respectively. In comparison, almost all of the infrequent or first time visitors used the given cue sheet and representational stickers to indicate their preferences for and impressions of park's features. Between both groups, however, a majority of those who used the rectangular and sad face stickers also used them for the same location: the northern half of the park, around the Museum of Science and Technology. People assigned meanings such as isolating, lacking in variety, and too "industrial" to describe their choices.

Using the red star, most participants identified a mix of features that made them feel they had "arrived" in the park. For example, only 4 out of 14 respondents used the representational red star exclusively on structures at different points of entry into the park. These included Place de la Fontaine, Grande Halle, and Cité de la Musique on the south; Folie des Marveilles (workshop and a restaurant) on the west; and the Museum of Science and Technology (with Géode) and Folie F24 (restaurant) to the north. For the remaining 10 participants, a range of peripheral and central features signaled their sense of arrival in the park. These included public structures such as Cité de la Musique, Grande Halle, and Place de la Fontaine, private spaces such as the Zenith auditorium and Equestrian Center, as well as the more centrally located open spaces such as the tree-lined alleyways leading up to Zenith, the intersection of N-S Galerie de la Villette and cinematic promenade by the Garden of Dragons, and the canal itself. On a more nuanced note, however, the responses between the habitual and infrequent users diverged. For example, 5 out of 8 habitual users impressed upon the park's peripheral built structures to indicate their sense of arrival, whereas only 2 out of 6 infrequent counterparts did so. The scattered distribution of the red star would suggest that whilst multiple open features signaled a sense of arrival for both groups, those features resonated more strongly with infrequent visitors than with their habitual counterparts.

There was an overall coherence between both groups' identification of pathways and features that contributed to their sense of enjoyment. Whilst the N-S Galerie de la Villette and the E-W Galerie d'Ourcq appealed equally to all participants, other pathways such as Allé du Belvedere, Allé du Zenith, and the tree-lined surfaces encircling Prairie du Cercle were rated similarly and higher than the cinematic promenade and its many gardens. Furthermore, all of these places appeared again in the people's list of locations where they enjoy spending most time at (particularly for activities such as strolls, jogging, and biking). Other surfaces such as Prairie du Cercle, Prairie du Triangle, and Place de la fontaine too were rated with the representational

smiley for the wide range of activities they afforded (football, picnics, summer cinema, music, people watching). In this case, however, no single folie assumed a majority. Rather, two other spaces emerged as concentration points: the space at the corner of canals, by Folie F19 (people enjoyed angling, reading, resting, watching performances) and the provisional area edging the canal and Prairie du Cercle on the south (parents and children's activity zone). An even distribution of the green star, smiley, and small dots would suggest that the park's movement systems were not only experienced similarly by both set of respondents, but that their proximity to surfaces (lawns and play areas) and the surfaces themselves too elicited a shared set of meanings for all.

Finally, folies with more institutional uses such as F1 (Information Center), F5 (ticket office of Cité de la Musique), F9 (Trabendo nightclub), F10 (Entrance to the Garden of Dunes and Wind), F11 (workshops), F13 (Zenith ticket office), F15 (workshops and a restaurant), F21 (Argonaut museum), and F24 (restaurant) featured recurringly in people's response maps as favorable features. Other folies such as F12 and F20 too received positive impressions for views and F19 for accomodating outdoor summer concerts. This is not to argue that the remainder of folies did not attract public use. My field observations suggest that at different times of the day and on different days, a large number of folies, except those with restricted access, were brimming with activity. However, in coordination with the mapping task and from interactions with respondents, it became clear that most folies with institutional use had transformed into formal destinations, particularly for habitual users. This could be attributed to their consistent use and park-related programming – rendering them all too familiar over time. For the new and infrequent visitors, however, this was not the case. Most of these respondents expressed feeling "confused" about the folies, not knowing what they are, or describing them as "jarring" in the overall landscape.

This last point, together with inferences from naturalistic observations and interactive mapping task, raises the question of management: how are the folies managed? In Tschumi's conception of Parc de la Villette, all of the 26 folies were intended to be completely flexible, to be occupied, appropriated, and tranformed in multiple ways, waiting to take forms through changing use. Since its opening, however, the park's management has incorporated many of the folies for its daily operations, and in some instances, also entered into partnership programs with private agencies to approach maintenance costs. Zenith (with Folie F13) is one such example, an

operation that started out as a temporary structure but quickly became a permanent addition to the park. Folie F24 leased out to a restaurant is another example. Commenting then on François Barré's plan to leave folies open for use by groups from the neighborhood, Anne Querrien stated that such plan never materialized: "None of the folies were given to youth groups to organize their activities, as one of the rules of management of the folies is that groups must be self-sufficient financially."[495] This argument is consistent with my field observations. A number of folies were used by private groups (F11 and F16). Others like F17 were both unoccupied and closed to the public at the time of my visit. In short, despite being designed as concentration points for unintended, accidental, and heterogeneous use, a large number of folies often assumed singular identities on site. Conversely, I observed concentrated unprogrammed activities taking form and shape in spaces adjacent to the folies. For example, space at the corner of Canal d'Ourcq and Canal Saint-Denis by Folie F19 (kioske) and Galerie d'Ourcq (North) doubled up as a performance site for mime artists. The green space along Allée du Zenith, across from Prairie du Triangle and Folie F8 (café), transformed into a venue for Afrobeat bands. The area along Galerie d'Ourcq (South), edging the canal and Praire du Cercle, by Folie F16 (physiotherapist center) functioned as children's play area on public holidays and weekends. These provisional additions to the Parc added diversity to its otherwise orderly experience.

Conclusion

From his earliest engagements with the politics of space to realizing his inaugural commission in Paris, Tschumi transitioned away from an explicitly revolutionary stance towards a strategy of resistance from a more in-the-moment activity. However, this move towards the "pleasure" of architecture—separate from both space and program—left the social and political nature of the production of space unaddressed. In what ways does the architecture of Parc de la Villette align with Tschumi's notion of the event? How does the Parc support conditions for lived possibilities? In Chapter VIII, I will re-visit these questions by evaluating the published material and findings from fieldwork against the Lefebvrian principles as outlined in Chapter Two.

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[495] Trogal and Vardy, "Resistance and Activist Research: A Workshop with Brian Holmes and Anne Querrien," 52.

CHAPTER VIII
Conclusions

Throughout this dissertation, I was able to examine the works of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi in light of their social and political roles and in connection with the spatial theory of Henri Lefebvre. There are, of course, significant differences between Kroll's and Tschumi's attitudes to making architecture. In Kroll's participatory practice, both students and administrative community participated in design process, from conception to built realization. The same participants were also the first inhabitants of the building and residential complex at large. The participatory "moment" in Kroll's architecture was a production process that included the desires of students and construction workers, but not those of the university administration. In Tschumi's architecture, by contrast, the neighborhood residents were consulted at the time of the competition, but the park on the whole was designed in conceptual terms, as a master plan for people to make it their own through encounters with its three conceptual systems. Tschumi's design exhibited the role of architect as someone who "triggers" previously unanticipated social uses but his authorship remained rather significant in the overall experience of the park. Despite differences, however, both approaches promoted unintended forms of exclusion.

Lucien Kroll and the Politics of Participatory Practice

Firstly, Kroll's participatory strategy carried within it a rather narrow idea of a specialist emphasizing collaboration and engagement yet holding onto "Romantic ideals of originality"[496] fundamentally opposed to other traditions of thought in the same terrain. At various points of his commission and beyond, Kroll denounced the architectural order of other academic buildings and positioned his method in opposition to the objectives of university administration. He

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[496] For conceptual distinctions between dominant traditions of thought and practice in architectural design, see: Linda N. Groat, "Architecture's Resistance to Diversity: A Matter of Theory as Much as Practice," Journal of Architectural Education (1984-) 47, no. 1 (September 1, 1993): 3–10.

described his role as a "facilitator," one who "possesses enough authority not to have to display it," but also as someone "who can at any moment challenge or break the system."[497] Additionally Kroll maintained that his design process was at odds with the university rector and administrator, both of whom desired greater spatial and administrative control over students and announced to "break up the (participatory) work" as early as 1970.[498]

The administrative side of the story, however, was different. Overall, the officials recognized the talent and efforts of Kroll, but also seemed highly wary of him. Michel Woitrin, in particular, described Kroll as sharp and creative, and at the same time, formidable and radical, "un brin démagogue."[499] Similarly, Woitrin acknowledged La Mémé's popular status among students, but also accepted that for the remainder of residential buildings, the university preferred to return to a "calmer, more conventional architecture."[500] In comparison, the engineers on the ground did not appear very sympathetic. In Maureen McGee's published thesis on Kroll's architecture, she quoted then site engineer stating, "By 1977, (the university officials) couldn't get anyone in Belgium to work with the architect."[501] The relations between them were so stressed during this time that the university had to appoint another architect to oversee the work of Kroll and complete the remainder of construction before firing him altogether.[502]

In Lefebvre's theory of social space, the critique of specialized knowledge production was directed towards what he called "reduced models" of thought and practice, a form of instrumentalization that imposed an order disengaged from the everyday workings of society. Lefebvre framed the shaping of knowledge, instead, as relational and dialectical, responding to the complexities and contradictions of urban life through reciprocal engagements with ideological, material, and the quotidian experience of people. Furthermore, he discussed each of these dialectical elements as "moments," oriented towards the other but assuming prominence

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[497] Lucien Kroll, "Soft Zone," Architectural Association (Great Britain), "AAQ, Architectural Association Quarterly.," 65.
[498] Lucien Kroll, "Architecture and Bureaucracy" in Mikellides, *Architecture for People*, 166.
[499] Michel Woitrin, *Louvain-la-Neuve et Louvain-en-Woluwe: le grand dessein* (Duculot, 1987), 174.
[500] Ibid, 172–173.
[501] Maureen McGee, *Lucien Kroll: Student Housing at Woluwé-Saint-Lambert* (University of Virginia, 2009), 72.
[502] There is no reference to this partnership in any of Kroll's published accounts. However, McGee cites an official correspondence between Michel Woitrin and Lucien Kroll, dated May 5, 1975, as the source of this information (I could not verify this exchange due to the unwillingness on the part of any of my interviewees to divulge any detail in the event of ongoing legal battles.) See: Ibid., 72–73; However, Kroll appeared to hint at these changes when he expressed, "The University decided to change architects as one might change one's hairdresser," and furthermore that, "concerted effort (on his part) encountered bureaucratic intransigence." See: Lucien Kroll in Mikellides, *Architecture for People*, 165.

according to circumstances, "going from conflict to alliance and back again."[503] Throughout the design and construction phase, the alliances between students and Kroll were apparent, but those between the administration and Kroll remained rather conflictual and couched within the dichotomous framework of collaboration and control. This was consistent with the practices of the University as well, in particular, Woitrin's founding document of 1967 that insisted "on the contacts with population," whilst still "retaining the specificity of an autonomous university in charge of evaluating social life."[504]

Secondly, and on a related note, Kroll was limited in his efforts to mediate the conflict between collective living and individuality; a conflict that only intensified in its dichotomy as the project switched stages from conception to realization, and as the university became more involved in adding voice to the dialogue. On the one hand, Kroll held several workshops in order to reframe the University's numerical brief in terms of everyday relationships. On the other hand, however, the workshops remained "within" the context of students' daily lives in Louvain as well as the new campus. The question of how this process might continue to realize hopes and desires within the larger milieu of University's structure remained unaddressed. Due to a lack of communication between all groups, the oppositions between them became more pronounced and the dialogic process towards creating a shared symbolic space never fully came to fruition.

Rather, Kroll reinforced the antitheses between the two by keeping contrasting domains physically connected but experientially separate. At the surface level, La Mémé's two halves exhibited a wide array of spaces, functions, points of access, means of construction, textures on the façade, and sculptured imprints. Structurally and spatially, however, they remained two distinct spheres, one closer to university's needs, with a standardized layout designed for individual inhabitation, and the other articulating Kroll's plans with a modified Habraken's grid for collective living. Kroll's participatory tactics, in short, reduced the notion of diversity to "different but equal" living arrangements.

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[503] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis Space, Time, and Everyday Life*, Éléments de Rhythmanalyse. (London: Continuum, 2004), 11–13; Also cited in: Christian Schmid, "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space" in Lefebvre and Goonewardena, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life*, 33–34.

[504] Woitrin called this a "university in dialogue." See: Woitrin, "Our Strategy" in Herman van der. Wusten, *The Urban University and Its Identity: Roots, Locations, Roles*, The GeoJournal Library ;v. 45, x, 206 p. (Dordrecht [Netherlands] ; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998).

In his critique of abstract space, Lefebvre argued against the valorization of ideals such as "originality, diversity, variety, and distinction" tied to our understandings of social difference.[505] This, he said, only furthered the homogenizing tendencies of abstract space. His mediating concept of differential space, in contrast, was one of use, oriented towards the acknowledgement of social practices, rhythms, and the lived time. Lefebvre clarified that social differences are "produced, not induced."[506] That Kroll's architecture suggests the latter reduced the very dimension of spatial politics in his work to differences between 'us' and 'them.' This was further evidenced by my field study analysis, particularly in the stepped half of the building, wherein the current occupants objected to his dispersed arrangement of columns originally meant for flexibility and choice. Instead, the combination of evidence from physical traces and on-site mapping exercise reveal that the residents made adjustments in their individual rooms not to change them to a regular layout but rather to make explicit the various difficulties afforded by those spaces for individual living. Kroll's "ungeometry,"[507] in other words, turned out to be very rigid for subsequent appropriation.

Finally, and thirdly, not only do we see discrepancies between Kroll's intensions and built realizations, but also between and among intentions as discovered in his various writings. With the ending of Kroll's housing contract, the authorities encountered a series of protests from then students who argued against the university's proposed plans to regulate the campus and hire another architect to complete the remaining projects. Towards the end of the 1970s whilst awaiting a resolution to the conflict, Kroll himself, however, concluded both with a clarification and a question. On the one hand, he stressed, "We never wanted to see the spaces we created turned into a work of art nor an intellectual achievement, but as a … perpetually unfinished place," in short, "a battlefield."[508] On the other hand, with regards to the local bureaucracy, he wondered if the university would ultimately abandon the residential plan as originally designed and let his buildings "rot under their temporary covering of tar paper."[509] In other words, even when Kroll appeared much more accepting of the contradictory circumstances shaping the present and future of his architectural work in Brussels, he remained cautious of the university

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[505] Lefebvre quoted in Chris Butler and Chris Adrian Butler, *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial Politics, Everyday Life and the Right to the City* (Routledge, 2012), 155.
[506] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 372.
[507] Lucien Kroll, "Anarchitecture" in Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture*.
[508] Kroll in ibid, 180–181.
[509] Ibid, 180.

officials whom he suspected might let his buildings deteriorate. To this day, Kroll remains not very pleased with the internal and external changes carried out by the University.

In his critique of technocratic utopia, Lefebvre criticized projects that presented the utopian dream as a "closed and dogmatic system of signification;" propositions that turned away from the ground conditions of everyday life in pursuit of "unknown realities."[510] At the same time, however, Lefebvre did not entirely dismiss the creative potential of utopian models for recovering social life from the alienating effects of capitalism; instead, he sought to redefine how the concept could be understood. Against the static and specialist blueprints of abstract utopias, Lefebvre argued for a "concrete" and "experimental"[511] utopia that involved working with as well as working on the evolving realities of the present. Milgrom saw this potential in Kroll's work, particularly, in Kroll's ambition to "create a type of politics unrealizable at present."[512] However, I would add that while Kroll may identify with this ambition in writing, his participatory architecture remained rather closed to ongoing transformative politics.

In the end, however, the discussion of variously interactive moments of cooperation and conflict involving all stages of Kroll's architecture could be seen to point towards Lefebvre's space of contradictions, but not equally to that of dialogue and difference. In this light then: how do we re-understand the participatory architecture of Lucien Kroll? One way to respond to this concern is to suggest that what is true in Kroll's architecture is true elsewhere as well: the negotiations of views, actions, and experiences embedded in a cultural context are not only integral to shaping the participatory project at its design stage, but also central to reconfiguring the common ground for its continued success over time. For this to happen, all participants, both old and new, must be open to new meanings and be represented in shaping new possibilities. The question remains to what extent are the university officials, Kroll, as well as the new generation of students committed to this endeavor?

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[510] Henri Lefebvre, "The Right To The City" (1968) in Henri Lefebvre, Eleonore. Kofman, and Elizabeth. Lebas, *Writings on Cities* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1996), 151–152.
[511] Nathaniel Coleman, "Utopian Prospect of Henri Lefebvre," *Space and Culture* 16, no. 3 (August 1, 2013): 354.
[512] See: Kroll in Mikellides, *Architecture for People*, 162–163.

Bernard Tschumi and the Pleasure of Architecture

Firstly, Tschumi's conception of la Villette advanced his critique of architecture's propensity to "look for usefulness," to be purposeful and productive. This propensity, he argued, tied architecture to capitalist power structures, within "a movement that belongs to the flow of capital," as either submissive to or representative of it. Instead, Tschumi conceived of the Parc to serve no purpose except pleasure. In "Fireworks" (1979), Tschumi wrote, "Real pleasure can always be recognized by its uselessness." And furthermore, "…when you did that drawing for pleasure rather than for meaning, for figuration rather than representation, you experienced the ultimate diversion of energy. By your movement, you produced a sham delight that couldn't be sold or bought." In the end, Tschumi claimed: "The greatest architecture of all is the fireworkers': it perfectly shows the gratuitous consumption of pleasure." Tschumi's entry for la Villette competition connected this idea (developed from Adorno, Barthes, and Bataille) to François Barré's competition brief (and call to embrace Rabelais), but equally importantly, by emphasizing uselessness, his design strategy claimed to establish a form of autonomy that could free architecture from capitalist controls of production. On the one hand, Tschumi's pleasure principle reclaimed the power of paper architecture to bypass market forces. On the other hand, the same principle also equated use to gratuity, or consumption without purpose.

As early as 1988, Jencks remarked, albeit critically that "(Parc) is an abstraction of social reality, an attempt to make high art from the heterogeneous fragmentations that surround any major city … and it's no small irony that Tschumi aims his paintings of this conceptualized nowheresville at the art market, selling them at the Max Protech Gallery in New York." In other words, whilst Tschumi's autonomous approach carried with it the radical charge of his earlier "counterdesign" proposal (The Environmental Trigger), the same approach in its pursuit of autonomy and avant-garde position also appeared instrumental in upholding the system of production it sought to challenge. Tschumi's theory of pleasure was not removed from its political ambition, but it remained trapped as a commodity, in what Andreas Huyssen refers to as, "a new art for arts' sake."[513]

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[513] Huyssen in "Formal Hermeticism," K. Michael Hays, *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1998), 692.

This argument for uselessness was also observed in Lefebvre's writing, in his concept of the "la Fête," translated by Elden, Lebas, and Kofman, as "the festival," and described by Lefebvre as "function beyond functions" and explained in terms of "use value" over "exchange value" of space and urban life. In *Right to the City*, Lefebvre wrote: "The eminent use of the city, that is, of its streets and squares, edifices and monuments, is la Fête, a celebration which consumes unproductively, without other advantage but pleasure and prestige and enormous riches in money and objects."[514] Further: "The problem is to put an end to the separations of 'daily life – leisure' or 'daily life – festivity'. It is to restitute the *fête* by changing daily life. The city was a space occupied at one and the same time by productive labor, by oeuvres, and by festivities. It should find again this function beyond functions, in a metamorphosed urban society."[515] And finally: "To put art at the service of the urban does not mean to prettify urban space with works of art. This parody of the possible is a caricature … Let us not forget that gardens, parks, and landscapes around cities were part of urban life as much as the fine arts, or that the landscapes around cities were the works of art of these cities … art can create structures of enchantment. Architecture taken separately and on its own, could neither restrict nor create possibilities."[516] That Tschumi's work suggested this separation, kept alive the power of architecture's exchange value.

Secondly, Tschumi's systems of points, lines, and surfaces demonstrated a central theme in his work: "the relation between spaces and the events that occur within them; their relative autonomy and conflicts." In Parc de la Villette, the notion of "event" was read as and through the strategy of autonomy and the resulting experience of its superimposed order, "occasioning the chance or possibility of another different setting." Within this plan, Tschumi posited that new ways of knowing the park would emerge not from observing the unity and correspondence between space and use, but from their oppositions, from people's purposeless inhabitation or in-the-moment appropriations of space. And yet, with reference to this very autonomous and disjunctive plan, the park fell somewhere between the two realms. That is, whilst the elected systems and their juxtapositions led at times to *useless* mediations and unprogrammed activities, it was also evident from my fieldwork that his "pure" device, removed from the social and material conditions of production, had been co-opted by those very conditions. Tschumi's

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[514] Henri Lefebvre, Eleonore Kofman, and Elizabeth Lebas, *Writings on Cities* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1996), 66.
[515] Ibid., 168.
[516] Ibid., 173.

autonomous systems, by their very form, management, and cultural programming, had been transformed into a series of functional destinations, and contrary to his intention, at different points, taken on the role that society expects of it: in the city, as any place of capitalist consumption.

The concept of event in Tschumi's work exhibited parallels with the notion of moment in Lefebvre's critique of specialized knowledge. Events were "unexpected, unprecedented" occurrences, closely related to activity and program, but also distinct from them. Whereas one could program a project, and extend that program over time, events were unprogrammed and synchronic, existing in the present. Tschumi maintained that the task of architect was to create conditions for such events to take place. The field mappings illustrated several such events, particularly, around the folies. However, those events seldom challenged the complexity and contradictions of everyday life through emphasis on other temporalities (diachronic and lived) as acknowledged by Lefebvre. Tschumi's event was a singular instant, closely tied to the park's program, leaving intact the linear progression of daily life. In comparison, the moment, in Lefebvre's theory was both synchronic and diachronic, connecting specific events such as contemplation, play, and the festival to lived experiential engagements with the world. Therein he argued lay the revolutionary potential of moments, the potential to resist the capitalist production of space, not as in-the-moment transgression, but as a sustained practice contingent upon the history and geography of place, power, and people.

Thirdly, and finally, throughout his teaching and writing, Tschumi maintained that architecture was not about the "conditions of design," but about the "design of conditions." By negating such issues as history, context, and function, Tschumi searched for ways to construct situations that extended beyond traditions and hierarchies, and into "new relationships between spaces and event." The negations in Tschumi's plan, however, were not limited to formal systems such as the alleyways and folies, but covered all stages of work, from commissioning and consultation to built realization and management. At the same time, however, an implicit agreement seemed to exist between user groups and park's management such that even those unprogrammed situations as mime performances, football play, and Afro-beats music appeared choreographed. That is, Tschumi's design may not have served as a masterplan, assigning specific activities to specific locations, but the master choreography at play, kept the park both diverse and orderly.

Throughout his writings, Tschumi remained in equal parts drawn to the prospect of endless possibilities and critical of any impulse that reduced those possibilities to the dualities of ideal and real space, conception and perception, form and action. Instead, through his notion of pleasure and architecture's uselessness, he advocated for moving past these dualisms, and towards new ways of realizing the world and experiencing it. Tschumi's idea of utopia was not some futuristic projection, but an active transgression, a practice, and an approach built upon Bataille's space of inner experience and the Situationists' event. In the end, however, his method of refiguring utopia remained at the level of ideology, removed from what Lefebvre's calls its "concrete" other, that is, the contradictions and fragmentations of everyday life. In his critique of technocratic utopia, Lefebvre emphasized upon a dialectical relationship between the impossible and the possible, such the two realms inform each other, and include working with the realities of both the individual and the collective.

Between Kroll's imperfect and collaborative practice and Tschumi's theoretical and highly independent approach, Lefebvre's social space of dialogue, difference, and contradiction aligned strongly with Kroll than with Tschumi. Kroll's practice was embedded in and informed by people he worked with; his architecture had an aesthetic and social value aided by the place and community in which he practiced. Tschumi's explorations on paper and in the field were born out of connections with other intellectuals in art, cinema, literature, and philosophy (including Lefebvre), but the feedback process, or what Lefebvre called the connection between "information related to reality" and the "problematic posed by that reality" remained conceptual in those connections. In the end, however, neither Kroll nor Tschumi fully embraced the dialectical relationship between the ideological, material, and symbolic relations of production as formulated by Lefebvre. La Mémé's conceptual phase enacted the potential of Lefebvre's dialectic, but subsequent realizations returned to the distinctions between form making and meaning making with people involved. Parc de la Villette established a form of autonomy from the start, but instead of becoming free from capitalist power structures, it became quickly appropriated into that system.

FIGURES (La Mémé)

Fig. 3: Terrace Dining (UCL Archive)

Fig. 4: Terrace Study and Discussion (UCL Archive)

Fig. 5: Garbage Collection I

Fig. 6: Empty terrace

Fig. 7: Garbage Collection II

Fig. 8: Terrace facing East

Fig. 9: Terace facing West
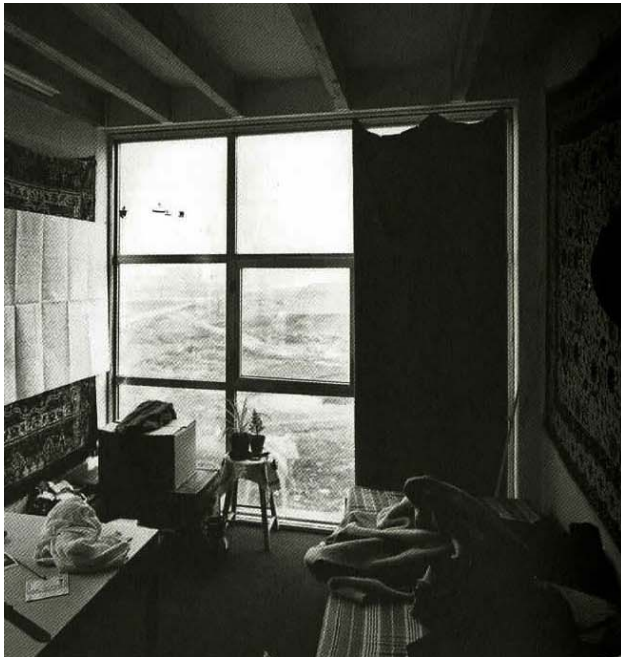
Fig. 10: "Fascist" Side Typical Room (see credits)

Fig. 11: Typical Room (Today)

Fig. 12: Shared Kitchen & Dining Space (see credits)   Fig. 13: Shared Kitchen & Dining Space (Today)

Fig. 14: "Normal" Side (Today)   Fig. 15: "Normal" Side (Today)
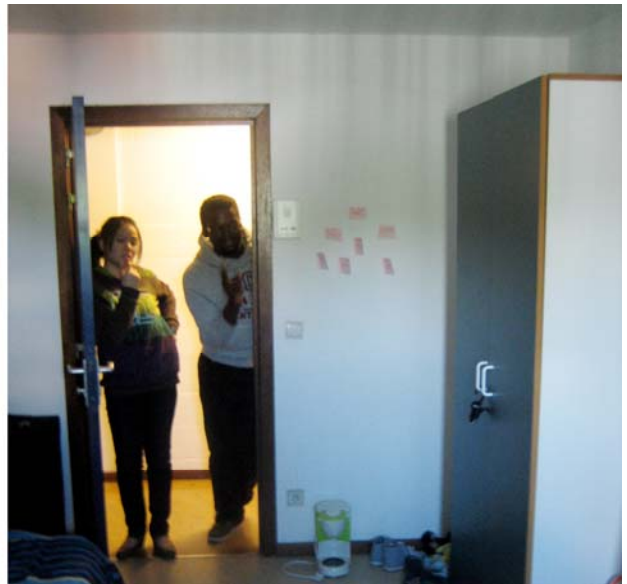
Fig. 16: Uncomfortable Adjustments ("Normal" Side)

Project Title:
Practicing Lefebvre: How ideas of social space are realized in the works of Lucien Kroll
and Bernard Tschumi

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Cue Sheet / Parc de la Villette

This voluntary mapping exercise is being conducted through the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, USA for a Ph.D. dissertation on social meanings of space. We would like you to help us identify the locations of attractive places in Parc de la Villette and also to list the various elements that make these places attractive. Enclosed are stickers and a map of the park. Please use the stickers attached to this map. Place them as appropriate on the map. You do not have to use all the categories of stickers and you can use as many and as few stickers as you would like.

Put a golden star by one or more areas that serve as the place or places of entry to the park.

Put a red star by one or more areas that make you feel you have "arrived" in the park.

Put a green star by one or more pathways that are important to your sense of enjoyment.

Put a smiley face sticker by preferred places you particularly enjoy and/or look forward to spending time at.

Put small dot stickers on preferred pathways that you find appealing.

Put a rectangular sticker by places where you are bored.

Put a sad face sticker by places not preferred, or least liked.

Put an arrow sticker indicating the direction where you enjoy a view.

Please list three most preferred places located by you on the map according to the rank order with #1 being the most preferred and so on. Below each preference, list the most appealing features at this place. Then, please list three least preferred places located by you on the map according to the rank order with #1 being the least preferred and so on. Below each preference, list the most significant features of that place.

Three most-preferred places:

Place #1

Features:

Place #2

Features:

Place #3

Features:

Three least-preferred places:

Place #1

Features:

Place #2

Features:

Place #3

Features:

Please list additional preferred places and their features on the reverse side.

Demographic Information

We would like to know a little about you to help us understand your background. If you could volunteer the following information, we would be most grateful.

Gender   Male   Female   Other

Age Group   18-29   30-45   46-62   62

How often do you visit Parc de la Villette?

First time
One to four times (or more) a year
One to four times a month
One to three times a week
Everyday

Which is your most preferred season of visit to the park?

Spring
Summer
Autumn
Winter

Which is your place of permanent residence?

From Paris   Neighborhood:
Outside Paris, from France
Outside France, from Europe
Outside Europe

THANK YOU!

Titre du projet:
Pratiquer Lefebvre: Comment les idées de l'espace social sont réalisées dans les œuvres de Lucien Kroll et Bernard Tschumi

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Cue Sheet / Parc de la Villette

Cet exercice de cartographie volontaire est mené par l'Université du Michigan à Ann Arbor aux Etats-Unis pour un thèse de doctorat sur le sens social de l'espace. Nous aimerions que vous nous aidiez à identifier les emplacements des endroits attrayants dans le Parc de la Villette et aussi à faire une liste des différents éléments qui rendent ces lieux attractifs.

Vous trouverez ci-joint des autocollants et une carte du parc. S'il vous plaît utilisez les autocollants joints à la carte et placez-les sur la carte selon les catégories listées au-dessous. Vous n'êtes pas obligé(e) d'utiliser toutes les catégories d'autocollants et on vous prie d'en coller autant et aussi peu que vous souhaitez.

Mettez une étoile d'or sur une ou plusieurs zones qui servent de lieu ou des lieux d'entrée au parc.

Mettez un étoile rouge sur un ou plusieurs domaines qui vous font sentir que vous êtes "arrivé(e)" dans le parc.

Mettez une étoile verte sur une ou plusieurs voies qui sont importantes pour votre sens du plaisir.

Mettez un autocollant smiley sur vos endroits préférés et ceux que vous appréciez.

Mettez des autocollants « petits-points » sur les voies préférées et celles que vous trouvez attrayantes.

Mettez un autocollant rectangulaire sur des endroits où vous vous ennuyez.

Mettez un autocollant « visage triste » sur les endroits que vous préférez moins.

Mettez un autocollant flèche indiquant la direction où vous pourrez profiter d'une vue.

S'il vous plaît faites une liste des trois endroits les plus préférés parmi ceux que vous avez marqués sur la carte, no. 1 étant le plus préféré et ainsi de suite. En dessous de chaque endroit, faites une liste des caractéristiques les plus intéressantes à cet endroit. Puis, s'il vous plaît énumérez les trois endroits que vous préférez moins parmi ceux que vous avez marqués sur la carte, no.1 étant le moins préféré et ainsi de suite. En dessous de chaque endroit, faites une liste des caractéristiques les plus significatives de cet endroit.

<u>Trois endroits les plus préférés:</u>

Endroit #1

Caractéristiques:

Endroit #2

Caractéristiques:

Endroit #3

Caractéristiques:

<u>Trois au moins des lieux préférés:</u>

Endroit #1

Caractéristiques:

Endroit #2

Caractéristiques:

Endroit #3

Caractéristiques:

Si vous voulez, faites une liste supplémentaire des lieux privilégiés et leurs caractéristiques sur le côté inverse

Information Démographique

Nous aimerions en savoir un peu sur vous pour nous aider à comprendre votre milieu. Si vous pouviez fournir les informations suivantes, nous vous serions très reconnaissants.

Sexe   Homme   Femme   Autres

Âge   18-29   30-45   46-62   62

Tous les combien vous visitez le Parc de la Villette?

C'est la première fois
Une à quatre fois (ou plus) par année
Une à quatre fois par mois
Une à trois fois par semaine
Quotidienne

Quelle est votre saison préférée de la visite du parc?

Printemps
Eté
Automne
Hiver

Quel est votre lieu de résidence permanente?

De Paris: Quartier:
En dehors de Paris, de la France
Hors de France, d'Europe
Hors d'Europe

MERCI!

Project Title:
Practicing Lefebvre: How ideas of social space are realized in the works of Lucien Kroll and Bernard Tschumi

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Cue Sheet / La Maison Medicale, or "La Mémé"

This voluntary mapping exercise is being conducted through the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, USA for a Ph.D. dissertation on social meanings of space. We would like you to help us identify the locations of significant areas within "La Mémé" and also to list the various elements that make these places attractive. Enclosed are stickers and a map of the building and its immediate surrounds. Please use the stickers attached to this map. Place them as appropriate on the map. You do not have to use all the categories of stickers and you can use as many and as few stickers as you would like.

Put a golden star by one or more preferred areas in the immediate periphery of La Mémé.

Put a red star by one or more enclosed areas within the building that make you feel "at home."

Put a green star by one or more connecting spaces that are important to your sense of enjoyment.

Put a yellow smiley by places you spend most time during day alone.

Put a blue smiley by places you spend most time during day with others.

Put a rectangular sticker by places that you find most inconvenient.

Put a sad face sticker by places least liked, places you prefer not to go to.

Put an arrow sticker indicating the direction where you enjoy a view.

Please list three most preferred places located by you on the map according to the rank order with #1 being the most preferred and so on. Below each preference, list the most appealing features at this place. Then, please list three least preferred places located by you on the map according to the rank order with #1 being the least preferred and so on. Below each preference, list the most significant features of that place.

Three most-preferred places:

Place #1

Features:

Place #2

Features:

Place #3

Features:

Three least-preferred places:

Place #1

Features:

Place #2

Features:

Place #3

Features:

Please list additional preferred places and their features on the reverse side.

Demographic Information

We would like to know a little about you to help us understand your background. If you could volunteer the following information, we would be most grateful.

Gender   Male   Female   Other

Age Group   18-29   30-45   46-62   62

How long have you lived in La Me´me´?

Less than a month
Few months to a complete term
Two terms
One year
More than a year

In which season is La Me´me´ the most attractive option to live?

Spring
Summer
Autumn
Winter

Which is your place of permanent residence?

From Brussels   Neighborhood:
Outside Brussels, from Belgium
Outside Belgium, from Europe
Outside Europe

THANK YOU!

Titre du projet:
Pratiquer Lefebvre: Comment les idées de l'espace social sont réalisées dans les œuvres de Lucien Kroll et Bernard Tschumi

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Cue Sheet / La Maison Medicale, or "La Mémé"

Cet exercice de cartographie volontaire est mené par l'Université du Michigan à Ann Arbor aux Etats-Unis pour un thèse de doctorat sur le sens social de l'espace. Nous aimerions que vous nous aidiez à identifier les emplacements des zones importantes dans "La Mémé" et aussi à faire une liste des différents éléments qui rendent ces lieux attractifs.

Vous trouverez ci-joint des autocollants et une carte du parc. S'il vous plaît utilisez les autocollants joints à la carte et placez-les sur la carte selon les catégories listées au-dessous. Vous n'êtes pas obligé(e) d' utiliser toutes les catégories d'autocollants et on vous prie d'en coller autant et aussi peu que vous souhaitez.

Mettez une étoile d'or sur le(s) domaine(s) que vous préférez à l'intérieur de la périphérie de La Mémé.

Mettez un étoile rouge sur l'espace (ou plusieurs espaces) clos dans le bâtiment qui vous fait vous sentir chez vous.

Mettez une étoile verte sur un espace ou plusieurs espaces de liaison qui sont importants pour votre sens du plaisir.

Mettez un autocollant jaune smiley sur les endroits préférés où vous passez la plupart du temps quand vous êtes seul(e) pendant la journée.

Mettez un autocollant bleu smiley sur les endroits préférés où vous passez la plupart du temps avec d'autres personnes pendant la journée.

Mettez un autocollant rectangulaire sur les endroits que vous trouvez les plus incommodes.

Mettez un autocollant « visage triste » sur les endroits les moins aimés.

Mettez un autocollant flèche indiquant la direction où vous pourrez profiter d'une vue.

S'il vous plaît faites une liste des trois endroits les plus préférés parmi ceux que vous avez marqués sur la carte, no. 1 étant le plus préféré et ainsi de suite. En dessous de chaque endroit, faites une liste des caractéristiques les plus intéressantes à cet endroit. Puis, s'il vous plaît énumérez les trois endroits que vous préférez moins parmi ceux que vous avez marqués sur la carte, no.1 étant le moins préféré et ainsi de suite. En dessous de chaque endroit, faites une liste des caractéristiques les plus significatives de cet endroit.

Trois endroits les plus préférés:

Endroit #1

Caractéristiques:

Endroit #2

Caractéristiques:

Endroit #3

Caractéristiques:

Trois au moins des lieux préférés:

Endroit #1

Caractéristiques:

Endroit #2

Caractéristiques:

Endroit #3

Caractéristiques:

Si vous voulez, faites une liste supplémentaire des lieux privilégiés et leurs caractéristiques sur le côté inverse

Information Démographique

Nous aimerions en savoir un peu sur vous pour nous aider à comprendre votre milieu. Si vous pouviez fournir les informations suivantes, nous vous serions très reconnaissants.

Sexe   Homme   Femme   Autres

Âge   18-29   30-45   46-62   62

Combien de temps avez-vous vécu à La Mémé?

Moins d'un mois
Quelques mois à un terme complet
deux termes
Un an
Plus d'un an

En quelle saison est La Mémé l'option la plus attrayante pour y vivre?

Printemps
Eté
Automne
Hiver

Quel est votre lieu de résidence permanente?

De Bruxelles   Quartier:
En dehors de Bruxelles, de Belgique
En dehors de la Belgique, de l'Europe
Hors d'Europe

MERCI!

APPENDIX C

La Mémé, Brussels:

Respondent	Gender	Age Group	Length of Stay	Preferred Season	Permanent Residence
R1*	F	18-29	One year	Autumn	Outside Europe (Laos)
R2	M	18-29	Few months to a complete term	Spring	Woluwé, Belgium
R3	M	30-45	Few months to a complete term	Spring and Summer	Outside Europe
R4	F	30-45	More than a year	Winter	Rixensart, Belgium
R5*	M	18-29	One year	Summer ("can enjoy sunlight"); Winter ("heat is good")	Nivelles, Belgium
R6	F	18-29	More than a year	Spring	Tournai, French community of Belgium
R7	F	18-29	Few months to a complete term	Summer	Louvain la Neuve, Belgium

Parc de la Villette, Paris:

Respondent	Gender	Age Group	Frequency of Visit	Preferred Season	Permanent Residence
R1*	M	18-29	First Time	Spring	Outside Europe (Chicago, USA)
R2	F	18-29	One to three times a week	Spring	Buttes Chaumont, Paris
R3	F	30-45	Everyday	Summer	Porte de Pantain, XIXe, Paris
R4	M	30-45	One to four times (or more) a year	Summer	Pére-Lachaise, XIe, Paris
R5	F	18-29	First Time	Spring, Summer	Banlieue 92 (outside Paris)
R6	F	18-29	One to four times (or more) a year	Spring, Summer, Autumn	XVIIIe, Paris
R7*	F	18-29	One to four times (or more) a year	Summer	La Courneuve, Paris
R8	M	30-45	One to three times a week	Autumn	Cergy, Paris
R9	M	30-45	Everyday	Spring, Summer, Autumn	Porte de Pantain, XIXe, Paris
R10	M	18-29	One to four times (or more) a year	Spring	Outside Paris, from France
R11	F	18-29	One to four times a month	Spring, Summer	La Chapelle, Xe, Paris
R12	M	18-29	One to four times a month	Spring, Summer, Autumn	XIXe, Paris
R13	F	30-45	Everyday	Spring	Paix, Paris
R14	F	30-45	One to four times a month	Spring	Villette, XIXe, Paris

Participant Background Information (* Responses in English)

APPENDIX D

La Mémé Residents' Perspectives (Responses from the mapping exercise, May 2012)

	Floor/s	Golden Star (preferred immediate periphery)	Red Star (space within the bldg. you most feel at home)	Green Star (connecting spaces of joy)	Yellow Smiley (preferred places you spend most time during the day alone)	Blue Smiley (preferred places you spend most time with others)	Rectangular Sticker (most inconvenient places)	Sad Face (places least liked and prefer not to go)	Arrow Sticker (direction where you enjoy a view)	Additional Comments
R1	06 ("Norm al" Side)	Path to metro station, Alma	Bedroom (facing east)	Terrace (facing east)	Bedroom	Shared kitchen and dining space (good light and access to the adjoining terrace)	-	Elevator core (dark) and elevators (gloomy)	From terrace looking west	My most preferred places are the shared spaces: The terrace offers beautiful views; the shared kitchen is large and bright; Although I love my bedroom, it is too small; Finally, the elevator and elevator core, both are dark and dirty.
R2	00; 04 ("fascist" Side); Campus	Courtyard enclosed by Mémé, Mairie; and the restaurant	Bedroom (facing west); Adjoining washroom; End	00 (right outside the entrance vestibule); External SE stairwell	Bedroom; Campus-level spaces: Church on Avenue de	Jardin Martin V (Courtyard enclosed by Mémé, Mairie; and	Elevator core	Campus-level spaces: Square Hanse; Place du	From bedroom and kitchenette looking west; from	Additionally, I like Place Martin V, a great meeting place, for friendships and

		block	kitchenette and dining		l'Assomption; Gardens behind Les Arches	the restaurant block); Campus-level spaces: Gardens behind Les Arches		Campanile;	the central courtyard looking east; from the external stairwell looking SE.	socializing; Place Carnoy: great green space for meetings, also has a primary school; I love the Sculpture Garden because it is artistic and peaceful.
R3	-02; 06 ("Norm al" Side); Campus	Shared kitchen and dining area	-	Connecting spaces between Mémé and the Metro; Also, Jardin Martin V.	Bedroom with terrace (facing west)	Ecumenical Center	- 02: open service entry and entrance to bar	Elevator core	-	Jardin Martin V is attractive, great meeting place and good views overall, and a great community building space; The restaurant is also a great place to study. On the other hand, the bar is too noisy and disturbing. The elevator core is isolated and poorly maintained.
R4	06 ("Norm al" Side);	Jardin Martin V	Washroom	Terrace (facing west)	Bedroom (facing west)	-	Elevator core	Floor entrance foyer	Terrace (facing west)	The restaurant space is airy and the food is good; Jardin Martin V offers great views overall, and is very clean as well.

R5	- 01; 06 ("Normal" Side); 07 ("Normal" Side); Campus	Jardin Martin V; Zone Sociale connecting ground	Bedroom (06 floor facing east)	Campus: Sports facility (Centre sportif de la Woluwé)	End bedroom facing east (06 floor);	Multipurpose room on - 01 floor (used for social gatherings); Campus: Restaurant	-	End bedroom facing east (07 floor); Campus: Medical Laboratories in the academic block	Looking northwards from the bedroom and its attached terrace on 06 floor	The bedroom on 6th floor offers me quiet space for studies and rest. The gym and library are the other two places I like frequenting. On the negative side, however, the elevator core and foyer are unpleasant. Also, the Mémé Circle is too noisy (up until 4 am every Wednesday). Finally, the laboratories are not every stimulating spaces to work either.
R6	06 and 07 ("Normal" Side); Campus	-	Bedroom (06 floor) facing east	Jardin Martin V	-	Jardin Martin V; Laboratories in the academic wing; Carnoy, the new student residential quarters	Room on floor 07 with adjacent stairs (former lofts)	-	View from terrace attached to the bedroom (06 floor); Jardin Martin V views looking at the soft zone	-

| R7 | - 02 (or the real ground level); 03 ("Normal" Side); Campus | Jardin Martin V | Bedroom (facing east); Shared kitchen and dining area (note: no terrace on this floor) | Jardin Martin V | Bedroom | Shared kitchen and dining area | - 02 level access to offices | - | View from the bedroom looking east | On the one hand, my room offers good views and is nice and airy; the living room is spacious and comfortable; Jardin Martin V is green and offers shade for relaxation and outdoor study; On the other hand, the – 02 level is noisy and smells like a urinary stall; and path to metro is cold and dark. |

Parc de la Villette Users Perspectives (Responses from the mapping exercise, May 2012)

	Golden Star (place or places of entry to the park)	Red Star (areas that make you feel you've "arrived" in the park)	Green Star (one or more pathways that are important to your sense of enjoyment)	Smiley (preferred places you enjoy and/or look forward to spending time at)	Small Dots (preferred pathways you find appealing)	Rectangular Sticker (most boring places)	Sad Face (places least preferred or liked)	Arrow Sticker (direction where you enjoy a view)	Additional Comments
R1	Avenue Jean Jaurés, by the metro on south	F11 (folie de Charlolais; tickets office for the pavillon du charlois)	E-W Galerie d'Ourcq; Allée du Belvedere	F12 (folie belvedere); Bamboo Garden; N-S Galerie de la Villette, in particular, the bridge over canal d'Ourcq	E-W Galerie d'Ourcq; tree-lined alley encircling Prairie du Circle; cinematic promenade, especially through the Bamboo Garden	Plaza in between Grande Halle and Place de la Fontaine aux Lions (large but seemingly unused space)	The east half of Grande Halle	From F12 (folie belvedere) towards Prairie du Cercle; From Galerie d'Ourcq towards northern half of Prairie du Cercle; From Galerie d'Ourcq looking east.	Preferred places: F12 (a catwalk in a tree canopy offering elevated views of the park); F16 (views along the canal, abundant people watching and shaded seating); F11 (first "interactive" folie, allowing views back to the entrance). Least preferred: F4 (inaccessible, parasitic, too symbolic); Fountain plaza
R2	Avenue Jean Jaurés, by the metro on	Grande Halle; F15 (workshops	Galerie de la Villette, by Grande Halle	E-W Galerie d'Ourcq; Pavillon	E-W Galerie d'Ourcq; N-S Galerie de	-	-	From F20 (observatory) looking out	Preferred places: the E-W water canal (boat

	south; Avenue Corentin Cariou to the north; bicycle and pedestrian entry from the west, by F14; and entry from the east, by Boulevard Peripherique	and park tours); Zenith auditorium; Géode theatre; Museum of Science and Technology	and point of intersection with promenade; Canal d'Ourcq	Paul Delouvrier (with temporary exhibitions); Equestrian Center	la Villette, by the children's garden and F10 (entrance to the dunes designed for children)			to the Géode	rides); Cabaret Souvage (the equestrian club with performances and horses); folies and games for children.
R3	Avenue Jean Jaurés, by the metro on south	Cité de la Musique; Place de la Fontaine aux Lions; Canal d'Ourcq; Museum of Science and Technology	Path to equestrian club; N-S Galerie de la Villette to Museum of Science and Technology	Place de la Fontaine aux Lions; Prairie du Circle; Museum of Science and Technology	N-S Galerie de la Villette; Allée du Zenith leading to Zenith auditorium)	-	-	Canal d'Ourcq towards east, by F16 (folie du canal)	Most preferred: Canal d'Ourcq (close by games for children); Museum of Science and Technology (a place of learning and new discoveries); Place de la Fontaine aux Lions (people watching)
R4	Avenue Jean Jaurés, by the metro on south	Place de la Fontaine aux Lions, by Grande Halle	N-S Galerie de la Villette; E-W Galerie d'Ourcq; tree-lined alleyway lining Prairie du Cercle	Grande Halle; Zenith auditorium; F21 (entrance to the Argonaut); Museum of Science and Technology; Prairie de Cercle	Canal d'Ourcq; Cinematic promenade through the garden of islands; bridge connecting the Géode to Museum of Science and	Allée du Zenith	F24 (restaurant)	Galerie d'Ourcq facing west; and the foobridge intersection, looking over the canal, towards west.	More preferred: Grande Halle (diversity of events); Museum of Science and Technology; Zenith Least preferred: the children's garden (nice

					Technology				space but not specific to the park); Garden of Mirrors.
R5	Pedestrian entry to north-west, by Canal Saint-Denis	Pedestrian bridge over Canal d'Ourcq and the area between F19 (bandstand) and G10 (the dragon garden)	Allée du Belvedere; Gallérie d'Ourcq	Pedestrian and bicycle entry into the park; F15 (hosts workshops for children and a restaurant), allée du Belvedere intersecting with Galerie de la Villette; Gallerie d'Ourcq; Equestrian Club	Galerie d'Ourcq on both sides; as well as the track by equestrian club; path leading to the Museum of Science & Technology; connections to Paris Conservatory & Theatre for French Contemp. Arts; Path to Cité de la Musique	Park edges, by Boulevard Peripherique to the east and closed edge on south-west.	Museum of Science and Technology	Galerie de la Villette looking north; from the Géode, looking west	Least preferred: Museum of Science and Technology (large building, several floors, the scale is daunting)
R6	Pedestrian entry to north-west, by Canal Saint-Denis	Galerie de la Villette, by F19 (bandstand)	Galerie d'Ourcq (on north and south); promenade edging Prairie de Cercle	Praire du Cercle; Prairie du Triangle; Place de la Fontaine aux lions; Museum of Science and Technology; Allée du Belvedere	F16 (folie du canal) and galerie d'Ourcq; allée du zenith; galerie de la Villette	Car park; F24 (restaurant) zone	Grande Halle	Bridge over Canal d'Ourcq looking east; Praire du Cercle looking north; tree-lined alley encircling the prairie du cercle, looking south-west	Most preferred: Prairie du cercle (green flat lawns); Géode; Equestrian Centre (shows and the horses). Least preferred: F24 (restaurant) due to commerce; Admin. Centre (no interest to the public); Parking

	Golden Star (place or places of entry to the park)	Red Star (areas that make you feel you've "arrived" in the park)	Green Star (one or more pathways that are important to your sense of enjoyment)	Smiley (preferred places you enjoy and/or look forward to spending time at)	Small Dots (preferred pathways you find appealing)	Rectangular Sticker (most boring places)	Sad Face (places least preferred or liked)	Arrow Sticker (direction where you enjoy a view)	Additional Comments
R7	Entrance to the north	From the north, the intersection of galerie de la Villette and promenade	Cinematic promenade; Galerie de la Villette to the south, by Place de la fontaine aux lions	F11 (leased out for workshops and courses on cultural mediation); Corner between F19 (bandstand) and the canal; Prairie du Cercle (north)	Galerie de la Villette by its north anchor point	-	-	Galerie d'Ourcq, with views on both sides of the canal, facing west	More preferred: Canal d'Ourcq with views; Prairie du Cercle (lawns).
R8	Pedestrian entry to north-west, by Canal Saint-Denis; Avenue Jean Jaurés, by the metro on south	F15 (workshops and park tours); the intersections of allée du Zenith and allée du Belvedere	allée du Zenith; allée du Belvedere; N-S Galerie de la Villette; E-W Galerie d'Ourcq	Prairie de cercle; promenade through Trellis Garden	Row of trees, by allée de Belvedere, close to F15 and Galerie de la Villette; cinematic promenade Trellis Garden	The path to the east of Grande Halle	G9 (Garden of Islands)	Galerie d'Ourcq facing east	More preferred: Prairie du cercle (activities, lawn, vegetation) Least preferred: Garden of Islands (most isolating)
R9	Bicycle and pedestrian entry from the west, by F14; Entry from the northern	Place de la fontaine aux lions; Grande Halle; Canal d'Ourcq; Museum of	Allée du zenith; Allée du Belvedere; Galerie de la Villette; Cinematic promenade,	Place de la fontaine aux lions; Grande Halle; F10 (entry into the Garden	Galerie d'Ourcq (north and south); the triangular area by F19; intersection	-	Prairie du triangle; G5 (Garden of Equilibrium) and F9 (nightclub	From the southern anchor point towards Place de la fontaine aux lions; view	Most preferred places: Place de la fontaine aux lions (public place, water jets, people watching); Allée

	anchor point (metro); Avenue Jean Jaurés, by the metro on south	Science and Technology; F13 (Zenith ticket office)	particularly through the Trellis Garden and path leading up to the Garden of Dragon	of Wind and Dunes for children); allée du zenith; Géode; F21 (Argonaut); Prairie du cercle; Zenith auditorium; Equestrian Center; F19 (Bandstand); Museum of Science and Technology	of allée du Boulevard and galerie de la Villette; Allée du Zenith; G4 (promenade through Bamboo Garden)		Trabendo)	along allée du zenith; view towards Prairie du Cercle from allée du Boulevard; views towards east and north from Galerie d'Ourcq; views south from the Museum of Science and Technology	du zenith (mythical place, paved, green, great for leisurely stroll); Canal d'Ourcq (great views, relaxing)
R10	Avenue Jean Jaurés, by the metro on south; entrance from the north anchor point	Allée du Zenith; Géode and Museum of Science and Technology	Place de la fontaine aux lions; Géode; Prairie du cercle	Place de la fontaine aux lions; Prairie du Cercle	Footbridge over Canal d'Ourcq (Galerie de la Villette); Place de la fontaine aux lions; Canal d'Ourcq	The western edge of Museum of Science and Technology; Grande Halle	Grande Halle; Promenade through G10 (Garden of Dragon)	Views towards the amphitheatre of Museum of Science and Technology; from Circle du Prairie north, towards the canal and Geode	Most preferred: Prairie de cercle (wide, restful, green space); Amphitheatre (great view of the museum and Géode); Fontaine (public and inviting) Least preferred: Grande Halle (dark and dull)
R11	Metro to the north; Bicycle and pedestrian entry from the west, by F14; Underbridge	F15 (hosts workshops for children and a restaurant); Allée du Zenith; Equestrian	Praire du triangle; Footbridge over Canal d'Ourcq (Galerie de la Villette)	Praire du triangle; Cinematic promenade through G1 (Garden of Mirrors); the grounds by	Canal d'Ourcq (north and south); Allée du Belvedere; Allée du Zenith	The connection to Museum of Science and Technology	Edge by Cité de la Music; the zone between the Science Museum and metro	E-W views along Galerie d'Ourcq	Most preferred places: Prairie du triangle (large green space ideal for picnics, open air cinema, summer gatherings);

212

	from west	Center; F19 (bandstand) and grounds		F5 (ticket office of the Cité de la Musique); Prairie du cercle; G5 (Garden of Equilibrium) and F9 (nightclub)					Canal de l'Ourq (views); Cinematic promenade (different experiences throughout) Lest preferred: North of the park is too industrial
R12	Bicycle and pedestrian entry from the west, by F14; Place de la fontaine aux lions and metro to the south; Metro to north	Place de la fontaine aux lions; Prairie du cercle; the intersection of cinematic promenade and galerie de la villette, overlooking the amphitheatre	Allée du Zenith; tree-lined alleyway circling Prairie du cercle; Galerie de la Villette	Prairie du triangle; Prairie du circle; Zenith; Museum of Science and Technology	Galerie de la Villette; Allée du Zenith; Galerie d'Ourcq	The plaza adjacent Géode; northern entry to the Museum of Science and Technology	The plaza adjacent Géode	N-S views from Prairie du Cercle; Views towards G3 (Trellis Garden) and Prairie du Cercle from Prairie du Triangle	Most preferred places: Cité de la Musique (high level exhibitions); Prairie du Triangle and Prairie du Cercle (great view, lawns, gathering space) Least preferred: Metro Station near Porte de la Villette ("unhuman" architecture; the garden of Islands (needs clean up)
R13	Metro at northern anchor point	Cité de la Musique; F24 (restaurant)	Circus Arts; Museum of Science and Technology	Prairie du Triangle; Equestrian Centre; Zenith	Galerie d'Ourcq	Southern entrance plaza to Museum of Science and Technology	-	Galerie d'Ourcq looking west	Most preferred: Géode; Cité des Sciences et le l'Industrie; Cité de la Musique:

R14	Southern entry point by Metro; Bicycle and pedestrian entry from the west, by F14; Northern entry point by Metro	F15 (hosts workshops for children and a restaurant)	Galerie d'Ourcq	The corner space adjacent F19 (Bandstand), edging both canals	-	-	-	Westward views along Galerie d'Ourcq	Least preferred: Prairie du cercle (concentrated public space in the middle of park)

APPENDIX F

La Mémé Mapping Responses

Respondent 1

215

Respondent 2

Respondent 2

Plan schématique du site de Bruxelles : Logements UCL

Respondent 2

Respondent 3

Respondent 3

Site de l' UCL-Bruxelles

Respondent 3

MEME
Rue Martin V / Promenade de l'Alma

ECHELLE :	Mise a jour le :	Code bâtiment :	Etage :
voir plan	30/01/2006	43	06

SERVICE LOGEMENT - " LOGE "
Promenade de l'Alma, 31 - 1200 Bruxelles
Téléphone: 02 / 764.41.23 - Télécopieur :02 / 764.41.29

UCL
Bruxelles

Respondent 4

Site de l' UCL-Bruxelles

Respondent 4

223

Respondent 5

MEME
Rue Martin V / Promenade de l'Alma

Echelle :	Mise à jour le :	Code bâtiment :	Etage :
Voir plan	17 07 2002	43	07

Service technique – "SIWO"
Rue Martin V, 40 bte.2 – 1200 Bruxelles
Téléphone: 02.764.44.30 – Télécopieur: 02.764.44.88

Respondent 5

Respondent 5

Site de l' UCL-Bruxelles

226

Respondent 5

Respondent 6

62/06/30
61/6R/01
61/6R/02
61/6R/03
61/6R/04
61/6R
62/06
62/06/05
61/6R/05
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62/06/03
62/06/02
61/6B
61/6B/11
61/6B/10
61/6B/09
62/06/31

R6

	MÉMÉ		
	Rue Martin V / Promenade de l'Alma		
ECHELLE :	Mise a jour le :	Code bâtiment :	Etage :
voir plan	30/01/2006	43	06

SERVICE LOGEMENT - " LOGE "
Promenade de l'Alma, 31 - 1200 Bruxelles
Téléphone: 02 / 764.41.23 - Télécopieur :02 / 764.41.29

UCL
Bruxelles

Respondent 6

Site de l' UCL-Bruxelles

Respondent 6

230

Respondent 7

Respondent 7

232

Respondent 7

MEME
Jardin Martin V

Echelle :	Mise à jour le :	Code bâtiment :	Etage :
Voir plan	04 10 2002	43	-2

Service technique – "SIWO"
Rue Martin V, 40 bte.2 – 1200 Bruxelles
Téléphone: 02.764.44.30 – Télécopieur: 02.764.44.88

UCL
Bruxelles

Respondent 7

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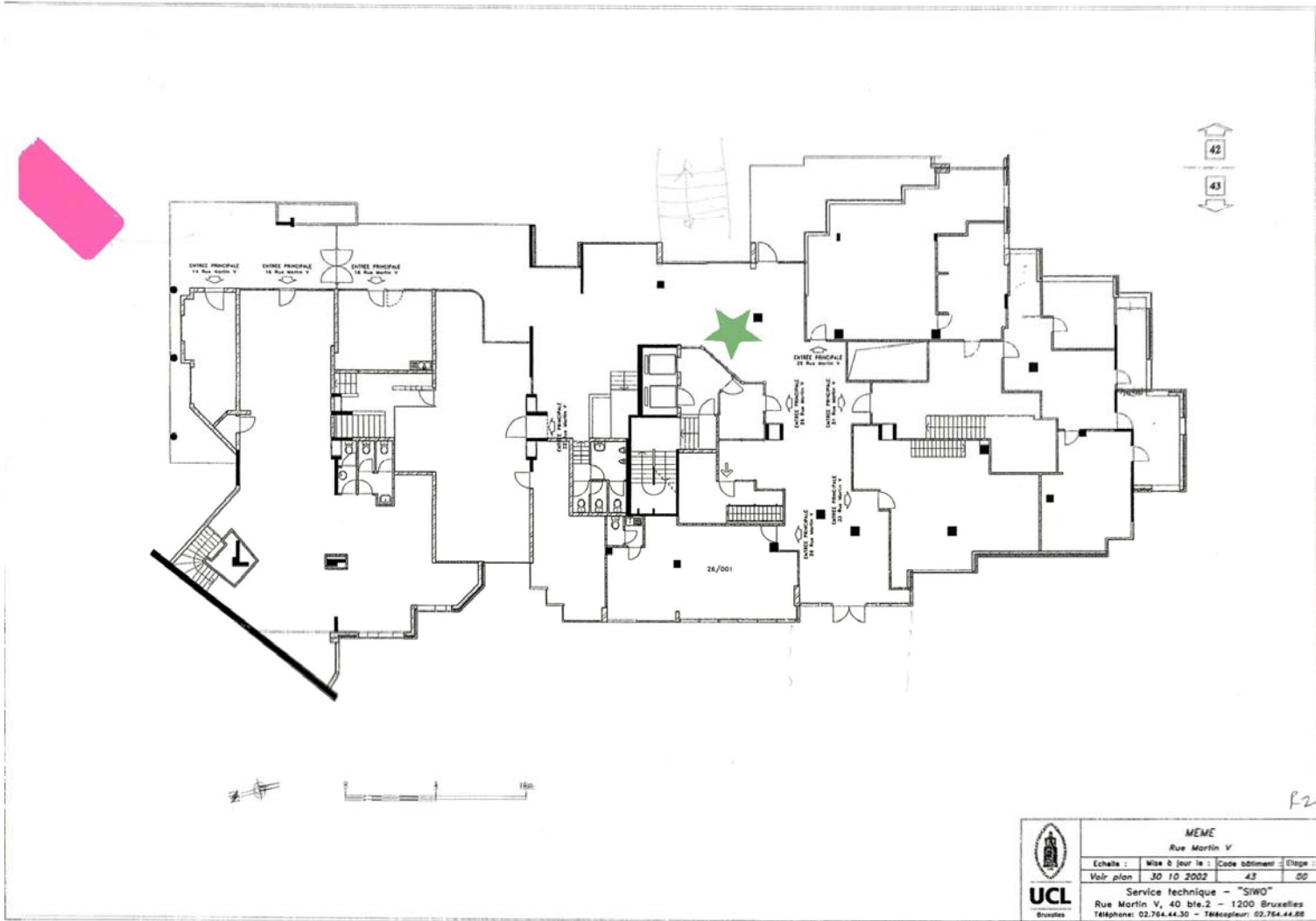
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Composite Map 3 (Level 06)

Composite Map 4 (Level 07)

Parc de la Villette Mapping Responses

Base Map (Reproduced from P. S. H. Ribeiro, "Space in Bodies and Bodies in Space: An Examination of Bodily Experience in Parc de La Villette" (Masters, UCL: London 2005)
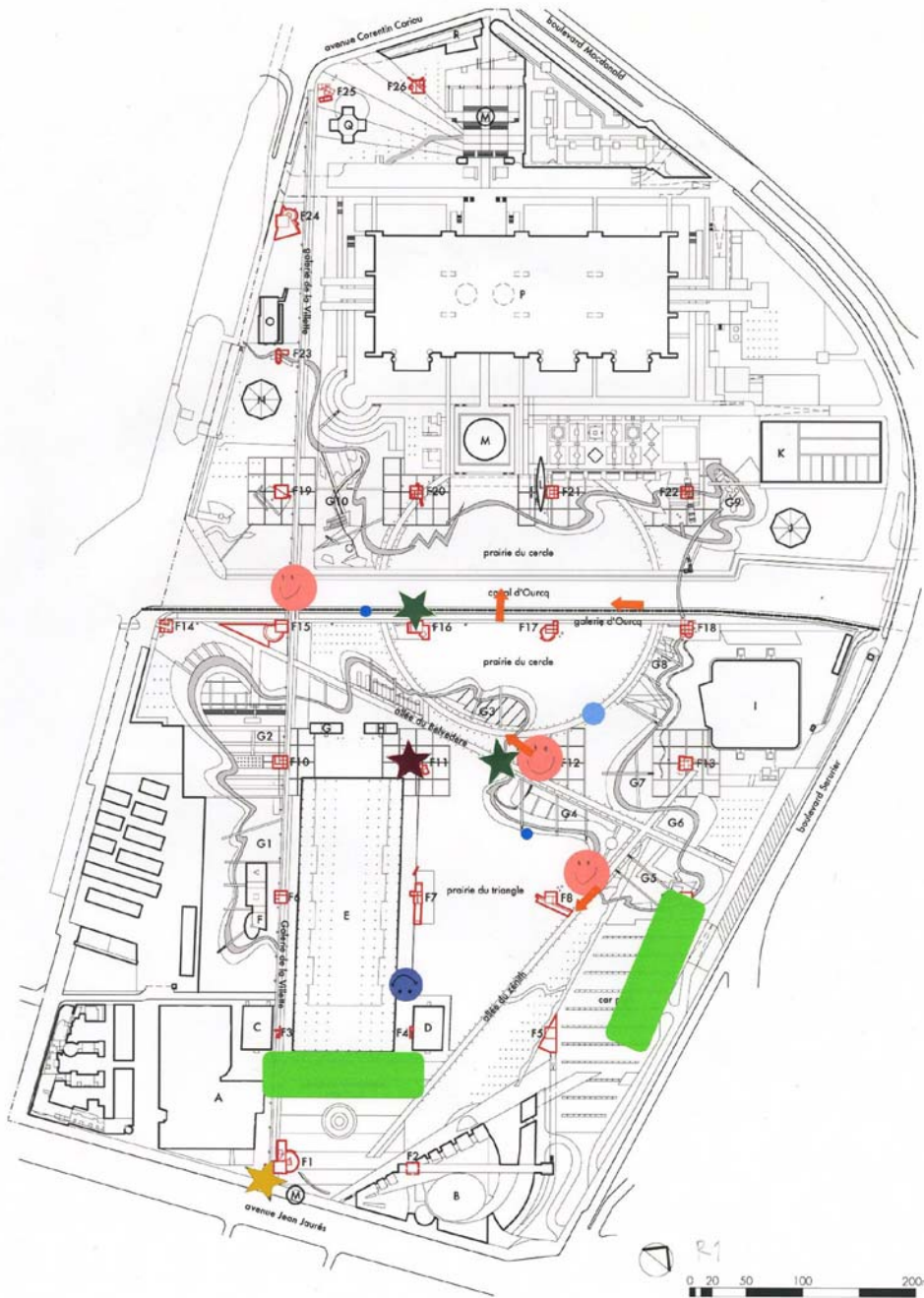
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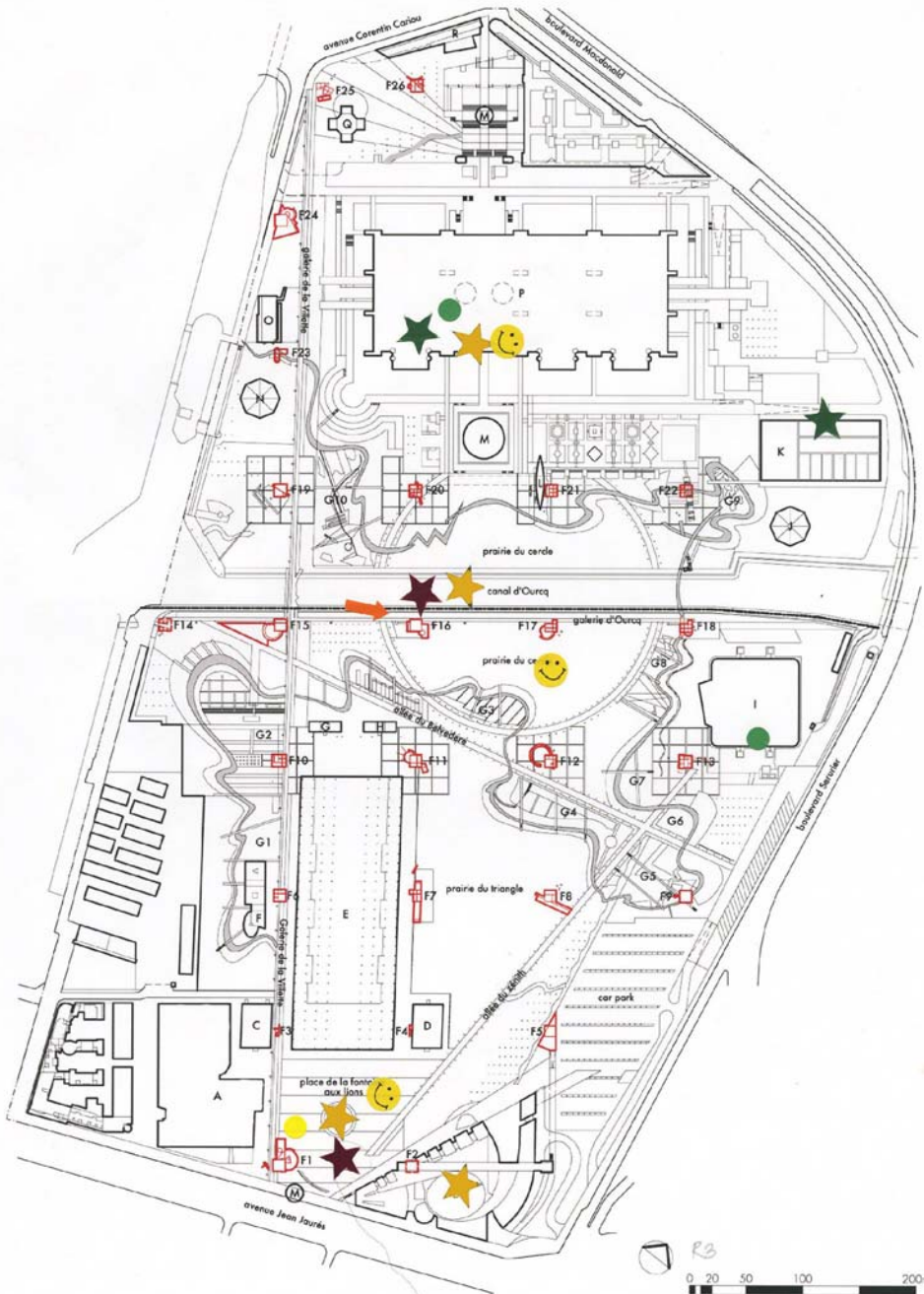
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Respondent 4

242
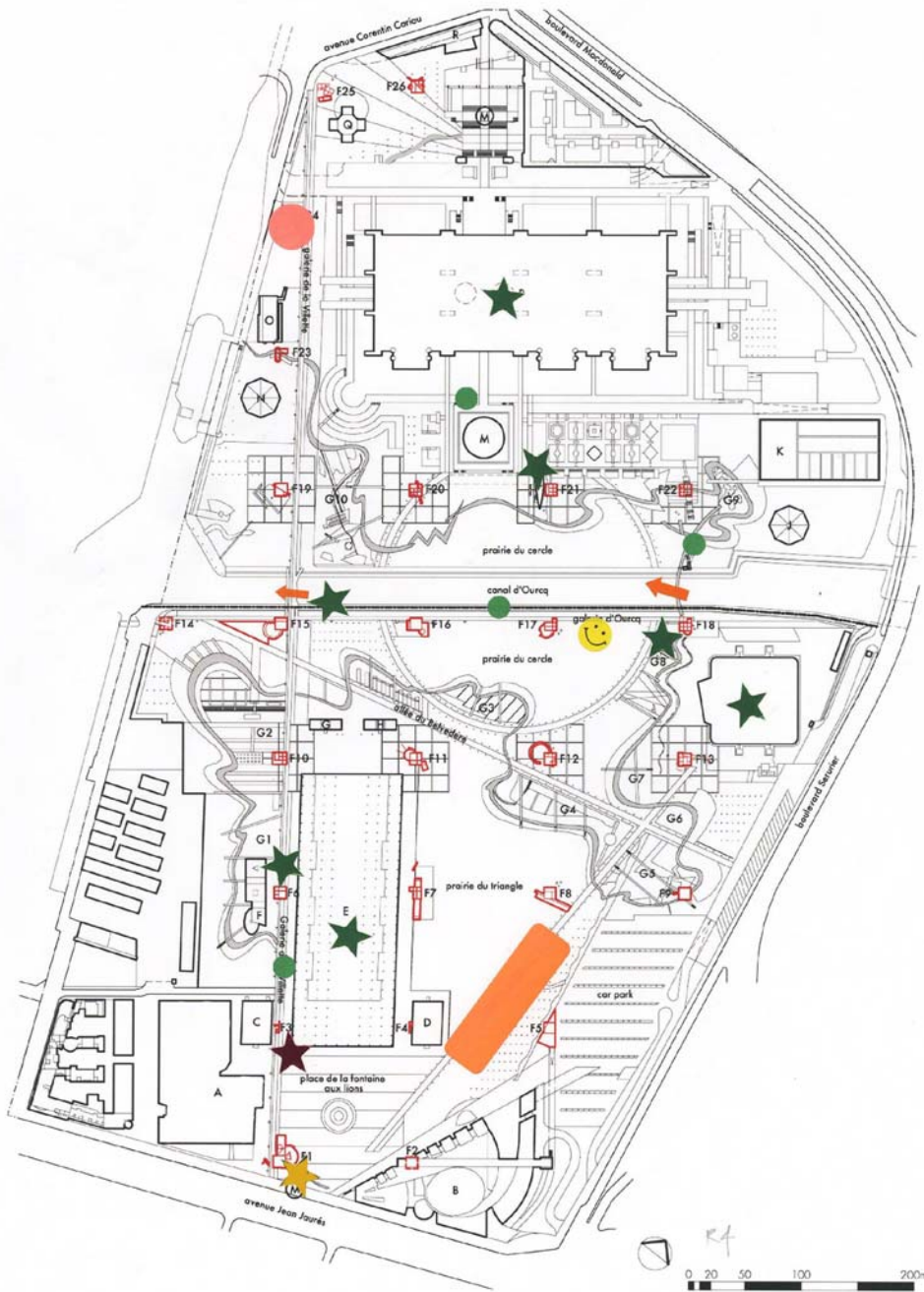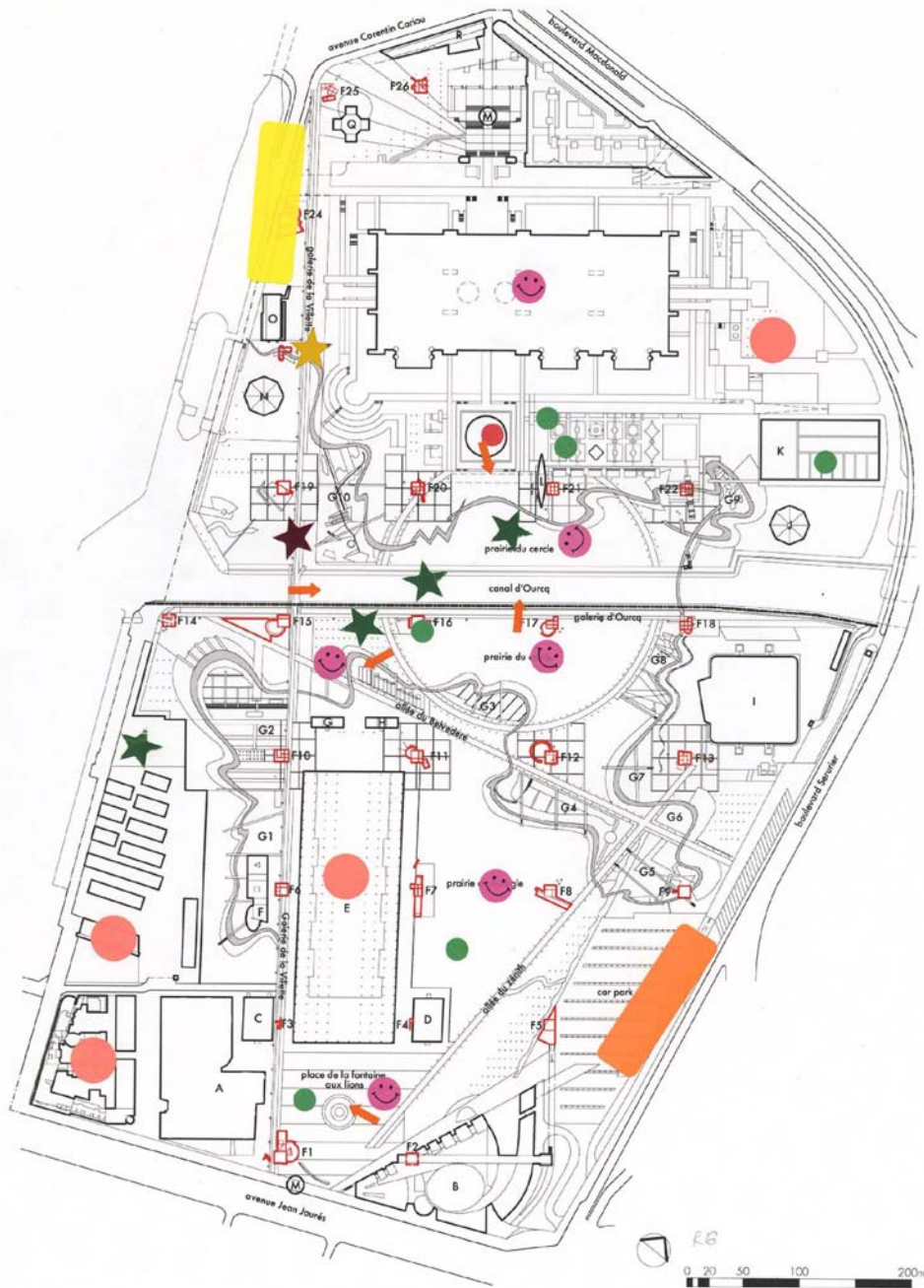
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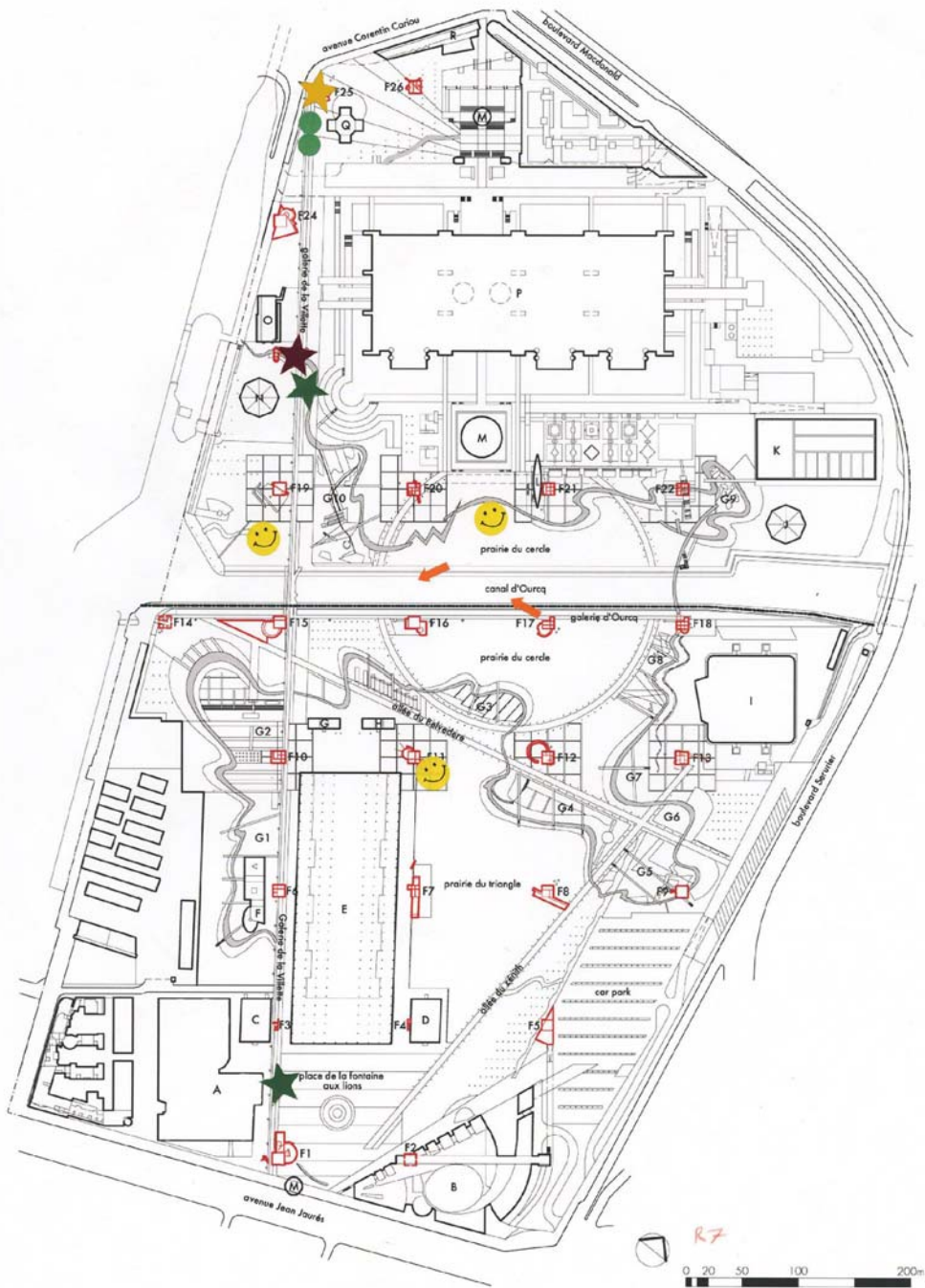
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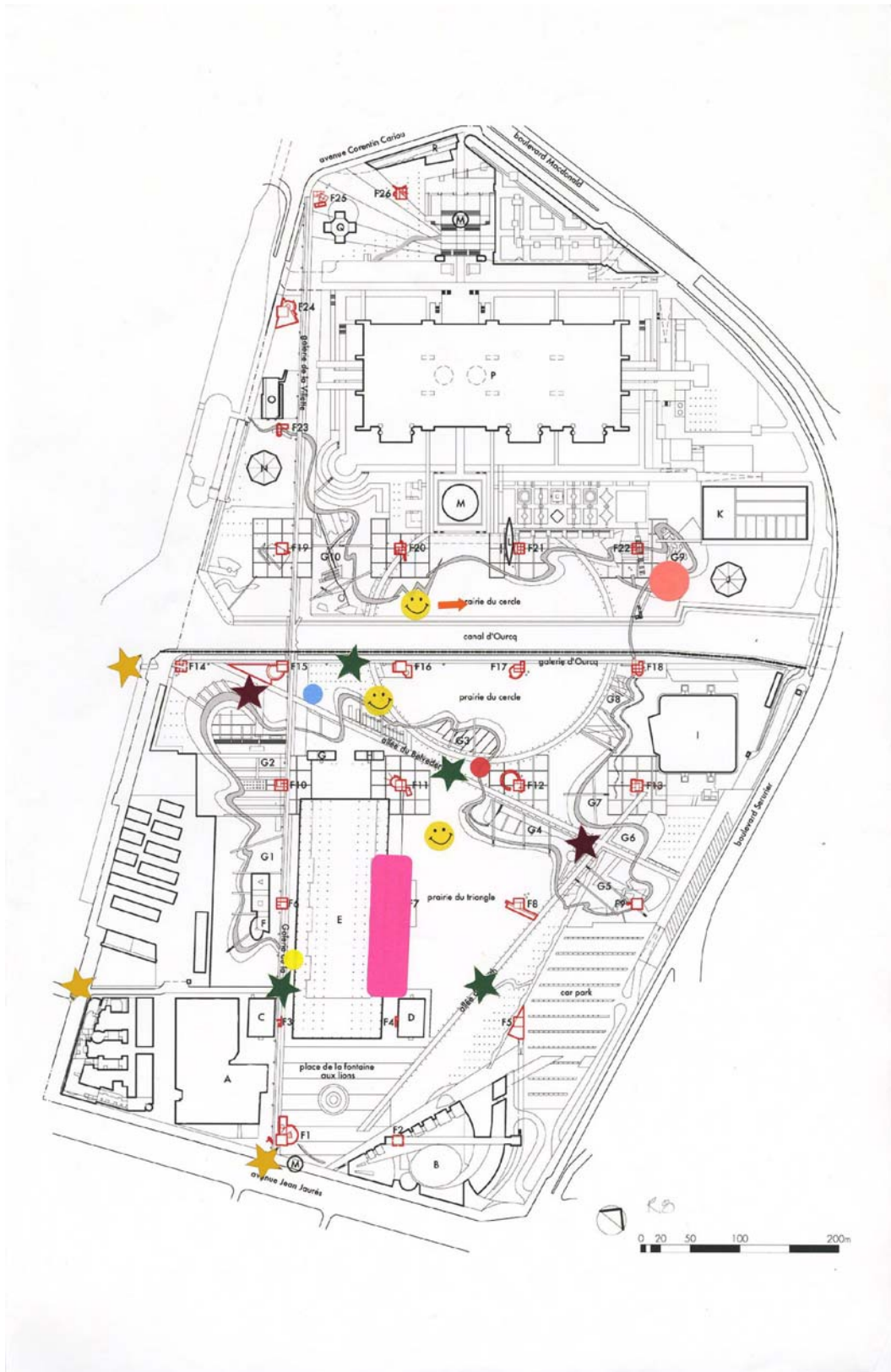
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Respondent 9
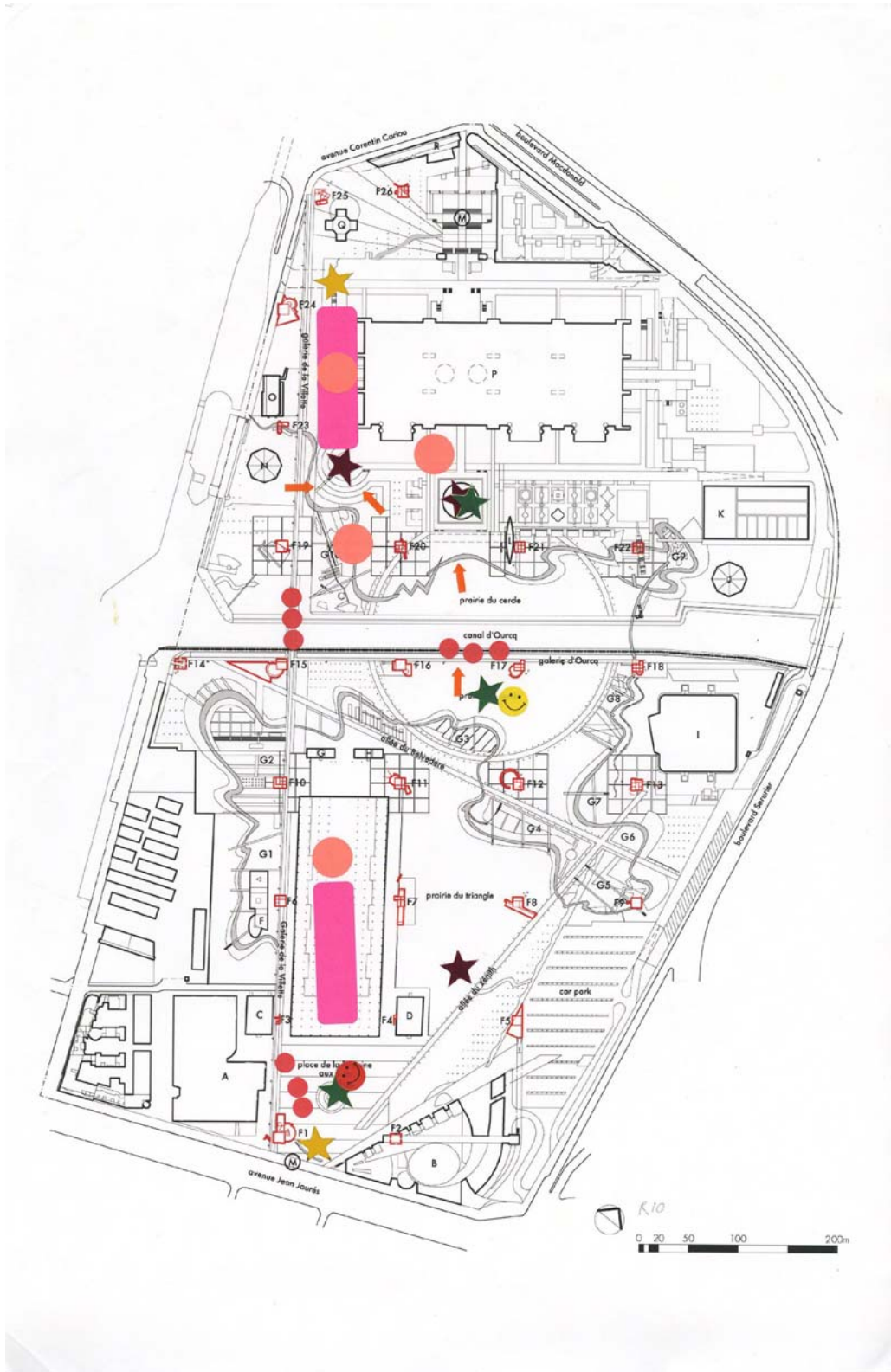
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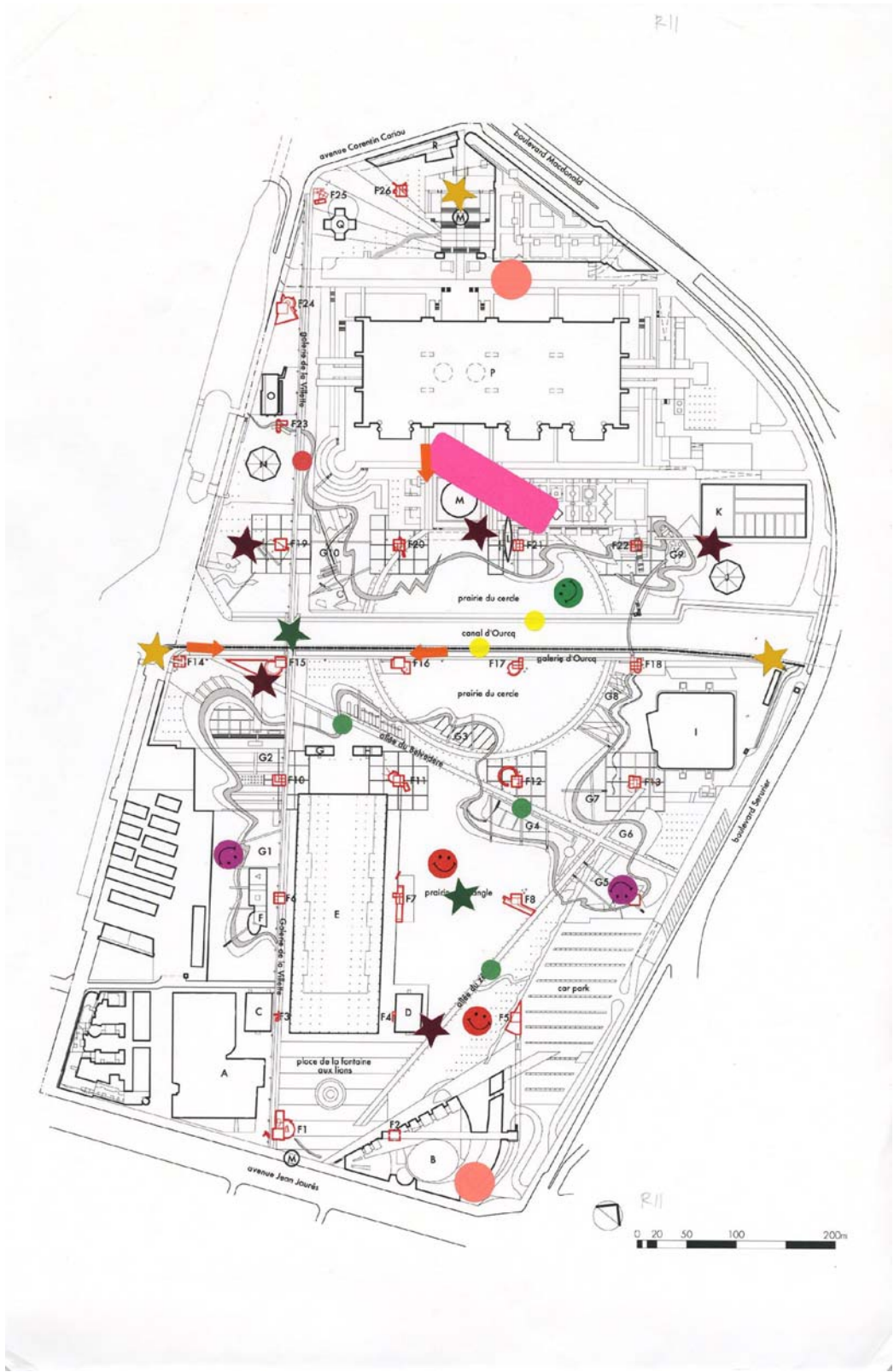
Respondent 11

Respondent 12

250

Respondent 13

251
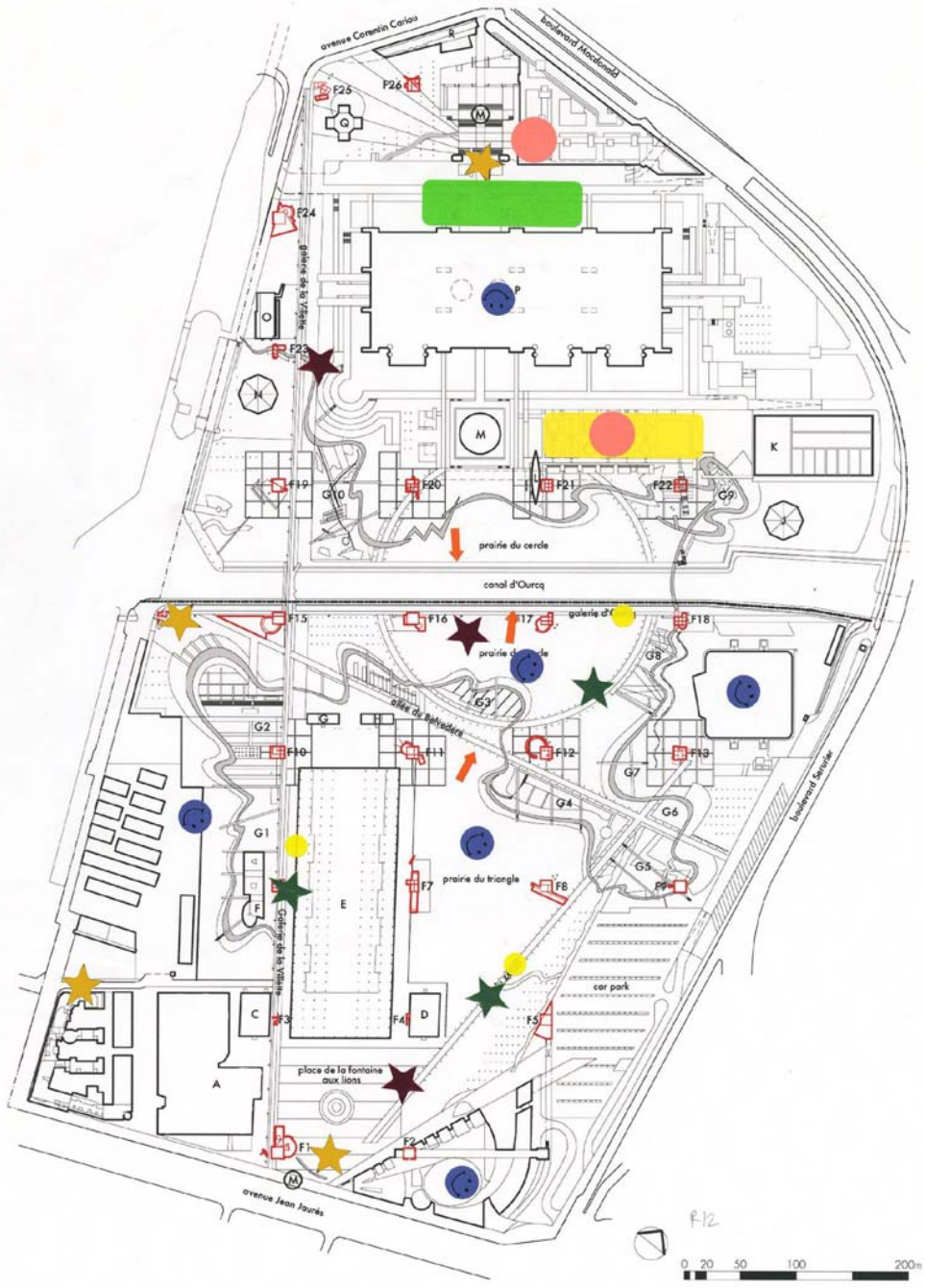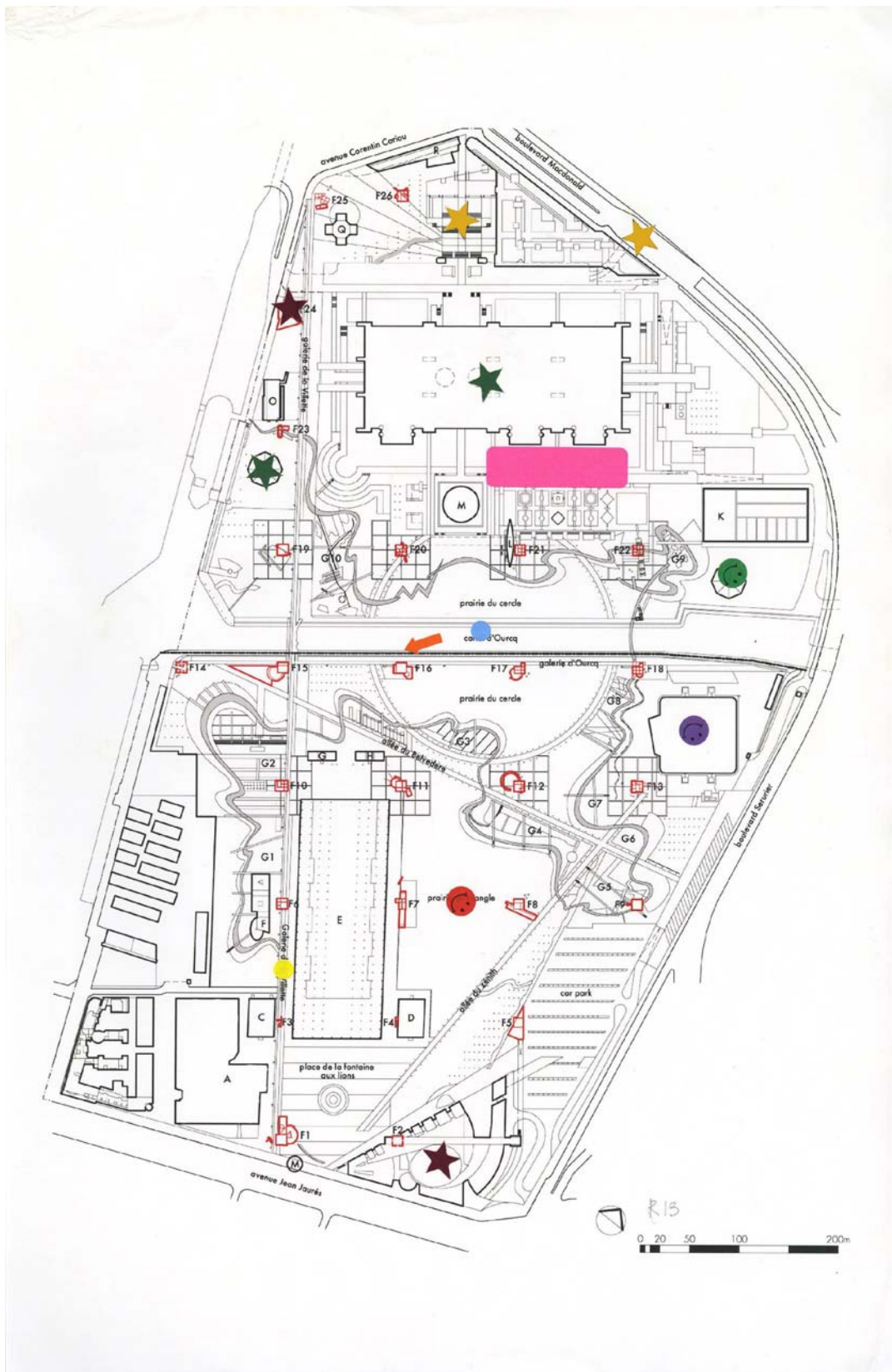
Respondent 14
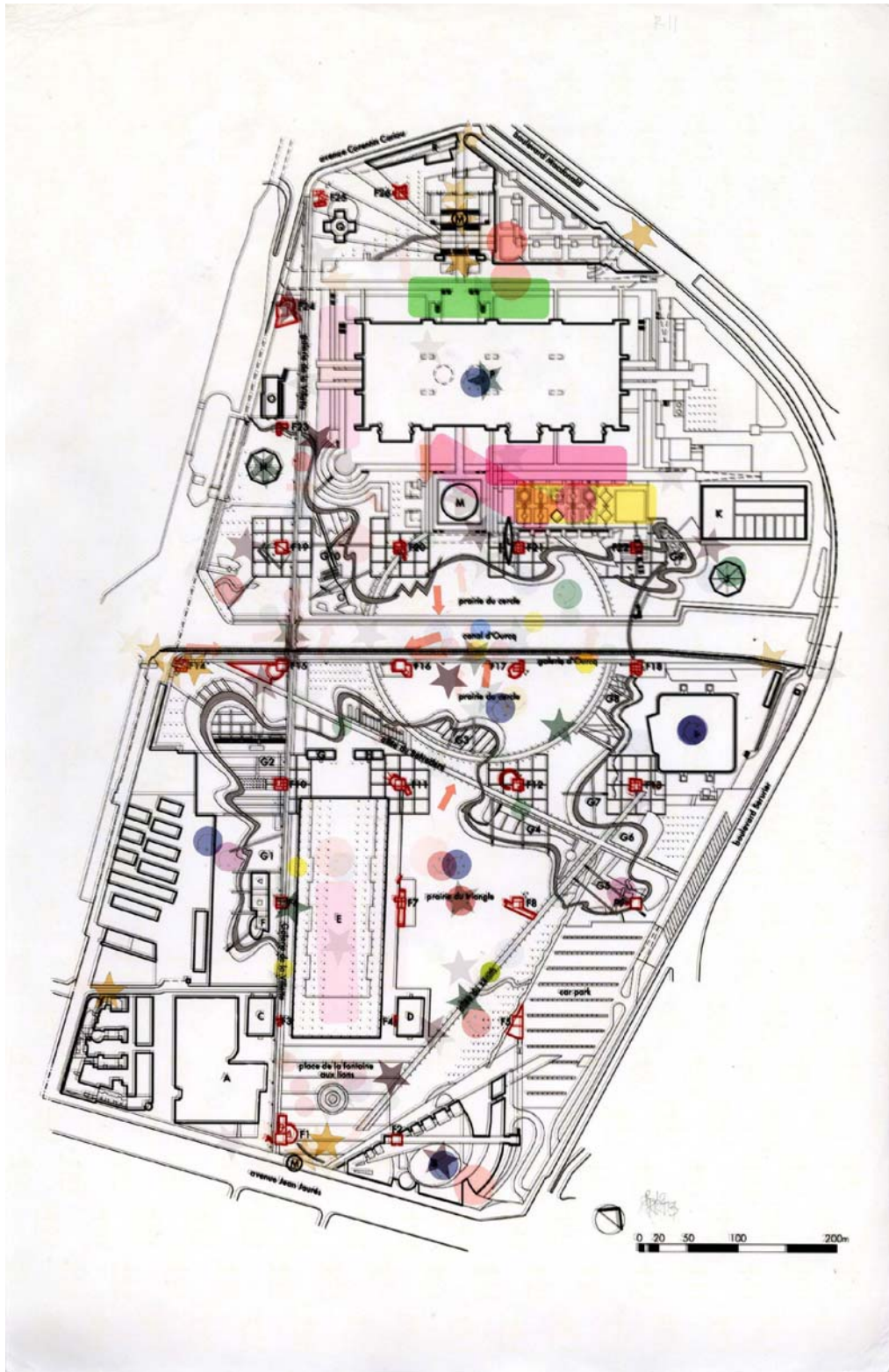
Composite Responses Map

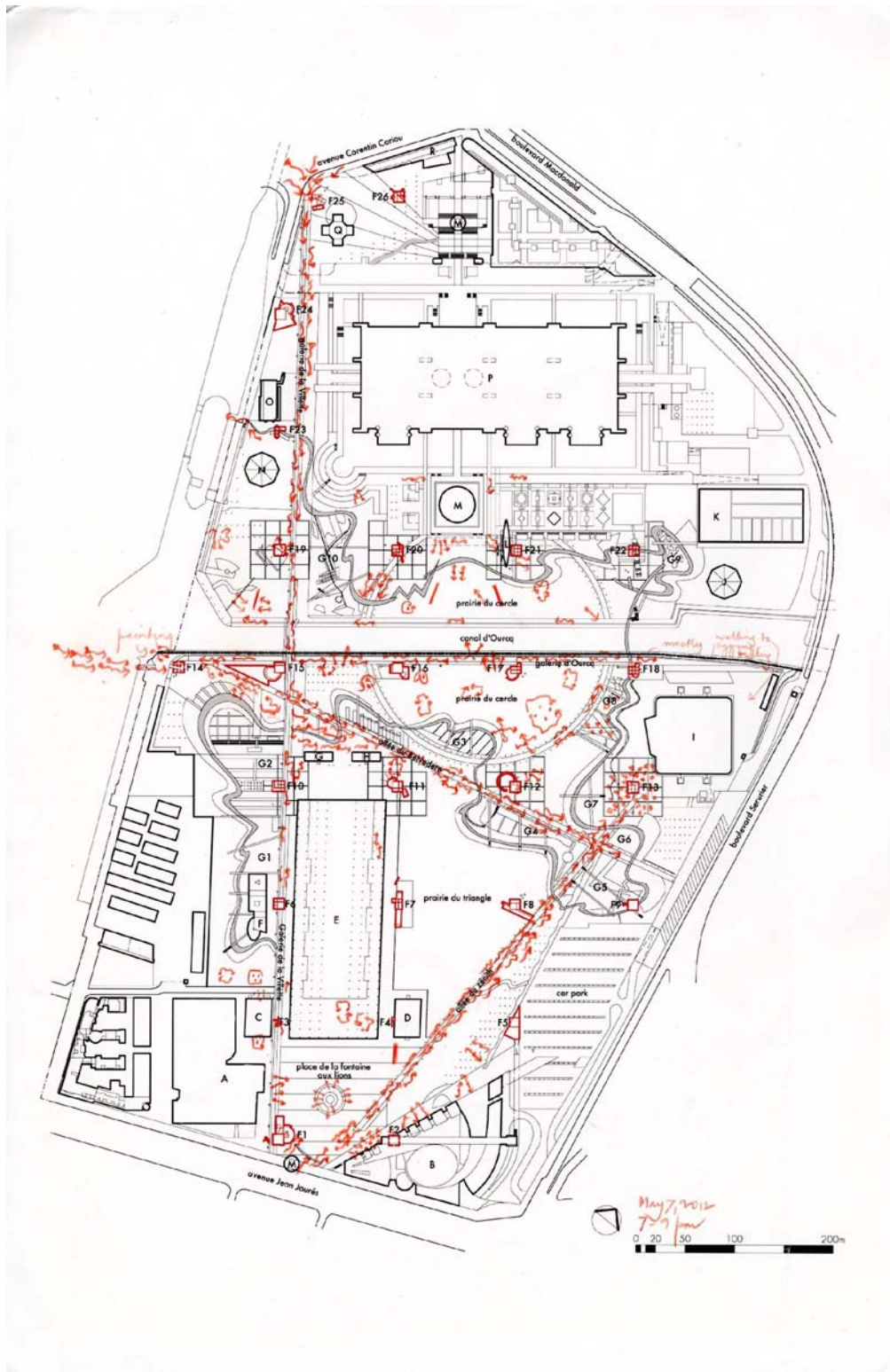# Parc de la Villette Activity and Movement Patterns
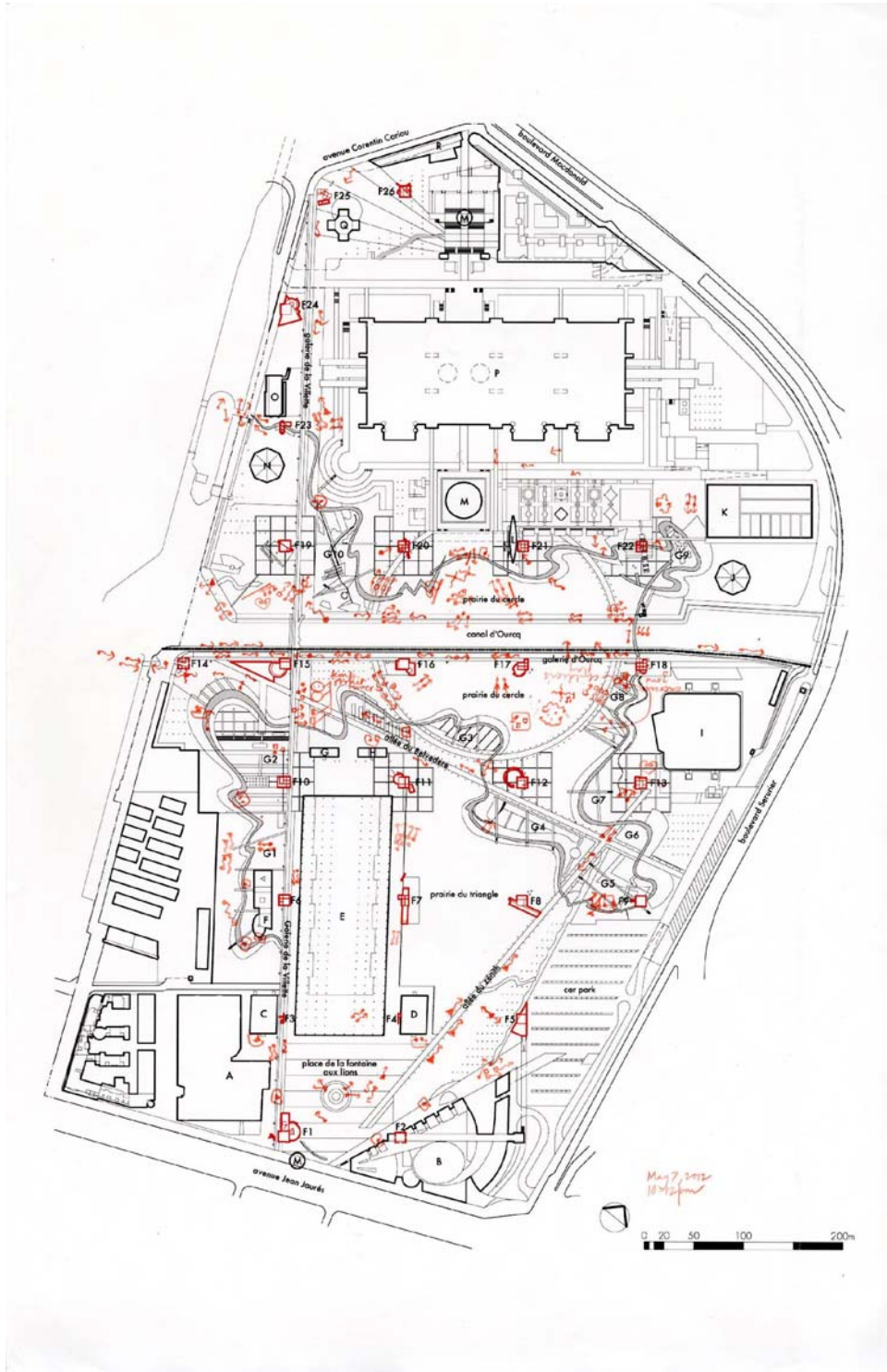
May 7, 2012 (10 am – 12 pm)
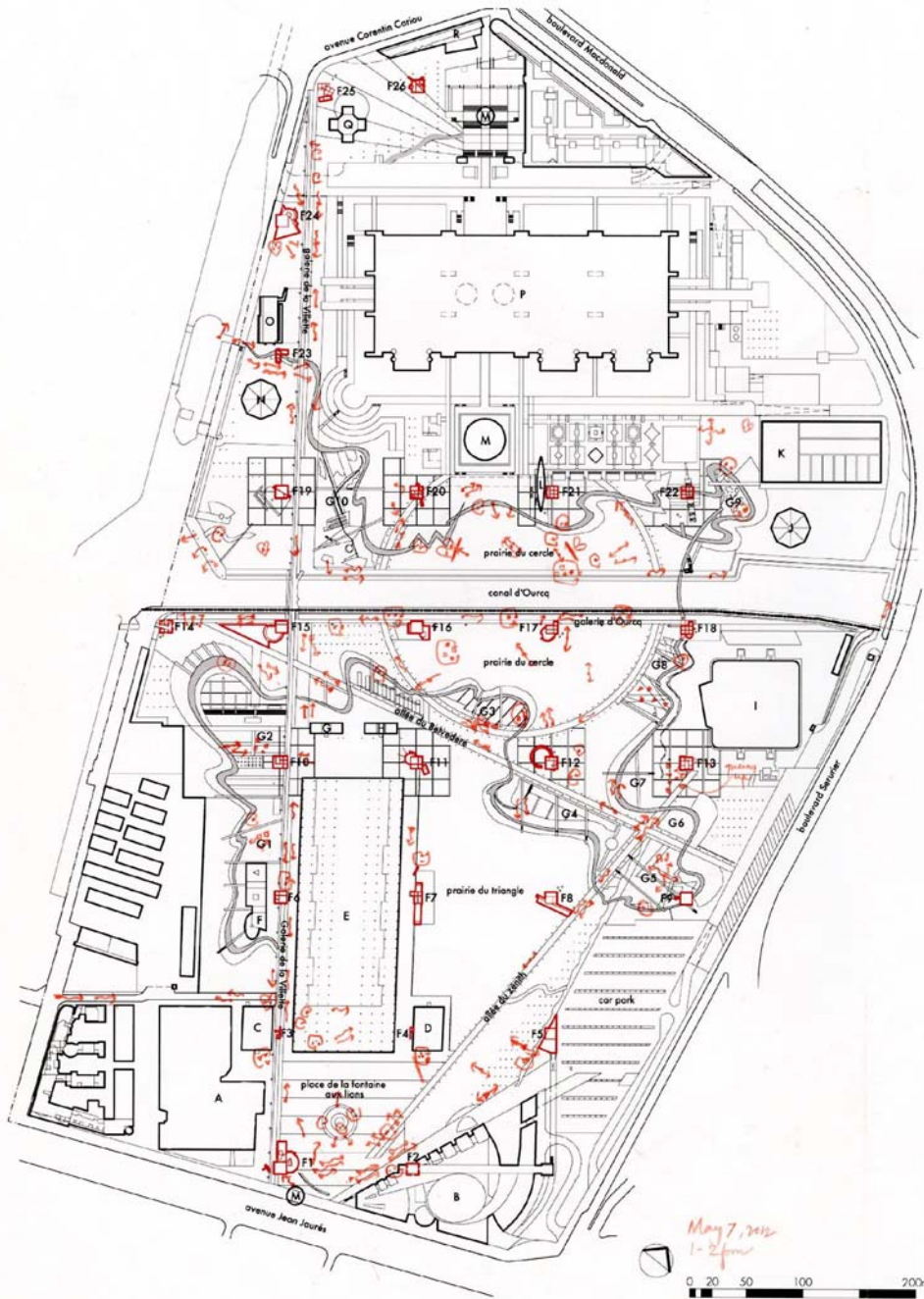
May 7, 2012 (1-3 pm)
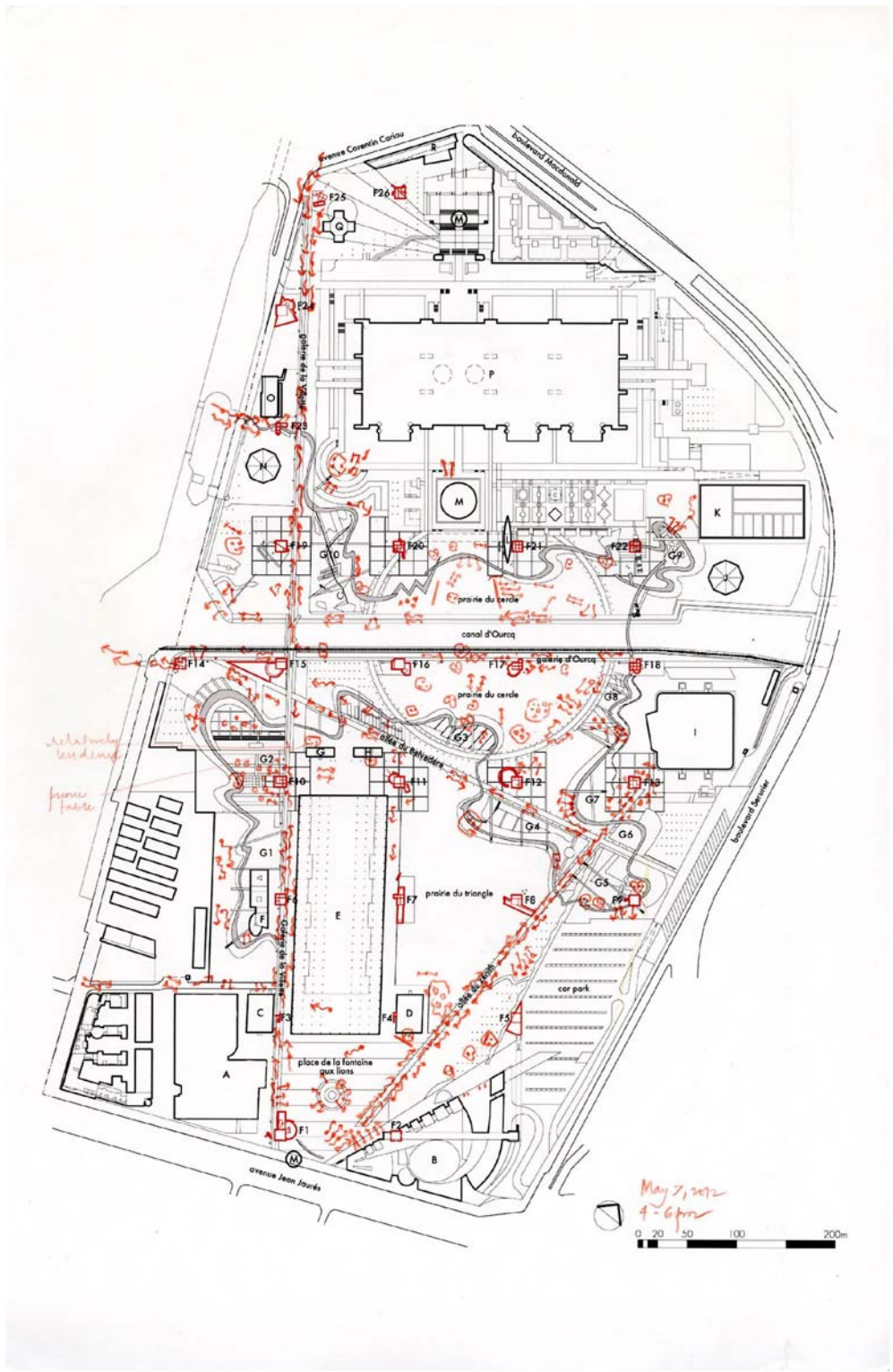
May 7, 2012 (4-6 pm)

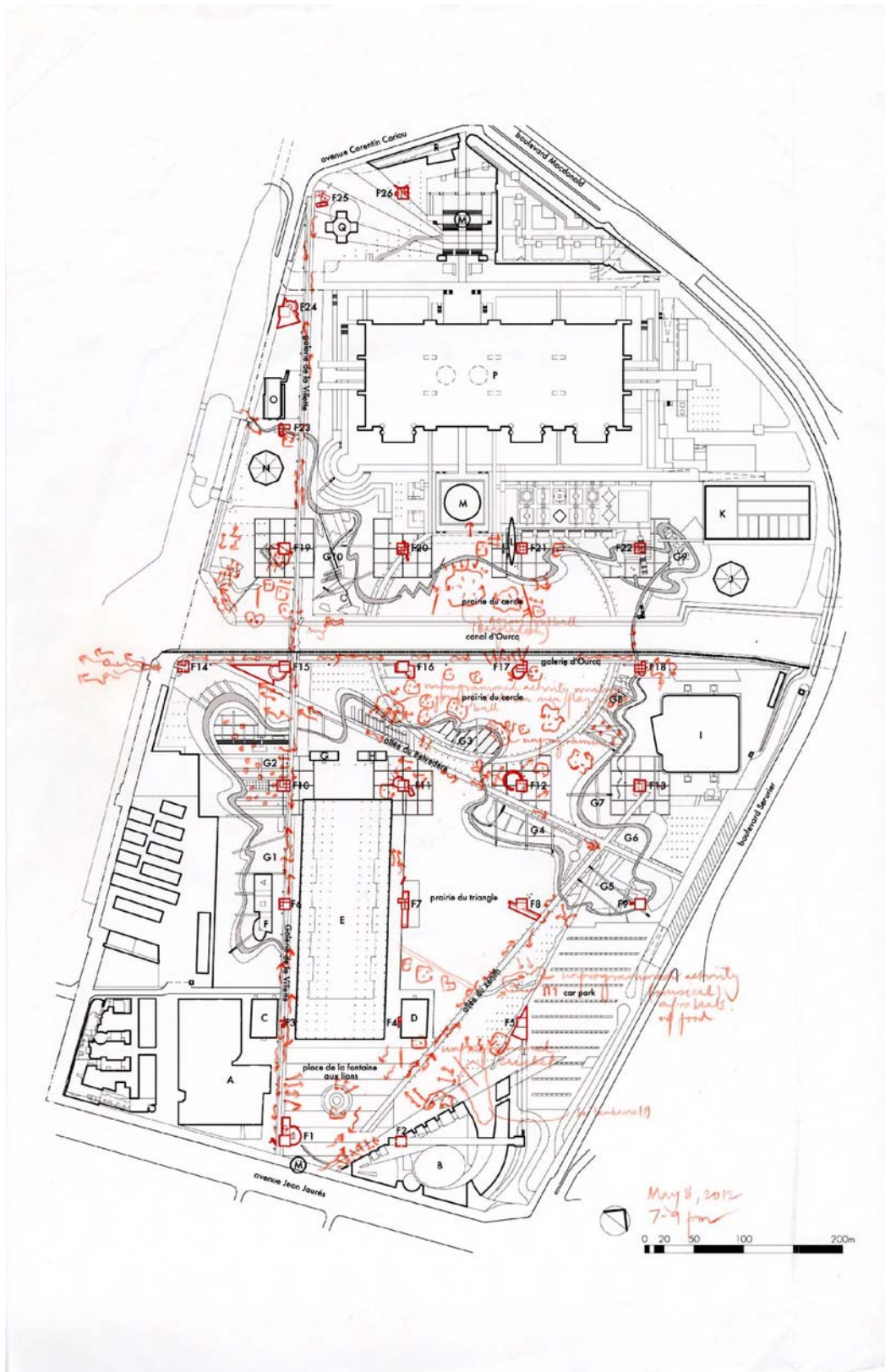**May 7, 2012 (7-9 pm)**

May 8, 2012 (10 am – 12 pm)

258

May 8, 2012 (1-3 pm)

259
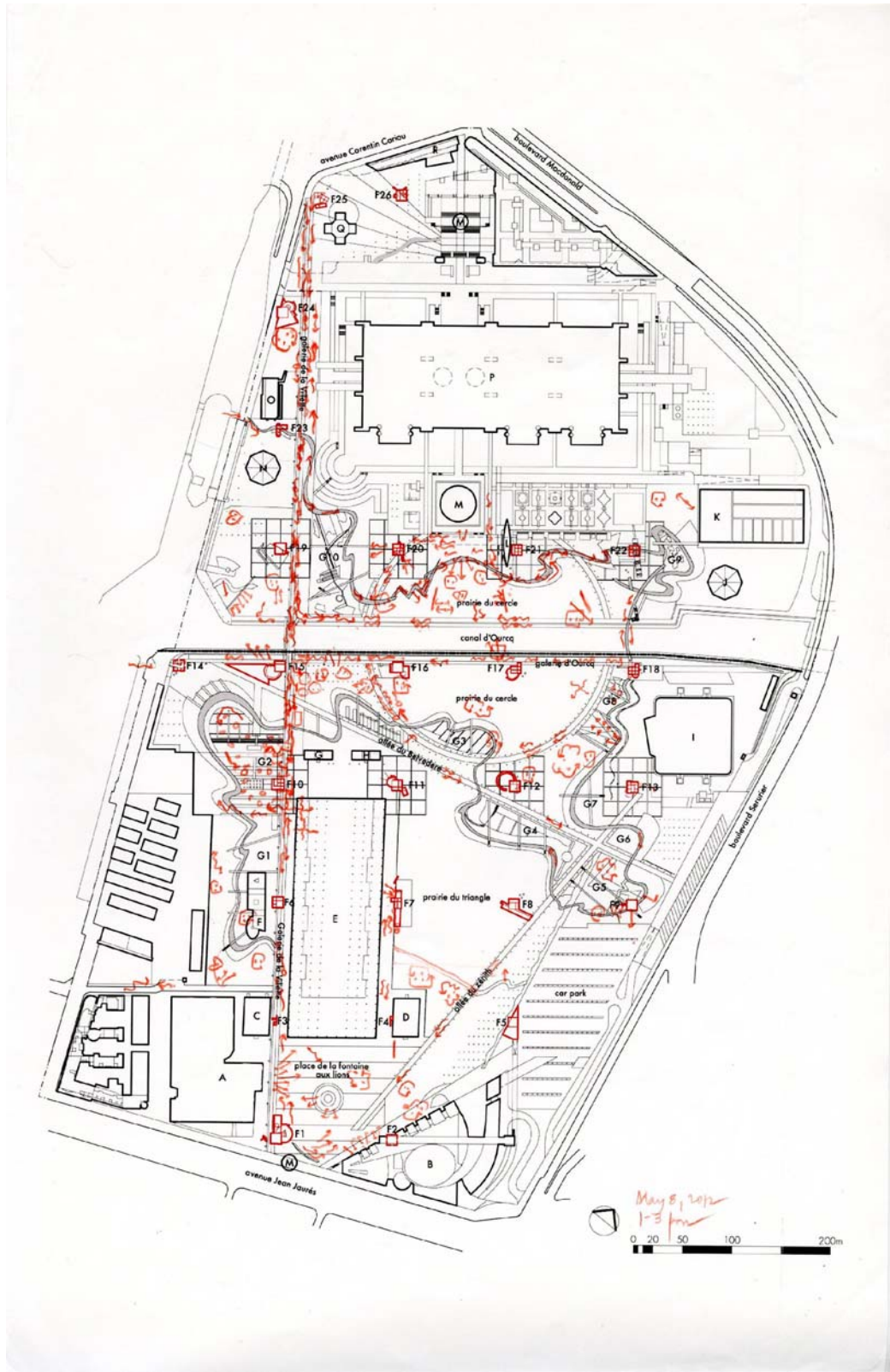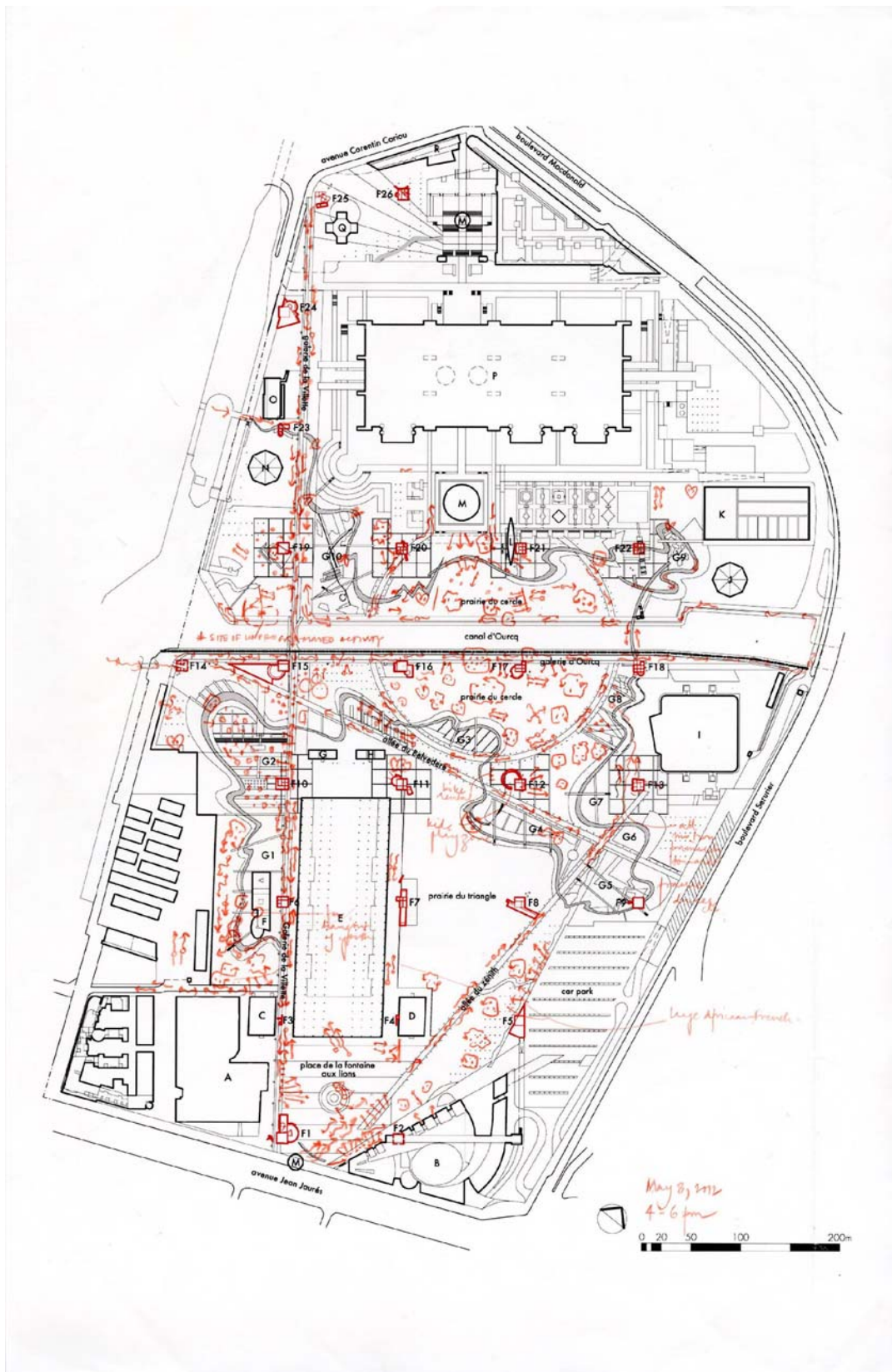
May 8, 2012 (4-6 pm)

May 8, 2012 (7-9 pm)

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Fig. 12. Lucien Kroll, "La zone molle." 1974. Bouchain, Patrick, and Collectif. *Simone et Lucien
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