. socio.hu . Social Science Review .

Special issue in English (2020) Contents

The sociology of architecture. Theories, methods and subjects

Máté Tamáska:
Introduction. Architectural sociology: theories, methods and subjects 1–4

Research articles

Heike Delitz:
Architectures. Institutions and transformations of collective lives 5–20

Thomas Schmidt-Lux:
Silicon Headquarters. The Architectural Faces of Digital Capitalism 21–40

Anita Aigner:
(Un)real estate – Online staging of investment-driven housing projects in Vienna 41–58

Gábor Oláh:
In search of resilient urban space.
Pest's city centre at the crossroads of tradition and innovation, 1928–1944 59–74

Máté Tamáska:
Contrast as Aesthetic Value in the Townscape
Modernity and Preservation in the 1960s and 1970s in Hungary 75–94

Márkus Keller:
Professionalization in Socialism. Architects and Architecture after 1945 in Hungary 95–107

Venetsiya Dimitrova:
The internationalization of architectural practice. Mobilizing dependence to secure and enhance (relational) autonomy on the construction site 108–117

Róbert Gyökér:
"We fit into this landscape." Values and Value Systems in the Postmodern Age 118–137

Rebeka Dóra Balázs:
Pebble in the pond
The socio-spatial effects of a participatory landscape design project in Budapest 138–159

Socio.hu is a double blind peer-reviewed journal published online by the Institute for Sociology, Centre for Social Sciences (Hungarian Academy of Sciences Centre of Excellence, Eötvös Loránd Research Network). It is ranked in category „A" by the Committee on Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Published quarterly in Hungarian; and a special issue in English yearly.

Publisher: Director General at the Centre for Social Sciences

1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán u. 4. socio.hu@tk.hu

Image and layout design: Mariann Kovács

ISSN 2063-0468 • Funded by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Centre for Social Sciences

Máté Tamáska[1]

Architectural sociology: theories, methods and subjects[2]

https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2020en.1

Sociology has long ignored the material elements of our culture, especially the built environment. We cannot say that sociology has not considered the questions concerning architecture, or more so, urban planning and urban development, but it has considered them only as a consequence, an impression, or a symbol of the decisions of society, merely a stage, almost a subordinate backdrop to the "real" sociological problem. In the first part of the 20th century, sociology clearly distanced itself from the "technical" questions of architecture. This meant that while the texts of art history, for instance, evaluated architectural accomplishments on a regular basis, sociologists ignored the urban and residential areas, where they made their "social" observations. Though the paradigm change of the 1970s, known as the contextual turn, brought in new angles, especially regarding the questions of spatial awareness, sociology still kept clear of actual architectural matters. This is not the obvious strategy laid out for sociology, but rather a characteristic feature of decisions made through scientific discourse. By taking a fleeting glance at the works of ethnography or cultural anthropology, we may establish that architecture, in its material reality, can play a key role in the toolbox of the social scientist. It is also telling that the great sociological classics of the 20th century, like the works of Durkheim, Simmel, Elias and Foucault have all dealt with the correspondence of architecture and society, but their results in that regard have only been touched upon by the history of sociology. A significant change has been introduced only in the last two or three decades as part of German "cultural sociology" *(Kultursoziologie).*

Without presenting a comprehensive list, we mention here a few key figures in this process. Wolfgang Eßbach (2004, 2011) has shown the science historical definiteness of the "dematerialised" subject of sociology, and the possibilities of research into the material forms of society. Joachim Fischer (2002) may take credit for removing the image of the "talking human" from the centre of sociological research and putting in its place the human who uses space actively and moves around it, by reviving philosophical anthropology. Furthermore, Fischer and Makropoulos (2004) invited several sociological theories to view from their respective perspective on the architectural, medial, economic and politic reality of the 'Potsdamer Platz' in the new capital of Germany, Berlin (after the revolution of 1989 and the German reunification). Bernhard Schäfers (2003) published his textbook titled *Architektursoziologie,* which played an important role in making this phrase known in the German-speaking cultural-sociological world. A few years later, Heike Delitz's (2009) book with the same title aimed at a clear positioning of the emerging scientific field, in collecting classical and newer, implicit and explicit approaches of a sociology of architecture. In the form of an introduction, this book established the identity of this young field of science, and provided its first "theoretical history" with a concise summary of the German, French and Anglo-Saxon traditions. In 2010, her monography *Gebaute Gesellschaft. Architektur als Medium des Sozialen* aimed at a theoretical approach in seeing architecture as a *constitutive* mode of the institution of society, rather than being only an 'expression' of the 'real' social. Again in 2009, a volume of essays was published with the goal to show the possibility and productivity of different theoretical approaches

1 Vice-Rector for Science of Apor Vilmos Catholic College, archivist at National Archives of Hungary

2 This text is part of the author's project within the Bolyai János Research Scholarship 2018–2021, at the Institute for Sociology, Centre for Social Sciences.

of sociology in analysing the 'architecture of society' (Fischer–Delitz 2009). From the last decade, we should mention Silke Steets' (2015) work, in which he created the microsociological theory for the birth of architectural space, and the volume of essays edited by Uta Karstein and Thomas Schmidt-Lux (2017), which reveals the material, mainly architectural aspects of religious life, frequently quoting Wolfgang Eßbach's basic thesis; or Heike Delitz' (2018) heuristic, comparative matrix of four very different 'architectural modes of collective existence'. By publishing our thematic issue, we wanted to give an English language channel to this architectural sociological school that is taking shape in the German-speaking sociological world, and also to call the attention of the professionals that read in English to the results and empirical possibilities of this new field of science.

We also consider presenting the Hungarian research results in this field to the international public as a similarly important goal. In Hungary, we are only at the beginning of the organisational work which aims at institutionalising architectural sociology. The guest editor of our current issue also works on the borders of sociology and architecture, and has been publishing in this area since the early aughts. The year 2017 was a milestone, with the start of the *TÉRformák TÁRsadalomformák* (Space Forms, Society Forms) book series,[3] which has seen six volumes so far. Adapting to possibilities, the book series does not define itself as an architectural sociology volume, but is open to all subjects and angles which aim at the human scientific analysis of the built environment. The English language special issue of SOCIO.HU was edited in a similar spirit. We publish a mix of essays both from authors who work in the field of architectural sociology in the narrow sense of the word, and from authors who come from a different theoretical background, but have headed in a similar direction.

In our collection, Heike Delitz's essay stands in first place, not accidentally. Although, in her essay, she puts a seemingly special ethnographical question in the center (the architectural transformations of nomadic, and of further extra-modern modes of society, within the 'urban', 21th century), the theoretical part of her essay is a possible summary of the paradigm of architectural sociology. Following the structural anthropology from Claude Lévi-Strauss to Philippe Descola and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, she also suggests a methodology within the cultural sociology of architecture, namely the – non-Eurocentric and non-evolutionistic – comparison of different 'architectural modes of collective existence' (cf. Delitz 2018). The following two texts discuss relevant questions of contemporary architecture. Both works are connected with the German Architectural Sociology Association's conference topic announcement from 2019, where the questions of architecture, society and digitalisation were discussed.[4] One of the organisers, Thomas Schmidt-Lux, decoded the symbolic messages of mega corporations' central office headquarters, which proclaim digitalisation and with it a new lifestyle. Anita Aigner calls our attention to the acceleration of the process of capitalist housing development (capital flows) that lurks behind the colourful digital visualisations, which, in many cases, are far from reality. The next two texts are written by Gábor Oláh, and our guest editor, Máté Tamáska. Both of these texts approach their subjects from the aspect of classical architectural history. Though coming from different theoretical backgrounds, these texts approach the same problem: in the early 20th century, as a result of the turn of architecture and urban planning towards promoting international principles, local architectural characteristics are lost, and these local identities are increasingly seen as values that should be defended, in the professional (and later social) debates. The next big topic is the sociology of the architectural profession. Márkus Keller introduces to us the Hungarian post-war socialist regime, a period when the state exercised almost total control over architects (determining style as well), while at the same time considering architects as a privileged class, whose work it was hoped would carry a "society-shaping" force. In another approach to contemporary architectural roles, Venetsiya Dimitrova illustrates how mid-career architects working in leading architectural firms build their relative professional autonomy inside broad systems. The two closing studies turn to the approaches of traditional urban sociology, where we see the precipitation of macro sociological processes in

3 See: https://tertar.webnode.hu.

4 8. bis 9. März 2019, Universität Leipzig, Workshop der AG Architektursoziologie der Deuchten Gesellschaft für Soziologie.

connection to a local architectural phenomenon. The text of Róbert Gyökér leads the reader to the community spaces of Budapest, highlighting the heterogeneous forms of knowledge in our postmodern age through the study of a community garden. Rebeka Dóra Balázs's paper, meanwhile, considers the coalitions that evolve in community planning. She writes, referring to Lefebvre, that an architectural intervention ultimately aims at the transformation of social patterns, and she presents an example from Teleki tér in Budapest that highlights the transformation wrought by gentrification.

Although the heterogeneity of the different fields and attitudes, as well as the dissimilarities of languages and paradigms of traditional approaches to sociology of urban settlements, and architectural history are present in the studies, this is not surprising at all, if we call to mind that we are talking about a field that is in constant development. We hope that this special issue of Socio.hu will strengthen the belief of those social scientists who are interested in the field that architecture is not a material world to be studied detached from society. Rather, architecture is a part of our social interactions, and familiarity with it should be part of the knowledge of a sociologist, just as studying housing and the structure of the village are part of the knowledge of an ethnographer.

References

Delitz, H. (2009) *Architektursoziologie. Reihe Einsichten/Themen der Soziologie.* Bielefeld: transcript.

Delitz, H. (2010) *Gebaute Gesellschaft. Architektur als Medium des Sozialen.* Frankfurt/M., New York: Campus.

Delitz, H. (2018) Architectural Modes of Collective Existence: Architectural Sociology as a Comparative Social Theory. *Cultural Sociology* 12, 1, 37–57

Eßbach, W. – Kaufmann S. –Verdicchio, D. – Lutterer, W. – Bellanger, S. – Uerz, G. (Hrsg., 2004) *Landschaft, Geschlecht, Artefakte. Zur Soziologie naturaler und artifizieller Alteritäten.* Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag.

Eßbach, W. (2011) *Die Gesellschaft der Dinge, Menschen, Götter.* Wiesbaden: Springer.

Fischer, J. (2002) Exzentrische Positionalität. Der Potsdamer Platz/Leipziger Platz aus der Perspektive der Philosophischen Anthropologie. *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* 33, 116, 87–95.

Karstein, U. – Schmidt-Lux, T. (Hrsg., 2017) *Architekturen und Artefakte. Zur Materialität des Religiösen.* Wiesbaden: Springer.

Fischer, J. – Makropoulos, M. (Hrsg., 2004) *Potsdamer Platz. Soziologische Theorien zu einem Ort der Moderne.* München: Wilhem Fink Verlag.

Fischer, J. – Delitz, H. (Hrsg., 2009) *Die Architektur der Gesellschaft: Theorien für die Architektursoziologie.* Bielefeld: transcript.

Schäfers, B. (2003) *Architektursoziologie: Grundlagen - Epochen – Themen.* Opladen: Springer.

S. Steets (2015) *Der sinnhafte Aufbau der gebauten Welt: Eine Architektursoziologie.* Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Heike Delitz[1]

Architectures
Institutions and transformations of collective lives

https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2020en.5

Abstract

Which transformations does collective life experience, when nomadic people are systematically territorialized, settled for instance on the urban periphery of Ulan-Bator in Mongolia? Or which alterations does society undergo in the case of the rapid and massive urbanization in Central China today? The article is based on a sociological theory which argues for the socially constitutive potential of architectural artefacts: It sees architecture not as the 'mirror' of a given society, but rather as a *mode* of society itself. With this theoretical perspective, the article unfolds the methodological proposal of a comparative architectural sociology, contrasting four divergent architectural modes of collective existence. This comparative view, which is that of structural anthropology, aims to highlight the societal positivity of architecture (infrastructures and modes of settlement included), as well as current architectural changes of collectivities such as the urbanization of Central China, or the settlement of the Mongolian nomads. The article consists of four parts: In the first and second parts, the theoretical perspective and the comparative methodology are sketched. The third part contrasts four divergent architectural modes of collective existence, and the fourth and final part exemplarily discusses some architectural transformations.

Keywords:

anthropology; sociological theory; architectural sociology; comparison; global transformations

1 Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, Fachgruppe Soziologie, Soziologie, insbesondere Soziologische Theorie

Heike Delitz

Architectures

Institutions and transformations of collective lives

"Architectural modes of collective existence": Introduction

The following article introduces the reader to a comparative research program of architectural sociology – and is thus also meant as an invitation to collaborate on such a sociology of architecture. To this end, the article unfolds three related topics: On the one hand, it suggests using the *comparative method* of structural anthropology in order to enable a distant view of the relationship between architectures and collective lives, and in order to enable a symmetrical, as little as possible Eurocentric view of other architectural cultures and societies. At the same time, this synchronic, symmetrical or structural comparison is considered necessary to analyze historical or current architectural transformations of societies. On the other hand, this application of the method of structural anthropology in architectural sociology is based on a *theoretical* perspective, which stresses the constitutive role of architectures for collective life. This theoretical perspective, too, is not initiated by structuralism. For it is precisely the sociological theory of Claude Lévi-Strauss, according to which 'society' (or any collective existence[2]) is *culturally* or *symbolically constituted*. Among further systems of meaning (language, in particular), architectures represent less symbolic 'expressions' of an already given society than "modes of collective existence" (Delitz 2018) itself. Indeed, it is in this French tradition of sociological theory – which interrelates authors like Claude Lévi-Strauss, Marcel Mauss and Émile Durkheim with, for instance, Foucault, Castoriadis or Deleuze – that this article treats architecture as a "medium of the social" (Delitz 2010a): Thanks to the visual shapes of built environments and thanks to the affections, movements, postures and perceptions they generate, architecture creates particular modes of the territorialization of individuals, of social differences, of relations between nature and culture, or to the past. In architectural terms, collective existences are also continuously transformed (for instance through esthetic innovations of a cultural avantgarde, or through colonial politics, as exemplified by Bourdieu, Sayad 2020).

The article is composed of four parts: In the first part, the theoretical perspective is briefly outlined. Insofar as it unfolds a sociology with 'society', this theoretical perspective mainly follows the Durkheimian tradition within sociological theory (for a more complete picture, see Delitz 2010a: Chapter II; 2018) – a sociology which is interested in "constituted subjectivity" (Balibar 2005:10) rather than taking constitutive subjectivity as a point of departure. More precisely, the article applies a "postfoundational" theory of society (Marchart 2007) to architecture. In the second part, the methodological proposal of a contrastive comparative sociology is unfolded, followed, thirdly, by the comparative research program. For heuristic reasons, it contrasts four architectural modes of collective existence: *societies of cities, nomadic societies, societies of residential atomism,* and *societies à maisons creusées* or 'societies of underground houses'. These steps are the prerequisites for a fourth and final part, which analyzes architectural transformations of collectives, in an illustrative and provisional manner.

2 The terms "society" and "collective" are used as synonyms in order to include non-national societies (for instance totemic collectives, which consist of both human and non-human beings). Both terms are based on a thoroughly non-essentialist theory of the social.

1 The theoretical perspective: Architecture as constitutive "mode" of collective existence

> *Architecture has always been a political activity, and any new architecture depends on revolutionary forces, you can find architecture saying 'We need a people,' even though the architect isn't himself a revolutionary. ... A people is always a new wave, a new fold in the social fabric; any creative work is a new way of folding adapted to new materials. (Deleuze 2000:158)*

Based on a particular theoretical perspective, architecture is, in the following, not considered secondary in the representation of any given society or any given social practice, but is rather regarded as an *integral part* of such – as introducing "differences" in society (Delitz 2010a:11). The article stresses the social positivity of architecture, hereby using the term 'architecture' in a broad sense – including all built, woven or sewn artefacts and also including infrastructures, settlements, and spatial structures. The term is not restricted to the profession and discipline of architecture, but applied to all architectonic cultures. In this respect, the definition of architecture by Bernard Cache might be helpful, for whom all artefacts which allocate space, separate a territory and arrange bodies are referred to as 'architecture', including also infrastructural artefacts, for instance. Moreover, Cache stresses the particular *image* of the collective, which architectures offer, as well as the fact that architectonic artefacts introduce particular separations and connections of bodies, of movements and perceptions. In these respects, he defines architecture as the "basis of our social coexistence" (Cache 1995:23). Most importantly (and similar to Cache), architecture is not perceived as merely expressing a given society (its social structure, for instance). Instead, it is understood as a *mode* in which a social structure as well as a collective identity is *constituted* – and therefore also as a mode in which collective life is being *transformed.* This architectural sociology stands within a tradition of culturalist sociological theory, which dates back to Durkheim and Mauss, and which was decidedly reformulated by Claude Lévi-Strauss and Cornelius Castoriadis respectively (Delitz 2010a, 2018:43–47). As briefly mentioned before, this theoretical tradition could be referred to as a *sociology with society* or as a *sociology of the constituted subject*.[3]

More specifically (as also Marxist sociologies are sociologies 'with society'): Thanks firstly to the reformulation of the Durkheimian approach in the works of Lévi-Strauss, this theoretical tradition can be referred to as a *cultural* sociology. It understands systems of meaning as being constitutive for all social facts. And secondly, thanks to the reformulation of structuralist social thought in the work of Castoriadis, this sociological theory could also be referred to as being a postfoundational theory of *society*, interested in symbolically constituted *imaginations* of the collective – in the imagination of collective unity, identity in time; and in the imagination of its last values and origins. Both Castoriadis' theory of the imaginary institution, and Lévi-Strauss' theory of systems of meaning are non-essentialist theories of society. They both allow the importance of architectures as socially constitutive to be stressed. In its artificial shapes and spatial structures, a collective life is first and foremost instituted. In all these and any further aspects, architectural artefacts are regarded as effective – as structuring the daily activities of individuals, their perceptions of each other, as creating institutional effects (religious ones, for instance), relating nature and culture, human and non-human beings, past and present societies, gender and generations. In order to explain this perspective in a bit more detail, I want to briefly recall, first of all, the *cultural turn* featured in the work of Lévi-Strauss; secondly, Castoriadis' culturalist theory of

3 For different sociological perspectives within architectural sociology, see Fischer/Makropoulos 2004, and Delitz 2009. For a sociological theory of architecture particularly based on Berger and Luckmann (which aims to integrate the sociological theories of Weber, Schütz and of Durkheim, respectively), see Steets 2016:99 ("a sociological theory of architecture which is both comprehensive and detailed", and which emphasizes the individual internalization and interpretation of buildings, or the 'knowledge' of buildings). For a sociological theory 'with society' based on Niklas Luhmann's theory of symbolic communication, see Fischer 2010, 2012. For STS-inspired approaches, cf. the works of Albena Yaneva and the contributions in Müller/Reichmann 2015. For a Bourdieusian-perspective on architecture and collective identity, see Jones 2006, 2011. Overviews on theoretical approaches and case studies referring to the sociologies of space (see also Löw 2017), of architecture or built environment are offered by Löw/Steets 2014 and Jones 2016.

society; and thirdly, I want to complement these two theories with the theory of hegemony of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2001, cf. Marchart 2007, Delitz/Maneval 2017).

"Mauss still thinks it possible to develop a sociological theory of symbolism, whereas it is obvious that what is needed is a symbolic origin of society", writes Claude Lévi-Strauss (1987:21) in his 'structuralist manifesto'. Reformulating the theoretical concept of the late Émile Durkheim (Durkheim 1995) and of Marcel Mauss, this structuralist sociological theory maintains that it is in cultural systems – systems of meanings – that collectives or societies are *constituted (*rather than merely being expressed). It is precisely in this way that Lévi-Strauss is a founder of the *cultural turn*. Or, this structuralist theory could also be referred to as a "postfoundationalist" theory of the social (Marchart 2007), seeing the cultural as immanent to the social (and vice versa), rather than that an underlying social would only express itself symbolically. This postfoundational or cultural theory of the social is for instance unfolded in the interpretation of totemic classifications: Within a totemic classification, the "category of class and the notion of opposition" (of the natural species) are used "by the social order in its formation" (Lévi-Strauss 1991:97). Totemism relates two series to each other, whereby the differentiation of the species is crucial for the constitution of the social groups. More accurately, neither the first nor the second series is a primary one: It "is only the relation between the series as a whole which is homomorphic". Of the two systems of differences, each forms a constitutive "pole of opposition" (Lévi-Strauss 1966:224).

In the work of Castoriadis, this symbolic theory of society is further unfolded, stressing the importance of imaginations of the collective. For Castoriadis (1987:204), the social is the permanent becoming-another, "perpetual flux of selfalteration" – and therefore collective life is only possible as an imaginary *fixation*, or institution of a collective identity in time. Collective life is therefore only possible as imagined collective *unity* – 'society' always requires the imagination of a 'we' (Castoriadis 1987: 146). Furthermore, Castoriadis speaks of a last horizon of meaning, of an imagined ground, or of the "foundational outside" of the collective (Delitz–Maneval 2017). Any collective life is instituted upon a last or *central imaginary signification,* which is the "invisible cement, holding together this endless collection of real, rational and symbolic odds and ends that constitute every society" (Castoriadis, 1987: 143). This last or primary signification, is the imagined foundation of a society, denying its contingency. Such significations – for instance "God", but also the "Nation" (1987:148) or "rationality" (1987:156–160) – "*create* objects *ex nihilo"* and "organize the world" (Castoriadis 1987:361). Fully imagined, they "*denote* nothing at all, and *connote* just about everything" (Castoriadis 1987:143). It is here that Castoriadis comes back to Durkheim, who saw religion (or any ideas of something sacral) as the self-divination of society (Durkheim 1965:206–208, Delitz 2019).

According to Laclau and Mouffe (2001), the imaginary institution of society is never uncontested. It is always that of a particular position. As any form of consensus is the result of a hegemonic articulation, there will always be other possibilities to identify the collective's unity, identity and foundation. All the more as this last signifier is in itself empty (fully imagined), there is always another possible 'imagined ground'. The collective's identity and unity are constituted through negations of other possibilities, by difference. In this way, Laclau and Mouffe (2001, xviii) understand any collective identity as being based on a "constitutive outside". Hence, because of this "field of overdetermination", no society is "fully fixed" (Laclau–Mouffe 2001:111). Collective identity is im*possible*, but at the same time and for precisely this reason, its imagination is *necessary*:

> *The impossibility of an ultimate fixity of meaning implies that there have to be partial fixations - otherwise, the very flow of differences would be impossible. Even in order to differ, to subvert meaning, there has to be a meaning. If the social does not manage to fix itself in the intelligible and instituted forms of a society, the social only exists, however, as an effort to construct that impossible object (Laclau, Mouffe 2001:112).*

So, according to these post-foundationalist authors, 'society' or 'collective identity' is re-defined in the following way: Because the social or collective life is permanently in flux, and because it is always heterogenous, collective existence requires the *imaginary institution* of an identity in time; it requires the imagination of a shared identity of its members; and it requires the imagination of its necessity – or, society is based on a central imaginary, society always has an *imagined foundation*.

Now, any such imaginary significations are only real if they are symbolized, if they are visible, tangible, or audible. Symbolisms are constitutive for an imaginary instituted collective life. By the way, this significance of symbols has already been established by Émile Durkheim: "[I]n all its aspects and at every moment of its history, social life is only possible thanks to a vast symbolism", he writes in *Elementary Forms* (1965:230–231). And within the spectrum of symbols or cultural media of collective life, he also mentions buildings and architectural styles, namely in *The Rules of Sociological Method* (Durkheim 1982:58). But in this early work, he takes architecture only as reflecting already existent social norms. More intensively, Marcel Mauss studied architecture, as constituting the 'social morphology' of society (Mauss 1970). And in a far more sophisticated theory of society, but now only implicitly referring to architecture, Cornelius Castoriadis (1987:204) offers a thought which takes architecture, beneath other symbolic modes, as *constitutive for collective existence*: A society "only exists by providing itself with 'stable' figures by which it makes itself visible", he writes, and furthermore: The symbolic in general should be envisaged as defining "*the very way in which the […] society*" is "institutionalized" (Castoriadis, 1987: 100, my Italics). If society is an imagined institution or fixation; and if therefore society always requires a particular symbolism – then architecture has to be taken not as merely being a mirror of society. *Rather, architecture is an activity through which societal life unfolds itself*. Or, architecture is a symbolic "mode of collective existence" (Delitz 2018) – beneath, and interwoven with other symbolic modes (discourses, bodily practices, images …). Indeed, it is profoundly difficult to think of a particular society without having its architectural or its built shape in mind. Likewise, social and even individual actions almost always take place in architectural "assemblages" – in assemblages of particular architectural artefacts, which are connected to the living bodies of humans and of nonhumans, and which are traversed by particular discourses (see for the notion of assemblage Deleuze–Guattari 1987:88).

In what ways is a collective identity or a society constituted in architectures, then? Of course, at a given moment and place there is often a wide variety of buildings, from different epochs and social strata or social spheres. But even with a conglomerate of many different buildings, the architectural culture offers a particular *image* or *shape* of the collective life – it institutes a society, for instance in relating it to a particular history, or in instituting a society of functional differentiated social spheres. At the same time, every architecturally created space encourages (or discourages) particular *bodily movements*, perceptions, and affections. Architectural artefacts establish particular social relations between human beings, or between human and non-human beings – defining a particular mode of their organization. For instance, divisions of generations and of genders are related to architectures and to architectural interiors, in particular. Every society also selectively arranges a particular temporality and relation to its past by means of its architectures. Equally, the relationship between culture and nature is constituted by these artefacts, in the face of stark contrasts of the buildings to the natural environment on the one side, and their integration into nature on the other side. The affective intensity of institutions is constituted by the dimensions and surfaces of buildings; or, a society's chosen method of construction creates a particular mode of territorialisation, of fixation of the individuals on the territory (Deleuze–Guattari 1987: Chapt. 12, 14). Concerning the last signifier or the imaginary foundation of the society, too, architecture is a mode of its actualization. For instance, a society founded in 'rationality' is not merely 'expressed' within the purist aesthetics of classic modernism. Rather, it is (inter alia) *architecturally constituted*, for 'rationalism' is anchored in the daily routines, gazes, and affections of the users or the passers-by of these buildings.

2 The methodological perspective: Contrastive and symmetrical comparison

A – maybe the most effective – way of estimating the contributions of architectures to the imaginary instituted society is a comparative view on very different global architectural cultures (see for an overview Vellinga 2021, for the following Delitz 2018). Of course, any architectural culture is permanently in flux. This is true not least in the course first of colonization, and then of postcolonial globalization: Within the related process of urbanisation, global architectural cultures as well as societies and social interactions are often massively transformed. In order to analyse such *architectural transformations of collective life,* I now follow the comparative method of structural anthropology. This comparative method – which I want to reconstruct now first of all independently from the question of architecture – consists of three narrowly connected decisions: First, the method *contrasts* different societies or cultures, as in a way 'intentionally' opposed to each other. Second, it takes them as *synchronic* modes of collective existence – instead of following each other in a developmental sense. And the third decision lies in seeing all modes of collective existence as being variants or "*transformations*" of each other ('transformation' taken in a technical sense, *not* meaning historical changes).

Claude Lévi-Strauss himself introduced this comparative method most clearly – on the one side – in his interpretations of 'totemic' systems or of the classifications of natural beings in so called totemic societies (*The Savage Mind,* Lévi-Strauss 1966*)*. On the other side, the term of transformations or of variants of variants is in particular unfolded within his *Mythologiques* (Lévi-Strauss 1969): In order to avoid the Eurocentric (evolutionist) view which sees for instance societies 'without' history as 'archaic' precursors of 'historical' societies, Lévi-Strauss substituted the terms of societies *without* history with thoroughly positive terms: They are "cold" societies, or societies *against* history, in contrast to "hot" societies (Lévi-Strauss 1966:233f.). In this way, he not only aimed to acknowledge the ingenious character of indigenous societies. He also was interested in particular in totemic systems, for they form a *counterpart* to his own society. In the totemic classification of natural beings, and in the totemic myths a collective life is instituted, which 'denies' its becoming-another – and therefore stands in sharp contrast to a society which institutes historical sciences, inter alia. Hereby, both modes of collective existence are thought as being *contemporary* to each other. They are not ensuing from one another, but there is a "fundamental antipathy between history and systems of classification" (Lévi-Strauss 1966:232). In exactly the same sense, Pierre Clastres contrasted societies *with* and *against* the State, in order to avoid negative notions for indigenous societies, and thus an evolutionist concept of collective life. For such a concept, indigenous

> *societies are societies without a State. This factual judgment, accurate in itself, actually hides an opinion […]. What the statement says, in fact, is that [these] societies are missing something — the State — that is essential to them, as it is to any other society: our own, for instance. Consequently, those societies are incomplete (Clastres 1977:159).*

In brief, the comparative method of structural anthropology is (firstly) the synchronic, and (secondly) the contrastive comparison, which rigidly avoids negative notions. Hereby, Lévi-Strauss more precisely wants to distinguish "subjective attitude[s]" of societies or collectives (Lévi-Strauss–Eribon 1991:124). Or, he also speaks of an ideal-typical contrastive method, for no society actually is fully 'hot' or 'cold'.

Third: Structural anthropology is the analysis of "transformations" (Lévi-Strauss 1969:2 or 13), which are not to be understood as historical transformations of a society. Within structuralist thought, a transformation means that a given collective life can be treated as a variant of another collective life. A society is the 'transformation' of others in the sense that it combines the same cultural elements, but in another way. At the same time and more important, the anthropological (sociological) knowledge is itself a variant or transformation of the society under study: Indigenous societies are the subjects of anthropological knowledge. It is in this sense, that Lévi-Strauss (1969:12) suggested to read his *Mythologiques* as a variant of, or "as the myth of mythology".

According to Philippe Descola (2016:41, cf. 2017), the analysis of transformations is the "basic principle" of the structural method. This third decision of structural anthropology is likewise important for this comparative method: With it, one sees each collective existence – including the anthropologist's own –, as a "variant" of "other variants" (Descola 2016:41). Or, with the term of transformation, structural anthropology aims to reach the "fairest form of symmetrisation" of cultures. Or, the aim is to be "as neutral as possible in relation to our own" culture (Descola 2018:412).

At the same time, Descola widens this comparative method: He compares not only two, but four contrasting modes of collective existence – unfolding a "matrix" of different modes of identifications of humans with non-humans: Humans can assume that the "physicality" and the "interiority" of non-humans are similar or different to their own. Precisely four contrastive social ontologies are possible (animist, totemic, naturalist and analogist ones, Descola 2013). Together with six "types of relationships" (e.g. giving or exchanging, Descola 2013:311), these four modes of identification of subjects define contrastive institutions of collective life. In a similar way – both following and radicalizing Lévy-Strauss – Eduardo Viveiros de Castro contrasts different ontologies in order to 'decolonize' anthropological thought. In this view, Amerindian perspectivism is juxtaposed

> *with modern, multiculturalist cosmologies: where the latter rest on the mutual implication between the unicity of nature and the multiplicity of cultures […], the Amerindian conception presupposes, on the contrary, a unity of mind and a diversity of bodies.* (Viveiros de Castro 2017:55)

As will be more clearly elaborated in the next part, this comparative approach is the basis of the comparison of architectural modes of collective existence: thanks to its *synchronic* comparison, which than allows historical changes to be brought into view; thanks to its *positive* notions, which aims to be as *neutral as possible* in relation to our own culture; and thanks to the ideal typical matrix of four divergent modes of collective existence.

Because this comparative anthropology provokes harsh critiques, these criticisms should be addressed first – before the architectural comparison is sketched. On the one hand, Descola and Viveiros de Castro are accused of having a "dehistoricized" account (Skafish 2016:67). With regard to that critique, Lévi-Strauss already tried to provide an answer. Sharing this argument, Descola (2013:388) additionally refers to Marc Bloch's retrospective history as the methodological idea of his matrix: Only the "knowledge of the structure of any phenomenon can make it possible to inquire relevantly into its origins", or, a "genealogy of the constitutive elements of different ways of relating to the world and to others would be impossible to establish before first identifying the stable forms in which those elements are combined". In other words: far from being "unhistorical", structuralism seeks to "concentrate first on the present the better to interpret the past" (Descola 2013:xviii). In this sense, the matrix serves as a "kind of snapshot focused on a collectivity at one particular moment", namely, when the collective presents an "exemplary paradigm", or an "'ideal type'" (Descola 2013:xix). In other words: The matrix is a heuristic tool needed to analyze *historical* as well as – as I would like to add – *current societal changes*. On the other hand and maybe a more serious problem, structuralist anthropology is accused of being *essentialist*. In stressing cultural differences, it seems a new *Othering* of other cultures, distinguishing anew the "West" from the "Rest" (Bessire–Bond 2014). In close relationship to this critique, in particular Descola is accused of subordinating all other relations between humans and non-humans to his own one. His matrix is understood as an "intellectual project of a conservative kind" (Skafish 2016:68). With regard to this criticisms and in contrast to them, structural anthropology sees its interest in extra-modern cultures just *as the only way not to be Eurocentric*: for an anthropology which considers any picture of the Other as an invention "of the West", and which understands every 'European' discourse on other cultures as ultimately self-interested,

is only the "ultimate stage of ethnocentrism" (Viveiros de Castro 2017:39f.).[4] A "veritable anthropology", in contrast, would *symmetrize* others and the own culture: Anthropology (and sociology) has only this possibility – posing different societies and their respective knowledge (or their respective architectural cultures) in "a plane of *immanence*" (Viveiros de Castro 2017:215, cf. Charbonnier et al 2017). It was in this way that Lévi-Strauss suggested to read his *Mythologiques* 'as the myth of mythology'. Descola, too, insists on this very point in defending his matrix, referring on his side to the notion of 'transformation': His own ontology (naturalism) is not the base of the comparative inquiry of ontologies. Rather, it is "only one of the four ontological variants" (Descola 2016:41, cf. 2017). Certainly, no comparative research program really "achieves a complete symmetry" (Descola 2017:32). Nevertheless, this is the aim of structural anthropology.

3 A Matrix of four divergent architectural modes of collective existence

In this way, the following matrix of four architectural modes of collective existence (cf. Delitz 2018:46ff) is thought as a heuristic tool in order to be 'as neutral as possible' to our own architectural mode, seeing it as *one among several other variants*. So, the aim of the following matrix is firstly to compare synchronic architectural cultures, hereby avoiding negative notions and stressing in contrast the positivity of every architectural culture. Secondly, the aim of the matrix is to provide a heuristic base for analyzing past or current architectural changes of collectives. Similar to Descola's book, a matrix of four architectural modes of collective existence is unfolded, with the difference being that it is not logically modelled (maybe there are more than four modes of architectural cultures conceivable). The matrix starts from the relationships of bodies to the earth, which are established by architectural artifacts (infrastructures included). It then contrasts four very different – or divergent – modes of 'territorialization' of bodies: Insofar as *societies of cities* essentially institute fixed and infrastructural relations of individuals to each other, they sharply contrast with *nomadic societies* which are permanently in motion. In as much as urban collectives are densely populated, they also contrast with *residential atomism*. And insofar as urban societies' architecture is mostly constructed above the ground, they contrast with *sociétés à maisons creusées*, too. In the following section, the four architectural modes are briefly outlined, in order to conclude – equally briefly – in the next part with some current changes of the non-urban, or better anti-urban modes (using case studies).

Societies of cities – fixed, infrastructured, urban societies: The 'environment' built from hard matter characterizes urban societies as well as their connections by infrastructures. Such modes of collective existence typically institute a hierarchical structuration of the collective; it tends to a functional differentiation; hard matter allows the narration of history or a collective memory. The fixed mode of architecture (with fundaments) territorializes the individuals and creates a 'striated space' (see Deleuze, Guattari 1987:223, for instance). The urban concentration establishes a differentiation between the collective's centre and the "hinterland". Furthermore, urban architectures tend to demarcate the cultural against the natural; an "artificial society" is instituted architecturally (Popitz 1995):

> *If it is an essential feature of the city to forget the dependency of its reproduction base, to let the sucked-in materials within the city appear in a different way, as they have appeared beyond its architecture, this certainly means a fundamental alteration of the perception of things. The material base is posed as contingent* (Eßbach 2011: 78, transl. HD).

Related to this sense of the contingency of social life, architectural culture tends to indulge in the search for new forms and matter; it is the artificial mode of 'hot' societies. Based on those general tendencies, different architectural movements in concrete epochs and regions are to be distinguished. For instance, in Ger-

4 Furthermore, being only interested in "poverty and suffering", anthropology uses "as imperialistic universals as any" (Skafish 2017: 75).

man architectural discussion, the styles of construction or architecture following classical modernism, of *reconstruction,* and of *deconstruction* draws a differentiated picture of the collectives, establishing contrasting histories, hierarchical structures, affections. Nevertheless, such architectural styles do not alter the structural features of an urban-concentrated, fixed and infrastructural mode of collective existence – they, too, institute a fixed mode of the social structure, a striated space, and a built history. In this mode of collective existence, architecture follows an ontology that sees artefacts as pure things, in contrast, for instance, to residential atomism (see below).

Tent societies – nomadic collectives: While the comparison between different urban collectives is enlightening in terms of both similarities and differences, it is very easy to recognize the specific features of fixed, durable architectures when we contrast them to completely different architectural modes such as those found in nomadic societies (see Delitz 2010b, with reference to Bernus 1981, Casajus 1987, Claudot-Hawad 2004, 2006). Unlike urban societies, nomadic societies have their own architectures. For instance, the collective life of the Tuareg is deeply related to the light, flat and movable tents, made of goatskins or palm tree leaves respectively, which gives rise to its own perceptions and affections. Despite the fact that the interior design rigidly separates the genders, there is virtually no visual or acoustic separation between them (nor between animals and human beings). Instead, social strata are based on the radius of activity, the speed and distance with which an individual is able to move. Concerning the shape of the imagined collective (the collective identity in time and its unity), the tents create a single storey figure of the collective. All tents are alike, their design is identical, clearly referring to different Tuareg cultures, differentiating them into those of the leather tents (*Kel Ahaggar*, although today leather is often substituted by cloth), and the mats tents (*Kel Ferwan*).[5] The Tuareg conceptualize almost their entire political life with respect to the tent. It offers the terms and images of the collective: The tribe as a conglomeration of groups is conceived of in line with the tent – each group is equal, just as every support of the tent is of equal length. The permanent movement of the whole collective, too, assumes a political dimension: in the territory of the Tuareg, the variable boundaries play a crucial role. These societies do have cities (Timbuktu, for instance); nevertheless, their history is of minor relevance and they are the sites of ancillary (economic, religious) functions, but not of the political life. Similar relations between architecture and society can be identified for Mongolian nomads: The round form of the yurt follows both constructive and cultural grounds: According to the Mongolian pattern of thought, it is only a round structure that will harmonize with nature. There is once again a rigid inner and outer spatial organization: A rigid order and orientation of the yurts (they never face the north) goes hand in hand with rigid norms of color and shape – all yurts are identical. Once again, the architecture mirrors a map of the society, which is deeply integrated into the landscape – a landscape which is believed to be inhabited by various beings, humans and non-humans, visible and invisible things. The social ontology of the Mongolian culture is an analogist and shamanistic one, thinking the landscape alive and assuming small differences between beings (Humphrey 1995). The traces of the yurt, tombs and border stones offer orientation within the territory. In the inner space of the yurt, life is intensely social. There is only one room, which is strictly divided. Manifold norms relate to the postures of the body (for things like running, eating etc.) and its gazes. Particular norms concern the sleeping body, for sleep is regarded as the passage between life and death, public and private. Norms also restrict animal behaviour (in fear of bad spirits, Lagaze 2003, fn. 30*)*. In sum, this architecture constitutes a *bipolar social order*, hierarchizing right and left, the public and the private, male and female and older and younger people (Lacaze 2006, 2012); and at the same time, it integrates human and non-human beings, nature and culture.

Settled, non-urban societies – residential atomism: Extra-modern societies of the south-American tropical forests are neither nomadic nor urban. These collectives – for instance, the Achuar (the indigenous collective on the border between Peru and Ecuador) – live in settlements of scattered houses, strictly arranged in

5 Anja Fischer distinguishes three architectonic cultures and collectives, see Fischer 2021.

such a way that a relation between them is maintained and water sources are nearby; the collective sees to it that the prescribed distances between the 'settlements' are respected. Their mode of collective existence is a "residential atomism", avoiding any demographical concentration (Descola 1996:8, 1982a:302). Or, else, it is a society close to a "zero-degree social integration" (Descola 1996:8), keeping collectives small and aiming to be autonomous. Here, each house "stands as the image of an autonomous whole, controlling its piece of territory with the illusion of free will that comes from the long practice of solipsism" (Descola 1996:135). It follows a *politics*. Furthermore, in architectural terms, a particular *social ontology* is constituted, using – equally prescribed – vegetative materials for the constructive elements and seeing the house as "the paradigmatic image of organic processes in general" (1996:121). These societies are based on an animist social ontology which regards all beings as (covered) humans, as endowed with an interiority, referring to a mythic past in which the human and the animal worlds, the celestial and the subterranean worlds have been undivided (cf. Descola 2013). It is the house which for the Achuar reflects this mysticism, namely a "former material continuity between the celestial, terrestrial, and chthonian worlds". Hereby, the house is thought as a "passageway" between these worlds (1996:121), updating the "old order" of things, which "was never fully effaced" (1996, 122). Furthermore, within the milieu of the tropical forest and since there is no other symbolism for the social group, the houses are conceived of not only as 'individual and independent centres' of the world (Descola 1996:4), but also as a key element of social stability. Only the house allows the imagination of collective identity or social cohesion (Descola 1996:11). In this way, the house functions as a complicated "spatial matrix" for both "inter- and intrafamily sociability" and the "nature-culture continuum" (Descola 1996:135).

Sociétés à maisons creusées – subtractive architecture: This architectonic culture is characterized by its entrenched nature, which is – according to the European visitor George Cressey (1955:263) – almost invisible. These 'buildings' are caves, negative or subtractive architectures, dug vertically into the Loess plateau around the Yellow River, connected to the surface only by a small ramp. There is no adequate term for such an architecture – as 'cave' in the European tradition connotes natural shelters, whereas these buildings are thoroughly artificial, constructed in a strictly codified, rectangular way, according to rigid rules and rites (feng shui). When viewed from above, these houses form a regular pattern in the countryside, while simultaneously, they do not rise above ground. No social differentiations are visible; there is no public space; all façades turn inward toward the space of the family. These *maisons creusées* (Loubes 1988, Loubes–Sibert 2003) isolate each and every activity both acoustically and visually. The subterranean construction relates culture and nature so that it is difficult to discern where one ends and the other begins. The orientation of the construction site, the arrangement of the rooms and of the architectural elements are linked to the cosmology or social ontology, which reforms (and legitimizes) the social positions of individuals every day, in particular the hierarchy of generations and genders that are imagined – as all other entities- alongside a continuum between nature and culture. The subterranean courtyard is referred to as the 'shaft of heaven', as relating the two cosmic forces humans have to keep in harmony (Loubes 1988, see also Zhang 2017). This architectural tradition is by no means a peripheral phenomenon. Rather, it is a local variant of Chinese Han culture, which focuses on imagined identity. Furthermore, in the 1990s, an estimated 40 million people lived in a yaodong.

4 Architectural Changes of Collective Life

> *Peasants are called werewolves because of their land tenure system and household registration system (Hukou), which divide people into rural and urban dwellers. They do not belong in the city; their villages are decaying. They belong to neither. In all this, architecture plays a key role, linking political and economic structures in China.* (Wu 2016:6)

In the last part of the paper, we now very roughly want to discuss architectural transformations of collective life, within the cases of central China, Mongolian collective life, and the Achuar.

Since the 1980s, China has transformed both architecturally and societally in the wake of its massive urbanization, importing Western architectonic culture – that of a society of cities or the urban, infrastructure, fixed mode of collective existence. Whereas in 1960, 90 percent of the Chinese people were peasants, in 2014, this group constituted only 40 percent of the population; many yaodong villages were destroyed for mining or building new cities. In general, one million villages have vanished in China between 2001 and 2010 (Wu 2016:6). There are at least three transformations that have altered the region around Xi'an and the whole Loess plateau. First and foremost, the greatest part of the *yaodong* have vanished. Additionally, the remaining yaodong are now regarded as negative symbols of a traditional, namely the rural and pre-modern China. While some years ago, a good yaodong was the dream of any peasant family, and a bigger yaodong was considered a symbol of welfare, the inhabitants of yaodong are nowadays rated as old-fashioned and poor (ibid. 7). They are politically discriminated against, fixed to their rural territory by the hukou-system, and constrained to work in the cities, and the yaodong villages count among China's substrata (Sun 2014). Their villages are seen as "Inner Decaying Villages", where only elderly and children live (Wu 2016:13). These architectural transformations have caused several changes in collective life – for not only the shape of society, its visible functional differentiation and its inequality, are altered. People's relation to nature has also undergone a change as have daily routines, perceptions, practices, bodily postures and movements – the "techniques du corps" (Mauss 1973). With regard to the relationships between the generations, it seems that the hierarchy created by the yaodong is substituted by a rigid two-class-society today: the rural and the urban hukou (Wu 2016). At the same time, the yaodong is also preserved as a traditional heritage. It is a symbol of historical Han-China, and it is also preserved because of Communist history. From 1937 to 1947, Mao Zedong lived in a yaodong in Yan'an, the „Communist Revolution's holy city"; at that time, he declared the yaodong to be the architectural face of Chinese communism. Therefore, in the 1970s, new underground buildings – restaurants, schools or hospitals – were built all across China (Golany 1989). Furthermore, the "urban code of China" (Hassenpflug 2010), that is the right angle and the closed space (which is shared by yaodong as well as by other traditional Chinese architectures) has now expanded all over the territory, and in particular the territory of the Muslim minority, the Uigurs (Loubes 2015, Kobi 2018). It has meanwhile spread, above all, through the initially mentioned urban architectural mode: Urbanizing China, importing the US-American "Superblock", a "sinization" of the whole territory is under way (Loubes 2015).

Ever since the fall of the Soviet Union (and already before), *Mongolian* architectural policy has consisted in the settlement of the nomads on the fringes of the capital. While, in 1980, 80% of the Mongolians were nomads, they constitute merely a third of the population today. Alongside political (control) and economic aims (workforce for the mining industry), ecological reasons caused this transformation. Because of extremely harsh winters (*dzuds*) in 2002 and 2003, many nomads had to abandon their herds and their nomadic life. Settling in informal quarters on the fringe of Ulan-Bator, two thirds of the city's inhabitants are nomads today. Because of the lack of infrastructure, their settlements are heated with waste, making Ulan-Bator the most lethal city of the world (in winter). This motivates a massive transfer of European architecture and architects, eager to give up the yurt quarters and to transform the nomads into town dwellers. Once again, traditional architecture and its followers are seen as old-fashioned, and the rigid norms of behaviour are now regarded as uncomfortable

and useless (Lagaze 2012, cf. in contrary Humphrey 1974). The new, European architecture transforms the daily routines and therewith the gender relations. For instance, the TV set is now the centre of the room instead of the oven and the kitchen (Bertrand 2010:158). Nevertheless, the nomad traditions still continue to exist. A third mode of collective existence emerges: being neither fully urban nor fully mobile, the nomads keep their traditional kinship relations and far-distant-neighbourhoods alive. Many continue to live in yurts. „Even if they could be regarded as ‚immobile', they see themselves as ‚nomads' […]. Being a nomad is a complex identity, which is not restricted on a place; rather, the city appears as place where spatial perceptions and practices are mixed, regardless whether they are of sedentary or of nomad origin" (Bertrand 2010:152, translation HD). Additionally, here again, architecture is preserved because of touristic reasons, but also due to the idea of cultural identity (Humphrey 2002).

The Achuar have long been in contact with Europe. Since the 1960s, they have additionally been the object of Salesian missions. Since then, their collective life has undergone architectural transformations due to the settlement arising around landing strips. Many Achuar live in these villages today, the "Centros". They have not only abandoned their semi-nomad way of life, but also the mode of collective existence, residential atomism. In this respect, this society has been "irreversibly" (Descola 1982:314) transformed: "By shifting from a semi-nomadic and scattered occupation of an open territory to a nucleated settlement pattern characterized by sedentarization and the partition of land into individual plots, some Achuar local groups were led to a basic reorganization of their relations to the habitat" (ibid. 302). The Achuar substituted planting and hunting with cattle-breeding; and they also transformed their legal system (of land rights): They shifted "from a short-term appropriation of resources, justified by labour, to an exclusive and transmissible appropriation of parcelled land" (ibid. 316). The new juridical system "transforms rights into objects and objects into rights, since an individual now inherits from his father 'immovable' property (parcelled land and cattle) which necessarily fixes his residence in the same nucleated 'village' where his father lived. Inheritance will thus grant him the right to exploit the same resources used by his father". A "stable and localized principle of unilineal agnatic succession" replaces the "multiplicity of kinship principles", forcing "a greater closure of the nucleated nexus, since a young man will tend to marry within the village in order to ensure recognition of his rights (through continued physical presence)" (ibid. 317). In all these respects, Descola observes a "quiet revolution" (ibid. 318), the spiritual transformation of the war-loving Achuar into settled farmers. On the other hand, the Achuar are among the most resistant indigenous people. In the 1990s, Descola describes them as a vital indigenous society (Descola–Taylor 1993:14), which successfully maintains its traditions, its local languages and its political autonomy. These not voluntarily, but purposely isolated societies (Viveiros de Castro 2019) insist to "rexister" (sic!, Viveiros de Castro 2016): The Achuar insist on existing and on resisting as a dissipated society, also in as far as their architecture is concerned.

Conclusion

The paper aimed to reach at least two different, nevertheless strongly connected goals: On the one hand, it argued for the constitutive, or *active role of architectures* for collective life or for collective existence (and its structuring of subjects). On the other hand, the paper aimed to rehabilitate a *comparative view on societies* within sociology, following the methodological strategy of structural anthropology – as a strategy which wants to be 'as little ethnocentric as possible', and which offers a prerequisite in order to analyse current societal changes. These studies of current changes – of Mongolian architecture and collective life, of central China's architecture, settlement structure and collective existence, and of the Achuar case – could only be sketched on a very provisional basis. They now need to be deepened, through interdisciplinary research, together with anthropologists, and through interviews, ethnographic research and further literature studies. Hereby, again, structural anthropology could be a guiding perspective. Although Lévi-Strauss gave preference to other sym-

bolic modes of collective existence (marriage systems, myths and classifications of natural beings), he himself also stressed the significance of architecture – both for the institution of a collective existence as well as for its colonial destruction:

> *So vital to the social and religious life of the tribe is this circular lay-out that the Salesian missionaries soon realized that the surest way of converting the Bororo was to make them abandon their village and move to one in which the huts were laid out in parallel rows. They would then be, in every sense, dis-oriented. All feeling for their traditions would desert them, as if their social and religious systems […] were so complex that they could not exist without the schema made visible in their ground-plans* (Lévi-Strauss 1981:204, cf. Lévi-Strauss 1936).

The same is true for the work of Descola, who represents the Achuar's collective life as depending just as much on 'the world of the house' (Descola 1996) as on a particular mode of 'territorial adjustment' (Descola 1982) – which both are deeply interwoven for instance with daily routines or bodily movements, with a particular juridical discourse and political mode, or a particular self-description of the collective.

References

Balibar, E. (2003) Structuralism: A Destitution of the Subject? *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 14: 1, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1215/10407391-14-1-1

Bertrand, M. (2010) La conception nomade de la cité. In *Culture an Local Governance /Culture et gouvernance locale* 2 (2), 151–161.

Bessire, L. – Bond, D. (2014) Ontological anthropology and the deferral of critique, *American Ethnologist* 41 (3), 440–456. https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12083

Bourdieu, P. – Sayad, A. (2020 [1964]) *Uprooting. The Crisis of Traditional Agriculture in Algeria,* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cache, B. (1995) *Earth Moves: The Furnishing of Territories*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Casajus, D. (1987) *La tente dans la solitude: La société et les morts chez les Touaregs Kel-Ferwan*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme.

Castoriadis, C. (1987 [1975]) *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.

Clastres, P. (1977 [1974]) Society against the state. In: *Society Against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology*. Oxford: Mole, pp. 159-186.

Claudot-Hawad, H. (2004) Neither segmentary, nor centralized: The sociopolitical organization of a nomadic society (Tuaregs) beyond categories. *Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte* 14: 57–69.

(2006) A nomadic fight against immobility: The Tuareg in the modern state. In Chatty, D. (ed.) *Nomadic Societies in the Middle East and North Africa Entering the 21st Century*. Leiden: Brill, 654–681.

Cressey, G. B. (1955) *Land of the 500 Million: A Geography of China*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Deleuze, G. (2000) On Leibniz. In *Negiotations 1972–1990.* New York, Chichester: Columbia UP, 156–163.

Deleuze, G. – Guattari, F. (1987 [1980]) *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press.

Delitz, H. (2009) *Architektursoziologie, Reihe »Einsichten«. Themen der Soziologie*, Bielefeld: transcript.

-(2010a) *Gebaute Gesellschaft. Architektur als Medium des Sozialen*. Frankfurt/M., New York: Campus.

-(2010b) »Die zweite Haut des Nomaden«. Zur sozialen Effektivität nicht-moderner Architekturen. In P. Trebsche – N. Müller-Scheeßel – S. Reinhold (Hg.) *Der gebaute Raum. Bausteine einer Architektursoziologie vormoderner Gesellschaften*, Münster u.a. 2010, 83–106.

-(2018) Architectural Modes of Collective Existence. Architectural Sociology as a Comparative Social Theory, *Cultural Sociology* 12 (2018) 1, 37–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975517718435

-(2019) Theorien des gesellschaftlichen Imaginären. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 44 (2019/Supplement 2), 77–98. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11614-019-00374-z

Delitz, H. – Maneval, S. (2017) The 'Hidden Kings', or Hegemonic Imaginaries. Analytical Perspectives of Postfoundational Social Thought, *Im@go. Journal of the Social Imaginary* N° 10 (2017), 33–49. https://doi.org/10.7413/22818138098

Descola, Ph. (1982) Territorial adjustments among the Achuar of Ecuador. *Social Science Information* 21,2 (1982), 301–32.

(1996 [1986]) *In the Society of Nature: A Native Ecology in Amazonia*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

(2013) *Beyond Nature and Culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

(2016) Transformations transformed. *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6 (3): 33–44. https://doi.org/10.14318/hau6.3.005

(2017) Varieties of Ontological Pluralism. In Charbonnier, P. – Salmon, G. – Skafish, P. (eds.) *Comparative Metaphysics: Ontology After Anthropology*, London/ Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 27–40.

(2018) Anthropological Comparatisms: Generalisation, Symmetrisation, Bifurcation. In Gagné, R. – Goldhill, S. – Lloyd, G. (eds.) *Regimes of Comparatism. Frameworks of Comparison in History, Religion and Anthropology*, Leiden: Brill, 402–417.

Durkheim, É. (1965 [1912]) *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: New Press.

-(1982 [1895]) *The Rules of Sociological Method*. New York: Free Press.

Eßbach, W. (2011) Die Gemeinschaft der Güter und die Soziologie der Artefakte. In *Die Gesellschaft der Dinge, Menschen und Götter*, Wiesbaden: VS, 75–85.

Fischer, A. (2021) Tuareg Dwellings. In Vellinga, M. (ed.) *Encyclopaedia* of *Vernacular Architecture* of the *World*, *2nd Edition*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Fischer, J. (2010) Architektur als ‚schweres Kommunikationsmedium' der Gesellschaft. Zur Grundlegung der Architektursoziologie. In Trebsche, P. – Müller-Scheeßel, N. – Reinhold, S. (Hg.) *Der gebaute Raum. Bausteine einer Architektursoziologie vormoderner Gesellschaften*, Münster: Waxmann, 63–82.

(2012) Rekonstruktivismus als soziale Bewegung: Die revolutionäre Rückkehr der okzidentalen Stadt. *Geographische Revue* 14: 27–42.

Fischer, J. – Makropoulos, M. (eds.) (2004) *Potsdamer Platz: Soziologische Theorien zu einem Ort der Moderne*. München: Fink.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

Hassenpflug, D. (2010). *The Urban Code of China.* Basel: Birkhäuser.

Humphrey, C. (1974). Inside a Mongolian tent. *New Society* 31 (630), 273–275.

-(1995) Chiefly and shamanist landscapes in Mongolia. In E. Hisch, M. O'Hanlon (eds.) *The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspective on place and space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 135–162.

-(2002) After-Lives of the Mongolian Yurt: The 'Archaeology' of a Chinese Tourist Camp. *Acoustics, Speech, and Signal Processing Newsletter*, IEEE 7(2): 189–210.

Jones, P. (2006) The Sociology of Architecture and the Politics of Building: The Discursive Construction of Ground Zero. *Sociology* 40(3), 549–565. https://doi.org/10.1177/003803850663674

-(2011) *The Sociology of Architecture: Constructing Identities*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP.

-(2016) (Cultural) sociologies of architecture. In Inglis, D. (ed.) *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Sociology*. London: Sage, pp. 465-480.

Kobi, M. (2018) Building transregional and historical connections: Uyghur architecture in urban Xinjiang. *Central Asian Survey* 37 (2), 208–227. https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2018.1427555

Laclau, E. – Mouffe, Ch. (1985) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.

Lagaze, G. (2003). Representations and Techniques of the Body among the Mongols. *Inner Asia* 5 (1), 53–64. https://doi.org/10.1163/146481703793647389

-(2006) L'orientation dans les techniques du corps chez les Mongols. *Études mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines,* 36–37, 163–205. https://doi.org/10.4000/emscat.810

(2012) *Le corps Mongol: Techniques et conceptions nomades du corps*, Paris: L'Harmattan

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1936) Contribution à l'étude de l'organisation sociale des Indiens Bororo. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 28: 269–304.

-(1966 [1962]) *The Savage Mind*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.

-(1969) *Mythologiques. The Raw and The Cooked*, New York: Harper & *Row*.

-(1981 [1955]) *Tristes Tropiques*. New York: Criterion.

Löw, M. (2017 [2001]) *The Sociology of Space: Materiality, Social Structures, and Action*. Hampshire: Palgrave.

Löw, M. – Steets, S. (2014) The spatial turn and the built environment. In Kyrtsis, AA. – Koniordos, S. (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of European Sociology*. London and New York: Routledge, 211–224.

Loubes, J-P. (1988) *Maisons creusées du fleuve Jaune: l'architecture troglodytique en Chine*. Paris: Créaphis.

(2015) *La Chine et la Ville au XXIe siècle: La sinisation urbaine au Xinjiang ouïghour et en Mongolie chinoise*. Paris: Editions Le Sextant.

Loubes, J-P. – Sibert, S. (2003) *Voyage de la Chine des Cavernes*, Paris: Arthaud.

Maniglier, P. (2016) Anthropological Meditations. *Discourse on Comparative Method.* In Charbonnier, P. – Salmon, G. – Skafish, P. (eds.) *Comparative Metaphysics. Ontology After Anthropology*, London /New York, Rowman & Littlefield, 109–132.

Marchart, O. (2007) *Post-Foundational Political Thought: Political Difference in Nancy, Lefort, Badiou and Laclau*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Marois, A. (2006) D'un habitat mobile à un habitat fixe : fondements et changements de l'orientation dans l'espace domestique mongol. *Etudes mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines,* 36–37, 207237. https://doi.org/10.4000/emscat.759

Mauss, M. (1970 [1905]) *Seasonal Variations of the Eskimo. A Study in Social Morphology*, London: Routledge.

-(1973 [1935]) Techniques of the body. *Economy and Society* 2: 70–88.

Müller, A-L. – Reichmann, W. (eds.) (2015) *Architecture, Materiality and Society: Connecting Sociology of Architecture with Science and Technology Studies*. Hampshire: Palgrave.

Skafish, P. (2016) The Descola Variations: The Ontological Geography of Beyond Nature and Culture. Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences 25 (1) 65–93. https://doi.org/10.5250/quiparle.25.1-2.0065

-(2017) Metamorphosis of Consciousness: Concept, System, and Anthropology in American Channels. In Charbonnier, P. – Salmon, G. – Skafish, P. (eds.) *Comparative Metaphysics. Ontology After Anthropology*. London /New York, Rowman & Littlefield.

Steets, S. (2016) Taking Berger and Luckmann to the Realm of Materiality: Architecture as a Social Construction, Cultural Sociology 10 (1): 93–108. https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975515616652

Vellinga, M. (ed.) (2021) *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, 2nd ed. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Viveiros de Castro, E. (2014) *Cannibal metaphysics*, Minneapolis: Univocal.

-(2016) Sur les modes d'existence des extra-modernes, https://www .academia.edu/25725890/Sur_les_modes_dexistence_des_extra-modernes.

-(2019) Aucun peuple n'est une île. In Geremia Cometti, Pierre le Roux, Tiziana Manicone, Nastassja Martin (eds.) *Au seuil de la forêt. Hommage à Philippe Descola, l'anthropologue de la nature,* Mirebeau-sur-Bèze: Tautem, 1063–1080.

Wu, Sh. (2016) *Yao-dong as a Spiritual Shelter for the Young Peasants.* University of Waterloo (https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/handle/10012/10461).

Sun, W. (2014) *Subaltern China: Rural Migrants, Media, and Cultural Practices,* New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Zhang, D. (2017) Courtyard housing in China: Chinese quest for harmony. *Journal of Contemporary Urban Affairs* 1 (2), 38–56. https://doi.org/10.25034/ijcua.2017.3647

Thomas Schmidt-Lux[1]

Silicon Headquarters
The Architectural Faces of Digital Capitalism

https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2020en.21

Abstract

Although digitalization processes are frequently described as being immaterial and 'virtual', the importance of material space and architecture in the Silicon Valley is evident. Just recently new headquarters of Apple, Facebook and Google have opened. Based on walk-throughs, interviews, documents and photography, the essay analyses their architecture and spatial organization. The analysis reveals that there is no single, uniform form of contemporary corporate architecture in Silicon Valley, just as there is no coherent picture of the digital. Google builds accessible and permeable, Facebook creates a built community, while Apple builds its very own world, similarly hiding and exposing it. Thus, the analysis of architecture reveals different conceptions of an often monolithically described field.

Keywords: architecture, space, headquarters, Silicon Valley, materiality, digitalisation

1 Associate Professor for Cultural Sociology at the Institute for the Study of Culture at University of Leipzig (Germany).

Thomas Schmidt-Lux

Silicon Headquarters

The Architectural Faces of Digital Capitalism

1. Introduction

At the beginning of this article stood an observation that surprised me. Within a comparatively short period of time, between 2017 and 2019, three of the largest tech companies in Silicon Valley – Facebook, Google and Apple – had opened new headquarters or were in the process of constructing one. I found this accumulation remarkable. Although Silicon Valley and its players had been on the upswing for years and were productive in many ways, their activities were mostly related to their products. All of a sudden their headquarters were making headlines.

Of course, it may not be new for companies to construct buildings to present themselves to employees and the outside world. The construction of innovative, outstanding or prominently located headquarters or other company buildings can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century and is associated with corporations such as Krupp, AEG or Olivetti (Messedat 2005). However, the headquarters in the Silicon Valley seemed special to me. First, the amount of money and aesthetic effort that has gone into these buildings is remarkable at a time when modern office architecture is shaped by other rationalities: "[D]ivisible layout and lack of cohesive identity have become valuable characteristics for a real estate market focused on flexibility and short-term returns and, therefore, dominated by tenant fit-out demand" (Buck 2010: 9). Second, although one likes to think of digitalization processes as immaterial and work processes as supposedly becoming more and more 'virtual' (see Prinz 2012: 249f.), architecture plays an important and increasingly important role. Silicon Valley is not only the place and origin of supposedly immaterial ideas or ideological programs (cf. as different positions Gumbrecht 2018 and Nachtwey/Seidl 2017), but also a place where digitalization processes are materially effective and perceptible.

This led to the idea of thinking about the headquarters not as just another example for contemporary corporate architecture. The studies that refer to this concept also examine the architecture of companies, their formal language and their design (see Vonseelen 2012). However, the focus is usually on the analysis of the explicit claim of companies to use architecture as a means of corporate communication. Accordingly, corporate architecture usually aims for similar, identifiable and exceptional buildings. And, of course, the headquarters are thought to represent their companies too. Through their architectural form the companies take shape, both for customers and employees. But the analysis intended with this article aims further. I argue that the contemporary headquarters architecture addresses the concept of "the digital" in general. An analysis of the buildings of three of the most important firms of digital capitalism can, I believe, help to understand basic principles and structures of the digital transformation.

The analysis reveals, however, that there is no single, uniform form of contemporary corporate architecture in Silicon Valley, just as there is no coherent picture of the digital. In sociological terms, the article is therefore also a plea against a diagnosis of "digital capitalism" in general and an undifferentiated inventory of what constitutes "the digital", digital work and the social transformation assumed in the course of digitalisation processes. While there is an extensive amount of literature focusing on an analysis of the architectural design

of headquarters (Goldberger 2011; Levy 2017; Borries 2017), the architectural firms that were involved and star architecture in general (Jencks 2006; Alaily-Mattar/Ponzini/Thierstein 2020), and, more broadly, the role of architecture as part of a capitalist system (Sklair/Gherardi 2012), sociological implications of new headquarters have been little discussed to date.

The article is structured around three themes: First, a discussion of the way sociology can contribute to the analysis of architecture. Rather than specifying the constructive and stylistic details of the buildings (as approaches rooted in the disciplines of art or architectural history would), the analysis is oriented towards sociological implications of the architecture. Methodically, I am thereby asking about the ***documentary meaning*** of buildings. Rather than focusing on the intentions of the architects, this entails asking about the "action orientations and habitus forms" (Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr 2008: 281), documenting in a building.

The second part of the article focuses on corporate architecture in Silicon Valley, which serves as the main case study for the analysis. The section includes a brief summary of the general context of Silicon Valley, as well as an analysis of the new headquarters of Google, Facebook and Apple from the perspective of a visitor of the buildings and, hence, those aspects that are relevant to the perception of the architecture from a sociological point of view.

The empirical section analyses, thirdly, the mentioned headquarters and is structured alongside two concepts that are central in terms of the sociological implications of architecture more generally: (1) the permeability of buildings, that is the openings and closings of architecture; and (2) the aesthetic dimension of the buildings, referring to their shape and design. Analytically, the article examines the specific ***assemblage*** of the buildings at hand (see Farias/Bender 2010). In contrast to analyses which only consider architecture within its ground plan and seemingly independently of users, furnishing and other elements (and thus also the processes of appropriation of space), this entails an understanding of architecture as constituted by architecture, users and other elements.

The analysis of these assemblages draws on reporting on the company headquarters published over the course of recent years, as well as material acquired during my field work in autumn 2019. During this stay I visited the headquarters of Google, Facebook and Apple and gained access to the interiors of Google and Facebook. The access was conveyed by employees working there, who accompanied me during the tours. During the tours I spoke to the employees and took field notes and pictures.[2] Due to the circumstances the conversations with the interviewees had the character of mainly open and only roughly structured interviews. However, they evolved around their knowledge and their experience of the specific headquarters. The interpretation of the data was conducted according to the principles of the Grounded Theory (Corbin/Strauss 2008).[3]

2 Getting admission via official channels turned out to be extremely difficult and was unsuccessful in the case of Apple. In my analysis of Apple I am therefore relying on my observations and field notes of my visit to Apple's Wolfe Campus, which is a minor Apple-Campus located nearby Apple Park and which gives a good impression of Apple's general ideas on campus organization and the interior design.

3 Many thanks for the critical discussion of this project to Alina Wandelt, Peter Gentzel, Juri Friedel, Theresa Siebach and Niklas Martin and the very helpful anonymous reviews. Many thanks as well to all who helped me to get access to the headquarters and who I met during my research in the Silicon Valley, especially Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht.

2. Sociology of Architecture

As a material artefact I understand architecture as a potentially influential and relevant part of the social sphere (Karstein/Schmidt-Lux 2017). Materials in general and artefacts such as buildings in particular are not just the meaningless setting of interpersonal interactions. Architecture and things – like natural factors – are part of the social sphere beyond human attributions of meaning and significance (Delitz 2009; Colomina 2018).

The specific role of architecture, however, is controversially discussed. Some authors stress the 'active' impact of the material sphere and the social effects of architecture (Popitz 1992). Other research locates the role of architecture in social practices, which are conceptualized as an interplay of human actors and built materiality (Schatzki 2010). Pierre Bourdieu (1993) and Paul Jones (2006) have drawn attention to the symbolic relevance of architecture. In Jones' work, however, this relevance is identified above all in the discourses on architecture, in which the architectural expression of a building is fixed.

While acknowledging the strengths and fruitful insights of these perspectives, I suggest a different approach. It follows the assumption that architecture has its own structure of meaning that does not equal processes of attribution. These structures of meaning are specific inasmuch as it was not the building that decided what form, shape and thus expression it aspired to have. At the same time, however, a building is not solely the result of the ideas of an architect or a viewer. By means of its structural and material form it rather performs a largely stable meaningful structure which can be interpreted.

In doing so, I hereby invoke the distinction made by Karl Mannheim (1980). He assumed that all "cultural entities" - all "objectivations" of the social - have a double meaning. One is the ***immanent meaning***, which is expressed in communicative actions, for example. These can be, for example, the concretely expressed intentions of a person who connects specific and articulated goals with his or her actions. A distinction should be made between this and the ***documentary meaning***, which is more hidden. With this dimension, Mannheim meant to capture the implicit assumptions – the immanent meanings – that are expressed. The idea is that a specific way of thinking and acting refers to something, or documents something more fundamental. This fundamental principle can refer to the habitus of a specific class or the world view of a generation, in any case something which transcends the individual case. Applied to architecture, this suggests asking about the documentary meaning of buildings. If the concrete structural form of the headquarters is up for discussion, this aims to question the principle that is evident in the building; it is aimed at "action orientations and habitus forms" (Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr 2008: 281), which document the building.

As with Mannheim and the documentary method, however, attribution is not easy. Even if we agree on the assumption that specific ideas, programmes and identities are inscribed in architecture as part of the objectivations of the world (Steets 2015), it remains a primarily empirical question of what a specific building stands for. To decipher this meaning or to attribute it to a particular social entity is the task of analysis- thus also suitable for methods of interpretation based on Mannheim and his analyses of works of art.

Empirically, the interpretation of the headquarters focusses on two aspects. First, I am interested in the demarcations between an inside and an outside made by the headquarters. Architecture always includes certain individuals and groups that are able to enter and excludes others; it rejects or invites and constitutes a group that belongs and a group that does not. Analytically, I am interested in these processes of inclusion and exclusion manifested in the architecture. Second, I am asking about the specific aesthetic features of the headquarters. What are the shape, form and design of the buildings? And how do these aesthetic features possibly allude to specific word-views and interpretations of the digital sphere?

Finally, I am not confining the analysis merely to the architecture itself. Instead I assume that the documentary meaning of the headquarters can be found in the assemblage of the architecture, artefacts and

users (on the concept of assemblage, see Deleuze/Guattari 2008 and Farias/Bender 2010). As we will see in the empirical parts of the article, the headquarters would only be partially understood if we did not include its material surroundings, its facilities, its users and its visitors. The interaction of all these elements results in a specific assemblage with its own documentary meaning.

3. Architecture and Buildings in Silicon Valley

In order to trace the documentary meaning of built digital capitalism, I selected the three headquarters of Apple, Facebook and Google for analysis. Along with Microsoft and Amazon, these three companies are among the Big 5 of contemporary tech-capitalism, and all three buildings are located in Silicon Valley, probably the most innovative region in the digital sphere in recent decades. All three headquarters buildings are also comparable in that they mark the transition from rented office space to the corporation's own and specially designed buildings. On the basis of the history of their building, one can therefore easily follow the development and, in this case, the rapid career of the companies; a career that also takes place in the medium of architecture. Put simply, there were garage projects in the beginning, followed by rented, yet simple premises, increasingly replaced by spectacular star architecture.

It is also noteworthy that all three buildings are located in the Valley and not in San Francisco itself, as one might assume (and where they might have been built in the 1970s). Google, Facebook and Apple are still primarily located in the Bay Area, and this is again for space-related reasons: You can find all the three headquarters within a 15-mile radius of Stanford. Stanford University is a kind of intellectual core of Silicon Valley and the starting point for many start-ups, which then, interestingly enough, continued to seek spatial proximity to Stanford. A historical prime example of this is William Hewlett and David Packard, who studied at Stanford in the 1930s and then founded their company from a garage (!) in Palo Alto. Google's founders Larry Page and Sergey Brin also studied at Stanford. So, Stanford can be seen as a gravitational centre of Silicon Valley, still attracting even the most successful companies and their founders. But the architecture of Stanford University is also important: Steve Jobs always had the Stanford Quad in mind, Stanford's park-like main square, when he planned the landscape architecture of Apple Park (Rybczynski 2018).

However, the architecture of the new headquarters of Apple, Facebook and Google has to be examined against the background of the general construction activities in Silicon Valley. Only then does it becomes clear what significance and what dimensions these activities have now reached, and how far the new headquarters buildings are in line with more comprehensive processes in Silicon Valley.

The main driver of the construction processes in the Bay Area is a myriad of companies and company buildings that have settled and are still settling in Silicon Valley. Basically, we are dealing with a continuously growing area between San Francisco and San Jose, which now occupies an incredible amount of office space and which continues to expand. What originally led to the positive development of a prosperous region has meanwhile caused massive problems: Office and housing rents and property prices are becoming significantly more expensive. This is difficult for the municipalities, which have hardly any leeway left to realize their own building projects. Above all, however, it has led to a noticeable increase in the cost of housing and living in the Valley. The square meter price for real estate in Palo Alto is now around 15,000 US dollars[4] and has thus doubled within the last five years. The monthly rent for a four-room apartment averages between 5,000 and 6,000 dollars.[5] In Menlo Park and Mountain Views the prices are only slightly lower. While this may not be a problem for the high earners in the tech companies with an average income of $12,000 per month per household in Palo Alto (compared to less than $5,000 in the US as a whole), the average monthly income per household in

4 https://www.zillow.com/palo-alto-ca/home-values/

5 https://de.numbeo.com/immobilienpreise/stadt/Palo-Alto

the neighbouring county of San Jose/Sunnyvale/Santa Clara is already significantly lower with an average of $8,750. Life in Palo Alto is, hence, not affordable anymore.

Of course, Google, Apple and Facebook are an important factor behind these developments. Google alone has nearly 400,000 square meters of space in Mountain View, and Facebook owns a similar stretch of land. Its new building is just the latest addition; a lot of space had already been rented previously, a lot more space is currently under construction and there are plans to take over further parts of Menlo Park. The latest plan is the 24-hectare Willow Village Project; a new district in its own right, which will house apartments, apartment buildings, a hotel, a park and, last but not least, Facebook offices.[6]

The enormous inflation also has far-reaching consequences for the tech companies themselves. On the one hand, they need new office space to keep growing. At the same time, the lack of available land for developments makes obtaining construction plots difficult. Building upwards is not possible because of height restrictions and zoning laws, so that they have to cultivate more land, which is either very expensive by their standards, or the local authorities no longer want to give it up. This leads to donations like the recent one from Facebook, which transferred 25 million dollars to Santa Clara County to build affordable housing for teachers.[7] This has to be seen in the context of expansion requests from Facebook itself, which still wants to expand its office space in Menlo Park and above all to build the Willow Village mentioned above.

Also, not all of the tens of thousands of employees at Apple, Facebook and Google are top earners. As a whole infrastructure of utilities has been established around the companies – not to mention the facilities that already existed previously– for the people employed in these facilities, but also for many people employed by the tech companies themselves, the current situation means either very high living costs or massively long journeys to and from the facilities. Both Google and Facebook therefore offer shuttle buses to and from their company buildings. However, these can only provide for some of the employees; most of them still come individually by car.

4. The Headquarters

In the following, the headquarters of Google, Facebook and Apple are analysed with regard to the aspects discussed. The analysis aims at revealing the documentary meaning of the headquarters, the 'hidden' messages of the buildings and thus their interpretations of the digital sphere. After a short introduction to the history of the buildings, the interpretation focusses on two aspects. First, it asks about the openings and closings of the buildings, the separation of inside and outside made by the architecture: How permeable are the buildings? Who gets into them and how? What is inside the buildings, what is outside? Second, I am interested in the shape and design of the buildings: How does it look like? By what means? Both dimensions are concerned not only with the building itself, but in the assemblages with artefacts and users too.

Of course, the two dimensions cannot always be neatly separated. But the questions of (in)accessibility and of the specific language of form promise to cover two important dimensions of the building, which become particularly important in a sociological analysis. I will also interweave the analyses with observation notes in order to mark my own perspective even more strongly.

6 https://www.menlopark.org/1251/Willow-Village

7 https://www.mercurynews.com/2019/10/17/facebook-donates-25-million-to-build-bay-area-teacher-housing/

4.1 Promoting trust. The Google Campus

General Remarks

When we talk about Google's headquarters, we are actually talking about two buildings, both located in the northern part of Mountain View, not far from the bay. One part, referred to as Googleplex, forms the core of an entire area of buildings. Essentially, there are four sub-buildings arranged in the form of a kind of open campus. Even though these buildings were not constructed specifically by or for Google, but initially taken over by Silicon Graphics, a former computer manufacturer, the interior has undergone major renovations so that it seems adequate to consider them as Google buildings. Built in 1997 and rented by Google in 2003, the company purchased the complex in 2006. Currently a new company headquarters (designed by the star architects Bjarke Ingels and Thomas Heatherwick) is being built in the immediate vicinity. Although it is still under construction and will be inaugurated in 2020, I was able to take a closer look at it and thus examine some of the principles of its architecture.

Openings – Closings

Googleplex is the most inviting complex of the three buildings analysed for this article. The overall constellation can be described as a corporate architecture that considers itself as part of the public space. The buildings are arranged rather loosely, connected by streets and foot- and bicycle paths. Basically, the Google buildings organically connect to the residential areas of Mountain View. There is no border or crossing. Particularly when approaching the area and Googleplex from the south, the visitor will notice that the office buildings in the heavily tree- and lawn-lined area are more and more part of Google.[8] While approaching the area for the first time, I was puzzled:

> *The whole thing appears unstructured and is difficult to understand at first sight. I have to do several laps with the bicycle to slowly get an overview. Maps for orientations appear on site from time to time, but at the information desk or in the lobby of a building I am not given a map (there seems to be one for internal use, which is apparently not handed over to guests, the woman at the desk hesitates for a moment)*

However, after adjusting to the spatial organisation of Googleplex, I felt invited. Numerous information stands on campus address people with the inscription "Ask me a ?". The Google logo, attached to building 43, is apparently a prominent place to take selfies. There is also a merchandise shop, even though not very centrally located in a rather unrepresentative building at the edge of the area. Nowhere is access to the area regulated or blocked. An employee card is only needed to enter the buildings themselves and the entrance has only recently become guarded.[9]

The complex gains even more openness and permeability due to the numerous Google bicycles standing around. Although these are actually intended for the employees to cover the sometimes lengthy distances between the buildings in Menlo Park, they are obviously also used by tourists. Actually, it is not easy to tell whether a tourist or a Google employee is riding them. Employees usually don't have their bags with them and are, hence, not identifiable by badges or other signs as employees, and the tourists can be recognized by the often unsafe handling of the bikes (after some practice). I used one of them to explore the whole area in Menlo Park, too. You just put the bike down after use, there is no control here either; strictly speaking you could also go home with the bike.

8 Richard Sennett describes the New York's Googleplex as being an island within the city, not belonging to it (Sennett 2018). I am not sure if this is an appropriate analysis of the New York case; for the Mountain View Googleplex it surely does not apply.

9 This has been the case since 2018, when a woman gained access to the Californian headquarters of Youtube and fired at the employees.

10:00 a.m. A new infrastructure begins to take shape on campus: there are a lot of food trucks with different culinary directions, but also a truck to cut hair. As I learn later, the trucks are all managed by Google, even though it looks as if they would be operated individually.

The overall very open atmosphere is further enhanced by other actors and material artefacts. Especially at lunchtime, the food trucks become focal points for the employees, then heavily frequenting the campus.

The far-reaching openness or rather general lack of clearly recognisable boundaries between the inside and outside is also taken up in the new headquarters designed by Bjarke Ingels. The headquarters has the form of a large, tent-like building with a semi-transparent, curved roof, reminiscent of the Sony Center in Berlin. It is supposed to house numerous offices, while the ground floor will be open to the public, thus forming a counterpart to the open campus structure of Googleplex. As interlocutors told me, Ingels specifically emphasized this openness to the surroundings of the Google headquarters as an important basic idea of the design when presenting the construction plans.

Google presents itself here in both buildings as an open, accessible company, as a player that does not shy away from its potential customers. While Google does not disclose sensitive information about itself on campus as the actual work areas are screened off and remain inaccessible, the open structure of the campus and easy access suggest a communicative offer and invitation to the corporate cosmos – and not least its products.

Aesthetics

Considering the aesthetics, formal language and thus the symbolic expression of the Google buildings, it becomes clear that both Googleplex and the new Ingles-building are buildings that emphasize creativity and playfulness. Strong colour designs and accentuations are striking both inside and outside (this is a clear feature, especially in contrast to Apple). There is also a relatively heterogeneous style in terms of both interior and exterior design. As a result, different areas are created both inside and outside offering playful environments that invite employees to rest, but which can also be used for work meetings.

The interior of Googleplex in particular has undergone many changes since the takeover of the buildings. This concerned, for example, the ceilings, all of which were opened up to increase the height of the rooms, while at the same time emphasizing a less office-like character of the space. Some elements, especially doors, have been preserved to remind us of the previous history of the building. In return, many areas were also re-coded symbolically. The café inside the Googleplex is named “Yoshka” after the dog of an early Google co-founder, and at the entrance to the café the slogan “Community, Comradery, Friendship” is written. In other parts of the building there are doctors and wellness facilities, a stream pool for swimming, plus micro-kitchens where food and drinks are available free of charge.

The outdoor area is likewise a mixture of different functional areas, with an emphasis on recreational use. The beach volleyball field is a very conspicuous, but also a spacious meadow area with chairs and deckchairs. One of the special artefacts, which are often made known through photos, is the replica skeleton of a Tyrannosaurus Rex on the campus. There are many stories surrounding this skeleton. While in one version the dinosaur was already purchased by Silicon Graphics, others claim that Google had it put up as a reminder to their own company never to become obsolete and extinct. Jakobsson and Stiernstedt point out that both the T-Rex and the replica model of the Space Ship One are “readymades”: „They are objects lifted out of specific contexts (places, times) and put together in Googleplex. This fact underlines the tendency of Googleplex to express the difference between Google and other media companies” (Jakobsson/Stiernstedt 2010). In any case, the dinosaur today also serves as an invitation to visitors to have their picture taken on the Google site and to circulate these motifs further.

Googleplex, Main Campus

Googleplex, Main Campus

Googleplex, Main Campus

Googleplex, Main Campus

Googleplex, Main Campus

New Google Headquarter, Charleston East, under construction

I wrote at the sight of Apple's Wolfe-Campus that it could also be a university. In retrospect this seems nonsense to me. Here at Google it is much more like an educational institution, it gives me a less formal impression, the people appear much more diverse and casual. In comparison, Apple felt more like a bank.

As this note also shows: The interplay of architecture, artefacts and users results in a specific assemblage with its own documentary meaning (Farias/Bender 2010). In the case of Googleplex, this assemblage promises a hedonistic way of working and living. Work and leisure are closely intertwined, and both spheres also follow similar logics. Both the office and leisure areas are similar in design; working has a playful aspect, the playful areas are at the same time close to the workplace and on the company premises (cf. Turner 2008 on such connections).

Through the player Google, digital capitalism presents itself here as particularly accessible and tangible: the digital is inviting, it is 'normal', it is like you and like us. The documentary meaning of the complex is far from being mysterious or conspiratorial. Instead the area extensively communicates transparency and accessibility. Transferred to the company's digital products, these can also be trusted, they literally "are not evil "[10] and can and should be used without concern.

4.2 For members only. The Facebook Campus

General Remarks

Facebook's new headquarters are located in Menlo Park close to the Bay. Here too, we are dealing with an assemblage of previously existing and newly built architectures. From 2004 to 2011, Facebook was still located in Palo Alto, but then moved into a complex of existing office buildings that had previously been used by Sun Microsystems. Symbolically, the new area was taken over by renaming the main street surrounding the complex to "Hacker Way".

A new building complex has now been added, consisting mainly of the buildings MPK-20 (opened in 2015) and MPK-21 (opened in 2018). This body of several hundred meters in length forms the actual headquarters of Facebook. With Frank Gehry as its designer, a star architect was involved. Its valorisation is further enhanced by the "LEED Platinum Certification", awarded by the US Green Building Council for complying with the latest environmental standards.

Openings – Closings

Whereas the boundaries of the property are rather indefinite in the case of Google, the line is drawn more clearly at Facebook and its headquarters. In comparison, Facebook occupies a position between the two poles of openness (Google) and closure (Apple). While MPK-20 and MPK-21 do not completely seal themselves off from the public, they do draw clearer boundaries than Google in terms of proximity and accessibility.

On the one hand, and this is always communicated in the official Facebook statements, the building is supposed to serve as a continuation of the settlement structures of Menlo Park and thus be perceived as a 'normal', open district. In fact, the Facebook area is closely connected to the residential development of Menlo Park. Willow Road, which comes from the south, runs through the residential area to Hacker Way, with a Starbucks and a Jack in the Box, a common US-American fast-food restaurant chain, just before the end.

However, the accessibility of the site is much more limited than in the case of Google. One reason is an old railway line which is about 50 meters wide and goes between the two headquarters and the rest of Menlo Park. It is fenced on both sides and thus clearly separates the two areas. As a result, there are only a few ways to access the Facebook building from Menlo Park. The construction of bridges connecting them has been announced, but there is still nothing to be seen.

10 "Don't be Evil" was part of Google's Code of Conduct until 2018. Since then it is "Do the right thing."

Once you have crossed or bypassed this railway line, you will be able to get near the buildings unhindered. Access into the buildings, however, is not possible, just as there are no invitations to stay or to stroll as in the case of Google. Unlike there, the atmosphere is hardly inviting. There are no information stands, no public merchandise shop, no other indications. While the buildings can be accessed on the ground level, the only things to see here are parking lots. The building does not reveal anything of its interior to the outside. It allows approach, but closes itself to the outside. In a way, it plays a game of transparency and accessibility on the one hand, and invisibility and aloofness on the other.[11]

The same applies to the old Sun Microsystems campus now occupied by Facebook. Here, one also gets to the buildings, but they are spaciously lined with parking lots. They also form a campus-like interior space- like Google's- but inaccessible to outsiders. The Facebook logo or the sign with the like-thumb is also located further away from the buildings and has more the effect of "You don't have to go any further..." than that of a "Welcome!" sign.

Aesthetics

The peculiar constellation of open access and closed interiors is continued in the design of the headquarters. Basically, the Facebook headquarters communicates internally much more than externally. For visitors or tourists, the building hardly appears spectacular or even attractive. It is neither particularly high, nor does it have a special façade or design language – particularly in comparison to the tent roof of the new Google headquarters or the Apple Spaceship this is striking. Everything looks more like a mixture of a multi-storey car park or the back of a mall. The façade hardly has any windows. In addition, there is no clear main entrance, and there are only a few places where you can look inside, and then to a very limited extent. While access is granted to the ground floor, the actual interior of the building starts on the first floor and can therefore only be guessed at from the outside.

All the more striking is the difference to the interior. It is spacious and openly designed, forming a mixture of open-plan office and mall. One can cross the entire complex of MPK-20 and MPK-21 on a wide corridor that winds its way through the building. One passes office areas that open up again and again, meeting rooms of different sizes but always visible through glass. The whole building contains not a single closed or non-transparent room. In addition, there are kitchen corners and smaller retreats, sometimes also living room-like zones with bookcases and sofas. The building features a large cafeteria and medical facilities. Everything is very colourful and very varied in terms of its design.

Obviously, and this becomes clear quickly after entering the headquarters, the building is targeted towards a strong communication inwards with a strong purpose to create a pleasant working environment. This includes the roof garden, which extends over both building complexes and has a size of 15,000 sqm. Countless plants and shrubs as well as real trees, some of which are 15 metres high, are planted here. Everything is laid out like a park, with paths for walking and numerous corners to sit, linger and work.

These architectural and design efforts are accompanied by other explicit and implicit references to its specificity:

> *The buildings have relatively different interior designs, often colourful, and there is always art hanging on the walls. The posters often feature motivational quotes, for instance in the lobby of the building: "Be the Hero", "Be brave", "Focus on Impact", or "Pride connects us" and numerous other variations. "Nothing at Facebook is somebody else's problem" is the only slogan where the company name explicitly crops up. The rest could also hang in any other company.*

11 This corresponds to other diagnoses of Facebook's corporate policy (vgl. van Dijck 2013: 59ff.).

Facebook Building MPK 20/21, Menlo Park

Facebook Building MPK 20/21, Menlo Park

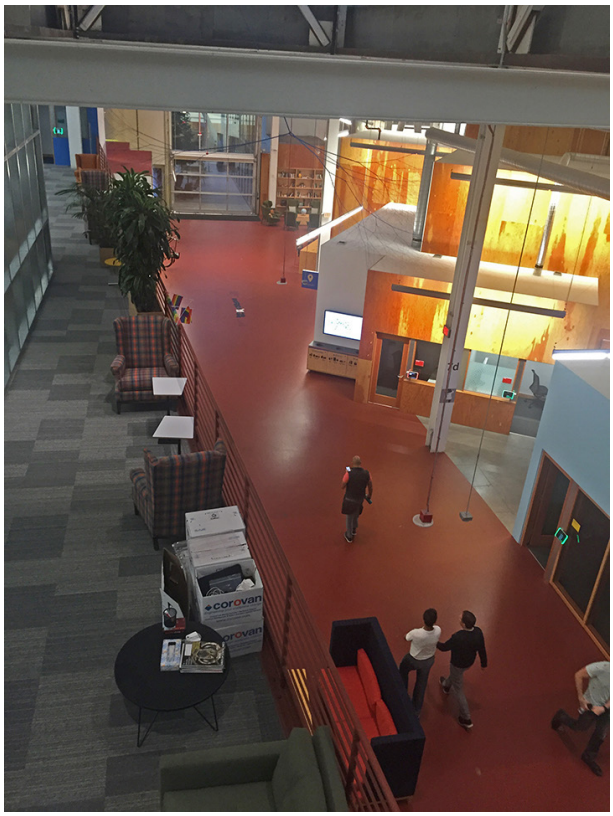
Facebook Building MPK 20/21, Menlo Park

Facebook Building MPK 20/21, Posters on Inside Wall

Facebook Building MPK 20/21, Rooftop Garden

Facebook Building MPK 20/21, Rooftop Garden

Facebook Building MPK 20/21, Inside Pathway



Facebook Building MPK 20/21, Inside Pathway

The posters are produced in an in-house screen-printing workshop, which is open to all employees. The offer does also a bicycle and wood workshop, where you can, for example, make your own furniture. At one point in the building I discovered a kind of rolling gate. When I asked about it, I found out that this was a garage door, which was functionally useless at this point, but was intended to remind employees of the origins of Facebook in simpler buildings.

The posters must be seen in an interplay with the workshops, the garage door, the roof garden and its expensive furniture. All together they form the program of a community architecture. The building communicates primarily to the Facebook employees, it shows them what and how they want to work and be together and last but not least how the products they create together should be (also cf. Borries 2017: 213).

Fred Turner has described this in a similar way, especially with regard to the posters and murals in the 'old' campus buildings. Turner describes them as the "aesthetic infrastructure" and "management tools" that are supposed to promote and legitimize the new "surveillance capitalism" (Turner 2018). Rather than Turner, who emphasizes the veiling effects of art, I am primarily concerned with the coherence of different design tools. The full impact of the posters can only be understood by assembling them with the built whole. For then one sees their analogy, which I see less in a veiling than in their affirmative character: just as one discovers its actual qualities after entering the building, one will- so the building promises- only recognize the qualities of the Facebook community after joining the social network.

The building does not simply represent the online-platform Facebook, nor does it make Facebook accessible offline. Rather, the building communicates to the outside world on the condition of an avowed Facebook-membership. Only inside, as an employee, can you see the inside of the building. Only inside, as a member, are you allowed to recognize the qualities of Facebook 'from the inside'. Become a member and you will see more!

The public prestige of the building is not produced on site, but conveyed via information and photos on the net, via architectural journals and via bodies such as the Green Building Council. The artistic value of the building is also decided upon in these "constellation instances" (Bourdieu), and the photos of the roof gardens and the green inner courtyards officially released by Facebook arouse interest in the building; interest that can hardly be satisfied locally, but which only increases the community's incentive.

4.3 Hidden Sacredness. The Apple Campus

General Remarks

Apple's new headquarters is probably the building that has become most famous among the three headquarters under scrutiny. Inaugurated in 2017, it is located in Cupertino, just three kilometres from the company's original headquarters. Apple purchased a number of properties at this new location, including an area previously used by Hewlett Packard.[12] The headquarters is a monumental circular building, four storeys high, glazed all around and structured horizontally by lamellas. It spans a perimeter of 1.5 kilometres and can accommodate up to 12,000 people. Yet another star architect, Sir Norman Foster, is responsible for the design. The building also gained a LEED Platinum certification and is equipped with technology that makes it particularly earthquake-resistant.[13] The construction costs were rumoured to be 5 billion dollars. Around the circle there are several other small buildings, including an auditorium, the so-called Steve Jobs Theatre, where product presentations of Apple's products are held.

12 Here again, corporate careers can be traced very well on the basis of their spatial dimension.

13 https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/04/us/apple-headquarters-earthquake-preparedness.html

Openings – Closings

In the case of the headquarters of Apple, we are dealing with a set of very rigorous physical boundaries. As a visitor, you cannot directly approach the headquarters or any of the neighbouring buildings. The entire site is surrounded by a fence, behind which an earth wall has been built, planted with trees and shrubs. Thus, by approaching the building, one never sees more than the roof or the upper floor, sometimes even less. The metaphor of the spaceship, which Jobs jokingly brought into play in an early presentation, is given tangible plausibility here.

I get off the bus and approach the building from the south. The first sight actually makes me shiver: Like a landed spaceship or a huge flying object (I can't think of any better analogies) the building is hidden behind the wall, almost lurking, only the upper floors are visible to a limited extent. Above all, you can see how huge it is, while it seems impossible to tell where the building ends.[14]

The design of Apple Park and the entire site is very different from its surroundings: Instead of forming a grid, it makes generous and non-compacted use of the entire area. Especially against the background of the schematic and densely built Silicon Valley, in which streets run at right angles to each other, the property sends a clear signal of distinction. Both the wall and the layout indicate a very sharp contrast of Apple Park from its environment.

This strict boundary between the inside and the outside is at the same time made permeable, but in a very specific way. Right next to Apple a visitors' centre, featuring a café and a Mac store, is open all day. Here, the secrets of the headquarters are somewhat unveiled. A third room in the visitors' centre contains a miniature version of the area of Apple Park. Approaching the model, which is about four square meters in size, I was handed over an iPad that allowed me a virtual view of the site, its buildings and, last but not least, Apple Park itself. The representation is very detailed and works smoothly.

Briefly raising my eyes, however, I became aware again how odd this situation is. Mediated by an iPad and a virtual reality model – I was looking at a building that is located in the immediate vicinity! Apple withdraws its headquarters from direct visual or even haptic access from the outside, only to make it accessible again in a very dosed and controlled way. This disclosure of information and view is technically mediated and hence more closely monitored. In the case of Apple Park, we are dealing with a very specific proportion of opening and closing. The headquarters is concealed, as well as exposed, in a very controlled and only partial way. In a Durkheimian sense, this makes Apple a downright sacred building: It is not accessible to everyone, not even visually, and therefore subject to a whole series of restrictions and prohibitions (Durkheim 2008).

Aesthetics

This specific constellation is reproduced in the design of the building and the area where it is located. Apple Park, the ring-shaped building, advertised as a perfect circle," lies at the centre of the location. The building presents itself as something out of the ordinary, through its dimensions, its form, its strict yet simple design. The circular shape of the building is connected to the address of the former Apple headquarters ("Infinite Loop"), a (not quite) circular street that surrounded the campus there. In addition, the circular form creates a special compactness of the building. It forms the clear centre of the entire area and at the same time a landscape in itself.

Within the building the circular development opens up a gigantic park of 12 hectares. Steve Jobs himself commissioned the American landscape architect Laurie Olin, one of the leading players in this field, to design the park, Here, Stanford comes in again: In talks with Laurie Olin, Jobs referred several times to Frederick Olm-

14 Already early on the size of the building excited the minds of the observers (see Goldberger 2011).

sted, a founder of American landscape architecture in the 19th century, who designed the campus of Stanford University (Rybczynski 2018). The design and structure of Apple Park- with paths, more than 8,000 trees, two cafés, a huge meadow and a lake- are organic on the one hand, but leave few options on the other. The path system leaves you free to create your own routes, but at the same time doesn't offer too many variations. So, visitors can be reminded of a trip through a national park, and not only because Apple likes to name its operating systems after such national parks. On the one hand, the Apple Park is full of nature; on the other, it is a thoroughly designed area that strongly shapes its use – nowhere else does the talk of ***second nature*** seem more suitable.

Other elements contribute to the sacralization of the whole. Above all, it is always pointed out how much the building is based on the ideas of Steve Jobs. Jobs was already the outstanding figure at Apple during his lifetime, and this veneration has rather increased since his early death (Pogačnik/Črnič 2014). Basically, Apple Park is inseparably interwoven with him and thus given a special consecration. Not only was Apple Park created on his initiative. From the very beginning, as Norman Foster has reported in interviews, Jobs was involved in every decision of the design. Both the basic circular shape, as well as seemingly minor design decisions regarding the interior of the building to the plants in the park, were seemingly Jobs' ideas. He insisted on the redwood trees from California, fruit trees he knew from his childhood, additionally a „wellness center complete with a two-storey yoga room covered in stone, from just the right quarry in Kansas, that's been carefully distressed, like a pair of jeans, to make it look like the stone at Jobs' favourite hotel in Yosemite" (Levy 2017). Thus building and person merge; both profit from each other.

Another building on the area, apart from the circle, is the Steve Jobs Theatre. For the most part underground, it hosts the presentations of new Apple products. North of the Circle is a sports facility for tennis and basketball. The fact that neither of these facilities are integrated into the main building once again underlines its sacred position. In the case of the theatre, security issues are probably added here, but the sports facility would have been quite conceivable inside the circle. Its separation can be interpreted to mean that, on the one hand, sport is considered to be important as a practice, but at the same time, should not pollute the sacred space insider the circle.

Next to the sports facility there is another special feature: Glendenning Barn, an old farm that was previously on the site, but had to be moved during the construction work. This building repeats the way Apple has been dealing with the main building. There is a sign outside the house that points to the farm, but the farm itself cannot be seen from the outside. Here, too, a mediated representation and presentation takes place. The actual buildings are only accessible via signs, models, in the case of Apple Park not least via articles in architecture magazines, blogs or private drone videos. Apple uses these channels to ensure that reports and communication about the headquarters and its elements take place, but also secures exclusive access for itself.

All in all, it is clear that Apple Park is once again clearly different from the headquarters of Google and Facebook. Admittedly, those two buildings also wanted to be special buildings: particularly beautiful, particularly pleasant, particularly ecological. But the standards were rather 'normal'; both buildings wanted to remain part of this world. Apple Park narrates a different story: The building and the entire area contrast with its surroundings and usual standards in almost every respect, form a world of its own.

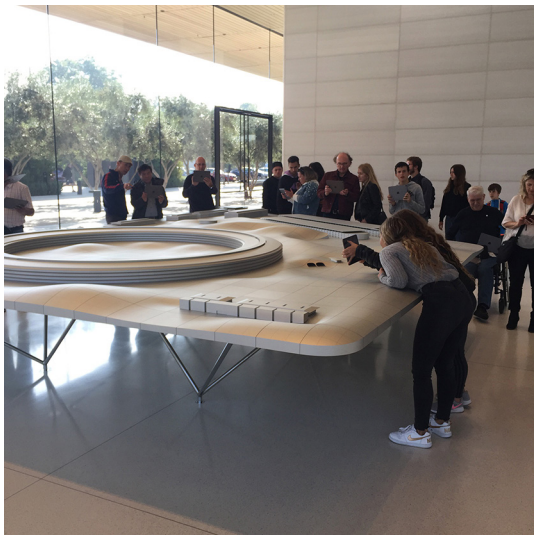
The circularity of Apple Park does also seem very much in line with the unity of Apple software and its products, especially the operating systems. The special design of the building follows the appearance of Apple products. This is clearly evident in the Visitors Centre's Mac store, where the latest models of the iPhone are on display, but where the building itself appears like an Apple product in its purity and design language.

Apple Park, View from Tantau Avenue

Apple Park, View from Tantau Avenue

Apple Park, View from the Visitor's Center

Visitor's Center, Model of the Headquarter



Visitor's Center, Model of the Headquarter

In the café of the Visitors Centre, orders are accepted via iPad, just like the day before on the Wolfe Campus of Apple. My cash then causes problems because a different checkout system is needed. The prices for the coffee are not written down anywhere – the whole thing makes an impression between "everything is free" and the typical café of a Museum for Contemporary Art.

From the very beginning, Apple has been characterized by a simultaneous targeted disclosure or offering of products, which was accompanied by a strong sense of isolation and very controlled openings (Dolata 2015: 521). This ambiguity is also evident in the building and its documentary meaning. The multiple and aestheticized covering that is characteristic for Apple and its very own meaning is basically given a further layer here. While the products are promisingly veiled and presented in their packaging in the emblematic Mac stores, Apple Park seems to function as an extension of this packaging. More clearly than before, we are dealing here with a specific assemblage of building (Apple Park), person (Steve Jobs) and products, all of which are intertwined and form a sacred whole.

An explicit invitation to enter, as in the case of Google and – to a lesser extent – of Facebook, is not extended anywhere here. The building is there and yet not there. Its "techno-sacral architecture" (von Borries 2017: 213) is above all a frequently conveyed presence, as with the VR models and iPads in the Visitor Centre. Thus, the constellation documents a specific presentation of the digital. With the inaccessibility of the spaceship, the proverbial "placelessness" of the digital (Flecker/Schönauer 2016) comes into play. Just as one does not know where most of the data centres are located and, hence, where one's own data actually remains, Apple Park only seems to represent the place where all the Apple products come from. The digital remains obscure, it only reveals as much of itself as it wants; in the end it remains inaccessible, unapproachable and incomprehensible.

5. Conclusion

The headquarters of Google, Facebook and Apple are more than functional office spaces. Nobody spends five billion dollars or hires Frank Gehry for no reason. Both the expense and the involvement of star architects clearly indicate that the headquarters of the largest tech-companies do not only or not even primarily serve to accommodate employees, but are means of (self-)representation.[15] Digital capitalism, supposedly fast, fluid and elusive, apparently (still) wants and needs to be spatially fixed at a certain place and materialized in a specific architecture. Google, Facebook and Apple make a spectacular effort to construct new buildings. Evidently, the possibility to work from everywhere has not decreased the companies' appetites for an architecture that represents their companies' values to their employees and the public. While COVID-19 may further accelerate remote work, the possibilities to work from everywhere have already existed before. In spite of this, Google, Facebook and Apple have chosen to heavily invest in headquarters of high economic and cultural capital. Architecture is an increasingly important element of the internal and external presentation.

Once again, architecture turns out to be an important medium of the social (Delitz 2010; Delitz 2017); the digital age has not changed this. One of the reasons for this continued, perhaps even increased importance of architecture may be its prominent visibility, which stands in striking contrast to the (perceived) invisibility of digital work. It is precisely because there are so few "visible" employees (at least in the company headquarters; if you ignore the suppliers from the Global South) that the materiality and images of this materiality become all the more important. The three headquarters under scrutiny could thereby only be the beginning. Google

15 For an analysis of the relation between star architecture and cities see Alaily-Mattar et al. 2020.

recently announced plans to develop entire city districts.[16] Here, too, it is obviously not a question of digital vs. analogue alternatives, but of alliances and exploitation.

At the same time, and this is also a result of my research, there is not one single, coherent architectural representation of digital work. While literature on digital capitalism has largely suggested rather uniform trends within the digital sphere (cf. for example Dolata 2015: 507), the architectures and related modes of work vary greatly. All three actors operate in the medium of architecture, aestheticizing their companies (see Prinz 2012) in one way or another, but they do so in relatively different ways. Google builds accessible and permeable, Facebook creates a built community, while Apple builds its very own world, similarly hiding and exposing it. Considering that there is not just one conception of "the digital" that manifests itself somewhere materially draws attention to the differences between the companies. The analysed and obviously rather heterogenic architecture reveals different conceptions of an often monolithically described field. Silicon Valley alone is not a uniform place, but is full of differentiations. And if the digital does not take on a unified form here, then where?

16 Google's company "Sidewalk Labs" is responsible for the latest "Quayside Project", which was to be implemented in Toronto and foresaw the remodeling of an entire district. It was to be redesigned and provided with a digital infrastructure; the Smart City in its purest form, including the use of an enormous amounts of data of its inhabitants. While the project has been put to halt at the moment of the completion of this text as a result of major protests, the next project of built digitality will surely come (https://medium.com/sidewalk-talk/why-were-no-longer-pursuing-the-quayside-project-and-what-s-next-for-sidewalk-labs-9a61de3fee3a)

References

Alaily-Mattar, N. – Ponzini, D. – Thierstein, A. (2020) *About Star Architecture.* Reflecting on Cities in Europe. Heidelberg.

Borries, F. von (2017) Die universellen Ordnungen der Zukunft. *arch+,* Heft 230, 208-215.

Bourdieu, P. (1993) Das Haus oder die verkehrte Welt. In *ders., Sozialer Sinn, Kritik der theoretischen Vernunft.* Frankfurt/M., 468-489.

Buck, B. (2010) A Short History of Building-as-Asset. *Log,* 18, 5-13.

Colomina, B. (2018) *X-Ray Architecture.* Zürich.

Corbin, J. – Strauss, A. (2008) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory.* California.

Deleuze, G. – Guattari, F. (2008) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Continuum, 2008.

Delitz, H. (2009) *Architektursoziologie.* Bielefeld.

Delitz, H. (2010) *Gebaute Gesellschaft. Architektur als Medium des Sozialen.* Frankfurt a. M. und New York: Campus.

Dijck, J. van (2013) *The Culture of Connectivity.* A Critical History of Social Media, Oxford

Dolata, U. (2015) Volatile Monopole. Konzentration, Konkurrenz und Innovationsstrategien der Internetkonzerne. *Berliner Journal für Soziologie* (24), 505–529.

Durkheim, E. (2008) *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life.* Oxford.

Farias, I. – Bender, Th. (Hg.) (2010) *Urban Assemblages. How Actor-Network Theory Changes Urban Studies.* New York.

Flecker, J. – Schönauer, A. (2016) The Production of 'Placelessness': Digital Service Work in Global Value Chains. In Flecker, J. (ed.) *Space, Place and Global Digital Work.* Wiesbaden, 11–30.

Goldberger, P. (2011). Apple's New Headquarters. *The New Yorker,* September, online: https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/apples-new-headquarters

Gumbrecht, H. U. (2018) *Weltgeist im Silicon Valley. Leben und Denken im Zukunftsmodus.* Zürich

Jakobsson P. – Stiernstedt, F. (2010) Googleplex and Informational Culture. In Ericson, S. – Riegert, K. (ed.) *Media houses: architecture, media and the production of centrality.* New York: Peter Lang, 113–137

Jencks, Ch. (2006) The iconic building is here to stay. *City,* 10:1, 3–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810600594605

Jones, P. (2006) The Sociology of Architecture and the Politics of Building. The Discursive Construction of Ground Zero. In *Sociology* 40 (3), S. 549–565

Karstein, U. – Schmidt-Lux, Th. (2017) *Architektur und Artefakte. Zur materialen Dimension des Religiösen.* Wiesbaden.

Levy, S. (2017) One more Thing. Inside Apple's Insanely great (or just insane) new Mothership. In *Wired.*

Mannheim, K. (1980) *Strukturen des Denkens.* Frankfurt/M.

Messedat, J. (2005) *Corporate Architecture. Entwicklung, Konzepte, Strategien.* Ludwigsburg.

Nachtwey, O. – Seidl, T. (2017) Die Ethik der Solution und der Geist des digitalen Kapitalismus. *IFS Working Paper 11,* hg. vom Institut für Sozialforschung Frankfurt/M.

Pogačnik, A. – Črnič, A. (2014) iReligion: Religious Elements of the Apple Phenomenon. *The Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* (26), 3, 353-364.

Popitz, H. (1992) Phänomene der Macht. Tübingen.

Prinz, S. (2012) Büros zwischen Disziplin und Design. Postfordistische Ästheitisierungen der Arbeitswelt. In Moebius, S.– Prinz, S. (ed.) *Das Design der Gesellschaft. Zur Kultursoziologie des Designs.* Bielefeld, 245–272.

Przyborski, A. – Wohlrab-Sahr, M. (2008) *Qualitative Sozialforschung.* München

Rybczynski, W. (2018). The Untold Story of Apple Park. *Architect,* November 2018, online: https://www.architectmagazine.com/design/the-untold-story-of-apple-park_o

Schatzki, Th. (2010) Materiality and Social Life. *Nature and Culture,* 5, 2, 123–149.

Sennett, R. (2018). *Buildung and Dwelling. Ethics for the City,* New York.

Sklair, L. – Gherardi, L. (2012) Iconic architecture as a hegemonic project of the transnational capitalist class. *City,* 16, 1–2, 57–73.

Steets, S. (2015) *Der sinnhafte Aufbau der gebauten Welt: Eine Architektursoziologie.* Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Turner, F. (2008) *From Counterculture to Cyberculture.* Chicago

Turner, F. (2018). The arts at Facebook: An aesthetic infrastructure for surveillance capitalism. *Poetics* (67), 53–62.

Vonseelen, T. (2012) *Von Erdbeeren und Wolkenkratzern. Corporate Architecture – Begründung, Geschichte und Ausprägung einer architektonischen Imagestrategie.* Oberhausen

Anita Aigner[1]

(Un)real estate – Online staging of investment-driven housing projects in Vienna[2]

https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2020en.41

Abstract

If we want to understand why housing is increasingly becoming a global investment product and the subject of surplus consumption, we must also look at the advertising infrastructures and image products that have been profoundly transformed by new digital technologies. This article examines the promotional staging of luxury and investment apartments using the example of websites that advertise upscale new construction projects in Vienna. The central question is how, and with which forms of aesthetic staging, processes of emotional and temporal entanglement are set in motion. For the analysis, Gernot Böhme's theory of aesthetic economy and concepts of ANT-informed economic sociology are used. It is argued that breathtakingly realistic architectural renderings should not only be seen as representations, but as 'market devices' which, together with the technical-digital environment in which they are embedded, (co-)shape our affects, our desire and our consumer behaviour. The aesthetic work that is invested in the online staging of residential real estate does not simply serve to better imagine buildings not yet built, but rather to sell apartments at an ever earlier date – thus to accelerate the capital turnover.

Keywords: real estate advertising, digitization, financialization, architecture, architectural renderings, websites, aesthetic economy, Vienna

1 Associate Professor Associate Professor for Sociology of Architecture, Faculty of Architecure and Planning, Vienna University of Technology.

2 This paper is an elaborated version of a presentation given at the workshop 'Architektur, Gesellschaft, Digitalisierung' (Architecture, Society, Digitization) of the AG Architektursoziologie (Cultural Sociology Section in the DGS) in Leipzig on March 9, 2019. I thank colleagues and participants of the workshop for helpful comments and remarks.

Anita Aigner

(Un)real estate – Online staging of investment-driven housing projects in Vienna

Introduction

Since the 1990s, a number of scholars in the fields of cultural studies, sociology, and cultural geography (Featherstone 1991, Lash–Urry 1994, Lury 1996, Thrift 2008, Lash–Lury 2007) have pointed out that a central feature of the transformation of capitalist economies is the increasing 'aestheticization of everyday life', that 'aestheticization' plays an increasingly important role in the consumption, production and marketing of goods. 'In a crowded market place aesthetics may be the only way to make a product or environment stand out from the crowd.' (Thrift 2008:9) The German philosopher Gernot Böhme, in his theory of aesthetic economy, also starts out from the assumption that 'a quantitatively significant sector of the total economy is devoted to creating show values, so that providing a commodity with show value plays a major part in the production of that commodity.' (Böhme 2017:20) He speaks of 'aesthetic capitalism' because, on the one hand, aesthetics as a characteristic of products (the design) and the associated sign value has become increasingly important, and, on the other hand, the 'aesthetic work' of promotional staging is on the increase. This is especially true for the commodity housing.

The range of professional service providers involved in the aesthetic staging of residential real estate has become much more differentiated over the last ten years. There are home stagers, who spice up empty dwellings for the purpose of the sales promotion; virtual home staging agencies, which offer digital furnishing and the beautifying of properties in digital images; visualization offices, which specialize in realistic architecture renderings, animations and virtual 3D walkthroughs of objects not yet built; companies geared towards immersive image technologies which offer 360° cameras (for the 3D capture of physical spaces) and various apps and service packages that include the synthesis and individualization of captured image data as well as its publication (such as on Google Street View or real estate portals); as well as agencies for real estate marketing, which take care of all dimensions of a building project's advertising appearance, including naming (branding), print material and web presence.

In view of this breath-taking development, driven by new digital technologies, for a sociology of architecture interested in the 'visual' and the 'digital' an examination of the aesthetic practices and products of 'digitalized' real estate advertising almost imposes itself. In the following, we will confine ourselves to 'project websites' – a new instrument of real estate marketing, with which (residential) building projects in planning or construction are advertised on a separate website on the Net. Project websites are of interest for a cultural-sociological investigation not only because they represent a young and hitherto unexplored phenomenon in the promotion and mediation of real estate, but also because 'aesthetic (staging) work' is concentrated here. As in no other advertising and coordination medium, several digital image products (renderings, animations, films, virtual tours, photographic images) appear here in combination. Under the aegis of marketing experts, the products of various 'aesthetic workers' (Böhme 2017) are brought together here. Not only web designers are involved, but also visualizers, architects and photographers, all contributing to the visual content of real estate advertising websites.

As research conducted in 2018 and 2019 with architecture students has shown,[3] project websites are mainly found in the high-priced segment of the property market – i.e. where the biggest profits are to be made for the developers. For the present study, two examples were selected from this segment for their elaborate aesthetic staging: the websites of the large-scale projects 'Parkapartments am Belvedere' and 'Triiiple', both of which can be described as iconic due to their landmark character in the urban fabric, and which, as mixed-use projects with their 342 and (approximately) 500 condominiums, address both investors and owner-occupiers. Over a period of two years (from May 2018 to June 2020) the two websites were visited regularly, and growth of the websites and rapid development of aesthetic staging tools could be observed. Since project websites are a comprehensive medium in terms of content and provide a rich empirical data material, their analysis also requires a more precise determination.

While earlier approaches in advertising research focused on the advertising as a means of manipulation and evocation of consumer desires, the focus today is on how moods and affects can be intentionally created and managed, how 'market attachment' is produced, and how encounters and relationships between products and consumers are organized in a digitalized consumer society (Schmidt–Conrad 2016, Anderson 2014, Cochoy et al. 2017). Following this shift, the research question that arises with regard to the image-rich marketing tool 'project website' is what efforts are made here to activate our affects, and what visual means are used to initiate processes of emotional and temporal entanglement.

Even though there is an awareness that impressive or emotionally appealing architectural visualizations have become a 'key marketing strategy for developers' (Kaika 2011:985), online real estate advertising and the advertising culture associated with digital architectural images have hardly become the subject of (social science) research to date. Jacqueline Botterill (2013) provides one of the first contributions focusing on real estate advertising that has shifted to the Internet since the 1990s. Starting from the observation that real estate advertising has also become an object of consumption ('property porn'), she analyses 600 property listings on various real estate search portals in London, Montreal and New York. Contrary to her initial hypothesis, Botterill concludes that competition in the housing market promotes homogenization rather than diversity of lifestyle representations. Her central argument is that the staging work of real estate agents, photographers and home stagers offers platform users above all a foil for lifestyle daydreaming, and that the consumption of real estate advertising is accompanied by a constant revision of lifestyle ideas and a progressive aestheticization of everyday life.

A further important contribution comes from a research team around the human geographer Gillian Rose, who conducted multi-site ethnographic research on the production of architectural renderings for a large urban renewal project in Doha/Khatar (Degen et al. 2015, Melhuish et al. 2016, Rose et al. 2014). On the one hand, they used Böhme's (1993) concept of 'atmosphere' to address the affective dimension of images and investigated how digital visualization technologies (specifically computer graphics programs such as 3ds Max, Form-Z, or Rhino 3D) enable the engineering of sensory experiences using a wide range of graphic effects (Degen et al. 2015). On the other hand, based on a conceptualization of computer-generated images as 'interfaces', the complex process of creating these images by an international network of actors was investigated (Rose et al. 2014).

In contrast to this research, which addresses the production of architectural renderings (see also Houdart 2008), the present paper focuses on the encounter with such images in the everyday digital advertising context. In doing so, we do not draw (like Botterill) on listings from real estate search platforms, but on image-rich advertising websites of new housing projects. It would be obvious as well as tempting to analyse indi-

3 In the context of the research seminar 'Architecture Sociology' at the Faculty of Architecture and Planning of the Vienna University of Technology, conducted by the author together with Andrea Schaffar in 2018 and 2019, the aesthetic practices of promotional staging in the different sectors of the Viennese housing market were examined.

vidual images of these websites. However, a contemplative reading of images as static and isolated entities – as known from semiotic advertising research or from art historical and sociological image research – falls short. It would neither do justice to the practical dimension of images in the digital advertising context nor to their economic function. This is why a conceptualization of images and websites as 'market devices' is proposed here, based on pragmatic French economic sociology (Callon et al. 2007, Muniesa et al. 2007, Cochoy et al. 2017, Cochoy et al. 2020).

1. Project websites and images as 'market devices'

This sociological tradition emphasizes the participation of 'non-human entities' in consumer decisions and the emergence of markets. The central assumption here is that consumer behaviour and economic activities cannot be explained (solely) by the dispositions of social actors or the interplay of individual and market structures. Rather, it is assumed that economic behaviour is also shaped and framed by material things (whether the shopping cart in a 'real' supermarket or technical devices such as smartphones or PCs with application software on online marketplaces).

To understand images and websites as 'market devices' means to take them seriously in their immersive, search activity and consumer behaviour (co-)structuring dimension, to attribute to them 'agency', an action-organizing force: 'whether they might just help (in a minimalist, instrumental version) or force (in a maximalist, determinist version), devices do things. They articulate actions; they act or they make others act.' (Muniesa–Millo–Callon 2007:2) It is often the attractiveness of an image that makes us click on an offer on the Internet, we let ourselves be guided to unknown websites via pictures, compare and 'remember' offers via pictures, we scroll, zoom and click through pictures, take screenshots, download pictures and share them with others. In short: images on search engines, websites, search and booking platforms make us act, put us into action, connect us with products and make us spend more time than we like on the web.

Understanding images as 'market devices' also means questioning the normal case of contemplative image analysis in research practice. Gillian Rose (2016b) has already argued for cultural geography, 'that the close reading of stable cultural objects is ill-equipped to engage with the defining characteristics of contemporary, digitally-mediated cultural activity.' The fact that the digital practice of real estate search has little to do with contemplative image perception but more with navigating in a larger mass of images ('keeping an eye out for where to move or what to do to next', Verhoeff 2012:13), is not an argument against the slow and precise reading of images – against what Rose (2016a) calls in her methodological classification 'compositional interpretation' and 'semiological analysis', or what in German-speaking sociology is called 'segment analysis' (Breckner 2010) or 'documentary method' (Bohnsack 2011, Przyborski 2018). But the simple observation that images on the Net are not only something to look at, but also something to click at (and thus serve the on-going and in-depth exploration of advertising structures) leads us to the conviction that the practical dimension of the digital must be taken into account more strongly in (digital) image research.

Rather than treating images as static entities removed from their context, they are seen here as elements in a market arrangement involving human actors and technical devices, which aims to initiate market transactions (see also the concept of 'market agencement'; Callon 2016, Cochoy et al. 2016). This perspective allows not only justice to be done to the (often forgotten or tacitly assumed) economic function of the images, but also to identify another (usually unnoticed) facet of the entanglement with products. In image research, it is primarily the pictures themselves (in what they show) – in their atmospheric effect and ability to directly influence human mood and thereby bypass intellectual (cognitive) filters – that have been attributed an 'affective power' (Biehl-Missal–Sarren 2013). But in addition to the seductive image content, we are also affected and drawn into the world of products by acting with images, by the easy-to-use interfaces of our Internet-enabled devices.

Therefore, starting from the question of how project websites are designed to affect us, we will distinguish four different dimensions of immersiveness or becoming (temporally or emotionally) involved: the immersive spatiality of the website, the affective-immersive effect of (interior) visualizations, image films and virtual tours. However, before we go into detail, here are a few key data and special features about the projects and their web presences.

3. The websites of 'Park Apartments at the Belvedere' and 'Triiiple' – image dominant and multiply immersive

With 'Parkapartments am Belvedere' and 'Triiiple', two iconic new construction projects in Vienna are in the focus, which are exemplary for a late- or financial-capitalist housing production oriented towards investment and upscale living. Already the categories used – on the website of Parkapartments, the apartments are divided into 'Investment' and 'Selection' – make it clear that this is no longer about housing production that serves basic needs. Rather, we are dealing here with (luxury) products for the 'intensification of life' (Böhme 2017) and an investment product, where housing becomes a commodity as interest-bearing commodity capital. It is no coincidence that the dominant building type here is the high-rise residential building. In order to maximize profits and benefit from 'economies of scale', so-called standard floors are used in both projects – i.e. floor plans that are the same on as many floors as possible are stacked to form the residential tower, and a number of them are built.

The high-rise ensemble 'Parkapartments am Belvedere' was built near the new Vienna Central Station between 2016 and 2019 by Signa Holding (a real estate and trading company founded in 2000 by Austrian real estate tycoon René Benko). It consists of three approx. 60m high residential towers with a total of 342 apartments (with 46 to 300m^2 usable floor space) and two hotel towers. 'Triiiple' is a construction project developed by Soravia Group (a leading real estate project developer in Austria) together with Austrian Real Estate/ARE (a profit-oriented subsidiary of the Austrian Federal Real Estate Company/BIG). The building complex under construction in the 3rd district of Vienna along an arterial road in the direction of the airport consists (as the name suggests) of three residential towers (between 106 and 120 meters high) and an office building. In two of the three residential towers, almost all of the 500 apartments (with 35 to 165m^2 floor space) are for sale.[4] The third residential tower with 670 micro-apartments (target group students and young professionals) was sold to a major investor immediately after the start of sales in July 2017. While units in the Parkapartments towers (apart from a few remaining items) have already been handed over to the owners, the Triiiple-apartment building, which was begun in April 2018, will not be completed until fall 2021.

A striking feature of both projects is the early distribution and sales process – which is causally related to the early appearance of the websites. Both projects are characterized by comprehensive real estate marketing that accompanies the development of the property from the very beginning. In this process, naming, the production of impressive marketing images and a web presence have top priority. For the websites, different (Austrian and German) companies involved in real estate marketing, visualization and data management were commissioned. Both websites, which can be found quickly on the net due to the identical domain name (https://parkapartments.at/; https://triiiple.at/), went online before construction began. The projects are thus characterized by a specific temporality. Apartments are already offered for sale at a time when they do not yet exist or are not even under construction. This works – not least because they are advertised with breathtakingly realistic visualizations. The aesthetic staging work can thus be seen (together with the digital infrastructure and general distribution of Internet-capable end devices) as an essential prerequisite for accelerating the sales process – at least under the current conditions of high demand. At a site inspection

4 25 apartments are to be allocated as social housing by Caritas, a social aid organization of the Roman Catholic Church.

in early March 2020 (i.e. 1½ years before planned completion), 80% of the Triiiple apartments had already been sold.[5]

In the extensive package of marketing measures the advertising and marketing tool 'project website' occupies a special position in several respects. Compared to real estate platforms (like immobilienscout24.at, immonet.at or immodirect.at), where different providers offer individual dwellings, on a project website a single building project with many dwellings is presented. The mediation tool website is thus linked to 'singularization' (Callon et al. 2002) – not only in the sense that relatively similar, standardized products are individualized or made distinguishable by advertising design, but above all in the sense that a product is presented in isolation, i.e. it is not (as on platforms) to be seen next to and directly comparable with other products.

Compared to other advertising measures (print advertising, outdoor advertising on construction boards, construction fences or screens in subway stations, commercials in the cinema etc.), project websites also have a greater reach and represent the commodity housing in a 'global infosphere' (Sheller 2009:1397). They function as a round-the-clock online shop window accessible from anywhere. Since they are aimed at an international group of buyers, both websites are also accessible in English (in addition to German).

Since apartments cannot (yet) be bought with a click, project websites 'only' serve to initiate sales. In order to establish connections to potential customers, the providers offer opportunities for direct contact: with short contact forms; with icons that show telephone numbers or e-mail addresses when clicked on and that appear (as with park apartments) on every page of the website. In contrast to analogue one-way advertising media (posters, outdoor advertising, brochures), the interactive marketing medium website also allows providers to collect user data and to address and track users in a targeted manner – with electronic newsletters and, through the use of marketing cookies, with personalized banner advertising.

Compared to real estate listings, project websites are characterized by extensive product communication. They provide comprehensive information on the building project (location, architecture, special community facilities and services, etc.) and on the apartments (size, equipment, price). Not only different types of apartments are presented, but also the investment model 'Vorsorgewohnung' (literally translated 'provision (for old age) apartment'; see Aigner 2020). On both websites, interested users can use the 'apartment finder' to find out which apartments are still available on which floors with which view and at what price. The apartments, which are more expensive towards the top, are advertised with appealing (interior and exterior) visualizations – which, however, after completion (as in the case of Parkapartments) can also be replaced or supplemented by photos (of the building and the furnished show apartment). Also available for download are floor plans and descriptions ('exposés') of the apartments as well as brochures with an overview of the apartment types.

Project websites represent not only a comprehensive, but also a relatively long-lasting medium in a process of transformation. During the observation period of a good two years, an increase in media content as well as the rapid further development of aesthetic staging tools could be observed. Both websites were enriched with new interactive image products (Triiiple included virtual tours of three digitally staged apartment types; Parkapartments a virtual tour of a 'real' model apartment that had been set up for visitors). In addition, 'news', films, media articles and advertising reports (on the progress of construction, the furnishings, the star architect, etc.) were continuously added (especially in the case of Parkapartments).

5 According to a broker in the sales pavillon.

3. Dimensions of involvement

The immersive spatiality of websites – navigating with images

As has already been emphasized in the field of media theory and visual culture (Verhoeff 2012, Elsaesser 2013, Ash 2015, Rose 2016b), with the digital change, vision has become an active engagement that includes the tactile. Searching and navigating on the Internet requires, to speak here with Latour (1986), 'thinking with eyes and hands'. The performative nature of the encounter with digital user interfaces on our Internet-enabled end devices can also be seen as a reason for speaking less of 'spectators' and more of 'users'. In order to bring together the visual and sensorimotor activity of the actors, Verhoeff (2012) also proposes the term 'user-spectator'.

Also the encounter with websites is an undertaking less characterized by contemplation than by action. Their active exploration distinguishes the website medium significantly from traditional forms of product communication (such as posters or advertising films). While a poster allows the advertising message to be grasped at a glance, a website requires the activity of browsing. While the linear sequence of content is predetermined in an advertising film, visitors to a website must find their own way through the material. A website is not a 'finished product' that prescribes a certain path of navigation, but rather a space filled with image and text content, into and through which movement is expected, which demands to be accessed and explored.

Since a long length of stay is the goal of the providers, very specific techniques of entanglement are used. For example, images are used as links to guide us through all corners of the website. On both housing project websites navigation is not only possible via the menu, but also by clicking on linked images. Subtle hints (arrows, click symbols, colour change of keywords on images when the cursor is moved) suggest an intuitive clicking on the images. Already the header images on the entry page of both project websites are linked. If the user clicks on the 'hero-shot' (an impressive exterior rendering showing the project from the front and from a distance; Fig. 1), he/she is taken to the webpage of the 'apartment finder'. All other images on the entry page (which have to be clicked through at the Parkapartment website) are also linked and lead to other website content (movies, show apartment, sales pavilion etc.). But also most (sub)pages of the websites are structured in such a way that the user is encouraged to be active, especially to 'work' with pictures. Here again, a 'header image' dominates, or more precisely, a picture field, in which three to five pictures can be clicked through. Since the image field takes up almost the entire user interface, little or nothing of the text below (depending on the terminal device, window settings and screen format) is visible. For experienced users, this is a prompt to 'scroll', i.e. to move the screen content to reach areas below the header image that have not yet been inspected. Once arriving at the bottom of the pages, one usually (on both project websites) finds a final line with three to five images, which again prompt to click and lead to pages announced in the menu (such as 'smart services', 'location' or 'fit-outs').

This internal linking is a central aspect of the immersive spatiality of a website. Each page is designed in such a way that there is always a 'next'. This exploration, which is situated between targeted search and undecided browsing, runs criss-cross and in loops, and is thus also characterized by repetition and self-referentiality. What is essential here is that the user interface, which is designed for (inter)action and involvement, functions intuitively and that the action or 'work' of exploration is not experienced as such – which is why the media philosopher Alexander Galloway, in his meditation on the human-machine interface, also speaks of 'the glow of unwork' (Galloway 2012:25, see also Rose et al. 2016).

Beyond this practical immersiveness of a website, however, it is above all the image products themselves that have an immersive effect, operating more on the level of emotions. Even if visualizations, videos and virtual tours are not necessarily about the effect of total immersion in a virtual world, which is associated with computer games, the simulacra, i.e. the dream images and illusions of the real estate industry, must also

be granted a sensual seductive power. Which qualities are at stake here, which techniques of seduction and ensnaring (Thrift 2008 also speaks of a 'technology of allure') are used here, will first be discussed using the example of aesthetically charged interior visualizations.

Construction of exclusivity and feel-good pictures
'Wrapping up your emotions and selling them back to you'

When it comes to the presentation of the apartments, atmospheric interior images of tastefully furnished 'dream apartments' with breath-taking views of the city prevail (Fig. 3, 4). Regarding these aesthetic high-end visualizations, it should be noted in advance that the object in the picture has little or nothing to do with the apartments for sale. Contrary to what the pictures suggest, the apartments are being sold empty and unfurnished. Also, the breath-taking city view omnipresent in the interior pictures is only available in the apartments on the upper floors. We are thus dealing with 'symbolic images' that do not represent a specific apartment, but rather symbolize it, standing in its place. These images have a lot in common with the images on food packages called 'serving suggestion'. Here, too, the manufacturer tries to show the product as appetisingly as possible, and the fictitious (proxy) images contain a number of ingredients that are not included in the purchased product (such as the furniture). To indicate this artifice the developers either opt for the note 'symbolic pictures' (as with Triiiple) or (as in the case of Parkapartments) for a disclaimer in the website imprint ('any furniture or room divisions depicted in plans or drawings are meant to be suggestive only and do not form part of the contract').

The engineering of the sensual appeal takes place on several levels in the interior visualizations. As early semiological advertising research has already shown, we are positioned as spectators in every advertising image: 'it [the ad] projects out into the space in front of it an imaginary person composed in terms of the relationship between the elements in the ad. You move into this space as you look at the ad, and in doing so "become" the spectator, you feel that the "hey, you" "really did" apply to you in particular.' (Williamson 1978:50f) The interior visualizations for Triiiple and Parkapartments are composed in such a way that the spectator walks through the represented space (and does not view the object from a distance as 'audience', as with hero-shots). The fact that no people are shown 'while living' is calculated. After all, we are not supposed to develop the feeling of having arrived at others' homes, but rather at our own. We are not merely made visitors to the apartment but are already put in the position of residents. The glass of red wine waiting on the side table on the terrace, the opened notebook or magazine, the steaming coffee cup, the folded back bedspread, the blanket left behind when getting up from the sofa – an armada of little things that suggest that we have already moved in.

A further central point is that we are addressed emotionally with meticulously constructed atmospheres. According to Böhme (2003), atmospheres are to be conceived 'as something that proceeds from and is created by things, persons and their constellations'. With marketing images, however, atmospheres and the emotional effects that emanate from them are produced actively and in a targeted way (Degen et al. 2017, Biehl-Missal 2012, 2013). The selected visualizations used to advertise the apartments are designed to enchant us sensually with a feel-good atmosphere and uplifting views of the urban space. Whether the apartments are large or small, whether they are called 'apartments', 'studios' and 'lofts' (as in Triiiple) or 'selection' and 'investment' apartments (as in Parkapartments) – their virtual staging always boils down to stylish 'dream apartments' for the upper middle-class taste, equipped with chic furniture, a large flat screen and artistic flatware – and, most importantly, a terrific view over the city.

The attribution of luxury and exclusivity takes place primarily through the staging of 'being on top'. Although – in the sense of Luc Boltanski's and Arnaud Esquerre's economy of enrichment ('Enrichissement';

2017) – other strategies of upgrading are used (where the symbolic capital of the 'star architect' and of Vienna as a 'city of culture' with its sights and works of art are deployed), exclusivity in the renderings is produced primarily through rooftop scenes. Being on top, the view of the city lying at one's feet has an elevating effect, triggers in the viewer a feeling of grandeur and (because it is only available for a view) also of superiority. While with Parkapartments the feeling of a privileged 'living above the city' is reserved for the buyers of the 'Selection' apartments, Triiiple provides for communal terraces. An in-house democratic luxury, so to speak, which also meets the need for distinction of neoliberal middle classes. Visual bait is laid out to fuel their lifestyle fantasies: glamorous atmospheric scenes of sunbathing at the rooftop pool, of chilling out or having an after-work drink with friends on the chic roof terrace with a beguiling view of a city bathed in warm evening light.

The seductive effect of the renderings has to do not only with the image content, but also with the quality of the renderings. The highly developed technical possibilities of digital simulation (shadow, reflection and depth-of-field effects) allow a style of representation that is described by professional visualisers as 'photorealistic'. Even though from a media-theoretical perspective we should better speak of 'digital realism' (Richter 2008) than photorealism, the interior and exterior renderings are often hardly distinguishable from photographic images. The digital-naturalistic style of representation shows things in literally the best light. Light, color, and mirror effects are used to make objects appear more beautiful and glamorous than they could ever be in reality (which, in the meantime, also applies to photographs taken with smartphone cameras). Material textures are simulated so convincingly that they evoke a pleasant feeling when viewed. The fluffy blanket on the sofa is not only an invitation to take a seat but to snuggle up and settle down.

Moreover, the art of image synthesis has been brought to perfection. The normal case in architecture and visualization offices is the synthetic composite image. Here, in the final step of digital image production (where a 2D rendering is further processed in Photoshop), computer-generated and photographic image elements are combined. To increase the impression of reality and to make sceneries more lively, photographic material ('footage') is inserted into the computer-generated scene. This can be people, plants, clouds, etc. – or, as in the case of our exterior and interior visualizations, also photographic images of the urban environment. A central aspect is the skill of arranging the pictorial elements in such a way that together they create a realistic impression. Houdart (2008:56, 60) also speaks of realistic images in the sense of a 'successful cohabitation' of the elements.

The apartments are staged so realistically and attractively on all levels (furnishing style, lighting situation, simulation of the surfaces, embedding in the city panorama, etc.) that even at a fleeting glance they create a positive basic mood – and make you forget the (still) non-existence of the objects. High-end architectural renderings thus radiate 'ontological security' in their very own way. Even if this sociological concept refers to the stable being in the world of individuals (cf. Giddens 1996:117ff), it can be transferred to visual culture, to the working of images. Images can be understood as producers of trust, as a means to organize a relationship of trust (to the world as it is and as it can be, enriched with new building projects). What we are dealing with here is the emotional, cognitively rather inaccessible phenomenon that pictures are able to create trust in the (future) existence of what is depicted. To this end, the glamour factor, the aesthetic idealization, must be well dosed. Without doubt, the pictures go beyond the everyday – but not to the extent that it would no longer be possible to identify with the object. Finally, the virtually staged dream apartments are intended to make users dream and pick them up at their dreams of living (even if they only want to invest and do not live there themselves). An advertising expert sums it up when he says: 'Advertising doesn't always mirror how people are acting, but how they're dreaming ... In a sense, what we're doing is wrapping up your emotions and selling them back to you.' (Leiss et al. 1990:200)

Image films – multimodality, digital realism and affective symbol images

Where vanishing points and horizon are abolished, the camera is unchained and the position of the observer can be anywhere, movement itself can be represented at once – in a film or an architectural animation. In fact, not only architectural renderings but also so-called 'image films' were commissioned for both major projects before construction began. In the meantime, films have become such an important part of prestigious major projects that they are now gathered together on both websites under a separate menu item. On the Triiiple website, there is not only a (picture) link to the image film on the entry page, but also seven short videos are presented under the menu item 'Video & Webcam'. The Parkapartments website offers six videos under the menu item 'Filme' (just available in the German site version). In addition to image films, there are videos on the construction progress, webcam videos of the construction site in fast motion, commercials in salesmen executives talk about the advantages of their project, a cinema spot and (in the case of the completed Parkapartments) a film in which the 'Joyful Living' (as the title suggests) of a newly moved-in couple is staged.

If we now focus on the elaborate image films, the emotional 'immersion' in and 'being captured' of moving images can be attributed to three main aspects: multimodality, spectacular camera rides and the use of affective symbolic footage. Multimodality means the simultaneous use of several media or sensory channels in a single media product (Kress–Van Leeuwen 2001). The audio-visual image films can be understood as a 'semiotic landscape' or as a 'multimodal Gesamtkunstwerk', in which spoken and written language is used as well as music and different kinds of visual material. Multimodality as an advertising communication practice is synonymous with an extensive occupancy of the senses, an intensification of the pure visual life. Just watching the image films without sound makes it clear how much the feel-good music used reinforces and positively colours the mood of what is seen.

On the visual level, viewers are gripped and impressed above all by spectacular scenes and camera movements that deviate from the normal mode of everyday spatial perception. In both commercials breath-taking 'drone rides' are undertaken. Since the spatiality of the visualization software is not limited by the materiality of a human body, 'impossible' settings and movements are displayed, which are most likely to be imagined as drone flights: flying towards a building from below above a water surface, flying between two towers, nosediving from the sky onto the buildings, effortlessly penetrating the façade, even cheekily escaping from the interior to the exterior space, including gliding along the façades and spontaneously entering another apartment – again designed down to the last detail.

But there are also 'real' shots of 'real' places and (represented) social interactions, which are used (in the Triiiple image film) as emotionally involving symbolic images and combined with (computer) simulations. Thus, the technique of montage is used, a technique, which is also seen in film and media theory as a 'key technology of ideological manipulation' (Manovich 1995), especially since a new context of meaning is constructed through the temporal sequence of 'separated realities'. In the Triiiple image film, the 'real' film sequences are used to present a building project as an already inhabited and lively place. The myth of an all-round positive urban lifestyle is displayed. The film shows modern, young and young-at-heart, attractive, white people jogging in nature, cooking together in the 'event kitchen', at the computer in the 'salon with library', during conversations on the terrace with a breath-taking view (Fig. 5a) or in the friendly green and furnished urban outdoor space lined with restaurants. The fact that the film sequences are shown in slow motion intensifies the perception of emotionally touching interactions (the look two singles throw at each other in the event kitchen; the father lifting his little daughter into the air, etc. Fig. 5b, c).

With all available 'semiotic resources' (van Leeuwen 2005) an affective illusion of the good life at this place is created – which, however, is reserved for a purely white middle class that has outgrown the 'taste of necessity' (Bourdieu) and is occupied with intensification of life and accumulation. The ideal image of a decelerat-

ed urban lifestyle in harmony with nature is evoked. Thus, besides all-round happy people, atmospheric nature shots are also used (a film sequence of a flight over a forest, idyllic views of gently flowing water in atmospheric morning light). In the visualizations, nature is staged in such a manipulative manner that a plot on the edge of an industrial area, which is characterized by heavy traffic, appears like a quiet recreational area (Fig. 2).

Virtual apartment tour – an invitation to play

The virtual viewing tours work completely differently than the emotionally involving image films. They are not to be consumed passively, but require maximal (screen) activity from the users. They also come closest to what is considered 'immersion' in the gaming industry – with diverse possibilities for interaction as an essential quality criterion. While on the Triiiple website the user can navigate through the 3D model of three virtually staged apartments (with two, three and four rooms), in the case of Parkapartments it is the 3D model of an already completed and fully furnished model apartment. In both cases, 'moving through' means clicking on already given circles (on the floor or at eye level in the room). While in the case of Parkapartments, clicking on circular markers provides additional information on the fit-outs (floor, heating, cooling, safety concept, etc.), in the case of Triiiple, a 360° panoramic view can be initiated at any position with the autorotation function, and the 3D model (if this mode is available on the end user device) can also be experienced with virtual reality glasses.

It seems that developers in the high-price segment are competing with each other for the latest marketing tools. There is no technical innovation that would not be used – and that would not be worth a headline (see, for example, the report on virtual apartment viewing with VR glasses in the construction container of Parkapartments; *Der Standard* of April 15, 2017). In fact, the virtual tours (even without VR glasses) represent a new dimension of immersive experience. Not only are the sensual impressions increased once again (compared to a static visualization) – stepping out onto the terrace with a 360° panoramic view in slow motion creates a wow-effect, the feeling of floating above the city and of being in a superior position (Fig. 6). The practical dimension of navigating also has an even more involving effect.

The new interactive tools thus not only seduce as sensual-atmospheric representations, but also as interactive apparatuses – as toys that want to be playfully explored. Navigable 3D models (with or without VR glasses/Augmented Reality) are an invitation to play – and should therefore be understood as 'attachment devices' (Cochoy et al. 2017) which establish a connection with a construction project via a playful moment. What we are dealing with here is an organization of contact and involvement that goes beyond image content and aesthetics (in the sense of *aisthesis*) and aims at the 'work of play' on and with our favourite devices (PC, tablet or smartphone). This is why the call 'Immerse yourself in the digital world of Signa' in an advertising video for an augmented reality app (Fig. 7) is also to be understood as an indication of an increasingly entertainment-based real estate advertising, where the focus is no longer on conveying information but on attracting attention with technical gimmicks.

Conclusion

In view of the real estate websites overloaded with films and new interactive tools, it can be concluded that we are witnessing a shift from information-based to entertainment-based real estate advertising. This shift, based on new digital technologies, is most evident in the high-priced segment of the investment-driven property market. In a field, where the most powerful developers are tied are not only competing for the most affluent customers with their most prestigious (and ever higher) new construction projects, but are also tied to each other in a battle for the most impressive renderings and the latest marketing tools.

Introducing the concept of market devices, this analysis of the advertising websites of two major Viennese construction projects (Triiiple and Parkapartments at the Belvedere) is a contribution to both image

research in the field of architecture and the digitization of real estate advertising. In contrast to earlier approaches in advertising research and conventional image-analytical approaches (in art, cultural and social sciences), images were not treated here as isolated entities removed from their context, but as elements in a socio-technical arrangement designed to initiate market transactions. By applying the concept of 'market devices' to image-based online advertising tools, not only the (often forgotten) economic dimension of images is emphasized, but also their practical dimension that puts us into action. This theoretical perspective, based on ANT-informed economic sociology, also corresponds to a shift from the dominant category of representation to the practical dimension of the digital.

Starting with the question of which techniques and visual means are used on project websites to entangle us emotionally and temporally with products of the real estate industry, four aspects of immersivity or involvement were identified and examined more closely: the immersive spatiality of websites, where we have to work our way through the content – also with the help of linked images; the seductive attractiveness of symbolic images (interior and exterior renderings), that impress us and grab us with their impression and feel-good factor; the different levels of emotional involvement through multimodal image films which likewise flatter the (aesthetic and economic) dispositions of a privileged middle class concerned with lifestyle enhancement and investment concerns; and finally, the interactivity of virtual tours that aim to attract our attention as technical toys. There is no doubt that the affective power of all images used here is central to product communication in the real estate sector. But it is emphasized here that it is not only the images that affect people and connect them to goods, but also digital-material structures in which they are embedded.

We can agree with Botterill (2013) that new forms of aesthetic online-staging (co-)shape our housing ideals and contribute to the 'aestheticization of everyday life'. Here, however, it is emphasized that from a political economy perspective, the argument that aesthetic staging work accelerates the sales process is more important. The elaborate digital image products do not only provide a foil for lifestyle fantasies and serve not only to convey information and to better imagine a not-yet-built, but above all to sell the apartments ever earlier – thus, to accelerate of capital turnover.

A further argument is that the aesthetic work of digital staging also contributes to the financialization of housing. Even if Böhme is right in saying that growth in advanced capitalism can essentially only be generated by surplus consumption, it must be added that the aesthetic work of digital staging is not only aimed at consumption for the 'intensification of life', i.e. the purchase of ever better equipped and more attractive apartments, but also at consumption for the purpose of financial investment, the purchase of apartments to secure and increase over-accumulated (monetary) capital.

If the aesthetic staging and brokerage tools driven by new digital technologies help the profit-driven construction industry to produce 'desires' (for more exclusive, stylish housing) and to absorb surplus (money) capital looking for investment, we can assume that they also co-shape urban housing markets. An insight that this article shares with a new strand of research in the field of housing studies coined 'Platform Real Estate' (Fields–Rogers 2019). Especially since 'aesthetic work' and the 'visual' have received little attention here so far, this article could be a stimulus to further explore these aspects in research on the digitization of the real estate industry.

References

Anderson, B. (2014) *Encountering Affect. Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions.* Surrey, Burlington: Ashgate.

Aigner, A. (2020) Whats's wrong with investment apartments? The construction of a 'financialized' rental investment product in Vienna, *Housing Studies.* https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2020.1806992

Ash, J. (2015) *The Interface Envelope.* London: Bloomsbury.

Biehl-Missal, B. – Sarren, M. (2012) Atmospheres of Seduction: A Critique of Aesthetic Marketing Practices, Journal of Macromarketing 32(2), 168–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146711433650

Biehl-Missal, B. – Sarren, M. (2013) The atmosphere of the image; an aesthetic concept for visual analysis, ***Consumption Markets and Culture*** 16(4), 356–367. https://doi.org/10.1080/10253866.2012.668369

Bohnsack, R. (2011) *Qualitative Bild- und Videointerpretation. Die dokumentarische Methode.* Opladen & Farmington Hills: UTB/Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Böhme, G. (2017) *Critique of Aesthetic Capitalism.* Mimesis international.

Böhme, G .(1993) Atmosphere as the fundamental concept of a new aesthetics. *Thesis Eleven* 36, 113–12. https://doi.org/10.1177/072551369303600107

Böhme G (2003) Contribution to the Critique of the Aesthetic Economy, *Thesis Eleven,* 73, 21–82. https://doi.org/10.1177/0725513603073001005

Boltanski, Luc & Esquerre, Arnaud (2017) *Enrichissement. Une critique de la merchandise.* Paris: Gallimard.

Botterill, J. (2013) Property porn: An analysis of online real estate advertising. In McAllister, M. P. – West, E. (eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Advertising and Promotional Culture,* 326-337 (New York, Abingdon: Taylor & Francis).

Breckner, R. (2010) Sozialtheorie des Bildes. Zur interpretativen Analyse von Bildern und Fotografien. Bilefeld: transcript.

Callon, M. (2016) Revisiting marketization: from interface markets to market agencements. *Comsumption, Markets and Culture,* 19(1), 17–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/10253866.2015.1067002

Callon, M. (2008) Economic Markets and the Rise of Interactive Agencements: From Prosthetic Agencies to Habilitated Agencies. In Pinch, T. – Swedberg, R. (eds.) *Living in a Material World: Economic Sociology Meets Science and Technology Studies.* Cambridge/Mass. London: The MIT Press, 29–56.

Callon, M. – Millo, Y. – Muniesa, F. (2007) *Market Devices.* Malden, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.

Cochoy, F. – Licoppe, C. – Petersson McIntyre, M. – Sörum, N. (2020) Digitalizing consumer society: equipment and devices of digital consumption. *Journal of Cultural Economy,* 13(1), 1–11, https://doi.org/10.1080/17530350.2019.1702576

Cochoy, F. – Deville, J. – McFall, L. (2017) (eds.) *Markets and the Arts of Attachment.* Abingdon & New York: Routledge.

Cochoy, F. – Trompette, P. – Araujo, L. (2016) From market agencements to market agencing: an introduction. *Consumption, Markets and Culture,* 19(1), 3–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/10253866.2015.1096066

Degen, M. – Melhuish, C. – Rose, G. (2015) Producing place atmospheres digitally: Architecture, digital visualisation practices and the experience economy. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 17(1), 3–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540515572238

Elsaesser, Th. (2013) The 'return' of 3-D: On Some Logics and Genealogies of the Image in Twenty-First Century. *Critical Inquiry,* 39(2), 217-246, https://doi.org/10.1086/668523

Featherstone, M. (1991) *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism.* London: Sage.

Galloway, Alexander R. (2012) *The Interface Effect.* Cambridge et al.: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity.* Stanford: Standford University Press.

Houdart, S. (2008) Copying, Cutting and Pasting Social Spheres: Computer Designers' Participation in Architectural Projects. *Science Studies,* 21(1), 47–63.

Kaika, M. (2011) Autistic Architecture: The Fall of the Icon and the Rise of the Serial Object of Architecture. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29 (6), 968–92. https://doi.org/10.1068/d16110

Kress, G. – Van Leeuwen, T. (2001) *Multimodal Discourse. The modes and media of contemporary communication.* London et al.: Bloomsbury Academic.

Lash, S. – Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space.* London: Sage.

Lash, S. – Lury, C. (2007) *Global Culture Industries.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Latour, B. (1986) Visualization and cognition: thinking with eyes and hands. In H. Kuklick (ed.) *Knowledge and Society: Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present,* Vol. 6, 1–40.

Leiss, W. – Kline, S. – Jhally, S. (2005) (eds.) *Social communication in advertising. Consumption in the mediated marketplace.* New York, Abingdon: Routledge.

Lury, C. (1996) *Consumer culture.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Manovich, L. (1995) To Lie and to Act: Potemkins's Villages, Cinema and Telepresence. In *Ars Electronica catalog.* http://manovich.net/content/04-projects/010-to-lie-and-to-act-potemkin-s-villages-cinema-and-telepresence/08_article_1995.pdf

Melhuish, C. – Degen, M. – Rose, G. (2016) „The Real Modernity that Is Here": Understanding the Role of Digital Visualisations in the Production of a New Urban Imaginary at Msheireb Dowtown, Doha. *City & Society,* 28(2), 222–245. https://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12080

Muniesa, F. – Millo, Y. – Callon, M. (2007) An introduction to market devices. *The Sociological Review,* 55(2), 1–12, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2007.00727.x

Przyborski, A. (2018) *Bildkommunikation. Qualitative Bild- und Medienforschung.* Oldenbourg: De Gruyter.

Richter, S. (2008) *Digitaler Realismus: zwischen Computeranimation und Live-Action. Die neue Bildästhetik in Spielfilmen.* Bielefeld: transcript.

Rose, G. – Degen, M. – Melhuish, C. (2014) Networks, Interfaces, and Computer-Generated Images: Learning from Digital Visualisations of Urban Redevelopment Projects. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 32 (3), 386–403, https://doi.org/10.1068/d13113p

Rose, G. – Degen, M. – Melhuish, C. (2016) Dimming the scintillating glow of unwork: Looking at digital visualisations of Urban Redevelopment Projects. In Jordan, Sh. – Lindner, Ch. (eds.) *Cities Interrupted: Visual Culture, Globalisation and Urban Space,* London: Bloomsbury, 105–120.

Rose, G. ([2001]2016a) *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials.* London et al.: SAGE.

Rose, G. (2016b) Rethinking the geographies of cultural 'objects' through digital technologies: interface, network and friction, *Progress in Human Geography,* 40(3), 334–351. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515580493

Schmidt, A. – Conrad, C. (2016)(eds.) *Bodies and Affects in Market Societies.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Sheller, M. (2009) Infrastructures of the imagined island: software, mobilities, and the architecture of Carribean paradise. *Environment and Planning A,* 41, 1386–1403. https://doi.org/10.1068/a41248

Thrift, N. (2008) The Material Practices of Glamour. *Journal of Cultural Economy* 1(1), 9–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/17530350801913577

Van Leeuwen, T. (2005) *Introducing social Semiotics.* London et al.: Routledge.

Verhoeff, N. (2012) *Mobile Screens: The Visual Regime of Navigation.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Williamson, J. (1978) *Decoding Advertisements. Ideology and Meaning in Advertising.* London: Marion Boyars.

Figures

Fig. 1. Entry page, Website Parkapartments (Screenshot 20.6.2020)

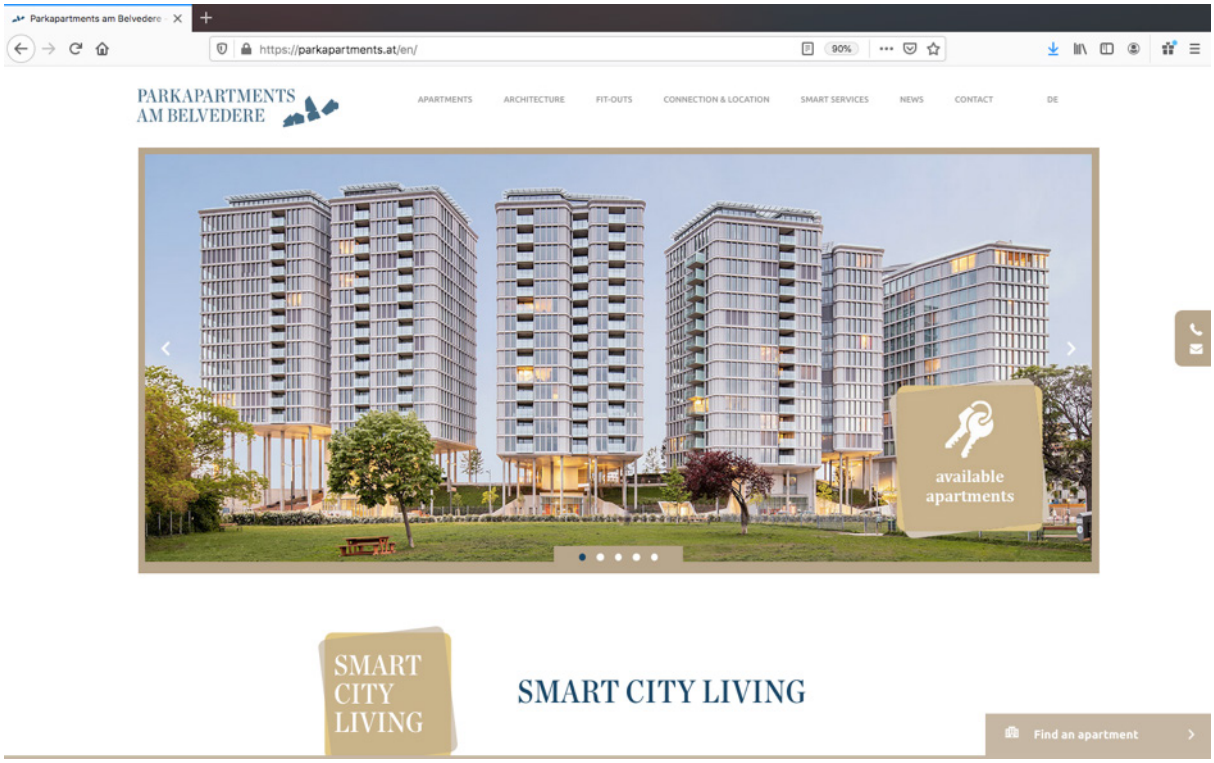


Fig. 2: Exterior Rendering, Website Triiiple (Screenshot 20.6.2020)

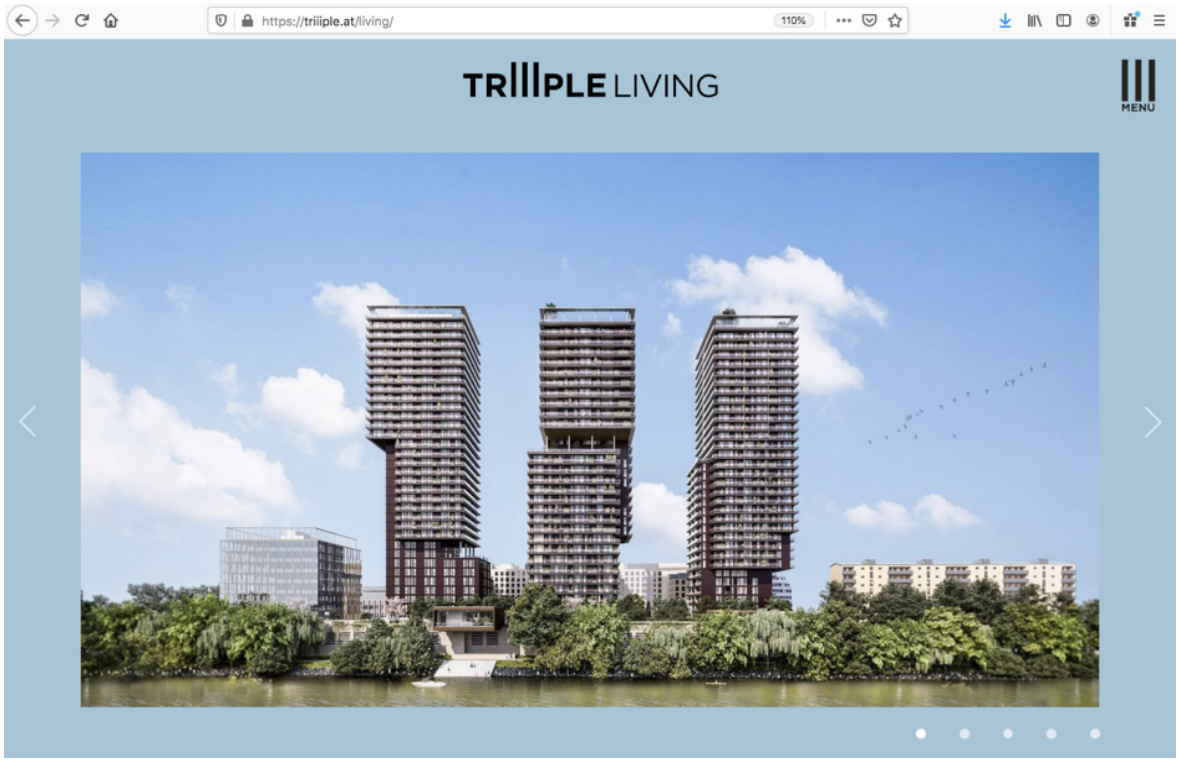


Fig. 3: Interior Rendering, Website Triiiple (Screenshot 20.6.2020)

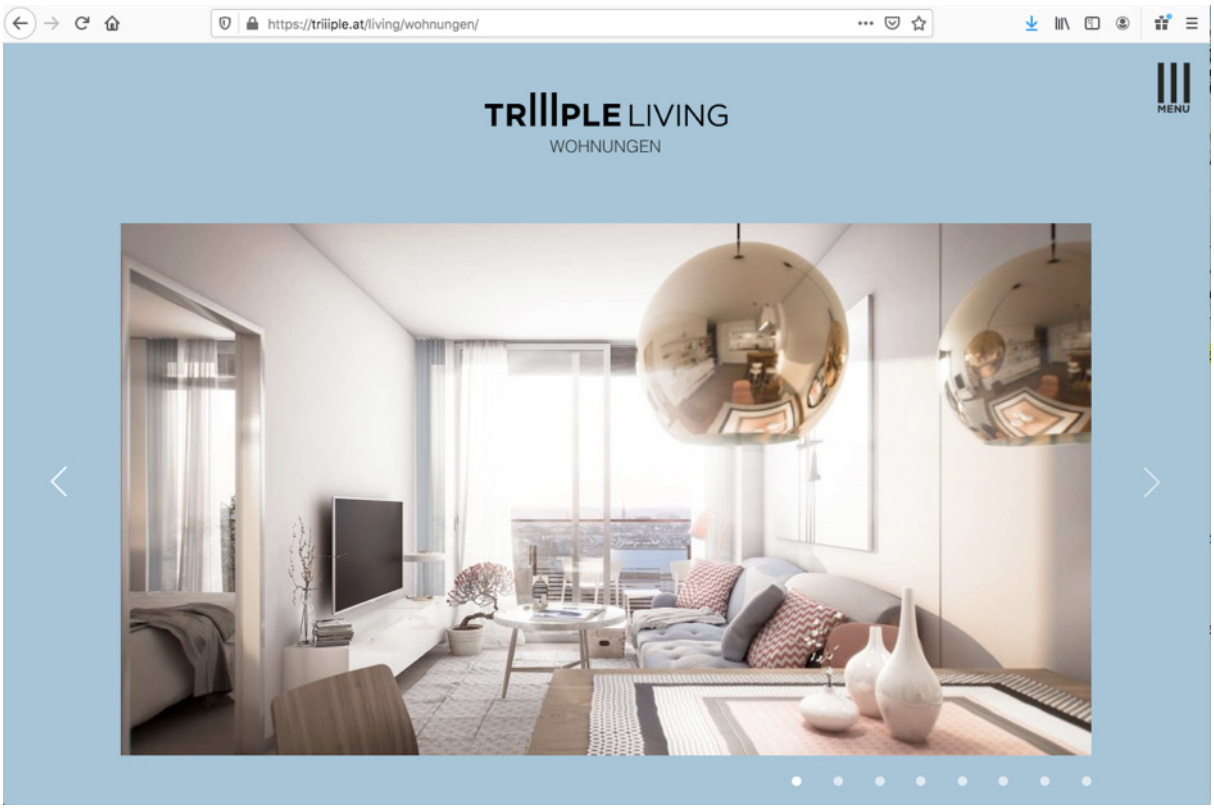


Fig. 4: Interior Rendering, website Parkapartments (Screenshot 20.6.2020)

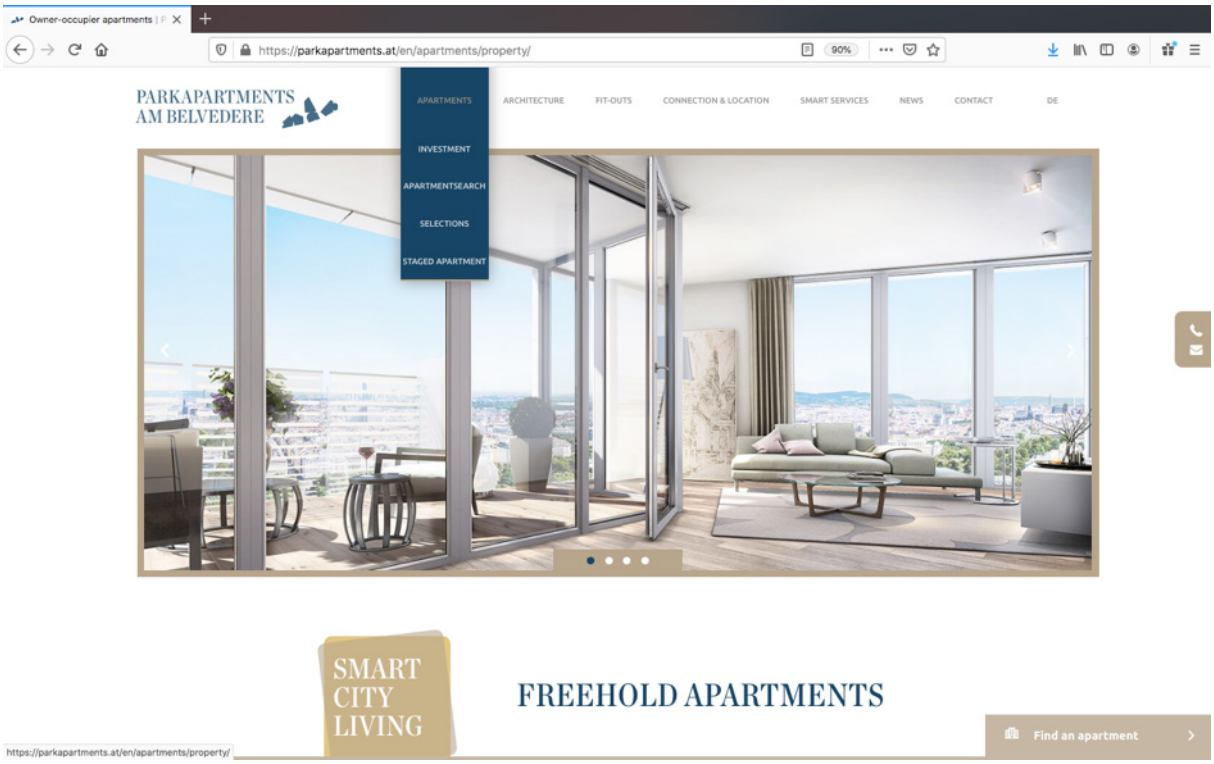


Fig. 5 a,b,c: (top) Imagefilm and other film material under the menu item 'video & webcam' on the Triiiple website; (below) emotional symbol images, which are combined with animated visualizations in the image-film. (Screenshots 20.6.2020)

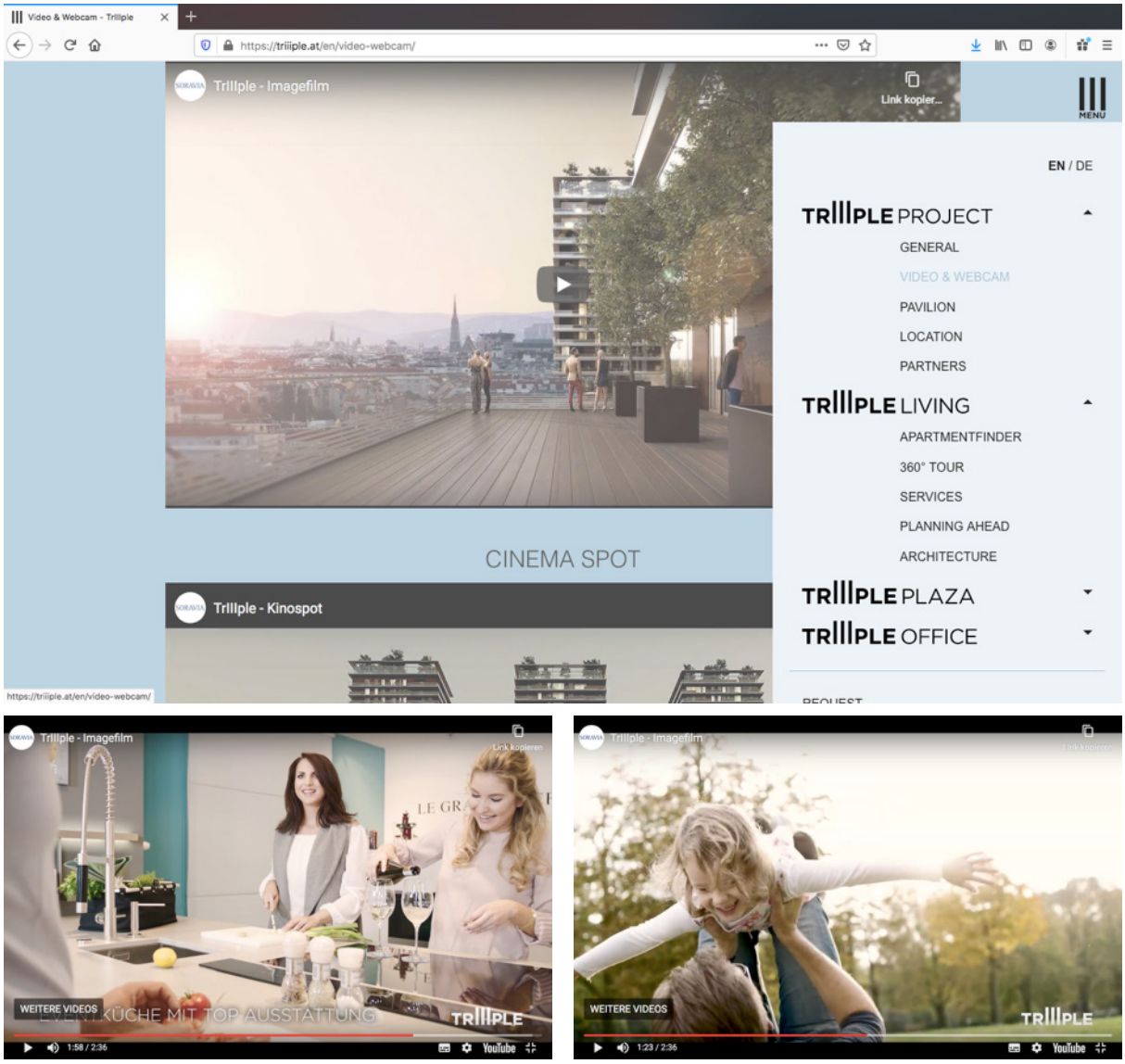


Fig. 6: interactive virtual tour through the 3D model of a virtually staged 3-room apartment, Triiiple (Screenshot 20.6.2020)

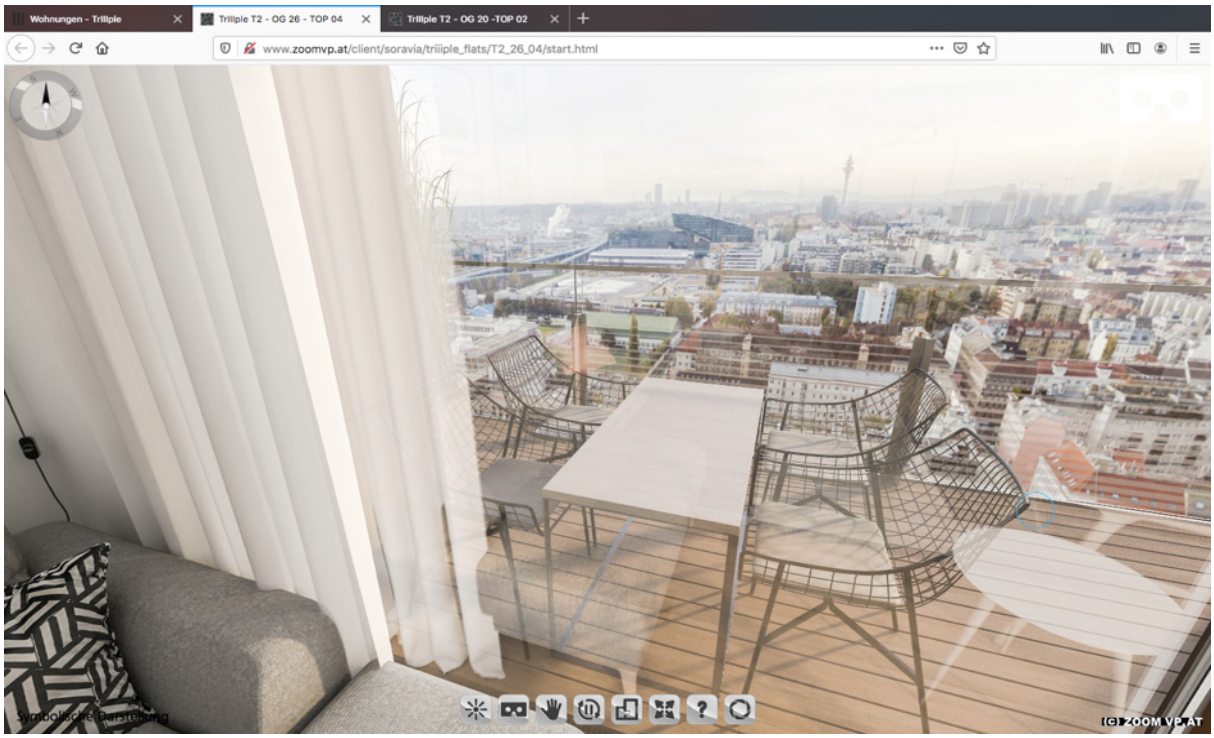


Fig. 7: Advertising video for an augmented reality app on the Parkapartments website (Screenshot 20.6.2020)

Gábor Oláh[1]

In search of resilient urban space. Pest's city centre at the crossroads of tradition and innovation, 1928–1944

https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2020en.59

Abstract

In this paper my aim is to examine the Hungarian architectural discourse between 1928 and 1944, with special regard to the 'historical' centre of Pest. The observation is carried out through the review of architectural journals and theoretical essays. I undertake a historical analysis of the various uses and changes in the meaning of the concept of townscape. Analysis of the architectural discourse for this time interval might provide a better understanding of the transformation in the perception of urban space.

The examined period can be boldly called the 'dawn of urban heritage protection', but also the age of a new urbanity that envisioned the rethinking of urban space through the reconstruction of complete urban areas. This paradox not only had a remarkable impact on rethinking of urban space, especially on determining values, but also led to experimental and hybrid spatial categories. My aim is to study this specific problem of social history, which not only made urban preservation part of the discourse but expanded it more and more as a continually growing 'set'. This set captures and addresses the diverse aspects of urban life, making the concept of urban heritage even more complex.

The fundamental questions of the study are how the discourse conceptualises urban spatial categories, more precisely, how the materiality of the built environment and representations of space are taken into account. The discourse on compatibility encompasses all strategic behaviours that seek to integrate the historic city and the new architectural solutions incorporating the needs of the present. In order to analyse the ways in which the city centre was constructed in the discourse, I incorporate the resilience model into the argument. Thus, the discussion may help understanding how changes in the interpretation of urban space result in a new attitude towards preservation, development or modernization of 'historic' neighbourhoods.

Keywords: urban preservation, townscape, resilience, historical urban neighbourhood

1 PhD student. École des hautes études en sciences sociales, UMR 8504 – Géographie-cités. Eötvös Loránd University, Atelier Department for Interdisciplinary History

Gábor Oláh

In search of resilient urban space

Pest's city centre at the crossroads of tradition and innovation, 1928–1944

'*The beautiful Biedermeier Pest, the Old Downtown, so kindly sung about by Kazinczy, have been destroyed and what we have got instead is better not to talk about, because now it is neither old nor modern, only confusing, messy and tasteless*'[2] (Csathó 1931:7). The writer Kálmán Csathó's jeremiad on the ruined Budapest city centre was not only shared by the conservative, nationalist readership of the daily *Budapesti Hírlap* or the political elite (see Klebelsberg 1928) but also by the modern architectural movement, which was spreading its wings and just gaining visibility. Undoubtedly, assessments of the situation of these different groups could sometimes meet, but they had a radically different vision on the city. The modernist architects rather talked about complete neighbourhoods with '*outdated*', '*backward*' and '*unhealthy*' (Ligeti 1928) housing and less about nostalgia for the old Pest, at least during the emergent phase of the movement.

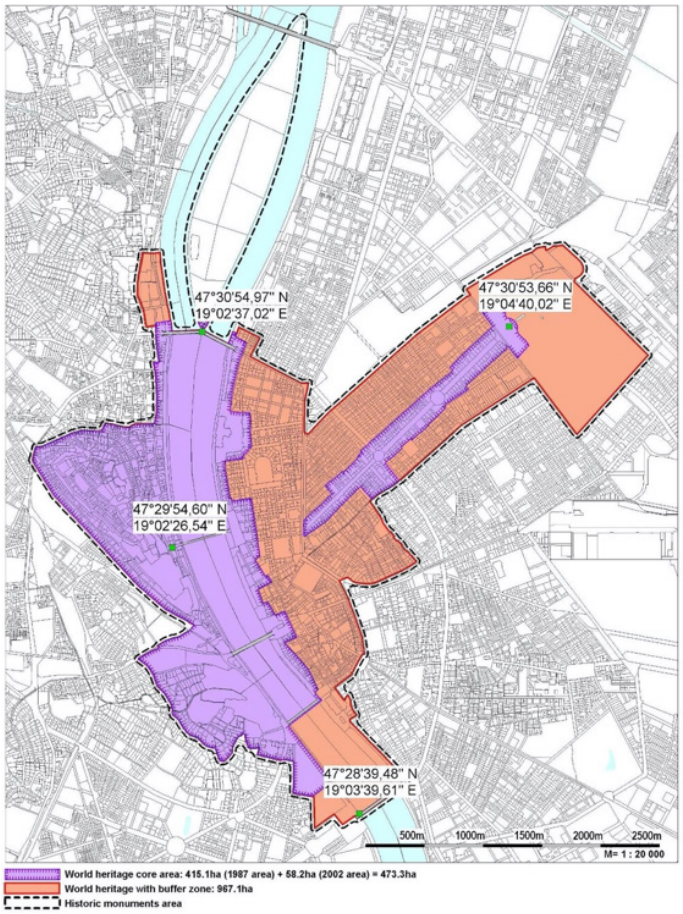
What is certain is that a plurality of imaginations on past, present and future of Pest inner-city neighbourhoods characterized the political and professional discourses at the turn of the twenties and thirties. This is the period when, with the foundation of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM), the modern architectural movement gained strength on the international stage and gradually moved from the conceptualisation of healthy homes to urban issues, and when the International Conference for the Protection and Conservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments took place and adopted the first normative document on urban preservation. Thus, the intention to redefine the city became strong in this period and condensed along the conflict between the old and the new city. At first glance, the seemingly contradictory modernist and anti-modernist tendencies captured the 'time' from different perspectives. However, if we look at the two Athens Charters[3], the one common denominator was still the formulation of the attitude towards urban preservation (Iamandi 1997). Without going deeper into the analysis of the charters I would like to refer to their main characteristics, which after all greatly distinguish their visions on integration of the old and the new. The Athens Charter of 1931, while promoting the aesthetic enhancement of monuments, recommended the preservation of the surroundings of listed buildings and '*certain particularly picturesque perspectives*' (Athens Charter 1931). The Athens Charter of 1933, which summarized the principles of CIAM's urban development ideas, spoke of some of the lay-outs and building structures that define the '*personality of the city*', and from which '*its soul gradually emanates*', which are the '*witnesses of the past*' and '*a plastic virtue in which the utmost intensity of human genius has been incorporated*' (Athens Charter 1933). Although it roughly formulated some ideas for preserving, highlighting and isolating certain buildings in the context of the new city, it did not provide clear guidelines on how this could be put into practice (Iamandi 1997).

Figure 1
The World Heritage site of Budapest,
including the banks of Danube,
the Buda Castle Quarter and Andrássy Avenue
(UNESCO 2020)

2 Translations of all citations from Hungarian-language sources are by Gábor Oláh.

3 One the basic document of monument protection and restoration from 1931, and the other the modernist manifesto of the functional city from 1933 (Iamandi 1997).

Today, the majority of these 'confusing', 'messy', 'tasteless' or 'outdated', 'backward', 'unhealthy' inner-Pest neighbourhoods are protected areas in the UNESCO World Heritage list (Figure 1). The seemingly turbulent and constant debates on the redefinition of the old



Pest transformed its perception over time and resulted in protected area status by the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century. Thus, the main issue is to consider to what extent the preservation of the urban space was made part of the discourse and practice. Isabelle Backouche (2013) defines this as a modified form of modernity that seeks to integrate the preservation of the old city and the adaptation to new needs. The emerging issue is '*compatibility*' (p14) between the different times of the city, between the new architectural possibilities and the existing urban fabric. My aim is to study this specific problem of social history, which not only made urban preservation part of the discourse but has expanded it more and more as a continually growing 'set'. This set captures and addresses the diverse aspects of urban life, making the concept of urban heritage even more complex (Sonkoly 2017). How did architects perceive and manage the times of the city? Through which terms and concepts did the preservation of urban space appear in the discourse? How were the perceptions of the preserved urban space filled with historical and social content?

In the present study I intend to examine the Hungarian architectural discourse between 1928 and 1944, with special regard to the 'historic' centre of Pest.[4] I carry out the observation through architectural journals and theoretical essays. However, it is worthwhile supplementing the perspective of the 'urban planner' with the outline of the legal–administrative framework which also can be considered as a discourse, the result of the conflicting efforts on urban preservation, modernization and adaptation. There are several reasons for setting 1928 as the starting date. This was the year when the emblematic journal of the Hungarian modern

4 The 'historic neighbourhoods' of Pest serve as a kind of laboratory for the analysis, including the area between Grand Boulevard and the Danube, according to the administrative division of the examined period, the whole 4th and the inner parts of the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th districts.

architecture movement, *Tér és Forma*[5] was launched, and when due to a modification of the Building Code of Budapest, the preservation of Buda Castle Quarter went beyond the conservation of individual buildings by treating it as an ensemble (Kaiser 1996). As for the end point of this study, the year of 1944 seemed to be appropriate as the siege of Budapest critically changed the physical nature of the urban space and did not leave its perception unaffected either. This paper fits into a larger project covering the period from 1928 to 1987[6]. Hence, a part of it will be presented, which is expected to be suitable for testing the research model. Analysis of the architectural discourse for this time interval might provide a better understanding of the transformation in perception of urban space.

From discourse on compatibility to resilient urban space

As a possible methodological approach, a conceptual history analysis (see Koselleck 2004) can be considered, which focuses on the process when the demand occurs for the redefinition of the existing conceptual apparatus. Another possible way is to study the configurations of perceptions and conceptions of the urban space. Thus, architects tried to develop alternative strategies to address – among others – expectations of politics, their own professional vocation, and at the same time the challenges of modernity, while at the same time trying to define new forms and meanings of urban space (Hopfengärtner 2016). I would like to examine how changes in the interpretation of urban space will result in a new attitude towards preservation, development or modernization of 'historical neighbourhoods'.

The discourse on compatibility encompasses all strategic behaviours that seek to integrate the historic city and the new architectural solutions incorporating the needs of the present (Backouche 2013). Hence, it could be suitable for defining the perceptions and interpretations of time and space of urban planning actors and the changes that have taken place in them. Several aspects of the issue of compatibility are worth distinguishing:

- How was it considered possible to integrate the new into the old urban strata?
- What concepts were used to think about juxtaposition, harmonization and conflict?
- How was urban space with historical value and with non-outstanding historical value identified in the discourse?
- What complex, holistic and integrative concepts of urban preservation were defined and concretized?

Analyzing certain social phenomena through texts is mostly based on the assumption that understanding the content of these texts will lead to the identification and understanding of the historical, social and cultural contexts that are important for the research question. I undertake a historical analysis of the various uses and changes in the meaning of the socio-political concepts related to the historical centre of Pest. To what extent is the concept of the city centre created as a result of an active socially constructed discursive process? This is a conceptual historical method that seeks out the changes in linguistic content condensed in concepts (Koselleck 2015). While drawing clear boundaries of the forums to be examined, a key consideration is their ability to provide a comprehensive picture of the evolution of discourses that is sufficiently representative and relevant to the operational categories of the research. Therefore, I have selected journals that specifically wanted to be carriers of opinions about architecture and urbanism (Figure 2).

To develop the framework of conceptual historical interpretation on how the historicity of the city centre was constructed in the discourse, I incorporate the resilience model into the argument. Resilience has become an integral part of urban history and heritage research in recent years with its holistic, multifaceted and

5 Tér és Forma (Space and Form) was a monthly professional architectural journal between 1928–1948, was the primary forum of the Hungarian modern architectural movement.

6 1987 marks the date on which the view of the Danube bank and the Buda Castle District became a world heritage site.

Figure 2
Architecture and urbanism related journals of the studied period serving as the main sources for the discourse analysis.

heterogenic interpretations as it is present in other academic scholarly discourses (Meyen–Schier 2019). The increasing attractiveness of resilience in the scientific and policy discourses can be considered a consequence of its presentist nature (Hartog 2015; Sonkoly 2017), its basic premise being that the future is unpredictable and uncontrollable (Meyen–Schier 2019). Instead of delving deeper into the conceptual definitions/model explanations of resilience and their scientific positions – which has already been done previously in great depth (See Rampp–Endress–Naumann 2019) – I would like to highlight the aspects that are important for the present analysis of the discourse.

By resilient urban space I mean those spatial categories that emerge from the discourse on compatibility, which take into account and attribute significance to both monument protection and urban development (Sonkoly 2017). Resilient spatial categories develop from the modernist dichotomy set up by the discourse that can be defined between tradition and innovation (Merrill–Giamarelos 2019). In this approach, continuous integration between innovation (urban development) and tradition (urban conservation) is framed and applied in the present to establish hybrid urban spatial categories (Sonkoly 2017). These cannot be characterized simply as a multitude of mixed categories because I postulate that there is a strategic thinking behind them. In this approach the discourse of compatibility is defined as management of change that wants to resolve issues by

selecting values, discovering and using their own resources and potentials, and integrating them into strategies. It may reveal how temporality becomes a category of strategic thinking and action of urban planning. According to my hypothesis, the hybrid spatial categories that emerge from compatibility follow this approach.

The examined period can be boldly called the 'dawn of urban heritage protection', but also the age of a new urbanity that envisioned the rethinking of urban space through the reconstruction of complete urban areas. This paradox did not only have a remarkable impact on the rethinking of urban space, especially on guiding values, but also led to experimental and hybrid spatial categories. Hence resilience is an analytical and operational tool that helps to formulate questions addressed to the sources, which may provide new perspectives on the historical evolution of urban development and preservation of the inner city. This paper does not seek to categorize the city as resilient or non-resilient but rather to shed light on the changes in the concept of townscape. Using the ideas of the resilience model, I will study how the conceptualisations shifted regarding the townscape of Pest's centre.

Chaotic versus rationalized townscape

'*In Paris, the streets have been built with palaces with uniform facades and the same building height in the past, and new buildings need to fit into this as well. This is an essential condition for true greatness, for a monumental townscape. We should have achieved at least in Budapest that it would be impossible to build side by side at different building heights!*' – lamented Gáspár Fábián (1928:157) a devoted representative of the historicist architectural approach and also the editor-in-chief of *Építő Ipar – Építő Művészet*[7], while regretting the loss of the old Petőfi Square and condemning its current disorganized townscape. The journal dealt frequently with the issue of Budapest's townscape from the 1920s onwards, above all with regard to the concern over the lost townscape and the contemporary disorder. The recently incumbent president of MBPW, Iván Rakovszky (1929), also expressed his displeasure with the current state of the city. He identified the mistakes with the integration of new buildings in the urban fabric during the whole design and permission process of a new building: '*the houses in Pest stand side by side as if they ignored each other,* […] *no one cared about the surrounding townscape*' (p19).

In Virgil Bierbauer's (1929) inaugural editorial in *Tér és Forma*, he rejoiced over the growing and unprecedented interest of the public in urban issues, which also encouraged architects to think on a larger scale. According to him, this is due to the fact that the ugliness of Budapest had never been '*whipped*' (p1) by the cultural and political elite as much as it had been in recent years. Bierbauer was curious why they did not notice all the ugliness earlier, responsibility for which lay largely with the second half of the 19th century. Bierbauer agreed with this position by describing a dismal image of the state of Budapest, which '*despite its exceptionally beautiful and lucky location, is supremely rich in the most unfortunate, worst townscapes*' (p1). In the initial period of *Tér és Forma*, the importance of urban aesthetic issues was clearly and consciously listed backwards among other urban issues. This could be seen as an intentional overcoming and confrontation with historicist and formalist ideas. In a 1928 article, the other co-editor of the journal, János Komor, criticized the practice of '*composing impressive townscapes*' (p87) as they were only about formalism and were '*born from an urban development derived from the satisfaction of non-organic* [social] *needs'* (p87). According to him, the prerequisite for beauty is the overcoming of '*irregular, chaotic, and tasteless chaos*' (p87), consequently, a townscape authority was required. In his argument, the streamlined visuality could carry the aesthetic experience and make the streetscape enjoyable, and even improve the well-being of the walker. Systematization is also the basis of urban aesthetics for Virgil Bierbauer (1933). He drew a sharp line between the visuals of the man of the

7 Építő Ipar – Építő Művészet (Construction industry – Architecture) was a weekly professional journal dealing mainly with technical topics between 1877–1932. This was the official journal of the associations of construction professions of Budapest and the Committee for the Examination of Construction Workers.

past and the present: '*the beauties of the cities of the past came from chance, the beauties of today's city will be born by foresight, long-term planning, the conscious incorporation of details into the city*' (p62). Harmony stemmed from rationality, from the reassuring nature of the evenness of houses. Thus, the modernists wanted to go beyond aestheticizing urban planning practices, while at the same time they were strongly critical of the architecture of previous times.

The problematisation of integration can be clearly seen as early as the turn of the twenties and thirties, which was mostly connected with visual integrity and aesthetic experience. If we look at this problematization effort through the 'glasses of resilience', we straightaway find the issue of compatibility in the visually perceived, quite holistic and by no means well-defined townscape concept, which seems to be one of the urban spaces where intervention or rather modernization should take place. However, there is no reflection on urban preservation or any other content than the aesthetic, and the tension is not even obvious related to the integration between the old and the new city. Hence, it is worth examining the situation of monuments, which is the seemingly most discernible form of more specific evaluations.

City with no historical patina

According to a short reflection on monuments in *Városi Szemle*[8], a total of 56 protected buildings were listed in Budapest (Városi Szemle 1927). A consensus seemed to be formed over the fact that Budapest did not have a significant number of monumental buildings, so everything could be done to transform it into a modern city. '*The traces of the older settlement are nowhere to be seen, despite the fact that many older strata are hidden beneath the city*' (Bierbauer 1932:2). Thus, while being one of the oldest cities in Europe, Bierbauer called Budapest a young city, up to 150-200 years old, with '*no historical patina*' (p2) beside the Buda Castle. The modernist discourse on monuments was defined by the youthfulness of the city, the insignificant number of monuments, and the monument-destroying critique of 19th-century '*style-mimicking epigonic*' (Ferenczy 1938:250), historicizing architecture.

According to Pál Ligeti (1928) a significant part of the difficulties in placing the City Hall building was in connection with monumental aspects which apparently became one of the most important challenges: the baroque parts of the monumental town hall and the classicist Lutheran church in Deák Square. In his argument these buildings must be '*unconditionally maintained*' (p28). Moreover, the Lutheran Church is '*Pollack's work!* [...] *This will be certainly dominated by the grandiose* [new city hall] *building next to it*' (p29). In his suggestion, he tried to fit the future city hall building with the Lutheran church. Pál Forgó (1928) suggested that the whole building complex should be demolished, to have some parks, gardens and '*air in the crowded inner districts of Budapest*' (p78). Forgó admitted that Ligeti's town hall suggestion provided an innovative solution to the monuments, but it did not dare to touch the street structure of the city centre because of its '*false historical conception*' (p78). Virgil Bierbauer (1928) completely rejected Forgó's proposal, as the Palace of Invalids (City Hall building) in Budapest is '*the only Baroque architectural monument [that has] scaped from the demolition pickaxe*' (p115). According to him the building must be '*restored to the true character of the age*' by replacing the missing parts in order to '*regain its original form*' (p115).

While – in cases like the issue of the City Hall – some architects were concerned with the correct integration of monuments into the new city, the issue did not gain much ground in the discourse. In any case, what makes this really interesting from the point of view of resilienceis the possibility of tracing how the protection of monuments became a part of urban planning thinking.

Perceptions of city centre neighbourhoods

We can see very few direct references related to the perception of Pest's centre neighbourhoods, only in urban design competitions (Figure 3) and theoretical writings dealing with neighbourhood scale ideas. The year 1930 brought two open urban design competitions related to a detailed solution for the southern side of Szabadság Square and for the intersection of Erzsébet Avenue with Károly Boulevard. In the case of Szabadság Square, as a novelty of the design ideas competition, plans were invited that had a specific regard to urban structure and townscape issues (Györgyi 1930).

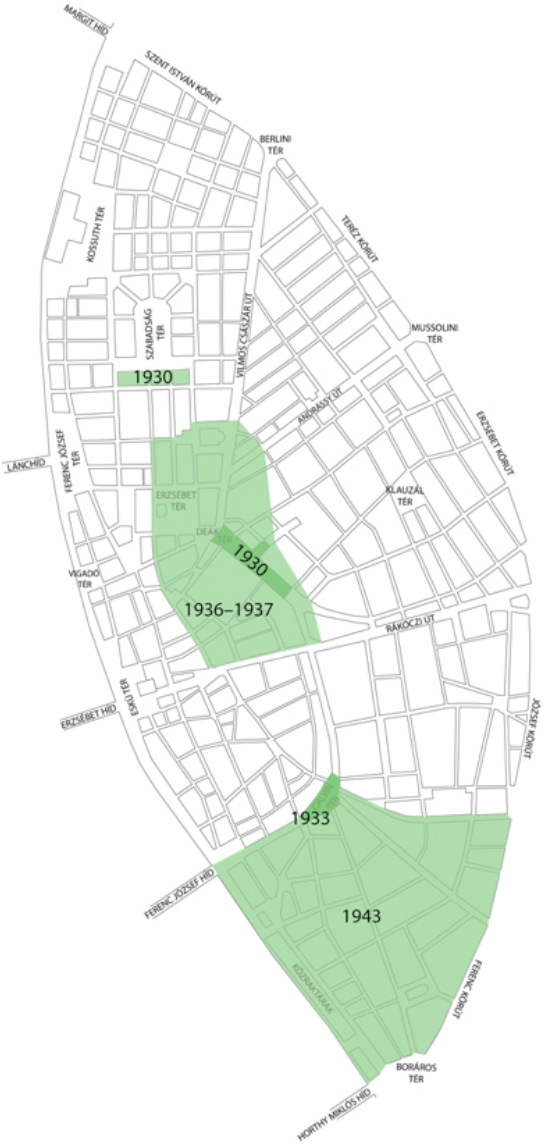
With regard to the modernist markers concerning the old Pest mentioned earlier (outdated, backward, unhealthy), we may have the impression that, when they were used, they actually imagined inner-Erzsébetváros. There was a quite broad consensus that the neighbourhood '*cried out for air and life*' (Kaffka 1929:225), but it was expressed in different ways. The far-right press stigmatized the Inner-Erzsébetváros as a ghetto due to its unsanitary, airless, sunless and messy urban fabric (Magyarság 1929) but certainly it was largely determined by the widespread image association as a Jewish quarter. The modernist architect Pál Ligeti described the neighbourhood as follows: '*modern tall houses stand next to ground-floor sheds, next to a dilapidated one-story build-*

8 Városi Szemle (Urban Review) was an urban science journal published between 1908–1948. It was not specifically an architectural journal, but it often dealt with the administrative, construction, transport, health and social issues of Budapest.

ing, even in the heart of the city' (p19). In his description, this is the most backward neighbourhood in the city centre, the biggest embarrassment inside the city. Ferenc Vámos (1928) agreed with Ligeti that the neighbourhood was one of the '*terrible wounds*' (p118) of Budapest, but total reconstruction could not be considered until '*there is an opportunity for generous repair*' (p118).

In 1936 a design ideas competition was announced to solve the problems of the city centre. The competition was inspired by Ferenc Harrer's idea of the Budapest Forum from 1932. With this conception he tried to give an answer to the fact that Budapest did not actually have a real main square. The forum idea made it possible to create a large-scale city centre: this basically involved the parts of the Small Boulevard where the '*coincidence*' brought together the main churches of all four major religions (St. Stephen's Basilica, the Lutheran church at Deák Square, the Dohány Street Synagogue, and the Reformed Church at Kálvin Square), furthermore the City Hall, University buildings and the National Museum (Harrer 1933). In his critically edited summary, Virgil Bierbauer (1937) did not see the concept of the forum as a good idea because '*it is by no means worth the sacrifices that this large-scale urban development would inevitably involve*' (p67). Bierbauer drew attention to the fact that certain areas were intentionally left untouched, and their plans were largely shaped by their relationship to these buildings being perceived historically valuable, which can be considered as the creation of preserved areas that could mostly be associated with certain historic buildings. Bierbauer, on the other hand, strongly supported the idea of Pál Ligeti's 'urban axis' *('városstengely')*. The axis had been drawn along the path of Szabadság tér – Erzsébet tér – Szervita tér – Apponyi tér (today Ferenciek tere) – Kálvin tér. Ligeti wanted to create an organic connection between Budapest's governmental and judiciary, financial, municipal and scientific centres. Although tacitly, the axis sought to arrange the city centre without major demolitions and to frame the monuments located on it into a single concatenation.

Figure 3
Urban design ideas competitions in Pest's central neighbourhoods between 1930–1944 (Drawing by Gábor Oláh)



By examining the question of the possibilities to integrate the new into the old urban strata through design ideas competitions, tacitly and passively articulated urban spatial categories can be discerned. On the one hand, they actually defined urban spaces that require special attention. On the other hand, it is difficult to grasp and demonstrate the strategic attitude of the actors to the issue.

Marking fault lines by townscape

The concept of the townscape emerged with some shift in emphasis from the late 1930s. In the case of *Tér és Forma*, this meant that in addition to the dichotomy-driven discourse of chaotic versus rationalized town-

scape, the problem of integration of the new architecture into the old urban fabric also gained ground. János Tóth (1938) examined the townscapes from the aesthetic design perspective. In his argument, the historical aspect of the protection of monuments emerged. He suggested that monument protection should be enhanced in certain streets which had preserved their precious old houses undisturbed, and that when approving each new building, it should be assessed whether the building fitted into the townscape. György Masirevich (1939) – in whose article the editor indicated that the paper did not share the author's thoughts – explained that by the end of the heroic age of new architecture, the issue of the harmonisation of modern buildings with the urban fabric had been becoming increasingly important. According to him, architecture should strive to create houses that are '*modern and yet have a formal and emotional connection to the city*' (p66). The only way to create beautiful and harmonic townscapes was by respecting traditions. The modern architecture, which had been becoming mainstream, must also come to the realization that a building '*can never be independent of the townscape or landscape*' (p66). However, recent times had shown that new buildings in many cases '*disintegrated the townscape*' (p66), which greatly degraded the social acceptance of modern architecture.

Pál [Granasztói] Rihmer (1939) gave a more complex definition of the townscape in the reform conservative *Magyar Szemle*. The townscape is '*the face of the city*' (p241) and expresses all the cultural, social, economic forces that shaped the city, depicting the organization, character, history and spirit of the city. In Rihmer's conceptualisation the townscape is thus a multi-complex phenomenon, which is '*similar to the human face, whose features reflect the depths of the soul and which is summed up from countless small details and impressions into a unified experience*' (p241). To be able to analyse the townscape all these elements should be examined one by one, which is an endless mission. In his article, he undertook to capture the townscape from two perspectives: construction projects and regulations. He did not give a favourable picture of Budapest's new townscapes in his evaluation: only some vacant lot had been completed without giving an enriching new appearance to the city. The modern townscape is therefore based on conscious planning and recognition of the interests of the community.

László Irsy, the vice-president of MPWC and the editor in chief of *Magyar Építőművészet*[9], criticized the buildings representing 'new architecture' which disturbed the harmony of already formed townscapes in a dissonant way. He said that the architects could – with little efforts related to the facade – design buildings that fitted into the townscape without giving up their professional vocation (Irsy 1941). We can observe an increasing number of articles dealing with the townscape as a scientifically feasible urban planning activity. It became such an important topic in *Magyar Építőművészet* that Irsy started a series of articles to discuss the elements that shape the townscape. When it came to placing sculptures (Kisléghi Nagy–Pogány 1943), street furniture or signboards, inserting a building, designing facades and the interplay of roofs (Irsy 1944), the right measures and ratio could be determined for the townscapes. Despite all this, they stated that the application of rigid rules and regulations would not meet the objectives stated in the series of articles. The change of principles of *Magyar Építőművészet* related to Irsy was largely driven by anti-modernism, and it certainly found an opportunity for confrontation in relation with the townscape. This change of direction is well illustrated by the case of the Town Hall, which, in their view, had to be in line with the style and '*historical atmosphere*' of the city centre (Vertse 1944:37). It is worth emphasizing that this 'historical atmosphere' is no longer determined only by visuality, but also by spirituality that gave the city its own personality.

At the same time, István Kisléghi Nagy and Frigyes Pogány (1944) started writing theoretical articles on monuments and the townscape in a specifically dedicated section of the journal. They emphasized the need to undertake profound townscape research in Hungarian towns. In terms of their approach to townscapes, they

9 Magyar Építőművészet (Hungarian Architecture) was an architectural journal representing the conservative approach between 1903 and 1944. In 1940, László Irsy, the vice-president of the MBPW, took over the editing of the journal, and from then on it became a semi-official journal of the Board. The new editorial principles had an effect on the journal's appearance, content and structure.

distinguished four characteristic acts of the viewer: emotion formation, imagination, conceptualization and aesthetic evaluation. Together, these acts form the overall impression and real effect of the townscape. With the established perception process of the townscape, they criticized those who tried to find the rules of urban beauty in the forms and proportions that most satisfy the needs of the imagination. They acknowledged that the viewers' ultimate experience, in its true nature, is very complex and involves many components, between which the aesthetic can easily be obscured. Awareness of a historic event could profoundly change their experience. However, these '*romantic factors*' (p112) were explicitly excluded from the scope of the study. In their argument, examination of the process of forming perceptions of the townscape led to the establishment of important principles which allow it to be researched on a regular basis.

In contrast to the unanimous negative opinion of old Pest at the beginning of the decade, the discovery of certain local values can be observed. In parallel, claims that the townscape of Budapest had been continuously deteriorating since the late 19th century persisted in the 1940s as well. However, articles reproaching townscape errors had a slightly different tone compared to earlier: they were largely illustrated and associated with modernist buildings (Tóth 1941). If we take a closer look at the townscape concept of the 1940s, we can have the impression that there was a strong need for a more complex definition. For sure, as a result of these reconceptualization efforts, many new aspects of compatibility gained ground in the discourse. Among the reasons we can count the spread of new architecture, the professionalization of urbanism and the fact that the regulatory environment had also increasingly embraced the concept.

Desirable places for artistic townscapes

In the first Hungarian town planning act of 1937[10] the protection of monuments and historic areas was mentioned. Special rules could be laid down in order to protect buildings and neighbourhoods with historical or artistic value, and preserve the beauty of the townscapes (Kaiser 1996). In the light of this regulatory environment, the City Hall's Special Committee on Urban Development[11] took monument protection issues seriously. The Chairman, Ferenc Harrer, asked the art historian István Genthon, the rapporteur of the National Committee of Monuments[12], to revise the monument inventory of Budapest. Genthon provided a list of 51 monuments which definitely needed to be preserved. The listed buildings were mostly situated in the inner part of Buda, in Óbuda and Downtown Pest (Sipos 2011). András Sipos quotes the Harrer Committee's position on the urban planning role of monument conservation (1936):

> *'[…] we must remove everything from the path of development that has no special value from a historical, art historical, or artistic point of view, or because of its age, its rarity or its local significance; but wherever it is a matter of saving and maintaining serious values in these aspects, development must look for another way to enforce its interests' (p57).*

The committee therefore defined certain urban spatial unities to be preserved on the basis of artistic and historical value assessment, which above all belonged to individual buildings. Before the finalisation of the urban development program, in 1939, the City Hall Department for Public Culture submitted a proposal on the protection of monuments and townscape, which took into consideration the differences in terms of historical periods and urban historical significance while evaluating the monuments and preserved areas. The proposal also argued that Andrássy Avenue, with its '*entirely monumental character*' (p58), and the street network of Pest Downtown must be preserved. This is therefore an extension of the concept of preserved urban space, which took into account not only the protection of individual buildings, but also the protection of building complexes, historic neighbourhoods and morphological features as well.

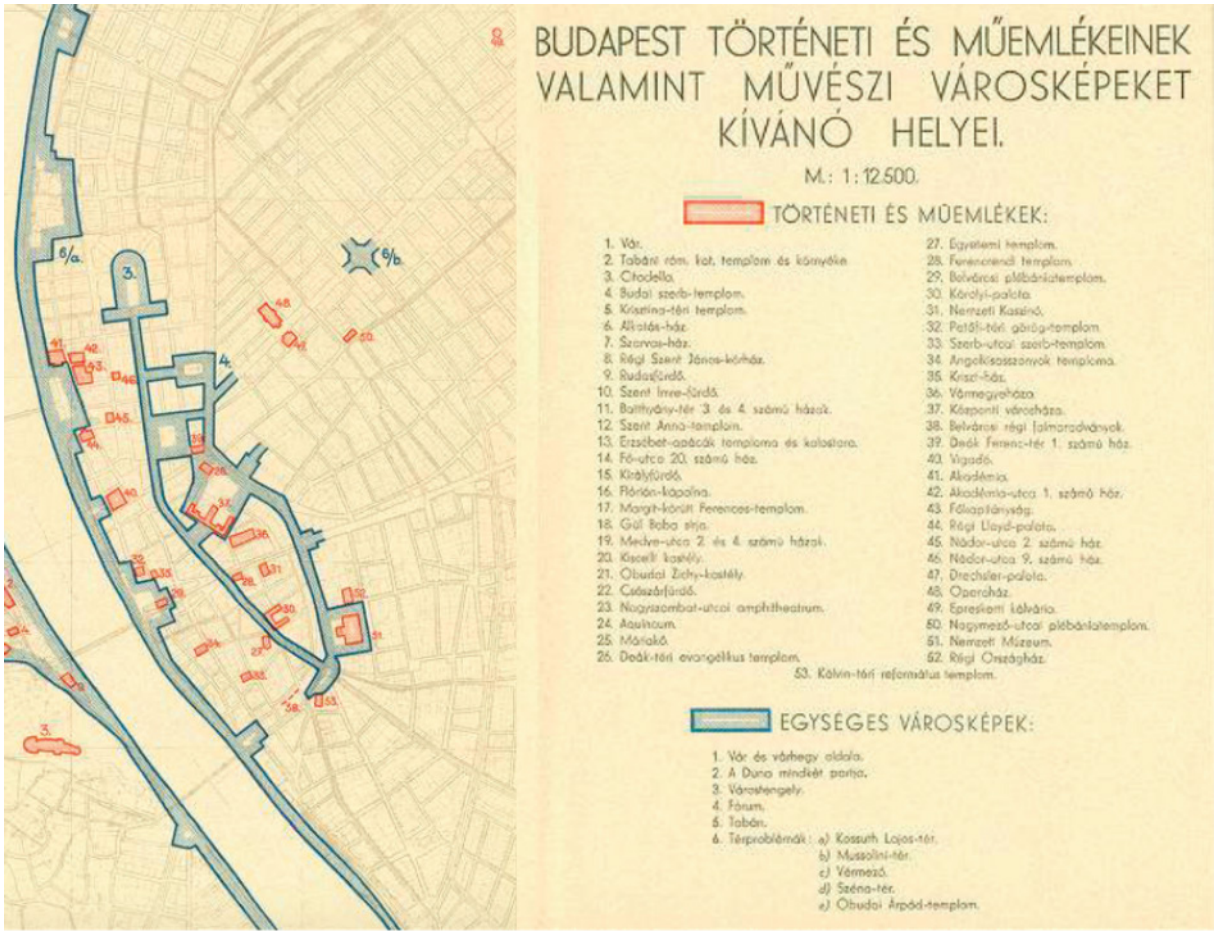
The General Assembly of the Capital adopted the report of the Harrer Committee in 1940, which became the basis for the development of the Budapest General Master Plan (Sipos 2011). Concerning the built environment, it distinguished residential areas, industrial zones, the Bath city, the commercial city, the university city, and the historic city *(történeti város)*. According to the definition of the latter, urban development could face three '*historical problems*' (Harrer 1941a:29): 1) preservation of certain historic, primarily valuable architectural monuments; 2) maintaining the historic character of a whole neighbourhood; 3) excavation of an archaeological site. All three problems could be encountered in Budapest: Pest is good example of the first, Buda Castle of the second, and Óbuda of the third. In the case of Pest, recent construction projects (namely the construction of the Elizabeth Bridge) had eliminated the last contiguous historic neighbourhood, so here only some '*sporadically located memories*' (p30) could preserved. Harrer (1941b) identified beautification as one of the major subjects in the urban development program. Urban beautification envisioned the elimination of everything that spoiled the townscape, but mostly had special issues on a larger scale: the preservation and enforcement of objects of natural beauty, the protection and effective integration of historical monuments into the townscape, and the artistic creation of unified townscapes *(egységes városképek)*. In his program presentation, Harrer detailed the most significant monuments, which in some cases included a reference to

10 Act No. VI of 1937 on town planning and construction.

11 In 1932 a special committee was established under Ferenc Harrer's leadership to create the urban development program of Budapest (Sipos 2011).

12 The National Committee of Monuments (Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága) was a consultative body with office apparatus for monument protection between 1881–1949. The main activities of the Committee were supporting and supervising the protection of monuments, conducting scientific research and registering monuments (Barcza 1969).

Figure 4
Annex 9 to the Budapest Urban Development Program: historical monuments of Budapest (red) and desirable places for artistic townscapes (blue) enlarging on Pest's city centre neighbourhoods. (Messik–Becske 1940)



their surroundings. Nevertheless, this did not mean a particular level of protection of the surroundings, but rather the adaptation of the neighbouring buildings to the monument. A separate section dealt with the unified townscapes. The creation of artistic townscapes was considered the most important task of urban beautification. Suitable places were primarily determined by natural or historical features. The program identified a number of suitable places where a unified artistic townscape should be developed (Figure 4).

Concerning the examined area, 27 monuments were listed, and three main zones were identified that required a unified approach: the Danube bank, the city-axis (this idea was taken over from Pál Ligeti) and the Budapest Forum. Mussolini Square (today: Oktogon) and Kossuth Square were listed as *square issues* where townscape improvement was required (Harrer 1941b). In 1940 a new Building Code was issued in line with the adopted urban development program, which defined special provisions for the Castle Quarter and Andrássy Avenue. MBPW might impose building restrictions in order to protect buildings and districts of historical or artistic value. The Code discussed the preservation of the townscapes in a separate chapter, which was defined in the spirit of the program with regard to the guidelines for urban beautification and the artistic creation of unified townscapes. In the case of preserved townscapes, the National Committee of Monuments was granted the right to comment before a building permit was issued (Kaiser 1996).

Townscape imagined to be resilient

Architects faced a number of challenges when they were trying to redefine the city centre of Pest. The discourse made attempts to conceptualize urban preservation, express new approaches, and reclassify certain areas. Theses urban changes were closely related to certain concepts, foremost the townscape. I intend to look at how the concept of the townscape and Pest's central neighbourhoods changed during this period.

To what extent can we say that the discourse formed certain hybrid urban spatial categories that can be described via the concept of resilient urban space? Was there any conceptual invention and novelty that we can consider as resulting from the discourse on compatibility? Is resilience truly interpretable in a historical urban context? To answer these questions, I tried to systematize at which levels the concepts may have emerged.

We can certainly encounter the first attempts to develop continuous spatial forms of urban preservation. The prominent role of the townscape in the discourse can hardly be disputed. The weight of the concept shows precisely the efforts to (re)shape its definitions, especially the changed requirement for a more complex concept of urban preservation, which moves from the problem of the integration of the old and the modern to a broader, more 'resilient' concept. On the one hand, it seems that the issue of the visual integrity and image of the city became the sphere where compatibility should take place. By creating the concept of a unified townscape and projecting it onto the map, the Harrer Committee consciously made an effort to establish a model for harmonizing urban preservation and planning. This integrative attitude was formulated at the level of the urban development program and the building code. On the other hand, the other selected documents shed light on the townscape from very different perspectives, resulting in considerable uncertainty around this integrative feature. Although several interpretations and potential categories have emerged, bringing a degree of diversity to the perceptions of the city centre, most of them did not seem to be permanently incorporated into the discourse. Nothing proves this more than the different ways in which the sources speak about associating townscape with tradition or historical value. Although historical arguments have emerged in some writings, they have been marginalized relative to aesthetic requirements. Nevertheless, through its aesthetic functions, the concept of townscape was able to become a 'laboratory of compatibility'.

It is important to highlight the mixed attributes and classification of the city centre in the planning documents of the 1940s. In addition to the functional properties (governmental, academic, financial etc.) a historical character was given to this area. Without overestimating its importance, we need to draw attention to the way in which the blurry concept of 'historic city' in the urban development program of 1940 morphed into a more specific but still not precisely defined spatial category in the 1948 draft of the General Master Plan of Budapest as '*neighbourhoods of historical value*' *('történelmi értékű városrészek')* or '*finite townscapes of historic origin*' *('történeti eredetű zárt városképek')* (Sipos 2011:112).

Resilience seems to be an appropriate model to reveal changes in perceptions and conceptions of urban space. The model mobilized hidden assumptions and strategies, and opened up further aspects to be considered, such as the geographical concept of landscape *(táj)*, which seems to have a fundamental influence on the thinking of architects. However, it has also become apparent that the analysis can provide more insights by broadening the diversity of sources reviewed.

References

Primary sources

Bierbauer V. (1928) Megjegyzések Forgó Pál városház-felhőkarcoló javaslatához [Comments on Pál Forgó's proposal of the town hall skyscraper]. *Tér és Forma*, 3, 115–116.

Bierbauer V. (1929) Nagy feladatok előtt [Before big tasks]. *Tér és Forma*, 1, 1–3.

Bierbauer V. (1932) *Budapest: Múlt és Jelen* [Budapest: Past and Present]. Unpublished manuscript. (Fővárosi Szabó Ervin Könyvtár, Budapest Gyűjtemény, BQ 0910/397)

Bierbauer V. (1933) *Budapest városépítési problémái* [Budapest's urban development problems]. Budapest: Tér és Forma.

Bierbauer V. (1937) Budapest-Városközpont tervpályázata [Budapest-City Centre design competition]. *Tér és Forma*, 2–3, 67–80.

Csathó K. (1931) Utcáink esztétikája [The aesthetics of our streets]. *Budapesti Hírlap,* 237, 7.

Fábián G. (1928) München – Páris – Salzburg. *Építő Ipar – Építő Művészet*, 39–40, 157–158.

Ferenczy V. (1938) A városkép [The townscape]. *Tér és Forma,* 8–9, 250–251.

Forgó P. (1928) A budapesti központi városháza problémájához [To the problem of Budapest's central town hall]. *Tér és Forma*, 2, 77–78.

Györgyi D. (1930) A szabadságtéri építészeti tervpályázat [Architectural design competition of Szabadság Square]. *Tér és Forma*, 8, 343–347.

Harrer F. (1933) Budapest városfejlesztési programmja [Urban development program of Budapest]. *Városi Szemle*, 1, 1–60.

Harrer F. (1941a) Budapest városfejlesztési programmja [Urban development program of Budapest]. *Városi Szemle*, 1, 1–56.

Harrer F. (1941b) Budapest városfejlesztési programmja (folytatás) [Urban development program of Budapest (continued)]. *Városi Szemle*, 2, 161–208.

Irsy L. (1941) Szebb Budapestet! [More beautiful Budapest!] *Nemzeti Ujság,* 294, 4.

Irsy L. (1944) A városkép. A városképet kialakító elemek [The townscape. Elements of the townscape.] *Magyar Építőművészet*, 2, 28.

Kaffka P. (1929) Erzsébet-sugárút [Erzsébet Avenue]. *Magyar Szemle,* 3, 224–233.

Kisléghi Nagy I. – Pogány F. (1943) Szobrok és emlékművek a városban [Sculptures and memorials in the city]. *Magyar Építőművészet*, 10, 250–257.

Kisléghi Nagy I. – Pogány F. (1944) Terek és utcák városképi vizsgálata [Visual examination of streets and squares]. *Magyar Építőművészet*, 6, 108–112.

Klebelsberg K. (1928) Budapest, Szeged és Debrecen, mint tudományos székvárosok [Budapest, Szeged and Debrecen as scientific capitals]. In: Klebelsberg K.: *Neonacionalizmus. Gróf Klebelsberg Kuno összegyűjtött újságcikkei.* Budapest: Athenaeum, 71–76.

Komor J. (1928) Városépítés [City Building]. *Tér és forma*, 3, 85–88.

Ligeti P. (1928) A belső Erzsébetváros újjáépítése [Reconstruction of Inner-Erzébetváros]. *Tér és Forma*, 1, 19–31.

Magyarság (1929) A Közmunkák Tanácsa, megkezdi az erzsébetvárosi gettó rendezését [The Board Public Works Council, begins the settlement of the Erzsébetváros ghetto]. *Magyarság,* 40, 7.

Masirevich Gy. (1939) Épület és városkép [Building and townscape]. *Tér és Forma*, 3, 66.

Messik G. – Becske K. (1940) *Budapest történeti és műemlékeinek valamint művészi városképeket kivánó helyei. 9. sz. melléklet Budapest városfejlesztési programmjához.* [Desirable places of historical monuments of Budapest as well as artistic townscapes. Annex No. 9 to the Budapest Urban Development Program] Cartographic document. (Fővárosi Szabó Ervin Könyvtár, Budapest Gyűjtemény, BTQ 534). Budapest: Budapest Székesfőváros Házinyomdája. URL: https://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/BFLTerkeptar/3409/ [downloaded: 13-14-2020]

Rakovszky I. (1929) A szépülő Budapest [The beautifying Budapest]. *Budapesti Hírlap*, 40, 19.

Rihmer P. (1939) Új városképek Budapesten [New townscapes in Budapest]. *Magyar Szemle*, 5–8, 241–250.

Tóth J. (1938) A magyar városok városesztétikai kérdései [Urban aesthetic issues of Hungarian towns]. *Tér és Forma*, 10, 305–306.

Tóth K. G. (1941) Az építész felelőssége a városképért [The responsibility of the architect for the townscape]. *Építészet – A Magyar Mérnök- és Építészegylet negyedévi szemléje*, 3, 71–74.

Vámos F. (1928) Megjegyzések az Erzsébetváros problémájához [Comments on the problem of Erzsébetváros]. *Tér és Forma*, 3, 118–120.

Városi Szemle (1927) Budapest műemlékei [Monuments of Budapest]. *Városi Szemle,* 1, 931–932.

Vertse D. (1944) Magyar városháza [Hungarian Town Hall]. *Magyar Építőművészet,* 2, 30–37.

Literature

Athens Charter (1931) *The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments.* Athens: First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments. URL: https://www.icomos.org/en/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments [downloaded: 14-04-2020]

Athens Charter (1933) *The Athens Charter.* New York: Grossman. URL: https://modernistarchitecture.wordpress.com/2010/11/03/ciam's-"the-athens-charter"-1933/ [downloaded: 14-04-2020]

Backouche, I. (2013) *Aménager la ville. Les centres urbains français entre construction et rénovation (de 1943 á nos jours)*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Barcza G. (1960) A magyar műemlékvédelem fejlődése a jogszabályok tükrében (1847–1949) [Development of Hungarian monument protection in the light of legislation (1847–1949)]. In *Magyar Műemlékvédelem 1963–1966*. *Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség Kiadványai 4.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 7–12.

Hartog, F. (2015) *Regimes of Historicity. Presentism and Experiences of Time.* New York: Columbia University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.7312/hart16376

Hopfengärtner, J. (2016) Intorduction. In Moravánszky, Á. – Hopfengärtner, J. (eds.) *Re-Humanizing Architecture: New Forms of Community, 1950–1970.* Basel: Birkhäuser, 13–20. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783035608113

Iamandi, C. (1997) The Charters of Athens of 1931 and 1933: Coincidence, controversy and convergence. *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites,* 1, 17–28. https://doi.org/10.1179/135050397793138934

Kaiser A. (1996) Műemlékek és városkép védelme a fővárosi építési szabályzatokban (1870–1945) [Protection of monuments and townscape in the building codes of the capital]. In *Magyar Műemlékvédelem 1980–1990. Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség Kiadványai 10.* Budapest: OMFK, 33–38.

Koselleck R. (2004) *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time.* New York: Columbia University Press. https://doi.org/10.7312/kose12770

Merrill, E. M. – Giamarelos, S. (2019) From the Pantheon to the Anthropocene: Introducing Resilience in Architectural History. *Architectural Histories,* 7, 1–11. https://doi.org/10.5334/ah.406

Meyen, M. – Schier, J. (2019) The Resilience Discourse: How a Concept from Ecology Could Overcome the Boundaries Between Academic Disciplines and Society. In Rampp, B. – Endress, M. – Naumann, M. (eds.) *Resilience in Social, Cultural and Political Spheres.* Trier: Springer, 105–120. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-15329-8_6

Rampp, B. – Endress, M. – Naumann, M. (eds.) Resilience in Social, Cultural and Political Spheres. Trier: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-15329-8

Sipos A. (2011) *A jövő Budapestje 1930–1960. Városfejlesztési programok és rendezési tervek*. [The Budapest of the future 1930–1960. Urban development programs and master plans.] Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó.

Sonkoly, G. (2017) *Historical Urban Landscape*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-49166-0

UNESCO (2020) *World Heritage List: Budapest, including the Banks of the Danube, the Buda Castle Quarter and Andrássy Avenue.* UNESCO World Heritage Centre. URL: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/400/ [downloaded: 14-04-2020] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/400/https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/400/

Máté Tamáska[1]

Contrast as Aesthetic Value in the Townscape[2]

Modernity and Preservation in the 1960s and 1970s in Hungary

https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2020en.75

Abstract

The 1960s and 1970s represent a period of housing estate construction in Europe, and this urban architectural model greatly affected the former socialist countries, including Hungary. It seems logical therefore that monument and townscape protection could not find its place in that period of building boom. Nevertheless, Hungarian monument protection flowered in those decades. The reason for this was that the search for "contrast" was one of the leading paradigms in modern urban aesthetics, and this contrast also highlighted development: the remaining architectural monuments and urban zones as relics emphasized the different characteristics of the modern town as opposed to the old one. Thus, while urban architects were working on creating the "new townscape", experts of monument protection had a wide range of license in their field to preserve the historical milieu as a contrast to the modern one. Naturally, this historical milieu had the stamp of the aesthetical paradigms of modern architecture as well. Therefore the old houses were interpreted as the antitype of modern design, the static and rationality were stressed, instead of the decoration and social representation of old structures. This paper attempts to verify empirically the above thesis by analyzing three Hungarian sites: the completely reconstructed Budapest-Óbuda, Komárom as municipal center and semi-new town in the 1960s and 1970s, and Esztergom as a historical town.

Keywords: architectural sociology, sociology of urban planning, sociology of monument preservation, cultural heritage

1 Vice-Rector for Science of Apor Vilmos Catholic College, archivist at National Archives of Hungary

2 The paper is part of the author's project within the Bolyai János Research Scholarship 2018–2021, at the Institute for Sociology, Centre for Social Sciences.

Máté Tamáska

Contrast as Aesthetic Value in the Townscape

Modernity and Preservation in the 1960s and 1970s in Hungary

The ideal of opposites

In the history of architectural space creation, modernity was the first not only to cater for, that is, to conceptualize social relations in space, but also to influence, or even to create those relations (Delitz 2009). Never before did any architectural style bring forth similar totalitarian social reforms. Even the national architectural aspirations of the 19th and 20th centuries were limited to the spatial conceptualization of the goals formulated by the customer (that is, by the national ideology and its political representatives) (Déry 1995). Henceforth, modernity includes not only the early twentieth-century architectural movements in a narrow sense, but the entire period until the sixties and seventies, until the postmodernist critique of modern urban planning appeared (Benevolo 1994, 2000, Pevsner 1972, Klotz 1994). Thus, the interpretation of modern architecture in the paper is very broad, implying more an attitude: a contemporary, progressive, trend-following behavior spanning the 20th century until the 1970s and 1980s. In other words, it is the effort of the 20thcentury that broke away from the Beaux-Arts historicism townscapes of the late 19th century and fought against its recurrence in any form, such as the tendencies to create picturesque scenery (Kostof 1998:90, Major 1969:233). Modern architecture is also a narrative framework, which captivated the architectural opinion of the 20th century, and even reinterpreted the history of architecture as a whole through its own view (Hitchcock 1958:Pevsner 1979). Certainly, the fact that it coincided with the emergence of the architectural vocation as an intellectual profession greatly contributed to its success (Gerber 2014:103). Until the 19th century, the builder and the artist's role in society were not separate. Due to academic training (also), however, the social role of the academic architect had emerged. Architects as members of the intellectual elite have autonomous scientific or artistic ambitions. In this way- at least in principle- the architect is different from the engineer, and even more from the builder, who receives a skilled worker's status in the modern social order of the occupational structure (Schmidtke 2006).

The separation of social roles, however, did not solve all the principal problems of the architect's identity, which creates tension within the profession, as in the conflict outlined above. Accordingly, architects are artists on the one hand with their own concept and freedom of choice, while on the other hand they are artisans executing the customer's requirements, professionals in practice (Allsopp 1983). Modern architecture integrates contrasts not only in sociological role (artist – expert of building: the duality was a key element of the self-image of modern architecture. Like a doctrine, theoretical texts of modern architecture insist on certain pairs of opposites like, for example, past versus present, old versus new, ornateness versus purity, perfection versus imperfection, structure versus faux facade, etc. These pairs of opposites often define the norms between good and bad solutions at the same time (Nerdinger 2010). Although these pairs of opposites derive from the architectural debates at the beginning of the 20th century and were expressed as a rebellion against the practice of Beaux-Arts, they later became anchored within architectural education as dogmas (Hassler 2010:33). Strictly opposing in the townscape as "heritage zone" and "modern, developed areas" is one of the leading values of modern architecture movement (Rodwell 2011).

Our study aims to draw attention to contrast of old structures and modern urban environment within the townscape, which however has the characteristic that the contemporaries finally saw and presented these opposites as a unison. In particular, the practice of Hungarian urban planning in the 1960s and 1970s will be discussed, which was characterized by the culmination of monument protection and modern urban development at the same time. Although the two ambitions involved several disagreements they nevertheless became integrated into townscapes, or at least situated in the same space. The coexistence of past and present, monument protection and modern structures grew into one of one of the basic aesthetic values of the era.[3] The contrast also occurred at the level of monument restorations, for example, in the powerful contrast of materials like for example between historical stones and reinforced concrete (Horler 1983).

The contrast of past and present

If modernity is regarded not as an architectural but a social process, the period of modernity significantly expands. The modernization of society typically covers 19th-century processes and therefore predates architectural modernization (Durkheim 1893, Polányi 1944, Sombart 1902, Spencer, 1876–1882, Tönnis 1887). However, there was a second social modernization period that took place in Europe after the Second World War. In the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the two types of modern, mutually amplifying, social and architectural processes brought about radical transformations in European urban life (Meggyesi 2005:126–136). German literature calls this period the second Gründerzeit (or Boomjahren), referring to the depth and quantity of changes in urban structures (Schäfers 2014:150, Hassler–Dumont d'Ayut 2009). In the following, the preservationist idea will be briefly interpreted in this broader field of modernization. An overall analysis is not possible here: I will only highlight the essential background to the intellectual history through three examples of urban reorganizations that took place in the 1960s and 1970s.

Raymund Aron claims that the essence of modernity is a gearshift in the course of social changes, which reveals the difference between the past and present, believed to be motionless until then (Aron 1965). Thus in modern societies, change is not just an occasional, unique event, but also part of everyday life. Aron dates this shift in the most advanced industrial countries to the decades around the French Revolution. It is hardly a coincidence that the idea of preservation was first outlined in the French society that had broken away from its past, as well as throughout the western world at that time (Chastel 2004:102, Nora 1997). Institutionalizing monument protection in the 19th century matched the idea of legitimizing a wide range of national aspirations. As the most outstanding works proved to be sufficient for the creation of the national ethos, the number of actual buildings considered as protected heritage remained extremely low in the whole era (Vauchez 1996:59). The less monumental, more modest relics rather disturbed the romantic myth created about the Middle Ages, therefore destroying them did not pose a real problem (Dercsény 1980:12). The trend of clean style related to architect Viollet-le-Duc did everything to make monuments adequate for representation: the less successful parts were replaced, the missing towers built up. The restoration style of the 19th century aimed not to present the historical authenticity of the material, but to demonstrate the design expertise of architects, who could create high-quality artwork in the style language of every era (Román 2004:149).[4] The paradox of this era was that respect for the past was subordinated to the needs of the present. Nothing is more typical of its mentality than that it freed protected medieval cathedrals from the clamping ring of town houses and trading kiosks, and in their stead, it established representative squares typical of the Baroque, thus treating building and townscape heritage separately (Pogány 1954:168). The modern architecture movement criticized deeply

3 The advance of monument protection has of course several other grounds. One is for example the professionalism which led to the establishing of the nation-wide institution of monument protection in 1957 (Országos Műemléki Hivatal). Or the economic crises after 1970, as the "old" but still adaptable houses were many times promoted for use after certain modernisation.

4 András Román (1929–2004), one of the most known expert of monument protection, also active in international developing of the UNESCO.

this methodology and broke with this practice that was rooted in historicism (Mezős 2001).[5] The basic document of the modern monument protection is the "Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments" (1931) and the later (as summarizing) "Venice Charter of 1964". They state that the restoration of monuments should employ the architectural language of the given era.[6]

The "architectural language" was not defined separately, because its essence is change. The classical document of modern architecture, the Charter of Athens (1933), states under point 70: "The re-use of past styles of building for new structures in historic areas under the pretext of aesthetics has disastrous consequences. The continuance or the introduction of such habits in any form should not be tolerated."[7] In other words, modern architecture defined the basic principles of preservation practices by the middle of the 20th century, treating it as a specific area of architectural creation. Remarkably, the dogmatic application of the Venice Charter set the same objectivity in the focus of quality, as the modern movement did a few decades before in architecture. In this way, the role of the material was exaggerated, which led to the reduction of the content in a fundamentally historical narrative (Fejérdy 2008:44).[8] To sum up it can said that the significance of ideological and spiritual interpretation decreased (whose monument) in favor of tangible, material and structural (what kind of architecture) knowledge.

The modern principles of monument protection were formulated in a period of deep social change in the 1960s, changes that may be compared to the importance of the 19th-century modernization. In the same way that the train, its speed and possibilities defined the transformation of nineteenth century towns, so cars and aircraft did in the second half of the twentieth century (Békési 2006, Morscher–Scheutz–Schuster 2013:275). The aircraft refers to the growth of speed, while cars refer to the fact that from the 1960s, urban planning could operate not only in the linear and circular patterns of railway lines, but also in evenly spread fields.

Modern architecture and urban planning in its track created a completely alien urban experience (Watters 2011). This urban experience became common in the era of prefabricated housing estates of the 1960s and 1970s, and we might add, often with very schematic solutions (Demblin–Cernek 1997:16). Perhaps the most important feature of the new urban experience was the elimination of the street. The street was the most important, historically formed, morphological basic unit of European towns (Kostof 1998:189). An endless urban landscape studded with detached blocks replaced the urban space reminiscent of the enclosed courtyard (Peters 1978). The enormous lifestyle change that took place within a single generation after 1945 has made it clear that in today's world, people were living radically differently in the 1970s as compared to 40–50 years before. The distance between the past and present of sites became larger and more exotic than the difference between geographical eras of the time. These changes are all a result of globalization (Lowenthal 2004:57).

Thus, the same period that rapidly erased the traditional settlement environment also made the past apparent through its hiatus. "The acceleration of history: Let us try to gauge the significance, beyond metaphor, of this phrase. An increasingly rapid slippage of the present into a historical past that is gone for good, a general perception that anything and everything may disappear – these indicate a rupture of equilibrium." (Nora 1989:7). The concept of the "historical townscape" is incomprehensible without the modern city. The

5 Tamás Mezős one of the most known monument expert of the today Hungary, the leader of university program "Expert for Monument Protection" (műemléki szakmérnőki képzés).

6 See the documents: https://www.icomos.org/en/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments, http://www.icomos.hu/data/documents/velencei_charta_1964.pdf Last View: 04.01.2021

7 Charter of Athens (1933): http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters/charter04.html Last View: 04.01.2021

8 Tamás Fejérdy, one of the most well-known experts of contemporary monument management, former chair of UNESCO, active after 1990 as the monument protection had to change to the up to day challenges (change to the "heritage protection", in Hungarian: Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal).

radicalism of modernity, the spirit that ignored the traditional constructions, materials and ways of life fostered the need to preserve the whole historical townscapes (Máté 1995).

The historical fact draws attention to the parallelism of scale shift in the radicalism of modern architecture and monument protection. While engineers of Hungary in the 1950s and 1960s were working on standards of prefabrications for mass producing (in line with European trends), another groups of architects (also following the European trends) had created the townscape value cadasters.[9]

Dezső Dercsényi was a central figure within monument protection after 1945. He wrote about his own activity: "Usually an architect and an art historian performed the investigation. (...) The complete examination of 74 settlements (not just towns but villages designated for development) was accomplished." (Dercsényi 1980:12). The 1964 / Act III about building issues (1964. évi III. törvény az építésügyről) defined a legal term in Hungary for the historic townscape as "the area of heritage importance" (műemléki jelentőségű terület, MJT), where modern urban endeavors are not applicable, or only to a limited extent (Román 1983:213).

The joint enforcement of the two principles, the preservation of historic zones and the development of new urban areas, was a typical trend of the 1960s and 1970s. In those decades, many experts welcomed the intertwining of monument (and townscape) protection and urban development: theoretical works were created on this topic, sharply opposing the socialist urban planning in the 1950s when for a short period historicism was on the table (Jankó 2011, 46). The parallel endeavor eventually merged into an urban planning and aesthetic content of the duality "old and new". One of the most important theoreticians of the time was Imre Perényi, who wrote the following guideline: "it is very important for the protection of the structure, silhouette, etc. of areas that include historical and architectural monuments. However, we should not give up on the implementation of reasonable modernization efforts." (Perényi 1976:165).

Therefore, embedded into the structure of new towns, the monument zones or at least some relic buildings were integrated into the modernizing townscape of the sixties. Although a European phenomenon, it had different emphases in different countries. Hungary is definitely one of those regions where monument protection was integrated into the urban planning system and architectural training, establishing a strong representation of monument protection in the time of radical urban planning processes (Mezős 2016:9).

Through monument and townscape protection, the ideas of modern architecture were changed as well. While the modern architecture movement was originally a strongly future-oriented utopian movement, monument protection took possession of the past. Thus, the town in the modern space became able to do what architectural monographs do: not only to point towards the future, but to redefine the heritage of urban spaces, as well. The monument reconstructions in the 1960s and 1970s forced extremely functional changes (like for example castles becoming tourist attractions). Like at the birth of modernism at the turn of the 20th century, its mass deployment in the sixties and seventies was to surpass the past of eclecticism. Modern monument protection redefined the eclectic heritage of towns: corner turrets, and excess plaster architectures largely disappeared - those elements that the architectural history of structural aspects disregarded. László Gerő was one of the few architects who planned picturesque townscapes around the monuments. But even he stressed in his theoretical works the main ideas of modern architecture: "Most people still view architecture as some kind of more or less ornate robe, and few realize that architecture is essentially- even in the best historic robe - a spatial art" (Gerő 1966:92). The practice of monument and townscape protection of the sixties and seventies and the triumph of modern architecture and urban planning are not only the offspring of the same

9 Remarkable, that the investigation of historical townscapes does not reflect the approach of the fifties, but it is a pre-war heritage of the profession, which the professionals of the forties and fifties carried on. The Act about Urban Planning and Building Issues 1937 (1937. évi VI. törvénycikk a városrendezésről és az építésügyről) already defined the protection of townscapes (Winkler, 2002).

age, but also a spatial program realized in townscape, in which the past and the present, and so indirectly progress, materializes by the juxtaposition of contrasts, and by the inclusion of historical and modern architectural elements.

From today this period is clearly to be defined through its typical expressions like 'monument' or 'building protection', 'conservation', or in a wider zone, 'townscape protection'. These words express a symbiosis with the architecture and their aesthetic values. Contemporary vocabulary would use rather 'culture heritage', or 'historical landscape', which refer to the social substances of the view (Harlov-Csortán 2018:20). Although the architecture sociological point of view of the paper suggests using current interpretations, I decided to use the words of the 1960s and 1970s, because of the better understanding they convey of the spirit of the historical period.

Case studies

Methodology

Based on the above perspectives, I attempt to illustrate how the contrast of past and present was realized during urban planning in the sixties and seventies through the cases of the following three settlements along the Danube River (in case of Budapest, I will present only a district). It was an important aspect in the selection of the three sites, that with this I can present a colorful picture of the methodology of townscape protection and urban development in the 1960s and 1970s. Óbuda and Esztergom are two historical settlements, while Komárom has a very special position, a new town that was still looking for a new identity at the beginning of the 1960s (Dercsényi–Zolnay 1956, Gál 1990, Kiss–Mocsy 1995, Horler 1962, Rédli 2010, Schoen 1935). The result, however, is almost independent of the starting point: Óbuda and Komárom have become modern towns of building estates with pronounced historical relics, while Esztergom has retained the historic town that has been rather counterpointed by modern architecture. Of course this selection is more or less arbitrary. The very different historical heritage and administrative position of the sites will stress the differences of methodology in the field of the relation of monument protection and urban development. Other cases could answer other questions, as for example the former catholic towns developed after 1945 to a mix of industrial new town and protected historical centre (Vác, Esztergom, Eger) would show special patterns.

The architecture sociological basis of this analysis is that the townscape is an expression of the currently effective values and power relations in a society, so the morphological analysis can bring forth anthropological, sociological, and socio-historical results (Delitz 2009:16). The basic source material is the townscape itself, and fundamentally, "promenadology" served as the method for analysis (Burckhardt 2006, Weisshaar 2013). This means that instead of a static perception there is the movement, mostly the pedestrian movement that explores relationships revealed during the walk. This procedure is not unknown in the research of traditional architectural history, as Frigyes Pogány's townscape analysis always concentrated on the experience of approaching a building (Pogány 1976:353). Another fundamental methodology is the exact investigation of historical sources, which explores the formation and chronology of townscapes. As regards Óbuda and Esztergom, I could rely on rich literature in this field (see the specific reference to literature), while in the case of Komárom I researched the primary sources in the local archives, especially for the post-1945 materials in the plan repository.

Exhibition of contrasts: the example of Óbuda

The medieval and early modern Óbuda was built on the ancient site of Aquincum, and in 1872, it was the third historical town of the unified city of Budapest. Nonetheless, Óbuda was left out of the city's rapid urbanization. Moreover, its dynamics lagged behind a number of country towns: "Lajos Street is Óbuda's main street.

It has ten two-story houses, the others are ramshackle huts. Air cannot fit in their long, narrow yards for the number of people in there." (Contemporaneous anonymous description from 1896, citied by Létay 1995:244). Urban planners wanted to change the situation. From the 1930s they wanted to establish a new, modern town, and their plans called for the demolition of the old structures and the erection of tenement houses. The Olgyay brothers elaborated a plan in the 1930s that was later repeatedly refined, which was to create a new frame-built urban structure with the main axis as the "Via Antica," a broad avenue that would have linked up the Roman relics of the area as well (Kaiser 1995:333). The idea came from Rome where the urban planners wanted to give a new identity to the city in which the duality of antique ruins and contemporary modern architecture was emphasised.[10] Nonetheless, most Roman ruins in Budapest were still in the ground or under houses then.

The first "demolition" of vernacular dwellings took place at the "Királydomb," when a block of single-storey houses was removed, and the amphitheater of the former military town of Aquincum was excavated. In fact, in 1942, it became the emblematic monument of the new townscape allowing for the 'ruin' character with some spectacular additions: "László Gerő carrying out the renovation (...) at the points where the original remains were heavily damaged, and planned a partial reconstruction. Thus, the Amphitheater became the town's visual element, and its previous mass emerged as well." (Zsidi 2007:324). In the 1941 version of Via Antica, the Amphitheatre would have been the main town gate of the avenue. The avenue starting here would have run to the next junction (now Flórian Square) by the eradication of the historical street network and then continued to the archaeological exhibition site of the civil town. "Huge houses composed in the spirit of rationalist architecture lined up along the road to Florian Square. Along the two sides of the road that led from the square to the Ruin Garden there would have stood houses and farther on some industrial buildings. The Olgyay brothers wanted to provide the possibility to present the Roman monuments." (from Mezős 2001:48). The north-south avenue joined the other, east-west urban axis including the bridge to Pest. The plan, which became the basis for all further interventions with east-west, north-south avenues, was the first step in the elimination of the former Óbuda. However, the implementation progressed slowly until the sixties.

After 1945 the idea of duality continued, which involved the museum-like antiquating of urban space and radical modernization. The 1948 master plan considered a full demolition similar to the previous concept. Interestingly, it suggested that a large urban park should be established around the area of the main square of a few representative buildings and including the excavated ruins of the medieval structures (Kaiser 1995, 338).[11] Radical modernization and monument protection would have merged at this point in the methods of romantic garden architecture.

In contrast to the main square, the Hévizi Street housing project from the master plan of 1948 was realized. The number of four storey, detached houses represent the era before the prefabricated flats industry. The houses in Hévizi utca have some historicism references, quoting the late socialist realist style (architect, Dul 1957–1961).[12]However, the archaeological exhibition site next to the buildings was completed only later, in 1967 (Berza 1993:549). The protective building above the ruins has a modest size, but its sharply sculpted concrete shell is in the spirit of modern architecture. It contrasts the Roman ruins (and the traditional materials of housing estate as well), so it is a typical example of the aesthetic of contrasts in the modern movement.

10 Notably, the Roman past had a particular importance in the interwar period in Central Europe including Hungary. For two reasons: one is that Mussolini's Italy inspired the political elites in small, authoritarian states (rather than Hitler), the other is that the Roman past expressed a kind of humanism, and adherance to the classic values. (Ferkai 2003:158).

11 A ruin may best be placed in a little green park. There are several examples for intentions like that. The cellatrichora in Raktár Street from the 1930s, the small park in Miklós Street, or the wall structure of the Late Roman fort near Thermal Hotel Aquincum (Mezős, 2001:66–67).

12 D. Dul, Budapest, III. kerület Hévizi úti lakótelep, tervdokumentáció 1959–1960 [Budapest, III. district, housing estate at Hévizi Road, plan documentation 1959-1960], Lechner Nonprofit Kft., Lechner Nonprofit Kft., Építésügyi Dokumentációs és Információs Központ, DKT/OÉMT/ÁÉTV/-5039.

A very similar situation can be observed in the houses along the "Via Antica" (after 1945 Ottó Korvin, today Pacsirtamező Street) built in socialist realist style for shipyard workers in 1955. The building was placed on a steel-concrete base to present the Roman monuments that had emerged at the foundation, and a museum was established in the basement. The museum part of the building was designed after the fall of Stalin as opposed to the building designed in 1950, so it was a product of the post socialist-realism era, a small sign of the returning modern architecture. "The designer could easily have erred by applying Roman decorative motifs, neoclassic architectural elements, which in this particular case would have been a definitely wrong, cheap, gimmicky solution. (...) The designer appropriately chose (...) the completely timeless, noble and simple, basic architectural form growing out of the job (from Borsos 1955:430). Here therefore, a strange situation arises again when the design of the archaeological exhibition site is the counterpoint in modern form language next to a relatively historizing building in the urban landscape.

Meanwhile, preparations were under way for the complete rehabilitation of the area. Here, the most interesting undertaking was the experimental housing estate at the site of a rehabilitated former pit (Branczik –Keller 2011). The idea behind the project was to find the best practices for the future mass housing industry. The architects involved were only Hungarian, but followed the contemporary international trends. The modern building design principles clearly dominated the experimental housing estate. From this time, architecture in Hungary turned back to international modernism. . However, the experiment remained an attempt, and instead of local architects designing the tenement houses, the state imported prefabricated panel technology from the Soviet Union. Óbuda became after 1960 one of the biggest areas of prefabricated housing estates in Budapest (Ferkai 2005:55).[13]

The developing projects until the 1960s concentrated only on the edges of the historical town and left intact the monument ensembles. So the townscape analyses of the 1950s noticed "as protectable" the urban axis of the medieval town, which included the environs of Lajos Street (Lajos utca) and the Main Square (Fő tér, Horler 1983). Nevertheless, this time the urban enlargement ideas did not favor the creation of a protected zone. This had a structural obstacle, because following the pre-war plans the Árpád-Bridge (Árpád-híd) was inaugurated in 1950, and split into two parts the historical settlement structure (Biczó 1979:120). However, the demolition of the old town only took place much later, between 1967 and 1976 (Bán et al 1985:176) (Fig. 1). This decade brought about the new urban image of Soviet-style ten-storey blocks of flats and their related service buildings, schools, and nurseries, when monument protection could not act as a regulator, but only as a rescuer of values adapting to the narrow opportunities, and not the least as an aesthetic, identity-building force.

Óbuda's new identity was radically modern and the former street lines disappeared in most places. The Roman and medieval remains of buildings were discovered and partly revealed at the sites of the demolished houses. The new urban landscape was brought together by the green space between the ten-storey houses, repeating the practice of the 1930s and 1940s in a radical form, with prefabricated structures (Fig. 2). The urban landscape was modernized and archaized at the same time, but the modernization enjoyed priority: "the development plan fostered the illusion that the unearthed archaeological remains would possibly be presented between the pillars of, and under the buildings. The constraints of the new buildings (technology, utilities etc.) did not allow this, besides which the new system of the city had kept no continuity whatsoever with the old town's structure" (from Kaiser 1995:333).

It is part of the overall picture that the monument protection, the urban development institute, and the prefab factories themselves were distinct divisions, and had different individuals as professionals. The ele-

13 Notably, the developing of prefabricated architecture affected Óbuda's historical zones as well. As the capacity of the brick industry that had developed in the late 19th century in Óbuda was no longer needed, the pits were filled up and then partly rehabilitated, partly remained free form houses . Today, as the pre-industrialization green belt of the townscape would have been restored, the town's historical zone itself did not exist anymore (Csemez 2005:108).

ments of Roman and medieval monuments emerging in the modern urban landscape was the work of experts in monument protection, while the whole construction was the work of the urban planners. One more important note belongs here. Óbuda had lost its historical townscape, and the urban structure full of ruins was intended to express the town's new identity. Nevertheless, the ruins express an identity which can hardly be understood by the everyday users of the space. In this regard the comments of the non-professional, but very active rescuer of the ruins, the writer Károly Kiss, are relevant: "The memories of Roman times, unfortunately, have remained stones (...) How much more sensible it would have been to put these almost two thousand year-old amphitheaters into service for public education with a smart effort." (Kiss 1982:153).

The town retained a much stronger relationship with the remaining structures of the 18th and 19th centuries that had somehow escaped demolition. Two "mini" reserve zone were designated, one around the main square and another around the Catholic parish. The historic streetscape may be perceived in these patch-like vestiges, although only as allusions, because the environment is dominated by ten-storey prefabricated blocks of flats (Czélényi 1985:174). The revitalization of reserved houses employed two typical solutions: one was archaization, the other was adjusting addition. In the case of the remaining groups of buildings, monument protection was given "carte blanche". The buildings often received cultural or sometimes gastronomy functions. Thanks to the daily (home) or occasional (cultural, gastronomic) use, the heritage reserves organically fit into the city's social life, and their museum-nature is less pronounced than that of the ruins (for further discussion see the thematic issue of Múzeumcafé 68:2018).

Urban planning makes historical milieu (Komárom)

The town of Komárom has a historical feature that its territory was cut in half after 1920 (Dębicki–Tamáska 2014). Thus, the historical town core in the north went in 1920 to Czechoslovakia (today Slovakia), and the southern part remained in Hungary (divided by the Danube river, Sikos–Tiner 2007, Kecskés 1984). The division took place a few decades after the two banks were connected by a permanent bridge and legally united (Simon 2011:91). In the following, we will deal exclusively with southern Komárom (or South-Komárom, HU) situated in Hungary, and we will refer to the other side as Komárno (or North-Komárom, SK).

In the early 20th century, Komárom was only a poorly developed suburb. A few newly built Beaux-Arts churches, the train station, a wealthier factory, the barracks, and the single-storey residential buildings comprised the urban street lines, which did not form a unit (Számadó 2006:9). This disorderly status corresponded to the situation of the settlement at that time, which could be interpreted as part of Komárno (SK) in every respect: Komárom was with the railway station an industrial suburb of the northern, historical town (Kovács 2011:103). Komárom was divided from the northern part in 1920 and it faced a serious dilemma since it had inherited the administrative status (as center of region) of the other bank (although later demoted) without any urban identity. In the twenties, Gyula Wälder, who was the most sought-after architect in Hungary at that time, was commissioned to design public buildings. In his characteristic neo-Baroque style, Wälder made designs in Komárom, so the two basic blocks of the main square, the school and the town hall received a neo-Baroque design (Sisa–Wiebenson 1998:276). In the thirties, Komárom also experienced a noticeable shift in architectural style, as the Beaux-Arts forms gave way to buildings closely related to modern international architecture. However, regardless of the buildings, the era as a whole failed in the largest task: to incorporate the scattered settlement structure into some kind of system.

Construction of the center was left to the post-World War II times. In the fifties, the previous plan of the main square by Gyula Wälder was going to be completed, and the northern facade was accomplished with

typical socialist realist historicism decorations.[14] However, the major rearrangement happened in the same style of flats as in Óbuda.

Nonetheless, the basic situation was quite different here. While Óbuda had had a given historical structure that the new urban planning structures eradicated, Komárom had to develop quietly from the zero point (Fig. 3). Whereas Óbuda had an almost inexhaustible richness of the past (early modern market town, medieval and Roman ruins), Komárom had hardly any pre-1715 relics worthy of protection according to the approach of the time (Harlov-Csortán 2020, Haris–Somorjay 2006). Not even traces of the vernacular architecture were present. Residents in Komárom had worked for the railways, factories, in barracks and in simple urban dwelling since the second half of the 19th century(Számadó 2008, 9).

Komárom does not have the strictly duality of urban development and monuments so typical of Óbuda, because of its lack of monuments. It is therefore particularly interesting that urban planners themselves created the quasi-values to be protected. They qualified first of all the churches as elements to be preserved in the townscape, while the other special feature was that the development plan for new estates aimed to emphasize the former street structure, which was not typical in Óbuda at all. In the center of Komárom, the new structures make out a closed street line. Elsewhere – see Mártírok Road – the same blocks stand detached, but they are exactly superimposed on the former allotment boundaries. The new prefabricated houses are linked together by service shops towards the street.[15]

Finally, two major centers emerged both of which applied the principle of aesthetic counterpoint. Jókai Square is a traditional country roadside square-formation that was lined by low rows of houses that originally used to stand in front of the Calvinist church built very late, only in 1927. The church itself is poor, that is to say, of poor quality in the sense of architectural history, yet it escaped demolition.[16] We cannot say that this was merely due to the developers, but the fact is that the church was very consciously composed into the new townscape (Fig. 4.). The horizontal balconies of the prefabricated houses, that were built instead of the single-storey row of houses, draw the eye towards the church as a perspective line set in space. It is also remarkable that, although the downtown features four-storey houses, the block of Liszt Ferenc Square is three-storey. The relatively low blocks allow the vertical emphasis of the church's tower.

The complementary, nevertheless contrasting composition of old and new was repeated in the main town square.[17] Here, next to Gyula Wälder's neo-Baroque public buildings and the northern, socialist-realism structures, the southern square partition remained unfinished until the sixties. A building of complex function (residential, commercial and office) was constructed here that matched the earlier structure of the square, but otherwise rigidly rejected the historicizing manner. Even the plans named the building as "the seven storey" ("hétemeletes") referring to the creation of an emphasized vertical space, and a new reference point in the square. The seven-storey is a typical example of modern infill constructions that counterpoint historical milieu. It radically interpreted the Athens Charter's principle, that every era should speak its own architectural language. Although a seven-storey building is generally not regarded as a tall one, in this environment it is. Not only its height, but also its openwork facade aims to counterpoint the historical (historicizing) enclosure of usual spatial partitions. Nevertheless, its radical contemporary forms contained some historical references

14 Komárom 48 lakás „C" épület tervei (48 flats, plans of Building „C"). Komáromi Fióklevéltár, Archive of Komárom. Plan Repository I. 54. box. K/27, 1956. Szabadság téri Városháza tervei (Townhall renovation): Townhall at Szabadság Square, plans): Komáromi Fióklevéltár, Archive of Komárom. Plan Repository I. 90. box SZ/7: 1981.

15 Komárom THJ Szab. Kir. Város térképe (Map of the royal free town of Komárom), 1:10:000, 1941. BME Urban Studies Library, K/71.; Komárom ÁRT térképe 1977 (Urban Developing Plan), 1:4000, BME Urban Studies Library 1977, nr. 351.

16 Jókai tér északi oldal beépítése, levelezések (Construction of the northern side of Jókai Square, correspondence), Komáromi Fióklevéltár, Archive of Komárom. Plan Repository I. 43. box, J/38, 1977–1980.

17 Szabadság téri vegyes rendeltetésű épület terve I-III kötet (Szabadság Square, plan of a complex building, Volumes I-III), Komáromi Fióklevéltár, Archive of Komárom. Plan Repository I. 86-89. box, Sz/2, Sz/3, Sz/4, Sz5, Sz6, 1972.

at the same time, as in the case of Jókai Square: like symmetry, the main axis and the archway. Actually, even the radical modern space formation makes allowances for historical forms in Komárom where no real historical architecture exists.

Although in chronological terms it is outside our scope, it is worth noting that Szőny merged with Komárom in 1977. Hence, this new town of just half a century gained "access" to the Roman excavation site of Brigetio, and all of a sudden, it created two thousand years of past (Nagy et al 2013:278). The process continues to this day, conquering public space as well. For example, the recent renovation of Szabadság Square has introduced Roman sarcophagi on the square, and Roman relics can be encountered elsewhere in the streets on display.[18] Whereas modern architecture separates the ruins from the contemporary structure, creating a sort of historical reserve, here the new pleasure society dictates public spaces, and the relics blend into other attractions of the environment as instruments of cultural consumption and heritage protection (and sometimes even creations).

Esztergom: developing to contrast the historical zones

Esztergom was one of the oldest towns in the Kingdom of Hungary, the most important settlement of the Kings, a collection of countless merchant populations until the Mongol invasion (1241/1242, Eperjessy 1971:213). Later it lost its rank, but remained the seat of the Catholic Church in Hungary. In the 16th century, it was occupied by the Turks, and the liberation struggles completely destroyed it. The baroque and classicist town built in the 18th and 19th centuries (which was administratively fragmented into several districts) was almost completely different from its medieval antecedent (Pifkó 1984:6). Understandably, the evolving modern historical science and archeology soon discovered Esztergom at the beginning of the 20th century, where extremely significant excavations began in the early 20th century (after 1920, Dercsényi–Zolnay 1956:63). Hence, the monument protection of Esztergom was a determining factor in the urban development before 1945 as well. However, unlike Óbuda, where the growing metropolis also hastened the excavation of the ruins, Esztergom can be defined as a stagnant, medium-sized town until 1945 (Bánlaky 1992:44).

In the years between 1945 and 1960 this stagnation became more pronounced. While the region's mining industry settlements (especially Dorog, but also Tatabánya, established at this time, or Oroszlány) experienced some spectacular urban changes, Esztergom was deliberately demoted (Lettrich 1964). The communist regime meant all this as a punishment for the center of the Catholics (Szabó 2016). As a result, not only Esztergom's historic core in a narrow sense persisted, but also the whole structure of the town. This later became the basis for Esztergom's residential development (Lettrich 1964:56–112). Based on the townscape studies of the 1950s, Esztergom was included in the first group of towns with a protected area (in Hungarian: Műemléki Jelentőségű Terület, with inner part of Buda, Eger, Győr, Kőszeg, Pápa, Pécs, Sárospatak, Sopron, Székesfehérvár, Szombathely, Vác, Veszprém). Two distant monument zones were designated, the main square of the historical, royal free town (Széchenyi Square) and the castle hill with the Basilica (Gerő 1971:187).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the two protected zones did limit the options for urban development plans. While the principle of complete reconstruction was employed for Óbuda, in Esztergom the tender called for „the reorganization of the historical town center" (Gerő 1971:187). However, the reorganization meant a radical modernization in this case as well. Since the protected zones covered a significant part of the town, urban development ventured into the legally unprotected area between the two zones (Balogh L. 2011:15). Esztergom is Óbuda's counterexample: there monument and townscape protection could just act in fields left alone by modern urban planning, here modern urban planning had to conform to the historical parts of the town. In addition,

18 Designed by Andor Anikó 2009, completed: http://tajepiteszek.hu/hirek/kozter-megujitasi-nivodij-2012-komarom-szabadsag-ter Last view: 04.01.2021.

while historical ruins and historical building blocks survived as spots in Óbuda, in Esztergom, the historical town was counterbalanced by new buildings. The spot-like interventions in Esztergom meant some mega structures in the town center (Kun 1981, 19). During the reorganization of Rákóczi Square, residential houses and a supermarket were built (Fig. 5, Fig. 6).[19] The goal was to create a modern town center, a contemporary image instead of the single-storey town center of fragmented services. Despite the fact that the buildings are not very high (4-5 storeys) and even have pitched roofs, they still provide a perfect counterpoint to the neighboring historical town structure. The paradigm of the old town structure is the enclosed streetscape and the private courtyard, while that of the new- though making allowances for the framed allotment – is a traversable and flowing space. The modern town center inserted into the middle of the town structure therefore endeavored to counterpoint not only the image, but the structure and the construction order of the historical town center.

Not only the new town center proved how important the collision of old and new was, but so did the example of the former brick factory opposite the Basilica (Béke tér). Even László Gerő, a monument expert wrote, that because the square in front of the Basilica (Kanonok sor) remained unfinished in the past, the man of new times must make a "greater emphasis" by enclosing the square (Gerő 1971:187). The solution was already a compromise in spatial structure, since the block of one-storey houses exactly opposite the Basilica was left untouched. Instead of it, the construction took place a bit farther away in the plot of the former brick factory in the 1970s (Pifkó, 1984, 44). The construction therefore had no morphological constraints, for example, a former street network, or public utilities. The mid-rise blocks were positioned to connect to the parkland square opening up to the Basilica's square-formation. A public sculpture was placed in the middle of the centrally shaped park to emphasize the artistic commitment to the new. The very existence of the modern sculpture counterpoints the richness of the historical square and its artistic relics, so that it becomes palpable that the development of Esztergom is not closed down, motionless and retrospective. The housing estate and the sculpture therefore confirmed László Zolnay and Edit Lettrich's lines from the late 1960s that "the current townscape of Esztergom is therefore in no way final" (1970:75).

Despite this witty sentence (or perhaps because of it), the Béke tér prefabricated real estate did not want to interfere with the historical town's skyline substantially (Fig. 7), not least because at the time of building the estate, the Kanonok sor (building of catholic clerics of bishops) was a restricted area where the Soviet army was stationed. For that reason, the connection to the historical town was rather imaginary, an option sketched on a map, rather than reality. After the regime change (1989), the two squares (Kanonok sor – Béke tér) were connected. Rather than buildings a town park connects to the historical constructions in Béke tér, providing a pleasant boundary zone between the old and the new constructions. On the other hand, the buildings have 4–5 storeys, the whole area slopes, so they almost remain hidden in the vicinity of the Basilica's view. In contrast with the modern town center established at Rákóczi Square, the housing estate at Béke tér thus played out less of the contrasting-conflicting potential in the extensions, and rather tried to respect the historical town's skyline. The message of the housing estate is much more of narrative than that of townscape importance. Whereas the aesthetic scenery of the Kanonok sor related to the Basilica represents a highly elitist, hierarchical society, the housing estate reflects the equalizing approach of the socialist type, "people's democracy" (formulated in the words of the regime).[20]

19 The supermarket, in Hungarian "áruház" was a very typical element of the late socialist townscapes, mostly with a "brutal" design. They represented consume oriented change of the dictatorship.

20 Of course, we know from other research that owning or acquiring a flat in the socialist society was a privilege, so the socialist democracy in this area produced unfair and great differences between the social groups. (Szelényi–Konrád 1969).

Conclusion – Summary

The first part of our study has argued that modern urban architecture in the 1960s and 1970s was linked to the second social gearshift of modernization. The pre-fabricated housing estate based on the principles of modern urban planning was a fast solution of urban architecture, and it reshaped former ideas about the town in just two decades. These include dissolved boundaries between square and street, disappearing local entities and a significant vertical shift. In the forefront of the extremely rapid transformation, the logic and aesthetics of the historical town became easier to interpret as well. So much so, that in the sixties and seventies, townscape and monument protection and urban planning seemed to merge. This integration fostered the aesthetic premise in the spirit of the era that regarded the tension of old and new as a (positive) value, or at least as a remarkable architectural creation.

However, the selected overview of three Hungarian cases also shows that townscape conflicts have occurred in a great variety of forms. Óbuda, which belongs among the first prefabricated housing estates in Hungary, resolved the issue radically. In addition to a complete reconstruction, townscape protection primarily sought to exhibit the underground (archaeological) sites. Óbuda also demonstrates the value judgments operating in monument protection. For example, the Roman relics enjoyed a priority for a long time, so much that actually, the archaeological excavations initiated the demolition of the morphological legacy of the 18th and 19th century market town at the end of the 1930s. Óbuda's image changes thus took shape along two strong power relations: the first is the townscape and monument protection and modern urban planning; and the other is the priority of archaeological sites in the paradigm values of monument protection. Finally, as the established townscape was developing alongside these forces, it has resulted in a rather diffuse modern urban landscape with ruins and relics of historical street portions.

Whereas the historical town and the historical past underneath was given in Óbuda, it all had to be created for Komárom. Paradoxically, modern urban planning did the job, as during the reconstruction some, mainly sacred, buildings were left standing. Moreover, it integrated them into the new townscape as the historical counterpoints of the modern town.

While we can barely speak of heritage protection in Komárom (since the town had no historical materials according to the value perception of that time), and monument practice was subordinated to urban planning in Óbuda, the monument experts could play or could have played a leading role in Esztergom's downtown. Despite this, modern urban planning carried out major interventions in the unprotected areas to counterpoint to the town's development into a museum.

Lastly, the question may arise about how far the townscapes full of the tension of old and new should be considered deliberate or coincidences. We believe that it was not deliberate in that monument protection was a separate department, therefore urban planning had only a consultation obligation: "In the 1960s and 1970s, many welcomed the intertwining of heritage protection, urban planning and urban development. Over time, disappointment came, and heritage protection lost countless "battles" against urban planning, perhaps due to the fact that important issues were not decided among ministries, but within one ministry." (Jankó 2005:44). The point is therefore that while the era was theoretically characterized by both radical modernization and evolving townscape protection, still modernization was clearly decisive between the two parties. Consequently, the tension of old and new was also a power issue, where townscape and monument protection was the weaker party. Probably, contrasting eras as an aesthetic value was thus primarily an architectural premise that monument protection accepted. The reason for this is that the monument preservation and architectural design (despite the organizational separation) have not departed from each other in education and vocation. It is very typical that the monument experts of the time accepted modern architecture as the only legitimate architecture language of the time. The famous expert András Román formulated this point as follows: "the pre-

vailing architectural style of most of the twentieth century is modernism (...). I maintain that the restorations complying to the Venice Charter exactly correspond to this." (Román 2004, 149). Nonetheless, we know that the key principle of the restorations conceived in the spirit of the Charter was the rigid separation of historical parts from additions, and thus this aesthetic principle was magnified in townscape dimensions.

The spirit of modern architecture has lost its dominant position since the eighties. The postmodern era had new keywords: diversity, harmony pleasure and spectacle. Accordingly, perceptions and taste about townscapes are changing as well. The integrated townscape replaces the mass-like separation of old and new, where the historical styles evoke an historical adventure park. The excavated ruins, the restored monuments no longer counteract the modern times, but complement them: offering an alternatively consumable historical milieu to the residents, but also moreover to tourism. Accordingly, architectural heritage protection in the strict sense has dissolved in a larger and more comprehensive social phenomenon, the process of cultural heritage creation. In addition, as usually happens at the borderlines of cultural-historical eras, the "zeitgeist" considers the townscape that has emerged from modern urban architecture and its heritage perception as surpassed; furthermore it attempts to eliminate those elements from the townscape during square renovations, spatial developments, as presented above in the case of Komárom's Szabadság Square.

References

Allsopp, B. (1983) *Merre tart az építészet?* Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó. [orig. Towards a Humane Architecture]

Aron, R. (1965) *Main Currents in Sociological Thought.* New York-London: Basic Books. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203786703-1

Balogh P. L. (2011) *Történeti városok köztereinek jelenkori modernizációja, Pécs Városközpont megújítása.* Pécs: DLA Work University of Pécs. [The contemporary modernization of the historical towns' public squares, Town center renovation of Pécs]

Bán É. et al. (1985) *Óbuda*. Budapest: III. Kerületi Tanács.

Bánlaky P. (1992) *Esztergom. A szent és gyámoltalan város.* Budapest: MTA Politikatudományi Intézet. [Esztergom. The sacred and lame city]

Benevolo, L. (2000) *Die Geschichte der Stadt.* Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag.

Benevolo, L. (1994) *Geschichte der Architektur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts.* München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.

Berza L. (szerk.) (1993) *Budapest lexikon I. [A–K].* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. [Budapest Budapest encyclopedia I.]

Békési, S. (2006) *Vom Gehen und zum Fahren. Mobilitätsformen und städtische Umwelt in Wien von 1850 bis 2000.* Umwelt & Bildung, 3, 12–14.

Biczó T. (1979) *Budapest egykor és ma. Budapest: Panoráma.* [Budapest once and now]

Branczik M. – Keller M. (2011) *Korszerű lakás – 1960 az óbudai kísérlet – 1960.* Budapest: Terc. [Modern flat – 1960, Óbuda experiment – 1960]

Borsos B. (1955) Az óbudai táborváros-múzeum városrendezési jelentősége és építőművészeti megoldása. *Budapest régiségei 1955* 16, 427–434. [Significance of urban development and architectural solutions of Óbuda's camptown-museum]

Burckhardt, L. (2006) *Warum ist Landschaft schön?* Die Spaziergangswissenschaft. Berlin: Martin Schmitz Verlag.

Chastel, A. (2004) Az örökség fogalma. In Erdősi P. – Sonkoly G. (szerk.) *A kulturális örökség.* Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 97–133. [orig. La notion du patromoine]

Csemez A. (2005) Zöldfelületi konfliktusok. In Csemez A. (szerk.) *Óbuda-Békásmegyer területén kialakult tájhasználati konfliktusok feltárása.* Budapest: Óbudai Múzeum, 101–122. [Greenery conflicts]

Czélényi P. (1985) Az óbudai műemlékegyüttes. *Műemlékvédelem* 3, 174-182. [Heritage ensemble in Óbuda],

Dębicki, M. – Tamáska M. (2014) Laboratories of integration. Divided Twin Towns at River Borders in the Visegrad Countries and Germany, *Socio.hu – Visegrad Issue,* 1–20. https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2014en.1

Delitz, H. (2009) *Architektursoziologie.* Bielefeld: transcript.

Demblin, F. C. – Cernek, W. (1997) *Die Idee der Stadt: zur Kontinuität einer urbanen Architektur.* Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau.

Dercsényi D. – Zolnay L. (1956) *Esztergom*. Budapest: Képzőművészeti Alap.

Dercsényi D. (1980) *Mai magyar műemlékvédelem.* Budapest: Magvető Kiadó. [Present Hungarian heritage protection]

Déry A. (1995) *Nemzeti kísérletek építészetünk történetében.* Budapest: Terc. [National experiments in the history of our architecture].

Durkheim, E. (1893) *De la division du travail social.* Paris: Félix Alcan. https://doi.org/10.1522/cla.due.del1

Eperjessy K. (1971) *Városaink múltja és jelene.* Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó. [Past and present of our towns]

Fejérdy T. (2008) *Az épített kulturális örökség nem anyagi dimenziójának jelentősége a műemlékek hiteles megőrzésében.* Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem. [The significance of the non-material dimension of the built cultural heritage in the authentic heritage preservation]

Ferkai A. (2003) *Űr vagy megélt tér.* Budapest: Terc. [Vacancy or space alive]

Ferkai A. (2005) *Lakótelepek*. Budapest: Városháza. [Housing estates]

Gál É. (1990) *Tanulmányok Óbuda történetéből.* Budapest: Budapest Főváros III. kerületének Önkormányzata. [Studies on Óbuda's history].

Gerber, A. (2014) *Metageschichte der Architektur: Ein Lehrbuch für angehende Architekten und Architekturhistoriken.* Bielefeld: transcipt. https://doi.org/10.14361/transcript.9783839429440.313

Gerő L. (1966) *Felfedező úton épületeink között.* Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó. [Exploring tour among our buildings].

Gerő L. (1971) *Történeti városrészek.* Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó. [Historical town districts]

Haris A. – Somorjay S. (szerk. 2006) *Magyarország műemlékjegyzéke. Komárom–Esztergom megye.* Budapest: Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal. [Monument catalogue of Hungary]

Harlov-Csortán M. (2000) Protecting Folk Culture in Workers' Society: Hungarian Vernacular Heritage Protection under State Socialism. *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuopa-Forschung (ZfO),* 69, 3, 379–401.

Harlov-Csortán M. (2018) Heritagizing the Countryside in Hungary. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, European and Regional Studies* 13, 1, 19–35.

Hassler, U. – C. Dumont d'Ayut (Hg. 2009) *Bauten der Boomjahre. Paradoxie der Erhaltung / Architectures croissance. Les paradoxes de la sauvegarde.* Zürich: ETH Institut für Denkmalpflege und Bauforschung.

Hassler, U. Verlustkompensation und das Rekonstruktionstabu in der Ideologie der Moderne – die antihistorische Prämissen. In U. Hassler – W. Nerdinger [Hg.] *Das Prinzip der Rekonstruktion.* Zürich 210, 30–63.

Hitchcock, H-R. (1958) *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* Baltimore: Penguin Books.

Horler M. (ed. 1962) *Budapest műemlékei II.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. [Monuments of Budapest II]

Horler M (1983) A műemlékvédelem elvei és módszerei. Császár L. (szerk.) *A műemlékvédelem Magyarországon.* Budapest: Képzőművészeti Kiadó, 26–33. [Principles and methods of heritage]

Jankó F. (2005) Történelmi városnegyedek sorsa – tapasztalatok és tanulságok Sopronban. In Egedy T. (szerk.) *Városrehabilitáció és társadalom.* Budapest: MTA Földrajztudományi Kutatóintézet, 289–305. [The fate of historical districts – experience and lessons in Sopron]

Jankó F (2011) Motivációk, célok és konfliktusok a szocialista műemlékvédelem városformálásában. In Németh, H. I. – Szívós, E. –Tóth Á. (szerk.) *A város és társadalma.* Budapest: Hajnal István Kör – Társadalomtörténeti Egyesület, 39–51. [Motivation, goals and conflicts in the urban development of the socialist heritage preservation]

Kaiser A. (1995) *Óbuda múltjának építészeti emlékei.* See in Kiss (1995) 321–347.

Kecskés L. (1984) *Komárom az erődök városa.* Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Könyv- és Lapkiadó. [Komárom, the town of fortresses]

Kiss, K. (1982) *Ebek harmincadján.* Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó. [To go to the dogs]

Kiss Cs. –Mocsy F. (szerk. 1995) *Óbuda évszázadai.* Budapest: Kortárs. [Óbuda' centuries]

Rédli M. – Számadó E. (2010) *Révkönyv*. Komárom: Komárom Város Önkormányzata. 2010. [Ferry book]

Klotz, H. (1994) *Kunst im 20. Jh. Moderne - Postmoderne – zweite Moderne.* München: medimops. https://doi.org/10.1515/infodaf-2001-2-349 (review)

Kovács É. (2011) Határváltó diskurzusok Komáromban, 1918–22, 1938). In Vajda B. (szerk.) *Államhatár és identitás*. Komárom/Komárno: Selye János Egyetem Tanárképző Kara, 99–132. [Discourses changing borders in Komárom, 1918-22, 1938]

Kostof, S. (1998) *Das Gesicht der Stadt. Geschichte städtischer Vielfalt.* Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus.

Kostof, (1998) *Die Anatomie der Stadt - Geschichte städtischer Strukturen.* Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus.

Kun J. (1981) Esztergom városépítészeti problémái, a város-rekonstrukció időszerűsége. *Esztergom Évlapjai,* 16–46. [Architectural problems of Esztergom, the need for urban reconstructions]

Lettrich E. (1964) *Esztergom a dorogi iparvidék városa.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. [Esztergom, a town of the Dorog industrial region]

Létay M. (1995) Óbuda. A szabadságharc bukásától 1950-ig. In Kiss–Mocsy (ed.) *Óbuda évszázadai.* 235–253. [Óbuda. From the lost revolution until 1950]

Lowenthal, D. Az örökség rendeletetése. In Erdősi P. – Sonkoly G. (ed.) *A kulturális örökség.* Budapest: L' Harmattan, 55–84. [orig. The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History]

Major M. (1969) Az építészet stílusai és a modern építészet „stílusa". In Major M. *Az építészet új világa.* Budapest: Magvető, 233–254. [Styles of architecture and the „style" of modern architecture]

Máté Zs. (1995) Fejezetek a történeti települések értékvédelméből. In *Tusnad* 92–94, *Sepsiszentgyörgy*, 42–61. [Chapters from heritage protection of historical settlements]

Meggyesi, T. (2005) *A huszadik század urbanisztikájának útveszői.* Budapest: Terc. [The trap holes of the 20th-century urban designs]

Mezős, M. (1991) Műemlékvédelmi szakemberképzés Magyarországon. *Architectura Hungariae – Műemlékvédelem* 1, http://arch.et.bme.hu Last View: 05.01.2021. [Heritage protection specialist training in Hungary]

Mezős, M. (2001) *Műemlékvédelem 5.0.* Budapest: BME University Coursbook. [Monument protection 5.0.],.

Morscher, L. – Scheutz, M. – Schuster W. (Hg. 2013) *Orte der Stadt im Wandel von Mittelalter zur Gegenwart.* Treffpunkte, Verkehr und Fürsorge. Innsbruck, Wien, Bozen: Studien Verlag.

Nagy B. et al (2013) A jó időben a jó helyen: Duna-menti ártérfejlődés és a római kori Brigetio. *Földrajzi Közlemények* 3, 278-286. [In Good Time, Good Place: Floodplain Evolution along the Danube and the Roman Brigetio]

Nerdinger, W. (2010) Warum wurde und wird rekonstruiert – Rekonstruktionen als politische, ideologische oder ästhetische Handlungen. In Hassler, U. – Nerdinger., W. (Hg.) *Das Prinzip der Rekonstruktion.* Zürich: vdf Hochschulverlag AG an der ETH Zürich, 14–39.

Nora, P. (1989) Betwen Memory and History. *Representations,* Spring 26, 7–28.

Perényi, I. (1976) *A korszerű város.* Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó. [The modern town]

Peters, P. (1978) *A város az emberért – Védőbeszéd a városi élet mellett.* Budapest: Corvina Kiadó. [City for the people – plea for urban life].

Pevsner, N. (1972) Az európai építészet története. Budapest: Corvina Könyvkiadó, 418–471. [An Outline of European Architecture]

Pifkó P. (1984) *Esztergom utcanevei 1700–1982.* Esztergom: Pifkó P. [Street names of Esztergom 1700–1982]

Pogány, F. (1954) *Terek és utcák művészete.* Budapest: Építésügyi Kiadó. [The art of squares and streets]

Pogány, F. (1976) *A szép emberi környezet.* Budapest: Gondolat. [The pleasant human environment]

Polanyi, K. (1944) *The Great Transformation.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart.

Rodwell, D. (2011) Urban Conservation in the 1960s and 1970s: A European Overview. *Architectural Heritage,* 21, 1, 1–18.

Román, R. (1983) Történeti együttesek rekonstrukciója. In Császár L. (szerk.) *A műemlékvédelem Magyarországon.* Budapest: Képző-művészeti Kiadó, 211-232. [The reconstruction of historical ensembles]

Román, A. (2004) *487 bekezdés és 617 kép a műemlékvédelemről.* Budapest: Terc. [487 paragraphs and 617 pictures of heritage protection]

Schäfers, B. (2014) *Architektursoziologie: Grundlagen – Epochen – Themen.* Wiesbaden: Springer 2014. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-90027-8_2

Schmidtke, O. (2006) *Architektur als professionalisierte Praxis: Soziologische Fallrekonstruktionen zur Professionalisierungsbedürftigke it der Architektur.* Frankfurt am Main: Humanities Online.

Schoen A. (1935) *Óbuda múltjából.* Budapest: Bernáth Gusztáv. [Past of Óbuda]

Sikos, T. – Tiner T. (szerk. 2007) *Egy város – két ország. Komárom – Komárno.* Komárom: Selye János Egyetem Kutatóintézete. [One town – two countries. Komárom – Komárno]

Simon, A. (2011) A kettéosztott város. Az államhatár és az etnikumok közötti választóvonal által kettéosztott Komárom a két háború között. *Fórum. Társadalomtudományi Szemle* 2, 87–100. [The divided town. Komárom between the two World Wars, divided by state border and ethnic boundaries]

Sisa J. –Wiebenson, D. (1998) *Magyarország építészetének története.* Budapest: Vince Kiadó. [orig. The Architectural History of Hungary]

Sombart, H. W. (1902) *Der modern Kapitalismus.* Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

Spencer, H. (1876–1882) *The Principles of Sociology.* London: Williams & Norgate. https://doi.org/10.1037/14123-000

Szabó, Cs. (2016) A Short History of the Hungarian Catholic Church (1945–1990). In Bögre Zs. (ed.) *Seekers or Dwellers? The Social Character of Religion in Hungary.* Washington: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 80–137.

Számadó E. (2006) *Új-Szőnytől Komáromig. A komáromi ipar, iparosok, kereskedők és vendéglősök története 1896–1951.* Komárom: Klapka György Múzeum. [From Új-Szőny to Komárom. The history of industry, craftsmen. merchants and restaurants in Komárom 1896-1951]

Szegő Gy. –Haba P. (2003) *111 év 111 híres ház, 150 magyar építész.* Budapest: B+V Kiadó. [111 years 111 famous buildings, 150 Hungarian architects]

Szelényi I. – Konrád Gy. (1969) *Az új lakótelepek szociológiai problémái.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. [The sociological problems of the new housing estates].

Tönnis, F. (1887) *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft.* Leipzig: Fues 1887. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-94174-5_13

Vauchez, A. (1996) The Cathedral. In Nora P. (ed.) *Realms of memory II.* New York: Columbia University Press, 37–70.

Winkler, G. (2002) Történeti városok helyreállításának elvei és módszerei. *Építés- Építészettudomány* 1–2, 30, 3–38. [The principles and methods of the restoration of historical towns]

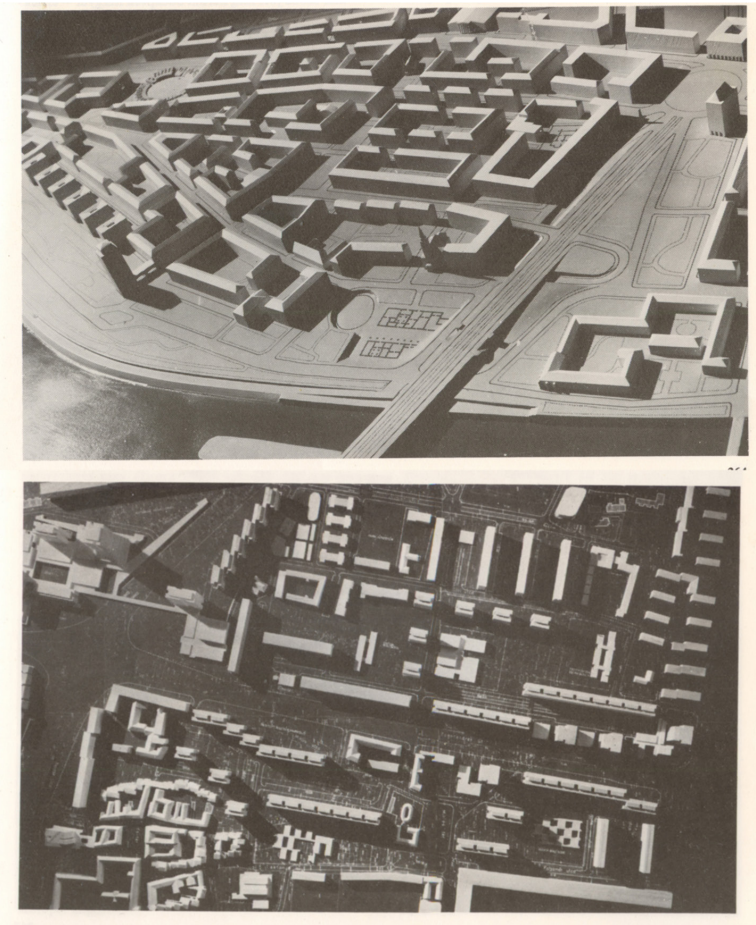
Watters, D. M. (2011) Modernity in Context: The Postwar Revitalisation of Scotland's Historic Small Burghs. *Architectural Heritage,* 21, 1, 33–48.

Weisshaar, B. (ed. 2013) *Spaziergangswissenschaft in Praxis. Formate der Fortbewegung.* Berlin: Jovis Verlag.

Zsidi, P. (2007) A papírtól a képernyőig – Aquincumi rekonstrukciók. *Budapest régiségei 40,* 323–338. [From paper to display – Reconstructions in Aquincum]

Figures

Fig. 1. Master Plan 1958 and 1964–65, Budapest, Óbuda.

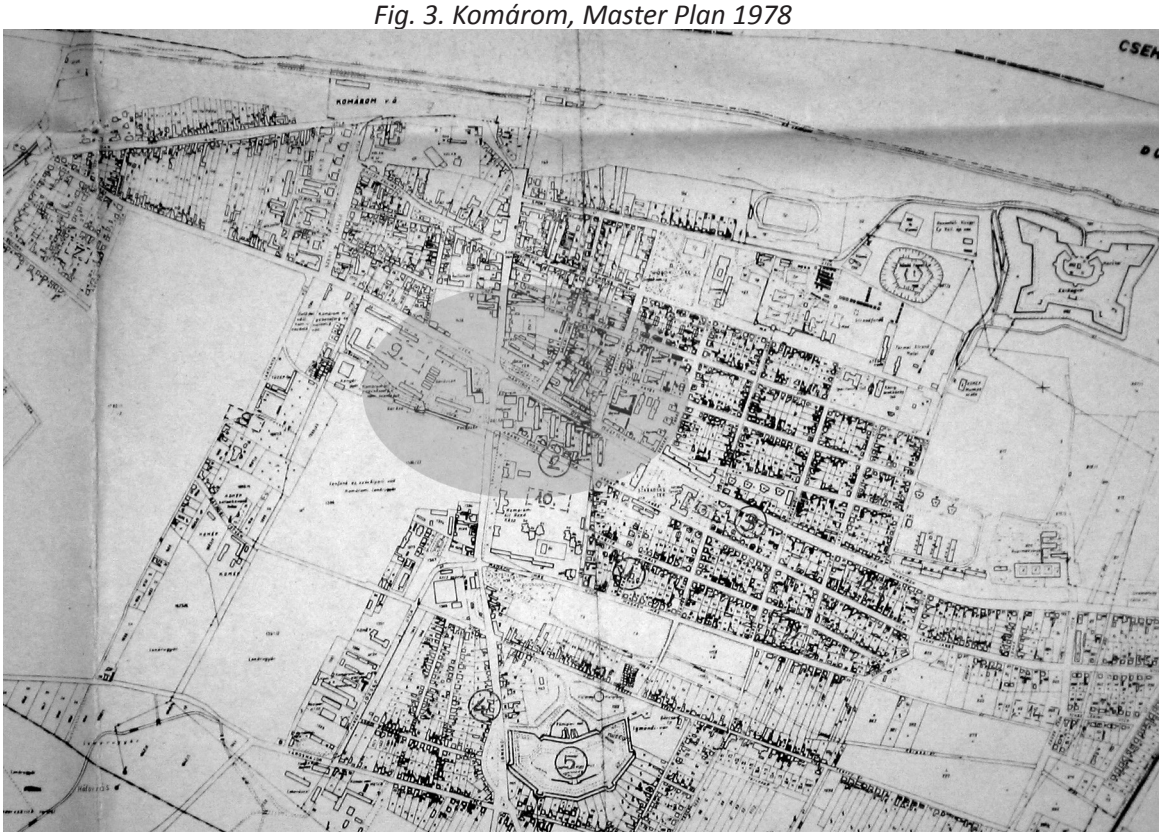


In Bán et al 1985:175, 177. See note 61.

Fig. 2. Budapest-Óbuda, Flórian Square today,
the contrast of Roman heritage and modern urban landscape

Photo: the author

Fig. 3. Komárom, Master Plan 1978



The Archive of Komárom. Plan Documentation. nr. Tervtár V.A./2.

Fig. 4. Komárom, Jókai Tér today and before the modernization

Photos from Calendar 2006, published by the Local Government of Komárom

Fig. 5. Master Plan of the inner town of Esztergom, 1972

In Kun 1981: 36. See note 88

Fig. 6. The reconstructed (rebuild) inner town today, before demolishing the so called "green house" (zöldház), (2017)

Photo: the author

Fig. 7. Béke tér today. The housing estates, the green puffer zone and (right) the corner of the historical buildings of the bishop's administration

Photo: the author

Márkus Keller[1]

Professionalization in Socialism

Architects and Architecture after 1945 in Hungary[2]

https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2020en.95

Abstract

In my study, I investigate architects' search for their place in the new society and the history of their profession after 1945 in Hungary with the help of professionalization theories. Through statistics, memoirs, interviews, archival documents, laws and decrees, I seek to discover what kind of role architecture and architects played in the dictatorship of the 1950s and how that role changed in the Kádár system. In addition to external analysis, I place particular emphasis on how this change of role is reflected in the lifestory interviews and in the identity of the architects of the era.

Keywords: historical sociology, professionalization, architecture, oral history

1 Associate professor, Department of Comparative Historical Sociology, Eötvös Loránd University

2 The study was supported by the project: A professzionalizáció története Magyarországon a 19–20. században, európai kontextusban [A History of Professionalization in Hungary in the Context of 19th–20th-century Europe]. NKFI FK 132451

Márkus Keller

Professionalization in Socialism

Architects and Architecture after 1945 in Hungary

1. Introduction

The relationship between a professional group and the state – in the present case, the state-power-monopolizing Hungarian Workers' Party – represents a sensitive issue in all eras. In general, members of a certain profession (at least in continental Europe) simultaneously desire autonomy and require state support in order to reach their objectives (Halmos–Szívós 2010). This is especially true in the case of architects, who are unable to realize their professional ideas without having a significant amount of material resources placed at their disposal. However, this circumstance unavoidably entails the necessity of adapting to the demands of the client. During the period under examination, the state was the only significant client in Hungary, thus there was no question regarding where architects needed to look for support in order to attain their professional objectives. In the following pages, I will examine the measures taken in order to bridge the gap between professional autonomy and adaptation to the requirements of the state as well as the means utilized to achieve this aim.

I seek answers to my questions in part with the help of professionalization theories. Although professionalization theories were originally designed to explain the transformation of Anglo-Saxon societies in the 20th century, neither their historization nor their application to post-1945 socialist countries is unprecedented. Moreover, many studies have shown that analysing social changes in the age of socialism using the concept of professionalization can be especially fruitful.[3]

In addition to contemporary press and statistical sources, my analysis relies heavily on recollections, memoirs, and interviews. One group of sources consists of architectural interviews made for the 1956 Institute's Oral History Archive. The processed interviews took place between 1982 and 1988, ie before the change of regime. Other sources used are: short memoirs written on request in the 1984/3 issue of Hungarian Architecture (Magyar Építőművészet); an interview with György Jánossy published in the 1988/3 issue of Magyar Építőművészet (also, of course, before the change of regime); the interviews published in Judit Osskó's book "Unokáink is fogják látni [Our Grandchildren Will See Also]" (most of which were also conducted before the change of regime); and Péter Molnár's (biographically inspired) studies dealing with the Stalinist period.[4]

What the texts have in common is that the contemporary editors and interviewers tried to speak to the defining architects of each era of socialist Hungary. Another common feature of the circumstances of origin is that recollectors and interviewees shared their memories in a professional environment (and more or less for a

3 See for instance: Wolf-Dietrich Bukow et alii (Hrsg.): Biographische Konstruktionen im multi kulturellen Bildungsprozess. Individuelle Standortsicherung im globalisierten Alltag.Wiesbaden, 2006,VS.;)Birgit Bütow– Karl August Chassé– Susanne Maurer (Hrsg): Soziale Arbeit zwischen Aufbau und Abbau. Transformationsprozesse im Osten Deutsch-lands und die Kinder- und Jugendhilfe. Wiesbaden, 2006, VS; Melanie Fabel-Lamla (2004): Professionalisierungspfade ostdeutscher Lehrer. Wies-baden, VS.; Daniel Giese: Die SED und ihre Arme. Die NVA zwischen Politisierung und Professionalismus, 1956–65. München, Oldenbourg2002

4 The Post-Modern trend appeared in Hungary in the 1980s. This new trend initiated the research on the theme of socialist realism and revalued the Stalinist architecture of the 1950s.

professional audience). There were differences between the architects' recollections of how much they played a political role and how close they were to the leadership of the Communist Party. What these architects had in common, however, was that in both the Kádár and Rákosi era they were dominant, influential figures of Hungarian architecture.

Máté Major, a university professor and member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences who was one of the most prominent figures in public architectural life in Hungary during the communist era, wrote in 1984 with reference to the Rákosi era (1945–1956):

> *"I must state: among architects—at least among those who create—generally there were not communists (socialists)—and there are not any today either—and those who declared—declare—themselves to be such awakened—and awaken—the suspicion in me that they are not even architects."(Major 1984) One might interpret Major's statement to mean that the architects who were "creating" during the Rákosi era constituted an intellectual opposition to the régime. However, researchers who survey the recollections of the leading architects in Hungary during the post-war period will be surprised at what they have to say.*

Architect Zoltán Farkasdy said during an interview in the mid-1980s:

> *This is a very interesting process. Today people apply much more pejorative attributes to this thing [the Socialist Realist period] than this era deserves. We were young then, we believed in it—and even now in my old age I say that we rightfully believed in it. I still believe today that there was a very positive volition in that. This is why I feel in general that the current outcry is unjust, simply sweeping it aside, because it produced much more humane architecture than that which came into being later. [. . .] At that time, they regarded the essential elements of architecture, humanity and adaptation to man, as one of the specific domains of national culture even in the highest places. They paid such great attention to this in the supreme party circles, in the supreme leadership circles, that they also took care and attention to rein in architecture branded as modernist, which we had previously practiced, and with this proved that they wanted something else than had existed until then![5]*

Architect György Jánossy stated during a 1988 interview with regard to the same topic:

> *Did the Socialist Realist period damage Hungary's architectural culture and environmental culture as much as the years that followed?*
> *It did not. Simply very few things were realized. And those fit into the sequence of the old buildings to some degree. The harm that it did, in fact, could be seen in the country's technical backwardness and the backwardness of architectural technology. The late-arriving, explosive modernity left more ruthless marks in the subsequent period than Socialist Realism.[6]*

Pál Virágh said in a 1986 interview:

> *The assessment of Socialist Realist architecture was then [1970] in a fashionable way completely, 100-percent negative. However, I determined that Socialist Realism had two positive characteristics. One was that the Socialist Realist period excluded the circle that had become ossified into the Bauhaus style and barrenness and also excluded the opportunity to not deal with composition at all under the pretext of modernism and the Bauhaus, and impelled architecture along with all its historicizing and eclecticizing untimeliness to think about architectural formation. Its other positive aspect was city planning. [. . .] Socialist Realist city planning required certain emphases: formation of spaces, it returned to the street*

5 Farkasdy Zoltán-interjú,[Interview with Zoltán Farkasdy] készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1983–87 között, 1956-os Intézet Oral History Archívuma (OHA), 52. sz., 322–323.

6 Jánossy György-interjú, [Interview with György Jánossy] készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1988-ban, OHA, 134. sz., 114.

and in place of architecture referred to as modern, called for certain historical values, squares, streets, insularity, to appear in the city.[7]

In a 1984 article published in *Hungarian Architectural Art*, Imre Perényi stated:

Socialist Realism, the period called "Socreal," was short-lived: hardly four years. Nevertheless, in addition to the condemnably eclectic character of the works of this period, it in general had an undoubtedly positive role in heightening professional architectural knowledge—mostly in an artistic sense—and in the cultivation of tradition and in the relationship toward the environment. According to my point of view, a significant proportion of the architectural community did not create under constraint at this time, but out of conviction. [. . .] This period did not leave such an unfavorable mark on our cities as the following period did." (Perényi 1984)

The opinions expressed above clearly contradict both the current and the contemporary (1980s) professional and non-professional assessment of the Socialist Realist period. The author will attempt in this study, among other things, to provide an explanation for this disparity.

Following the Second World War, left-wing and modernist architects occupied almost all the important positions in the architectural life of Hungary. Those architects who were not affiliated with the left wing (that is, the majority) kept away from politics, did not play a significant role in official architectural public life, and in absence of clients did not have the opportunity to appear before the public with their designs and buildings.[8] In addition to their monopolization of state commissions, the 20 to 30 architects who maintained a close connection to political power were able to increase their authority as a result of the fact that the opportunities to engage in private design decreased after 1948, thus forcing architects to work in large state planning offices. A significant proportion of the design offices that later become "famous," such as Középtérv and Iparterv, came into being at this time.[9] The aforementioned talented left-wing architects, who in their modernist professional creed regarded the architectural style associated with the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne as representing the standard to be followed, received the leading role, thus making their monopoly on style and design complete.[10]

However, this group of left wing (social-democrat and communist) architects who organized and designed state commissions was not completely unified. (Ferkai 2015: 17-18.) Although they presented a united front supporting renewal in their previously mentioned proclamation, Máté Major soon fractured this unity through an article he published in the communist periodical *New Architecture* in which he made it clear that the good, "progressive" architect could not remain distant from politics. In this article, Major also specified which party such progressive architects must join, claiming that they must identify themselves with "the ideology of the workers' society." (Major 1949a) In a (somewhat sarcastic) response published in *Space and Form*, Pál Granasztói drew attention to the problematic nature of Máté Major's outlook and asserted that emphasis must be shifted from ideology to the resolution of concrete problems. However, Major's rejoinder unambiguously revealed that there was no demand for true debate and no possibility for genuine compromise.(Granasztói 1946, Major 1947, Saád 1985) With the building of the dictatorship and the strengthening of ideological control, both the opportunity for debate and the diversity of forums decreased. Both *Space and Form* and *New*

7 Virágh Pál-interjú,[Interview with Pál Vorágh] készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1986-ban, OHA, 47. sz., 165–166.

8 For the specific course of this and the displacement techniques used, see Major (2001), 123–147.

9 See: Az Állami Építéstudományi és Tervezőintézet szervezéséről szóló 5500/1948. Korm. sz. rendelet [Government decree on the organization of the State Institute of Architecture and Design]. and the 12.270/1948 goverment decree wich devided the Institute in three design officeses. For recollections of the history of each design office (from the beginning to the change of regime), see Schéry (2001).

10 *Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne:* a forum of the modern architectural movement founded in 1928 in Switzerland on the initiative of Siegfried Giedion and Le Corbusier.

Architecture ceased publication within a year, although *Construction-Architecture* was launched soon thereafter to succeed the latter with Máté Major as managing editor and three editors from *New Architecture*. Articles proclaiming and demanding the omnipotence of Socialist Realism appeared in this new publication as well as the daily newspaper of the Hungarian Workers' Party, *Szabad Nép* (Free People). The "Resolution of Hungarian Communist Architects" published in 1949 made the turning point clear to everybody:

> *"The activist communist architects discussed on November 26, 1949 the dangers of strong Western cosmopolitan influences that have appeared in our architecture and on the basis of this debate resolved to immediately launch a merciless fight against the imperialist attack that manifests itself in the domain of architecture via formalism and cosmopolitanism and for the establishment of Socialist Realist architecture in our homeland."*[11]

After this, there still occurred a faint attempt to reconcile new architecture (that is, modern architecture) with Stalinist principles, though even in these constructions the exemplary quality of Soviet architecture and the primacy of artistic and architectural principles formulated in the Soviet Union were highlighted.)Major 1949b) The process by which Socialist Realism became the obligatory dogma in Hungary concluded with the "great architectural debate" that the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Hungarian Workers' Party Central Leadership organized on April 17 and April 24, 1951.[12] However, as Imre Perényi, who attended the two-session event, wrote many years later, exercising a certain degree of self-criticism, "it was neither a debate nor great, nor exclusively architectural," but rather resembled a well-staged theatrical performance.(PerényI 1984: 16.) This nevertheless provided Minister of Popular Culture József Révai with the opportunity—with the support of Marxist philosopher György Lukács— to make it clear to architects that those who wanted to work and create must follow the party-dictated aesthetic codex. In practice, this newly prescribed architecture, which was "socialist in content and national in form," meant that architects had to reach back to Reform Era Hungarian classicist architecture to find the forms to use in their designs. Centrally organized study excursions, brochures containing models and the Architectural Council established in 1952 to "guide" designs in the direction of Socialist Realism served to promote this. (Bonta 2008, 259, 268–69; Molnár 2005, 49–63. 56–58; Simon 1999) The end of the Socialist Realist period began with a speech that the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, delivered in December 1954. Khrushchev put an end to Socialist Realism not for aesthetic or ideological reasons, but because the Soviet construction industry was not able to resolve the USSR's housing shortage following this official style. (Prakfalvi 2004) The events in the Soviet Union brought an end to the style terror in Hungary, but did not immediately halt the construction of Socialist Realist buildings in the country. As a result of the long completion time in the construction industry, Socialist Realist buildings continued to be constructed in Hungary until the early 1960s (in the city of Dunaújváros, for example). The drastic decrease and reallocation of funding for large investments in Hungary in 1953 served to moderate the liberation of the country from the style dictatorship because it delayed construction of planned Socialist Realist buildings (Honvári 2006:254-260, Germuska 2004:92–129.,144–147).[13] The construction of a large volume of buildings not designed in the Socialist Realist style essentially began only in the years 1959–1960. The history of the official state policy regarding architecture following the Second World War is undeniably compatible with the general history of the Rákosi régime and serves to make the positive image portrayed in interviews and memoirs even more incomprehensible.

---

11 A kommunista magyar építészek határozata. [The resolution of the Hungarian communist architects] Építés-Építészet, 1949, 5. Közli Major M., Osskó J., 29–30.

12 The material of the "discussion" was published in several places. The most important speeches and comments can be found Major M., Osskó J. 46–95.

13 The consequences of the shutdown were completely clear for the contemporaries. see: Farkasdy Zoltán-interjú,[Interview with Zoltán Farkasdy] készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1983–87 között, 1956-os Intézet Oral History Archívuma (OHA), 52. sz., 227.

The author of the present volume attributes the contradiction between the fact of the generally repressive atmosphere that prevailed in Hungary during the Rákosi era and the architects' positive memory of the period to the internal dynamic of the architectural occupation/profession and to their interaction with contemporary society and political power, that is, to the change in the professional standard of for architects. It is for this reason that the subsequent analysis of sources will take place using the concepts of *special knowledge necessary for the occupation, professional autonomy and economic-social position* (borrowed from theories of professionalization).

Members of the post-1949 architectural élite faced a serious dilemma: if they wanted to retain their modern architectural principles, they would lose their positions and thus the possibility to participate in the great task of reconstruction; while if they wanted to take part in this undertaking, they would have to discard one of the most important components of their professional identity—the modern architectural style. The Stalinist state spared no effort in its attempt to convince members of the architectural community. It attempted to make their choice easier via promises of preferential training, material security and heightened prestige. The details surrounding these offers and the response of architects to them will be detailed below.

2. The Stalinist State and the Architects' Professionalisation

2.1 Education – Special knowledge for the occupation

Developing technical higher education and increasing the number of engineers represented fundamental objectives of the strengthening communist dictatorship. (Romsics 1999: 361.) [14] The Heavy Industry University was established in Miskolc in 1949, the Transportation Technical University in Szeged in 1951 and the Chemical Industry University in Veszprém this same year. Also in 1951, evening and correspondence courses were introduced at technical universities, thus providing the opportunity to study alongside regular employment that the State Technical College had previously offered. Transformation of the training and education of architects represented a part of this process as well. In 1952, the Construction Industry Technical University was founded in place of the Construction and Architecture Faculty, thus furnishing architects with their own university for the first (and until today the last) time (Németh é.n.). In addition to the autonomy of architectural training and the increasing numbers of architectural students, the process of specialization was also launched: in 1949, the training of designers and builders was separated, while beginning in 1951 training in design arts came into the foreground (Vámossy 1998). With this, the plans regarding architectural training and education contained in the proclamation published in *Space and Form* after the Second World War were essentially implemented.

The primary objective of eliminating the possibility of private design and—parallel to this—establishing state design institutes (on the Soviet model) was to expand state control. This resulted in the modernization and increased professionalism of architectural output, thus conforming to the trend in Western Europe, North America and interwar Hungary. In the studio system utilized at design institutes, groups worked on state commissions under the leadership of an experienced architect. In addition to providing an environment that facilitated work (the continual possibility to consult with drafters and designers, library access), this offered the opportunity for intensive professional communication and development. Those who were young architects during this period refer to the positive impact of this new system time after time in their memoirs and in interviews. According to these architects, increasing bureaucracy stifled this inspiring environment during the

14 Compared to 1052 in 1937–38, there were already 7,134 full-time engineering students in 1950–51, their number reaching a maximum in the 1953–54 academic year (12,861), but even in 1956 it was over 11,000. I did not find any data specifically for architecture students.

middle and late 1950s rather than the introduction of Socialist Realism as the obligatory style.[15]

The Master School (Mesteriskola) established in 1953 as an institute for élite training provided the possibility for further professional development (Vámos 2011). The operation of this school was based on two-year cycles in which talented architects with a few years of experience were given the opportunity to work together with the recognized architects of the era in their studios. The students were also able to attend lectures and participate in professional debates. Those who took part in the first cycles of the Master School indeed became "masters," determining the course of architecture in Hungary during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s.[16]

2.2 Socio-economic status

However, in addition to the opportunities for training and education and professional discourse, economic and social status and prestige also influence the overall feeling of satisfaction among the practitioners of a certain occupation. Architects in Hungary faced a difficult situation after the Second World War. Although a large part of the country stood in ruins, there were hardly any commissions available due to a lack of capital and clients. Moreover, beginning reconstruction projects primarily required the expertise of master builders (contractors) rather than architects (designers). Amid these conditions, neither the fashionable architects who had possessed a large clientele during the interwar period nor the architects who maintained close connections to the new system were able to maintain their previous standard of living.[17] Amid these needy circumstances (especially in comparison with those who were active in related arts), the design institutes that came into existence in and after 1948 provided the majority of contemporary architects with a small though regular income and, along with the previously mentioned studio system, offered them the possibility to engage in creative work as well (Perényi 1984:16, Tamáska 2013a). Since the communist system that was taking root in Hungary regarded art in general and architecture in particular as vehicles for political communication, considering the design of new buildings to be a means of expressing ideology, it granted its architects serious, large-scale commissions. (Szalai 1995: 9-18)[18] It was during this time that the Defense Ministry and the People's Stadium were built in Budapest, new universities and university buildings were built in the capital, in Miskolc, and in Veszprém, and the Inota Power Plant was constructed in central Hungary.[19] State commissions of this quantity and magnitude were unimaginable during the previous decades and served to significantly increase the social standing and improve the general estimation of architecture and architects. Conferred awards provide a clear reflection of state recognition in a dictatorship, although they do not unambiguously reveal the degree of true social esteem. The Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic established the Ybl Award in 1953 specifically to acknowledge architectural activity. From then until 1964, six first-degree and six second-degree awards were granted annually.[20] Between 1948 and 1956, architects received one of the most prestigious cultural awards accorded during the period, the Kossuth Prize, on 18 occasions. The fact that certain designs were presented to the public not under the name of an architectural office or firm, but under that of the architect, served to further increase the status of the architectural profession.[21] In 1951, the Alliance of Hungarian Architects was formed at the classicist National Museum, an appropriate representative site in terms of Socialist Realist ideol-

15 Farkasdy Zoltán-interjú [Interview with Zoltán Farkas], készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1983–87 között, OHA, 52. sz., 99–102; Jánossy György-interjú [Interview with György Jánossy], készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1988-ban, OHA, 134. sz., 90–93, 103–106; Gádoros 1984: 17–19.

16 Szendrői Jenő-interjú (1977), Vámossy 1998.

17 Fischer József-interjú [Interview with József Fischer], készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1986–87 között, OHA, 42. sz.

18 The same happend in Poland. See for instance: Tamáska 2013b

19 For more information on these and other contemporary buildings, see Bonta 2008; Prakfalvi 2006, 9–18.

20 About the Ybl award see, Schéry 1995.

21 About the contrasting local practice, see Virágh Pál-interjú.[Interview with Pál Virág] Készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1986-ban. OHA, 47. sz., 119–121.

ogy. This also symbolized the acknowledgement of the state and signaled that architecture is art and one of the most important branches of national culture.[22] These circumstances indisputably provided architects with a privileged financial situation and a considerable degree of prestige.

2.3 Professional autonomy

Developments with regard to ideological control, training and the social and economic situation have been described earlier in this article. In addition to the prescribed obligatory style (or according to certain interpretations as compensation for it), (Gádoros 1984:18) the state provided significant material (economic) and social opportunities for architects. This obviously compensated to some degree for the professional one-sidedness that the prescribed style had caused. However, it would be worthwhile to examine the opportunities that individuals had at their disposal to avoid state political control. Thus the author will subsequently seek to answer the question: how strong and how extensive was the *professional autonomy* of architects during the years of the Rákosi dictatorship?[23] For the most part, the recollections of contemporaries provide the only means of examining this question. The author thus utilized this resource, enjoying its benefits and accepting its disadvantages as well.

As previously shown, works describing the Rákosi era assert that one of the distinguishing features of the dictatorship that existed in Hungary during this period was that it limited opportunities for autonomous creation. The dictatorship prescribed the themes that artists (which architects were considered to be at this time) could deal with and the form in which they were to appear. In architecture, use of the classicist forms of the Reform Era became the prescribed rule, which several institutions and actions received the task of enforcing. How was it possible to exist as a genuine intellectual in such an atmosphere? According to some architects, it was not at all possible to do so, thus they withdrew from the field of Hungarian architecture and accepted work exclusively as builders.[24] But other architects developed different strategies.

The Iparterv (Industrial Design) architectural office, which primarily designed industrial buildings and was thus less exposed to strict ideological obligations, offered a refuge from Socialist Realism. Not even during the most severe period of the 1950s were the stylistic attributes of Neo-Classical style expected to play a decisive role in the external appearance of industrial facilities. The most important reason for this was that while the form (neo-classicism) could be relatively well defined, the content (socialism) left architects with considerable room for movement (since the ideologues used examples primarily from literature as illustrations). This was particularly true with regard to the domain of industrial architecture, where function was allowed to supersede content without any particularly difficulty, and the more emphatic the function the greater the degree to which it was possible to depart from the obligations vis-à-vis form. It is therefore not surprising that Iparterv became a refuge for architects who had been ignored during the period and who did not want to produce designs in the Socialist Realist style. It is perhaps not by accident that the architects who worked at Iparterv tended to be oriented toward the type of architecture that predominated in Western Europe during this period and among all the Hungarian design institutes, Iparterv was the one that managed to gain an international reputation and in 1961 was the first to win an international award, the Perret Prize (for development of on-site, large-element

22 Farkasdy Zoltán-interjú [Interview with Zoltán Farkas], készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1983–87 között, OHA, 52. sz., 323; Jánossy György-interjú [Interview with György Jánossy], készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1988-ban, OHA, 134. sz., 144–145.; Gádoros 1984: 18

23 Péter Molnár writes that the art history of the era can only be written through the history of these „ resistances and autonomy". – Molnár 1996: 56–63.

24 Of course, these "withdrawals" can be interpreted in many ways. Fischer József-interjú [Interview with József Fischer, készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1986–87 között, OHA, 42. sz., 310; Fischer 1984:21; Preisich 1984:11.; Rácz György-interjú [Interview with György Rácz], készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1988-ban, OHA, 135. sz., 138–139.

reinforced-concrete pre-fabrication). (Vámossy 1998.);[25] Of course, all this did not mean that no factories or plants were built in the socialist realist style at all, but the compulsion to adapt was much less here than in other areas of architecture (Haba 2019).

For those who could not or did not want to work at Iparterv, the previously mentioned professional atmosphere represented an avenue of escape. Because of the obstacles to intellectual dialogue with the West, professional architectural life in Hungary turned inward, although it was precisely this condition of "designing for each other" that made it possible to establish a standard ("ethics") that diverged from the official one. This standard was sometimes articulated in the course of Alliance of Hungarian Architects debates, expressing strong criticism of the official professional position (albeit using the Socialist Realist lexicon) and providing support and a point of departure for techniques that avoided Socialist Realism as well as compensating for the lack of official acknowledgement.[26]

Expansion of the concept of neo-classicism represented one of the means by which architects were able to comply with state requirements and at the same time meet their own standards and those of the professional community. Instead of Reform Era Hungarian neo-classicism, graduating architectural students who had gone to Northern Europe during the Second World War used the interwar classicism of the northern peoples (primarily the Swedes) as the foundation for their designs. (Molnár 2004:61; Jánossy–Lente 1988: 18) [27] Buildings designed according to this style satisfied the expectations of the government without compromising the standards of the architectural profession. (The design that Gyula Rimanóczy and János Kleineisel produced for the R-Building of the Budapest Technical University represented an example of this).

The other means of avoiding the strict requirements was related to design technique. The Architectural Council that inspected all designs looked for the most part only at façade drawings. As a result, the role of architectural graphics increased: through shading or the deceptive portrayal of perspective it was possible to enhance or exaggerate the neo-classicist character of a building design. The disparities between designs and detailed drawings exercised a similar effect. Emphatically "Socialist Realist" motifs contained in submitted designs were either muted or eliminated in the detailed drawings that served as the basis for construction. Using these techniques, architects were able to comply with their own aesthetic-professional norms despite the considerable vigilance of the state oversight apparatus.[28]

However, a profession must be capable of enforcing its will and asserting its norms not only toward the state, but in relation to society and other interest groups as well. Current architectural discourse also demonstrates that the architect-designer must be able to hold his or her own in the face of both the client and the builder. This situation of the architect-designer toward the client (the state) during this period has already been examined. Contemporary accounts suggest that it was precisely the special state attention (and the outstanding importance of buildings and thus of architecture for the dictatorship) as well as the handicraft-industry character of the construction industry in Hungary during the 1950s that served to subordinate the concepts of the architect to industrial-technological and economic considerations. The organizational embodiments of this were the Architectural Council and the National Architectural Office, the primary tasks of which were to

25 Szendrői Jenő-interjú [Interview with Jenő Szendrői] (1977) = Osskó i. m., 19–21, 23; Farkasdy Zoltán-interjú [Interview with Zoltán Farkasdy], készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1983–87 között, OHA, 52. sz. 165.

26 Jánossy György-interjú [Interview with György Jánossy], készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1988-ban, OHA, 134. sz., 136; Jánossy-Lente 1988:19; Farkasdy Zoltán-interjú, [Interview with Zoltán Farkasdy] készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1983–87 között, OHA, 52. sz., 211–212; Borvendég Béla-interjú [Interview with Béla Borvendég], készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1982–83 között, OHA 38. sz., 52–53.; Molnár 2004: 58.

27 For the influence of Swedish architecture in Hungary see Lampel 2003. About Scandinavian Classicism see: Frampton, 2002:254–267.

28 About resistance techniques Molnár 2004, 61; Jánossy György-interjú, készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1988-ban, OHA, 134. sz., 129–130.

oversee the application of Socialist Realism in architecture and represent architectural interests and principles vis-à-vis builders. Moreover, the two offices operated under the direct supervision of the Council of Ministers rather than under the auspices of the Construction Affairs Ministry (Perényi 1984:16, Gádoros 1984:18, Major 2001:252–253).

3. Conclusion

Why does it thus appear that architects maintain positive recollections of the oppressive years of the Rákosi era? Cognitive dissonance certainly played a role in this apparent contradiction: that is, architects who participated in the building and operation of the dictatorship portrayed the era in a positive light in order to preserve and strengthen their moral integrity. Although this psychological phenomenon undoubtedly exercised (and continues to exercise) an influence on architects who were active in Hungary following the Second World War, it does not provide a total explanation for their favorable assessment of the Rákosi era. Although during the subsequent Kádár era (when the relevant recollections were born) it was not fashionable to praise the Rákosi era, the mere fact of having filled leading functions during the latter period did not represent a shameful stigma that required apologies and excuses. However, proclaiming the advantages of the era nevertheless represented deviant behavior to some degree. Moreover, a large number of those in question did not fill leading positions during the Rákosi era even if they were members of the communist party—they were "only" frequently employed architects. It may have also occurred that the careers of the architects in question reached their pinnacle during the Rákosi era, thus causing them to recall this time with nostalgia. However, this hypothesis is difficult to defend in the majority of instances in which these architects continued to design major buildings, publish books, work as university professors and receive awards for their work in the 1960s and even later. It is nevertheless natural that those who began their careers and received professional opportunities in the 1950s would look back upon this decade with some degree of fondness.

Although the arguments presented above are valid, even their collective impact does not fully explain the attitudes of the relevant generation of architects toward the 1950s. The positive image of this decade that is common among members of this generation can be better explained via analysis of the process of professionalization that took place within the architectural profession at this time. The importance of architecture increased in comparison to the pre-war period in accordance with the nature of the dictatorship. Buildings, which had previously been appraised based on their function and aesthetic value, gained symbolic meaning via the requirement that they represent the new political system. Although heightened state attention entailed significant disadvantages and obligations, it also served to "elevate" the "social" importance of architecture and to classify it as an art without debating the issue. Consequently, the prestige of architecture rose, the material circumstances of architects improved and, as previously described, the ability of those active in the architectural profession to assert their interests against those of the construction industry increased. Moreover, the institutional system of architectural training became more refined and the number of people who participated in such training increased. It also became evident that in spite of the prescribed obligatory style, architects had managed to preserve certain aspects of professional autonomy. Taken together, these factors served to accelerate the process of professionalization that had begun a long time previously, thus improving the situation with regard to the architectural profession. This process understandably resulted in positive changes for those who worked as architects during the period in question.

This situation may seem particularly favorable if seen from the perspective of the Kádár era, when several elements of the Rákosi-era "compact" between the state and architects underwent modification. According to these changes, there was no longer an officially prescribed architectural style and both the Architectural Council and the National Construction Affairs Office were abolished. However, the termination of state supervi-

sion at the national level resulted not only in a greater degree of professional freedom, but also meant (as became clear within a few years) that architecture no longer represented the most important form of expression for the state, which no longer wished to represent its ideology and itself through the design features of buildings constructed in Hungary. It was precisely the less offensive nature of self-representation that became the foundation of the Kádár régime's consolidation (Tamáska 2018). The framework and content of architectural training also underwent transformation during the Kádár era, when the formation of construction engineers serving the interest of industry supplanted the design-oriented approach of the 1950s. This, along with rising numbers of students, resulted in a decrease in the quality of training.[29] The very successful Master School that had supplemented basic architectural education was closed in 1960 amid accusations that it had been conducting élite training.[30]

The decline in the role and position that the state accorded to architecture is clearly demonstrated in the fact that architects, who had previously been the recipients of many Kossuth Prizes, were no longer eligible to win the award after 1963, from which year it was granted only in recognition of cultural and artistic achievement (since according to the new concept of the state, architecture was classified under the rubric of industry rather than art or culture). The decreasing importance of architecture for the state is also reflected in the transfer of the authority to confer Ybl Awards from the Council of Ministers to the minister of the competent government ministry.[31] The increased emphasis placed on economic efficiency likewise served to alter the relationship between industry and architecture. The previous task of industry had been to serve as a vehicle for implantation of the architect-conceived design representing the socialist state, whereas from the end of the 1950s (at the latest), the technological frameworks and economic allocations of the construction industry became decisive.[32]

29 The Statistical Office only published the number of full-time students by faculty from the 1961–62 academic year. According to the data, by the mid-1970s, the number of students at the Faculty of Architecture of the Technical University had increased by more than 30 percent, then decreased slightly, but even in 1990-91 it exceeded the number in the early 1960s by more than 20 percent. See Statisztikai Évkönyv 1961, Budapest, KSH, 1962, 319, Statisztikai Évkönyv 1975, Budapest, KSH, 1976, 398; Statisztikai Évkönyv 1990, Budapest, KSH, 1991, 269; Németh J., i. m.; Vámossy 1998.; Farkasdy Zoltán-interjú, készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1983–87 között, OHA, 52. sz., 325.

30 Janáky István-interjú [Interview with István Janáky] készítette Kőműves Ágnes 2005-ben, OHA, 811. sz., 5; Vámossy 1998; Vámos 2011.

31 Farkasdy Zoltán-interjú, készítette Szabóné Dér Ilona 1983–87 között, OHA, 52. sz.; Major 2001: 252.

32 See,. József Finta's answer to the 1977 round table question (What are the main problems of today's Hungarian architecture?) = Major M., Osskó J., i. m., 467. and MAJOR 1981: 383

References

A kommunista magyar építészek határozata [The resolution of the Hungarian communist architects]. *Építés-Építészet,* 1949, 5. = Major–Osskó (1981), 29–30.

Bonta J. (2008) *A magyar építészet egy kortárs szemével, 1945–1960* [Hungarian architecture through a contemporary eye, 1945–1960] Budapest, Terc, 2008.

Borvendég Béla interjú (OHA) [Interview with Béla Borvendég], készítette Szabóné Dér I. 1982–83 között, *OHA* 38. sz.

Bütow, B. – Chassé, K. A. – Maurer, S. (2006) (Hrsg) *SozialeArbeit zwischen Aufbau und Abbau. Transformationsprozesse im Osten Deutsch -lands und die Kinder- und Jugendhilfe.* Wiesbaden, 2006, VS.

Fabel-Lamla, M. (2004) *Professionalisierungspfade ostdeutscher Lehrer.* Wies-baden, VS.

Farkasdy (OHA) *Farkasdy Zoltán-interjú* [Interview with Zoltán Farkas], készítette Szabóné Dér I. 1983–87 között, OHA, 52. sz.

Finta (1981) *József Finta's answer to the 1977 round question* (What are the main problems of today's Hungarian architecture?) = Major M. – Osskó J. i. m., 467.

Fischer, J. (1984) Emlékeim a „szocreál" korszakról. *Magyar Építőművészet,* 1984. 3. 21.

Fischer (OHA) *Fischer József-interjú* [Interview with József Fischer], készítette Szabóné Dér I. 1986–87 között, OHA, 42. sz.

Frampton (2002) *A modern építészet kritikai története* [Modern Architecture: A Critical History]. Bp., Terc, 2002, 254–267.

Gádoros, L. (1984) Reálisan a szocialista realizmusról. [Realistically about socialist realism] *Magyar Építőművészet,* 1984/3, 17–19.

Germuska, P. (2004) Indusztria bűvöletében [Under the spell of Indusztria], 1956-os Intézet, Budapest, 2004.

Giese, D. (2002) *Die SED und ihre Arme. Die NVA zwischen Politisierung und Professionalismus.* 1956– 65. München, Oldenbourg.

Granasztói, P. (1946) Az építész és a dolgozók társadalma[The worker's society and the architects]. *Tér és Forma,* 1946, 7–9. = Major M. – Osskó J. i. m., 19–21

György, P. – Turai, H. (1992) (szerk.) *A művészet katonái. Sztálinizmus és kultúra.* Budapest, Corvina.

Haba, P. (2019) *A magyar ipari építészet 1945–1970* [Hungrian industrial architecture 1945–1970]. Terc, 2019, 136–154.

Halmos, K. – Szívós, E. (2010) Doktor úr, tanár úr, főszerkesztő asszony: a hivatások a köztudatban és a modern történetírásban [Doctor, Professor, Editor-in-Chief: Professions in Public Consciousness and Modern Historiography]. *Korall,* (42), 2010/4, 5–18.

Honvári, J. (2006) *XX. századi magyar gazdaságtörténet* [Hungarian economic history in 20th Century], Budapest. Aula, 2006, 254–260.

Janáky, Gy. (1988) Kísérlet egy korszak bejárására. Magyar Építőművészet, 3, 1988. 3–4.

Janáky (OHA) *Janáky István-interjú,* készítette Kőműves Á. 2005-ben, OHA, 811. sz.

Jánosssy, J. – Lente, A. (1988) Beszélgetés Jánossy György építésszel, *Magyar Építőművészet,* 1988/3, 19.

Jánossy (OHA) Jánossy György-interjú [Interview with György Jánossy], készítette Szabóné Dér I. 1988-ban, OHA, 134. sz.

Ferkai (2015) (szerk) KÖZTI (2015) *KÖZTI 66: Egy tervezőiroda története* (1949–1991) Vince Kiadó 2015.

Lampel M. (2003) A svéd építészet vonzereje. *Építészfórum* https://epiteszforum.hu/lampel-miklos-a-sved-epiteszet-vonzereje (last download: 2020. 09.17.)

Major M. – Osskó J. (1981) (szerk.) *Új építészet, új társadalom 1945–1978.* [New architecture, new society], Budapest, 1981.

Major M. (1947) Politika és építészet. *Új Építészet* 1947/3. = Major M. – Osskó J., i. m., 21–25.

Major M. (1949a) A magyar építészekhez! [To Hungarian architects!]. *Új Építészet,* 1949, 1. = Major–Osskó (1981), 17–18.

Major M. (1949b) Építészetünk útja, [The path of our architecture] *Építés-Építészet,* 1949, 6–7. = Major–Osskó (1981), 30–43.

Major M. (1981) A Magyar építészet harminc éve.= Major – Osskó (1981)375–384.

Major M. (1984) Az ötvenes évek társadalmi robbanása és az építészek, [The social explosion of the fifties and the architects] Magyar Építőművészet, 1984/3, 23.

Major M. (2001) *Tizenkét nehéz esztendő (1945–1956)* [Twelve difficult years], Budapest, Magyar Építészeti Múzeum, 2001, (Lapis Angularis 3), 123–147.

Molnár P. (1996) *Közelítés egy korszakhoz* [Approaching an era] = Építészet és tervezés Magyarországon, szerk. Prakfalvi E., BUDAPEST, Magyar Építészeti Múzeum, 1996, 56–63.

Molnár P. (2004) Építészetünk hét rendhagyó esztendeje [Seven unusual years of our architecture]. In Molnár Péter építészete. [The architecture of Péter Molnár] szerk. Apáti-Nagy M. – Pazar B., Budapest, 6 BT.

Németh J. (é. n.) *A műszaki és természettudományos képzés magyarországi századai* [Hungarian centuries of technical and natural science education,]. é. n., http://www.scitech.mtesz.hu/11nemeth/.

Osskó J. (2007) *Unokáink is látni fogják.* Tíz építészportré. Budapest, Terc.

Perényi I. (1984) Hogy is volt?, [How was it?]. *Magyar Építőművészet,* 1984/3, 16.

Prakfalvi E. (1998) Alapok – tervek – épületek 1947– 49. In Standeisky Évaet alii (szerk.) *A fordulat évei 1947–1949. Politika, képzőművészet, építészet*. Budapest, 1956-os Intézet.

Prakfalvi E. (1999) *Szocreál. Budapest építészete 1945–1959 között.* Budapest,Városháza.

Prakfalvi E. (2004) *A hatvanas évek építészetéről* [About the architecture of the sixties] = „Hatvanas évek" Magyarországon, szerk. Rainer M. János, Budapest, 1956-os Intézet, 2004,

Prakfalvi E. (2006) *Magyar építészet 1945–1959* [Hungarian architectur] = Modern és szocreál, szerk. Fehérvári Z. – Hajdu V. – Prakfalvi E., Budapest, Magyar Építészeti Múzeum, 2006, 9–18.

Preisich G. (1984) Az ötvenes évek építészetéről. *Magyar Építőművészet,* 1984, 3, 9–11.

Preisich (OHA) *Preisich Gábor-interjú.* Készítette Szabóné Dér I., 1986–87. 1956-os Intézet Oral History Archívuma, 36. sz.

Rácz (OHA) *Rácz György-interjú.* Készítette Szabóné Dér I., 1988. 1956-os Intézet Oral History Archívuma, 135. sz.

Romsics I. (1999) *Magyarország története a XX. században* [The history of Hungary in the XX. century], Budapest, Osiris, 1999.

Saád, J. (1985) Építészet az újjáépítés szolgálatában. *Medvetánc,* 1985/2–3, 237–261.

Schéry, G. (1995) (szerk.) *Évek, művek, alkotók. Ybl Miklós-díjasok és műveik 1953–1994.* Budapest, Építésügyi Tájékoztatási Központ.

Schéry, T. (2001) *A magyar tervezőirodák története* [History of Hungarian design offices], Budapest, Építésügyi tájékoztatási Központ, 2001.

Simon M. (1999) *„Fordulatnak kell bekövetkeznie építészetünkben – jelentős fordulatnak." Elmélet és gyakorlat 1949–1951* [„There needs to be a turnaround in our architecture- a significant turnaround." Theory and practice 1949–1951] Architectura Hungariae 1999/1. http://arch.et.bme.hu/arch_old/kortars4.html#1 (last download: 2020. szeptember 16.).

Statisztikai évkönyv 1949–1955. Budapest, KSH, 1957.

Statisztikai Évkönyv 1961, Budapest, KSH, 1962.

Statisztikai Évkönyv 1975, Budapest, KSH, 1976.

Statisztikai Évkönyv 1990, Budapest, KSH, 1991.

Szalai A. (1995) *„Tükör által homályosan…" Negyven év építészetéről az Ybl-díjak ürügyén* ["Obscured by a Mirror…" About forty years of architecture on the pretext of the Ybl Awards], 1995 = SCHÉRY GÁBOR (szerk.): Évek, művek, alkotók. Ybl Miklós-díjasok és műveik. Budapest, Építésügyi Tájékoztatási Központ. 9-18.

Szendrői Jenő-interjú (1977) [Interview with Jenő Szendrői]. In Osskó J. *Unokáink is látni fogják. Tíz építészportré* [Our grandchildren will see it too. Ten architect portraits], Budapest, Terc, 2007.

Tamáska, M. (2013a) *Falvak az uradalmak helyén. A megszűnt nagybirtok telepes községeinek építészete 1945 után.* Martin Opitz Kiadó Budapest, 2013.

Tamáska, M. (2013b) B*edeutungsebenen der rekonstruierten Altstadt von Wrocław.* Zeitschrift Für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung (ZFO) 0948-8294 62 (1), 1–39.

Tamáska, M. (2018) 1956 városképi emlékezete Budapesten: A Corvin köz és az Üllői út újjáépítése. *Építés-Építészettudomány* 46, 1–2, 33–55. https://doi.org/10.1556/096.2017.002

Vámos, D. (2011) *Főszerepben az építész* [The architect in the lead role], 2011. DLA Értekezés, Budapest.

Vámossy F. (1998) Magyar építészet 1890–1995 [Hungarian architecture 1890–1995]In *Magyarország a XX. században* [Hungary in the 20th Century], szerk. Kollega Tarsoly, I. 3, Szekszárd, Babits, 1998. http://vmek.oszk.hu/02100/02185/html/433.html (last download 2020.09.11.).

Virágh Pál-interjú [Interview with Pál Virágh] készítette Szabóné Dér I. 1986-ban, OHA, 47. sz., 165–166.

Wolf-Dietrich B. et al. (2006) (Hrsg.) *Biographische Konstruktionen im multi kulturellen Bildungsprozess. Individuelle Standortsicherung im globalisierten Alltag.* Wiesbaden, 2006, VS.

Venetsiya Dimitrova[1]

The internationalization of architectural practice

Mobilizing dependence to secure and enhance (relational) autonomy on the construction site

https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2020en.108

Abstract

More than any other profession, architecture has been shaped by the tension between autonomy and heteronomy. Recently, however, this dichotomy is seen as unproductive for understanding architects' practices in-depth, especially in the context of the growing internationalization that is transforming and restructuring architectural practice. The paper applies the lens of 'relational autonomy', grasping architectural practice in relation to the actions of other built environment professionals, and to material artefacts. Dependence is framed not as a threat but as a productive potential. The focus of the paper is on the practices of less prominent architects in celebrity global firms. More specifically, the paper explores the practices enacted during the actual materialization of design-ambitious edifices, on-site and in the workshops of sub-contractors. The main argument is that less visible architects can secure and enhance the (relational) autonomy of global architects during construction, by *actively* shaping a specific working context, where they can *purposefully* mobilize dependence. Practices during construction generate new opportunities for creative engagement and enhance architects' influence over processes beyond their autonomous actions, thereby enabling the making of products with high symbolic value.

Keywords: global architects; relational autonomy; internationalization; materialization; professional practice

1 HafenCity University Hamburg

Venetsiya Dimitrova

The internationalization of architectural practice

Mobilizing dependence to secure and enhance (relational) autonomy on the construction site

Introduction

Over the last two decades, the figure of the 'global architect'[2] has attracted the attention of scholars across disciplines, mainly due to their increasing influence on transnational urban development (Faulconbridge–Grubbauer 2015, McNeill 2009). The projects constituting the portfolio of global architects are often prestigious, design-ambitious ones, potentially canonized in discourses, academic curricula and the media. In the literature, these projects have often been regarded in terms of their symbolic and aesthetic qualities, yet there is still little insight into the *background work,* the specific global architectural practices, required for the actual making of international projects *on-site*.

To address this lacuna, the paper moves beyond the narrow focus on the figure of the seemingly 'autonomous' global architect, and explores the practices of less prominent project architects, responsible for the execution of ambitious projects worldwide. By taking into account the role, tasks and responsibilities of these professionals, the paper focuses more specifically on the everyday practices enacted on-site, not necessarily associated with autonomous work. During construction architects cannot reduce their actions merely to the creative and artistic component of their work; rather their autonomy is constrained mainly by their dependence on the expertise and capabilities of builders and sub-contractors. By drawing on empirical research, the paper argues that practices outside of the design studio can however secure and enhance the autonomy of architects during the execution phase and are thus central for the making of what architects consider products with high symbolic value.

More than any other profession, architecture has been shaped by the tension between autonomy and heteronomy (e.g. Larson 1993, Stevens 1998, Jones 2009, 2011). This paper however does not juxtapose these concepts as contradictory entities. By following the work of Imrie and Street (2014), the paper adopts the concept of 'relational autonomy', understanding autonomy as "constituted through, and, crucially, enhanced by, the collective interactions with other actors, and by the social contexts in which such interactions unfold" (Imrie–Street 2014:8). This conceptual lens allows architectural practice to be grasped in relation to the everyday actions of other built environment professionals. The paper explores how by not only recognizing but also by *actively* and *purposefully* mobilizing "their dependence on the social conditions, and contexts, that frame their actions" (ibid: 26) less prominent architects on-site can secure and enhance the (relational) autonomy of global firms. By applying this lens, the paper enables a more differentiated understanding of internationalization processes in architecture, more specifically of how large design firms operate on international construction sites, thereby contributing to the academic scholarship on global architects. Additionally, contributions are made to studies on the creative industry that have usually explored creative labour within design-ambitious architectural firms (Kloosterman 2008, 2010), detached from construction processes.

2 Term coined by McNeill (2009), referring to celebrity architects or (prominent) large architectural firms, both operating internationally

The empirical analysis is based on thirteen[3] semi-structured interviews conducted in two design-ambitious global architectural firms. The interviews focus on the practices of less prominent architects with experience in different design and execution phases, which allows them to work with less supervision, and assume significant responsibility for demanding tasks. In the terms of Reckwitz (2003), practices refer to everyday actions and interactions with others, and relate to material objects. These architects operate as (sub-)project leaders on a single project over years, dealing in detail with the actual execution, ensuring that the final product fulfils the demands for high aesthetic quality (as posed by their celebrity employers and the discourse). To generate a conceptual understanding of the project architects' practices on-site, the analysis of the qualitative empirical material follows a grounded theory approach (Strauss–Corbin 2010). For this purpose, 14 (out of the original set of 40) codes were chosen to grasp how architects work on international projects in relation to other actors, their practices, knowledges and resources, as well as to artefacts and materialization processes. The data was analysed in an iterative process, by going back and forth between conceptual literature and empirical material, and through multiple steps of re-coding. Newly generated codes included "being present", "foresee", "explore", "mutual dependence/autonomy", "adapt", "open", and "critical reflection". By narrowing down the categories, the actions required for securing and enhancing the (relational) autonomy of architects were conceptualized as practices of "engaging with sub-contractors", "engaging in construction processes" and "opening up practice"; these categories inform the analytical structure of the third section.

The paper proceeds as follows: In the second section the concepts of autonomy and heteronomy are discussed. The third section draws on the empirical data. Finally, some concluding remarks are introduced.

Oscillating between autonomy and heteronomy

The 'autonomous hero'

Professional organisations seek to secure their members an exclusive social and cultural status by enhancing their specific attributes and qualities (Imrie–Street 2014). This is mainly achieved by drawing clear boundaries to other professionals (Abbott 1988), securing thus an exclusive claim over distinct disciplinary knowledge, and monopoly over a specific market of professional services (see Cuff 1991).

In architecture, design as conceptual work is regarded as the primary architect's expertise (Gutman 1988) and is therefore attributed alone to the efforts of the individual, often perceived as a 'lone genius'. Professional associations have secured architects' exclusive status by "raising the status of creativity and design expertise within society at large, and positioning architects as the construction professionals best placed to deliver such expertise" (Cohen et al. 2005:3). Universities have successfully reproduced the image of the autonomous architect. As Cuff (1991) argues, classic architectural education is defined by the cult of individual brand-name architects and celebrates creativity as a 'master value' (see also Blau 1984). In a mono-disciplinary setting, centered on the 'design studio', students are trained to desire the responsibility for design tasks and the building's aesthetic components[4]. Architects are thus socialized to conceive of themselves as autonomous agents in the building process, who are responsible for creating an architecture that is merely "a representation of itself, of its own values and internal experience" (Eisenman cited in Imrie–Street 2014).

Most recently, the archetype of the autonomous architect-hero has been epitomized by the so-called global architects (Grubbauer–Steets 2014, McNeill 2009). This minor fraction of the professional community has been associated with higher levels of autonomy for several reasons: First, global architects have the priv-

3 With the exception of one, all interviews were recorded, and eleven have been transcribed verbatim.

4 Aesthetics-focused approaches have recently been challenged by educators, yet despite suggestions for a more process-oriented approach, curricula have not been broadly revised (Grubbauer 2019).

ilege to work on prestigious commissions, characterised by cutting-edge designs (Faulconbridge 2009, Jones 2009, 2011). Second, in an international context, they can outsource routine and less creative tasks (such as construction documents) (Cuff 1992) and embrace the artistic component of their work. Third, through their celebrity reputation global architects are dominant in the processes of discourse making, being entitled to define categories of evaluation, and to decide which projects are worth recognition (Jones 2011, Stevens 1998). This privileged and powerful professional status enables global architects "to dictate their own terms and tell clients what is good for them" (Stevens 1998:95), reproducing the image of leading designers as autonomous creators.

Architecture's intrinsic dependence

Despite the continuous reproduction of the image of the autonomous artist-hero through professional associations and universities, scholars across disciplines define architecture as a heteronomous profession. The building, Larson (1993) notes, is not an example of architects' autonomous execution of talent and knowledge, but reveals their dependence on the skills and expertise of numerous professionals. Similarly, other scholars have emphasized the specific working and organizational context, over which architects (or any built environment professionals) rarely have sole control: Due to their complexity and inherently interdisciplinary nature, building processes are collaborative, communication-based and interorganisational, presupposing collective actions, negotiations and compromises (Harty 2005, Yaneva 2005). Moreover, the autonomy of architects is further constrained by the demands imposed by clients, consultants, and authorities, which differ from the symbolic and aesthetic ones imposed by the discourse (Stevens 1998).

Global architects are restricted in their actions as autonomous agents as well. First, while working internationally global architects exceed the legal jurisdictions of their profession and need to form alliances with local architects (Faulconbridge 2009). Second, as they lack specific knowledge of local building and regulatory conditions, global architects rely on the expertise of partners on-site, who are responsible for the project's successful implementation in the particular local context (McNeill 2009). As a result, international architects never design "an architecturally conceived totality" (Ahuja et al. 2017:9). Also, in the context of complex and cutting-edge projects, global architects are more than ever dependent on numerous consultants, and highly specialized sub-contractors. Finally, autonomous actions are restricted due to the significant organizational challenges large firms face, including operating in internationally networked enterprises with multiple branch offices worldwide, employing hundreds of professionals and coordinating sub-contractors across the globe (McNeill 2009).

Embracing heteronomy

The prevailing autonomy/heteronomy dichotomy has shaped the debates on architectural practice across disciplines, including sociology of architecture, urban studies, and creative industry studies. This is clearly seen in the juxtaposition of design tasks and less creative ones, often concerning managerial responsibilities, dealing with problems on-site, conflicts with builders and subcontractors, and budget and time concerns (e.g. Cohen et al. 2005, Styhre–Gluch 2009). Tasks that exceed the autonomous efforts of the individual are often considered by professionals as 'non-architectural' (see Ahuja et al. 2017). Furthermore, the autonomy/heteronomy opposition is visible in the disrupted relationship between architectural practice and the construction industry. Although "it is through this industry that architects' ideas of buildings are realized" (Gutman 1988:43), there appears to be a clear opposition between the creative capacity of architects, and what is considered the routine and manual making of buildings (Sage 2013). Similarly, within studies on the creative industry there has been a clear differentiation between artistic and craft labour (Banks 2010). Thus, scholarship on design-ambi-

tious firms focuses rather on the practices of young, talented architects engaging in creative tasks, exploring their *l'art pour-l'art* motivation to design products with high symbolic value (Kloosterman 2008, 2010).

Recently, however, this dichotomy has been regarded as unproductive for a full understanding of architects' actions and practices (see Imrie–Street 2014, Till 2013). Scholars have called for a move away from the "individualistic, under-socialized accounts of architects and their practice" (Imrie–Street 2014:4), considering architects' autonomous actions as "fundamentally and irreducibly relational" (Christman 2004). Through the lens of 'relational autonomy' dependence is not understood as a threat and restriction, but rather as a productive potential. This approach is especially fruitful when exploring the growing internationalization of architectural practice. New organizational structures presuppose different working practices (e.g. designing at distance and hypermobility, see Faulconbridge (2009)) whereas the shift of professional jurisdictions questions starchitects' autonomy and control over design processes (see also Cayer 2019). In the context of new forms of dependence and restrictions, practices outside of the design office (in branch offices or on-site), and of intense interactions with other 'communities of practice' (Wenger 1999) and artefacts[5] have remained largely understudied. Through the lens of 'relational autonomy', the paper explores architects' practices enacted during the *actual* making of edifices with high aesthetic value. The paper thereby argues that invisible professionals *actively* shape a specific context, where they can *purposefully* mobilize dependence, to secure and enhance the (relational) autonomy of global architects during construction processes.

Securing and enhancing (relational) autonomy on the construction site: shaping contexts and mobilizing dependence

By drawing on a set of semi-structured interviews, this section explores the practices of less prominent architects, enacted on the local site and usually associated with quarrels over cost and quality, and less with the creative efforts of 'stars' and talented, young professionals. Yet, through their engagement with other disciplines and material artefacts project architects can balance between the inherent pursuit of perfection and "the inescapable reality of the world" (Till 2013:2), to ensure the successful execution of complex and design-ambitious edifices in the international context.

Engaging with sub-contractors

Although often regarded as non-architectural and burdensome tasks, almost all interview partners emphasized communicating with, managing and coordinating between clients, builders and sub-contractors as central for meeting the high aesthetic demands of global architects. Architects perceived it as their main responsibility to build a *"nice atmosphere"* for everybody, to create strong and trusting relationships with their project partners. Thus, as described by one project leader, it is essential to be understanding and empathic, to show that you care about people even through small gestures, such as knowing the name of their dog.

According to one of the project architects, creating trusting relationships with builders and sub-contractors proved central "*during the construction phase"* when *"decisions have to be made on site".* By winning the trust of other team members, international architects ensured that builders and sub-contractors were interested in their opinions and design-related concerns. Thus, project architects could assume that firms would "*give you a call or […] say: 'Hey, come over, look at this'"*, if problems emerged on-site. In this way, as an interviewee argued, architects *"can still influence how things are done"* and secure the aesthetic quality of their products, even in situations beyond their scope of action (international architects are not authorized to make final decisions) and outside of their field of expertise (challenges on-site refer to less design-heavy but

5 Interactions with other professionals and artefacts (e.g. drawings and models in different scales, see Yaneva 2009; Ewenstein–Whyte 2009) are often considered detached from construction sites and complex production processes.

rather technical issues). By creating trusting relationships with the construction industry, project architects actively shaped a specific project context that could enhance their "opportunities for creative engagement" (Imrie–Street 2014:22), and thus secured their autonomy in the restrictive context of international projects.

Engaging in construction processes

Central for these stable relationships, as pointed out by different architects, is being physically present and actively involved from the very beginning till the project's completion. This meant, as described in numerous accounts, regularly visiting the construction site, overseeing building processes (e.g. pouring concrete, installing doors and façade panels) but also visiting the workshops of sub-contractors, and observing how they work and develop products. By doing so, architects could grasp the restrictions and challenges sub-contractors encounter throughout the project. Those included the pressure to work fast on multiple commissions, without losing money but also to develop new working methods and acquire new skills, to execute the complex designs, characteristic of the portfolio of the interviewed firms. Several interviewees emphasized the importance of working closely with the industry on potential solutions. During intense *"one-to-one moment[s] of kind of trying to figure this out together"*, architects engaged in building processes by *"[watching] them [the sub-contractors] chisel concrete, or […] [by telling] them: 'Use two different chisels on your machine and do it like every 6 inches on [the] one and every 12 inches on the other.'"* Other interviewees revealed that sometimes they spend years developing new solutions side by side with the sub-contractors, observing their work and trying to identify the challenges emerging during the manufacturing process. Project architects also seek to secure the resources needed to tackle these challenges, for instance by negotiating longer time frames with the client on behalf of the sub-contractors.

Across the interviews, the majority of architects stressed the importance of remaining flexible and finding the right balance between the inherent pursuit of perfection and the restrictions of actual construction work – this often required the eventual negotiation of certain compromises. The interviewees however did not consider these compromises as a threat to their autonomous actions, or to the quality of their designs. Rather, by actively facing multiple restrictions, architects and sub-contractors could develop together solutions that met everyone's expectations: *"…they seem happy, we're happy. That's a good place to be."* This suggests that for architects to secure 'a piece of good design' and to fulfil their own aesthetic aspirations, sub-contractors needed to feel comfortable and confident that they can execute the design on-site. To secure and enhance their own autonomous actions, architects on-site needed to recognize their dependence on others, while embracing and grasping in-depth the restrictions of their partners, and while sharing the unforeseen challenges others face. As a result, architects potentially enhanced the autonomy of their project partners, by enabling their "sense of self to be developed and exercised" (Imrie–Street 2014:9).

Opening up design practices to dependence

The interview data reveals that architects on-site actively and consciously shaped a specific working context, in which they could embrace their own heteronomy, while making space for the restrictions of others. Architects opened up design processes and their practice to dependence, contingencies and unforeseen situations, by anticipating and purposefully exploring potential restrictions. Thus, for instance, one interviewee revealed that they often develop alternatives in advance, evaluating potential ways to reduce cost. Once the construction firm is involved, architects can already present different design options and solutions, providing the opportunity to *"discuss stuff and to reconcile and to optimize and to see, 'how do we still get the [same] image'"*. Other architects emphasized the importance of developing in advance mock-ups (1-to-1 samples) of complex elements, to test the feasibility of their designs and ensure the quality of the final product. Thus, at an

early stage, architects invite the construction industry into their practice, asking for their expertise and help. Some architects praised the good feedback that often came from the industry – firms could help architects to further develop their ideas, bringing the initial design even further than what they had expected.

By anticipating and actively exploring eventual restrictions that can compromise the aesthetics, project architects often needed to adapt their design, while seeking to preserve the core of the original concept and fulfil high quality demands. Various interviewees emphasized that it is their task to optimize and adapt, to identify new materials and products, to develop alternative details, to potentially simplify their designs, and to find the *"local means"* of realizing their ideas. Such processes of translation (see also Imrie–Street 2014) stimulated the creative capacity of architects on-site and were perceived as exciting and productive for the end result. As described by one interviewee, restrictions arising from a tight budget can lead to better solutions, *"because you somehow knead the whole thing, as often such problems […] are actually internal problems."* Another architect argued that cheaper is not necessarily bad for the quality; rather such restrictions push architects to be inventive even after the design phase.

Through their actions on-site and in the firms' workshops, project architects learnt to be flexible and open to alternatives, to question themselves and re-think their approach and ideas, to weigh up priorities, and to continuously re-evaluate what is important for the success of the project. Furthermore, by doing this, architects could gain knowledge exceeding their discipline (e.g. product manufacturing) and could remain actively engaged in processes transcending their field of expertise, and thus the scope of their autonomous actions. By actively engaging in the co-production of their products, project architects generated new opportunities for creative engagement, securing and enhancing thereby their (relational) autonomy.

Conclusion

The interviewed architects on-site engaged significantly in building strong and trusting relationships with project partners from the construction industry, and in execution processes, such as overseeing construction progress and co-developing mock-ups. The empirical material revealed that by "[embracing] the inter-disciplinary and collaborative nature of the design and production of the built environment" (Imrie–Street 2014:27), architects *purposefully* opened up design processes and their practice to other disciplines. This was achieved by facing and anticipating eventual contingencies, and by *actively* exploring and sharing various restrictions with their project partners. In this way, architects translated potential constraints into alternative design ideas and solutions, while gaining new capabilities and skills[6]. In this course, they could mobilize dependence in a productive manner for the design process and outcome, as well as for their architectural practice. The practices of architects during construction processes thus played a key role in enhancing architects' influence over processes beyond their autonomous actions and in enabling products with high symbolic value to be made.

The lens of 'relational autonomy' proved highly fruitful when exploring the practices of global architectural firms: First, the concept enabled a more holistic understanding of architectural practice, by re-positioning the matter of materiality and feasibility, and the strain of construction work into the everyday work of architects (e.g. Jacobs–Merriman 2011, Sage 2013). As a result, the paper provided insights into the background work required for the actual realization of international projects. The execution of prestigious projects across the globe is still undertheorized, being overshadowed by the discussion about the symbolic and aesthetic qualities of edifices meant to generate urban distinctiveness (Jones 2009). Second, the chosen conceptual lens provided a more in-depth grasp of the everyday work in large global firms, and thus of architectural practices that are often seen as rather burdensome. In academic scholarship the intimate relationship between these practices and those associated with artistic labour in the design office is still understudied (e.g. Cohen et al.

6 Also corresponding with the findings of Imrie and Street (2014)

2005; Ahuja et al. 2017). Yet, by moving beyond the practices of 'stars' and professionals engaging in creative design processes, the paper argued that communicating with project partners and overseeing building processes is crucial for enhancing architects' autonomy.

Perceiving architects' scope for autonomous actions as interwoven with the practices of the construction industry is pertinent in the current context of growing internationalization and digitalization of building processes. Considering the ongoing transformation of the structures and scope of architectural professional practice (Cayer 2019, Cuff 2014, Faulconbridge–Grubbauer 2015) there is a need to re-think the values transmitted through academic socialization and the processes of professional legitimation. In this setting, it is vital that architects re-consider their practice in relation to the construction site, materialization processes and their dependence on "the inescapable reality of the world" (Till 2013:2), which still bears productive capacity for creative engagement.

References

Abbott, A. (1988) *The system of professions: An essay on the division of expert labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226189666.001.0001.

Ahuja, S. – Nikolova, N. – Clegg, S. (2017) Paradoxical identity: The changing nature of architectural work and its relation to architects' identity. *Journal of Professions and Organization,* 4**,** 2–19. https://doi.org/10.1093/jpo/jow013.

Banks, M. (2010) Craft labour and creative industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy,* 16**,** 305–321. https://doi.org/10.1080/10286630903055885.

Blau, J. (1984) *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: MIT Press.

Cayer, A. (2019) Shaping an Urban Practice. *Journal of Architectural Education,* 73**,** 178–192. https://doi.org/10.1080/10464883.2019.1633198.

Christman, J. (2004) Relational Autonomy, Liberal Individualism, and the Social Constitution of Selves. *Philosophical Studies,* 117**,** 143–164. https://doi.org/10.1023/b:phil.0000014532.56866.5c.

Cohen, L. – Wilkinson, A. – Arnold, J. – Finn, R. (2005) 'Remember I'm the bloody architect!': architects, organizations and discourses of profession. *Work, Employment and Society,* 19, 775–796. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017005058065.

Cuff, D. (1991) *Architecture: the story of practice*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Cuff, D. (1992) Divisive Tactics: Design-Production Practices in Architecture. *Journal of Architectural Education,* 45**,** 204–212. https://doi.org/10.2307/1425186.

Cuff, D. (2014) Architecture's undisciplined urban desire. *Architectural Theory Review,* 19, 92–97. https://doi.org/10.1080/13264826.2014.899071.

Ewenstein, B. – Whyte, J. (2009) Knowledge Practices in Design: The Role of Visual Representations as 'Epistemic Objects'. *Organization Studies,* 30**,** 07–30. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840608083014.

Faulconbridge, J. (2009) The regulation of design in global architecture firms: embedding and emplacing buildings. *Urban Studies,* 46**,** 2537–2554. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009344227.

Faulconbridge, J. – Grubbauer M. (2015) Transnational building practices: knowledge mobility and the inescapable market. *Global Networks,* 15**,** 275–287. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12078.

Grubbauer, M. (2019) Postcolonial urbanism across disciplinary boundaries: modes of (dis)engagement between urban theory and professional practice. *The Journal of Architecture,* 24, 469–486. https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2019.1643390.

Grubbauer, M. – Steets, S. (2014) The making of architects: knowledge production and legitimation in education and professional practice. *Architectural Theory Review,* 19, 4–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/13264826.2014.899069.

Gutman, R. (1988) *Architectural practice: a critical view*. New York, N.Y.: Princeton Architectural Press.

Harty, C. (2005) Innovation in construction: a sociology of technology approach. *Building Research & Information,* 33, 512–522. https://doi.org/10.1080/09613210500288605.

Imrie, R. – Street, E. (2014) Autonomy and the socialisation of architects. *The Journal of Architecture,* 19, 723–739. https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2014.967271.

Jacobs, J. M. – Merriman, P. (2011) Practising architectures. *Social & Cultural Geography,* 12, 211–222. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2011.565884.

Jones, P. (2009) Putting architecture in its social place: a cultural political economy of architecture. *Urban Studies,* 46**,** 2519–2536. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009344230.

Jones, P. (2011) *The sociology of architecture: constructing identities*. Liverpool: University Press.

Kloosterman, R. (2008) Walls and bridges: knowledge spillover between 'superdutch' architectural firms. *Journal of Economic Geography,* 8, 545–563. https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/lbn010.

Kloosterman, R. (2010) Building a career: labour practices and cluster reproduction in Dutch architectural design. *Regional Studies,* 44, 859-871. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343400903236873.

Larson, M. S. (1993) *Behind the postmodern facade: architectural change in late twentieth-century America*. London: University of California Press.

McNeill, D. (2009) *The Global Architect: Firms, Fame and Urban Form*. New York–London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203894743

Reckwitz, A. (2003) Grundelemente einer Theorie sozialer Praktiken / Basic Elements of a Theory of Social Practices. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie,* 32, 282–301. https://doi.org/10.1515/zfsoz-2003-0401.

Sage, D. (2013) 'Danger building site-keep out!?': a critical agenda for geographical engagement with contemporary construction industries. *Social & Cultural Geography,* 14, 168–191. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2012.737009.

Stevens, G. (1998) *The favored circle: the social foundations of architectural distinction*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Strauss, A. L. – Corbin, J.M. (2010) *Grounded theory Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung*. Beltz.

Styhre, A. – Gluch, P. (2009) Creativity and Its Discontents: Professional Ideology and Creativity in Architect Work. *Creativity and Innovation Management,* 18. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8691.2009.00513.x.

Till, J. (2013) *Architecture depends*. MIT Press.

Wenger, E. (1999) *Communities of practice: learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yaneva, A. (2005) Scaling up and down: extraction trials in architectural design. *Social Studies of Science,* 35, 867–894. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306312705053053.

Yaneva, A. (2009) *Made by the Office for Metropolitan Architecture: an ethnography of design*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.

Róbert Gyökér[1]

"We fit into this landscape."

Values and Value Systems in the Postmodern Age

https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2020en.118

Abstract

The fundamental changes brought about by postmodernity have made a profound impact not only on life-style and self-expression but also on the foundations of knowledge. The status of knowledge has changed by gradually shifting from the unifying power of metanarratives to a diversity of personal interpretations. As a result, faith in objective truth has been overthrown by subjectivities and the traditional perception of culture has come under criticism. Instead of a general way of reading, the subjective approach constitutes the decisive factor in interpretation. Value systems are also affected by the changes. Value systems are no longer cast from a single mold, but rather derive from a dynamically changing framework that is shaped by the diversity of the sociocultural situation, the central role of the subject's interpretation and the positioned meaning of values. This paper will address the impact of postmodernity on values and value systems through the exploration of the inner happenings of a community garden in Budapest. While trying to analyze the components of value systems, I define so-called *correlations* in the hope of realizing a more relevant understanding of the postmodern age.

Keywords: values and value systems, postmodernity, metanarratives, representation, interpretation, self-organized communities, community gardening

1 PhD student at University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology

Róbert Gyökér

"We fit into this landscape."

Values and Value Systems in the Postmodern Age

One of the most important recognitions of postmodernity is that the world is not organized around a general framework of explanatory principles, but is home to a diversity of interpretations – often mutually exclusive interpretations, in which beliefs, conjectures and expectations play at least as important a role as the attributes observed during empirical investigation of a given phenomenon. In postmodernity, the hegemony and the unifying power of metanarratives is broken. Diversity and *heterogeneity* are the key words of the era, which is characterized by the peaceful coexistence of pop art and photo-realism; John Cage's music philosophy and punk music; TV series and B-category films. As Jameson (1991) notes: "the postmodernisms have, in fact, been fascinated precisely by this whole 'degraded' landscape of schlock and kitsch" (1991:1), and those post-modernists admire a world of imagination filled with *science fiction*, *fantasy novel* and horror.

In this paper, I examine the effects of the postmodern turn on the development of values and value systems through the exploration of the inner happenings of a community garden in Budapest (Grundgarden). In the first section, I try to identify the main changes brought about by postmodernity regarding the role of metanarratives and texts in power distribution, the tension between subjectivity and objectivity and the crisis of representation concerning the foundations of knowledge adding a fourth aspect which I find especially decisive: the birth of small, self-organized communities. In the second and third sections, I discuss those culture concepts and value theories that influenced me the most and attempt to outline a new culture definition and value concept which, in my view, provides a more authentic interpretation of our age. In order to support my ideas, I present some empirical data drawn from my case study that was conducted among the members of the community garden.

I. Introduction. Postmodernity and its basic tenets

Postmodernity is a kind of counterculture that draws its power from the crisis and criticism of modernity. Though the mindset of modernity is pervaded by an unbroken optimism and faith in progress, since WWII the shadow side of the era has come ever more starkly to the surface. The crisis is based on the misconception that the balanced operation of the system should be pursued along general principles which ignore the specific features of the sub-processes. Since minor processes show a markedly higher degree of diversity, conflict between the center and the peripheries arises. At the same time, the crisis itself creates an extremely diverse mixture. An inherent part of the postmodern worldview is the burdensome legacy of colonialism, the bitter experience where dominant cultures placed minorities within their own representational practices, depriving them of their own voice (Hall 1990:226). Another significant feature of the era is the emergence of the market economy and its negative consequences: the unequal position of Third World countries in the international economy, their increasing accumulation of debt and high levels of corruption (McMichael 2004:153). The legacy of modernity is also felt in the ecological sphere. The conviction that the world can be possessed, furthermore controlled, by reason, led to the objectification of nature and the profit-oriented exploitation of its resources. As a result, nature conservation policy and education related to it are articulated merely along lines of self-interest, lacking the element of sacrifice. Meanwhile the ethics of land use is governed solely by

economic interests (Leopold 1949:210–214). Postmodernity also shifts the emphasis in spatial relations. The 21th century is based on the tension between the unifying power of the market economy and the distinctive nature of popular culture. Although the two dimensions often get mingled with each other, their horizon is completely different: while one's influence is exerted at a global level, the other is primarily exercised at a local one (McMichael 2004:XXVI). The individual, exposed to global processes, turns to his immediate environment, thus creating a distinct community-life around himself. Due to growing internal contradictions, modernity's notion of progress is slowly turning against itself, giving rise to postmodernity.

Role of metanarratives and texts in power distribution

Although transition from modernity to postmodernity is very diverse, the essence of the change is confined to a single characteristic as Jean-François Lyotard points out: postmodernity is based on the recognition that "scientific knowledge is a kind of discourse" (1984:3). Since there are different interpretations of reality, meaning is constituted within the discourse of sociocultural reality and the coercive force of environmental constraints. Lyotard's point of view clearly contradicts the claim of metaphysical realism, though, according to which "most of the objects that populate the world exist independently of our thought and have their natures independently of how, if at all, we conceive of them" (Lowe 2008:9).

Postmodernity questions the status of discourse and calls for re-reading. The central role of the text in power formation is recognized. Foucault approaches the oppressive forms of power through the concept of discourse, discerning that discourse is a limited collection of assertions which gain leadership in a given historical period and in a particular linguistic area, suppressing alternative strategies of interpretation (1972:117). Discourse as an extended verbal expression is no longer dominated by the author, whose reputation is guaranteed by the institutional system behind it, but is merely a possible reading of reality, which was created under specific historical circumstances.

Postmodern authors emphasize the constructed nature of scientific descriptions, drawing attention to the historical and institutional determinants of text production. Prevailing texts are not incidental, scattered products of a historical period, but are testimonies of power formation, which, in the frame of a specific discourse and institutional structure, formulate statements about reality and enforce these statements using their power position. This is illustrated by the phenomenon of orientalism. According to Said (1994), orientalism as a special kind of discourse run by Western powers is not only a means of knowledge production or the political-social-ideological creation of the region, but also a means of oppression applied by the West against the Middle Eastern societies concerned. The pictures and allegations propagated in this way are nothing but mere representations of a reality deprived of its locality, and committed predominantly towards the West, not the East.

Texts emerging as a result of research work are coming under scrutiny, too. Clifford notes that anthropological writing has always been a determining factor during research; that it has only recently become the focus of attention "reflects the persistence of an ideology claiming transparency of representation and immediacy of experience" (1986:2). This kind of perspective, in many cases, attributed only a formal character to research reports, reducing their role to the status of well-kept "field notes". The postmodern turn reassesses the status of the text and its role in social processes. Authors emphasize the artificial and constructed nature of scientific descriptions, drawing attention to the historical determinants of the accounts, institutional expectations motivating text production, hidden agendas, and the underlying "modes of authority" (1986:2) by which a text is presented. They shed light on the simple fact that in ethnographic accounts invention, and not representation, plays the dominant role.

In postmodernity, meaning is thus *positioned*. Considering the same life situation from different epistemological perspectives often leads to different interpretations. At the same time, even staying within the

framework of a particular sociocultural perspective, we may come to different conclusions when looking at different life situations. Therefore, the act of interpretation plays the primary role in the process of knowledge production.

Subjectivity vs. objectivity

Subjective experience overrides faith in the existence of objective reality. While metaphysical realism emphasizes the existence of reality independent of human experience and representation, postmodernity is distrustful of the postulates of objectivity and the applicability of scientific methodology. This distrust is felt in many areas of the cognitive process. Postmodern criticism of ethnography attacks the idea of objectivity in the process of knowledge production. The driving power of the postmodern turn is a deep skepticism about whether the observer or field researcher is able to integrate the results of his observation into an explanation of the phenomena examined, and thus be able to produce credible socioscientific knowledge. According to Reed, this is questionable because ethnographic fieldwork involves an epistemic paradox. Since the researcher is a social being who brings his or her own knowledge and preliminary experiences – as a kind of inheritance – into the foreign sociocultural situation, the evaluation process becomes subordinated to the researcher's subjectivity, which raises doubts about the credibility of the account (2010:22–23).

Rosaldo emphasizes the power of emotions while analyzing the cultural phenomenon of "rage, born of grief" (1993:1). After realizing the organic unity of grief, rage, and headhunting in his quest for the reasons behind *Ilongot* headhunting, Rosaldo is forced to reconsider the classic principles of anthropological research. In order to understand the essence of headhunting, he introduces the concept of *positioned subject*. According to his method, the researcher, depending on the answers received during the conversations with informants, should constantly change the mode of questioning until "lessening surprises or diminishing returns indicate a stopping point" (1993:7). For Rosaldo, all interpretation is provisional, created by positioned subjects. He criticizes earlier anthropological methods that only dealt with the description of a given rite rather than analyzing the feeling itself. He believes that the functional description of rites as a set of actions deprives the event of its historical depth and the momentary tensions of human drama. Ethnographers who exclude strong emotions, therefore, distort their accounts and "remove potentially key variables from their explanations" (1993:12).

Crisis of representation

The discursive character of knowledge production has many implications; in particular, a sense of theoretical uncertainty, a doubt about the origin of knowledge. Rorty (1979) traces back the history of crisis to philosophy's central concern of becoming the foundation of knowledge. According to the overall attitude consolidated by the 17th century, knowledge is nothing other than the authentic representation of reality existing independently from the cognitive processes of the mind. Understanding the nature of knowledge is, therefore, the clarification of mental processes through which consciousness creates its representations of external reality. A contradiction inherent in the initial situation is apparent to Rorty: philosophy's quest to become a "tribunal of pure reason" (1979:4) is problematic since it was established during a specific historical period (the 17th century), and within a geographically specific region (Europe). Postmodernity questions belief in the clarity of representation which led to the naive idea that the world is fully perceptible and perfectly describable with our concepts. It holds the view that even the simplest cultural encounter is situational in nature, determined by the intentions of the participants. Due to the subjective aspects of the cognitive process, the (ethnographic) truth therefore remains only partial (Clifford 1986:7).

It is recognized that reality transmitted by representation is not a credible source of cognition, but rather a network of meanings created in an arbitrary fashion. *Epoch blending*, the simultaneous presence of

incompatible historic periods of time, only amplifies the process of crisis. In the maze of constant allusions and often arbitrary references lacking normative basis, meaning becomes uncertain. Stylistic eclecticism cuts off the last bonds of history from reality. The flow of information through media and the transnational channels of the internet plays a decisive role in shaping and strengthening this new kind of experience.

For Tyler (1986), the crisis of science is in fact the crisis of representation, resulting from the disabilities of language as a tool for describing the world. While glorifying its triumph over knowledge, science has tried to place discourse under its control. However, since the verification process science has established is within its own discourse, its ambitions have led to controversy, which makes it impossible for science to justify its claims. This determining factor did not leave postmodern ethnography untouched. In Tyler's view, the discipline has now become much closer to a kind of "evocation" (1986:123) than to scientific description.

The constructed nature of social institutions is accentuated by Derrida (1997) as well. Derrida demonstrates in his writing the historical-cultural embeddedness of our concepts through the analysis of a specifically postmodern example, the problem of testimony. In his view, the separation of the surrogate and the biological mother started the process of re-evaluation of origin and descent, which also highlighted the artificial nature of social institutions. The legal institution of the surrogate mother dissolves the former clarity of the identity of the other. A surrogate can even be the mother of the biological mother, or even of her own daughter.

Although the crisis of representation emerges primarily from the field of literary criticism, it is more appropriate to speak about a general criticism of all areas of knowledge, even at the level of visual representations. Mitchell (1984) realizes that the representation model, which postulates a similarity between imagery (intrinsically of mental origin) and the phenomena of the world, is questionable. By emphasizing the importance of the mind, he believes that no necessary connection exists between reality and the formation of mental and material images: "the world may not depend upon consciousness, but images of the world clearly do" (1984:509).

The crisis of representation probably reaches its ultimate form in Baudrillard's simulacra and simulation theory. According to Baudrillard (1988), reality has by now been completely transformed. The phenomena were finally torn away from their archetypes and in the interpretation simulation took over. This is not simply about expanding the range of interpretation, but about its complete destruction, for simulation is "the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal" (1988:166). Reality is no longer based on the process of representation, but rather on generated patterns, command models. "The age of simulation thus begins with a liquidation of all referentials – worse: by their artificial resurrection in systems of signs" (1988:167). As a result, separating the simulation from actual ideals becomes impossible.

Self-organized communities

Along with the weakening of metanarratives and institutionalized knowledge, peripheries move to the forefront. There is a shift towards popular culture, in the direction of secondary meanings and exotic alternatives, mostly arriving via the transnational route of the World Wide Web. The process is accelerated by the unceasing flow of different world views and meanings carried by foreign labor and rapidly growing international tourism. "Postmodernity rehabilitates the marginal, integrates the exotic, and channels many values into the social mainstream, which has no relevance for the historical and cultural traditions of the given area" (Gyökér 2016:1). A path opens for secondary meanings.

To counterbalance the negative forces of globalization, the power of the local scene is recognized. One of the most important developments of postmodernity is the growing demand for the recreation of self-organized communities. Only a self-organized community can provide an adequate space for self-expression and personality development, counterbalancing the unifying effects of the market economy and the consumer

society. Individuals in identity crisis or seeking refuge from social control turn again towards community, looking for a way out. Within a community they find a home, can re-establish their identity, and paradoxically preserve their independence.

Though nostalgia for communities seems to be a peculiarly postmodern phenomenon, its foundations can be traced back to the commitment to the countryside destroyed by modernity and to the values once held by traditional societies. According to Araghi (1995), the collapse of rural communities can be divided into two periods. From 1945 to 1973 it is characterized by the emergence of the world market and the establishment of the institutional system of the new global political-economic order, while from 1973 to the present day it is marked by the collapse of political-economic power and the reorganization of the institutional system. The development policy launched by the United Nations in the early 1950s focused mainly on industrialization of agriculture and internal growth as opposed to export-oriented agricultural production. However, since the land reform followed the American model, the consequences were controversial. In those countries where access to credit was limited, only a few family farms emerged and gained leadership. Reforms thus led to the development of a large number of unviable smallholdings that gradually became vulnerable to market forces. The years after 1973, on the other hand, have been marked by a relative decline in U.S. hegemony. The root causes of this process are the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary system and the growing independence of international capital from national regulations. As a result, the state took on a transnational character, giving free rein to the spread of finance capital through the operation of supranational institutions. This process continues today (1995:355).

The postmodern debate surrounding development theory is a dilemma of choice between the global market and human communities: the question is whether we support the infinite growth of industrial production, or rather focus on communities so that they may find their spiritual-environmental unity, and develop a sustainable way of life once again. This latter objective seems to be more justifiable: since, according to McMichael's estimates, the beneficiaries of globalization constitute only one-fifth of the world's population, globalization can be considered more as a project designated by political considerations, rather than a necessary process of credible representation of the individual's interests (McMichael 2004:XXXVIII- IX).

II. Definitions of culture in the postmodern era

Reading of culture is transformed in postmodernity. Interpretations carried by traditional cultural definitions are hardly capable of conveying sociocultural changes in their entirety. For Geertz (1973), culture is still a "historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and their attitudes toward life" (1973:89). In Geertz's definition cultural transmission plays a decisive role. Almost everything is overshadowed by the past, and it seems that innovation, temporality resulting from the diversity of communication, or randomness of sociocultural life situations, do not play any role in forging knowledge or shaping a personal life philosophy. However, in an age like postmodernity, the source of content (traditions) and the flow of knowledge (information) can hardly be controlled. Because of weakened family ties, symbols of the past may mean nothing to the next generation. At the same time, the postmodern era excels in the creations of meanings and symbols. *Pastiche,* the empty form of a referential system hiding behind the mask of historicity, which still has formative power and creates something new, is one of the general creative techniques of the era. Meaning production in the postmodern age is situational, and interpretation thickens in the moment of the encounter. Therefore, the resulting meaning is also relative, and its scope of validity rarely exceeds the boundaries of the given sociocultural situation.

Among the cultural terms defined within the sociological tradition, Inglehart's definition provides a subtle reading of the concept of culture. According to Inglehart (1997), culture is created in the cross-section of

two extreme dimensions: the constraints of external reality, and the inner world of the subject. On the one hand, culture is the "system of attitudes, values and knowledge that is widely shared within a society and is transmitted from generation to generation" (1997:15). On the other hand, it is "the subjective aspect of a society's institutions: the beliefs, values, knowledge and skills that have been internalized by the people of a given society" (1997:15). Although in Inglehart's definition of culture the subject is given a special role, external reality in its systemic nature is still the decisive factor. His theory implies values that are omnipresent, and knowledge that works in everyone. It seems as if there is a general knowledge, which would be equally accessible to all, regardless of social class or gender.

Are the same values shared by the majority of society, or are there differences depending on age, occupation, and social affiliation? Is it really an experience passed down from generation to generation, or simply the reflection of individual preferences, whose scope of validity differs even within a given life path? Where is the limit of public values and public knowledge? Can we extend the range of traditions and inherited concepts to the line of the nation state, or does the system of historically transmitted meanings end at the boundary of the individual? And what about concepts like change, criticism, innovation or choice between different possibilities emerging sometimes without any logic during the individual's lifetime?

The views of both Geertz and Inglehart seem to be basically essentialist. Their approach assumes a general meaning, whose relevance in the post-modern era is questionable. Reality has degrees in postmodernity. The same values and knowledge are not necessarily shared by the broader masses of society (if they have ever been). Furthermore, a high degree of diversity in social characteristics can be demonstrated even on a small scale. Nations are divided along political, economic, social, gender, and ethnic lines. It follows that culture itself and the social reproduction of institutions cannot be united in the course of intergenerational transmission.

In postmodernity, knowledge production is more procedural, always adapted to the expectations and conditions of the given sociocultural situation. My view is that culture is a dialogic relationship between inherited forms and acquired knowledge, which gains meaning through the interpretative act of the individual based on his or her value system. The meaning created in this way is a "momentary" meaning, since the individual's value system also changes dynamically.

III. Values and value systems – a historical overview

Changes in culture do not leave the concept of values and value systems untouched, which in postmodernity becomes transformed, and further nuanced. In my interpretation, values are the conclusion of an organic *correlation* between the individual and an external variable based on practical considerations, as it becomes manifested at a certain point of the individual's life path. Individuals define their values drawing on their own personal life, then compile their value system out of those values that gain special significance in the given life situation. Values are therefore the individual condensation of preferences related to the sociocultural environment: either value variations emerging from the reconsideration of already existing values, or newly created ones that reflect the needs of the given sociocultural milieu.

An additional feature of values is their interpretative nature reflecting one's personal relation to his or her sociocultural environment, and the resulting dynamism, that is, their positioned meaning: a lifelong unrelenting re-evaluation of the content of values one professes. Because individual life situations show a high degree of diversity depending on whether that situation is related to the workplace, family, or other group membership, a different "reading" of the same value is possible in different sociocultural environments.

Considering value system theories in general, we can observe different approaches to the topic. Many authors emphasize the integrative, unifying role of values. In these theories values are regarded as guiding

principles, deep-rooted assumptions or postulates, which ensure the unity and harmonious functioning of culture. The resulting culture forms a coherent system, whose principles are equally binding for all members of society. This type of integrative character is accentuated by Hoebel, who was among the first to carry out systematic research on the topic, when investigating the nature of law among native tribes like the Cheyenne, Kiowa or Comanche. After having taken into consideration the conception *imperative of selection* laid down by Ruth Benedict at the beginning of 1930s he found the following: "Once a culture gets under way […] there are always some criteria of choice that govern or influence selection. These criteria are the broadly generalized propositions held by the members of a society as to the nature of things and as to what is qualitatively desirable and undesirable. We prefer to call these basic propositions 'postulates.' Philosophers and sociologists commonly call them 'values.'" (1954:13).

His views on values were echoed by many anthropologists like Francis Hsu who studied the system of Chinese clans. Hsu (1969) emphasizes the integrative power of values (postulates). In his theory, values show the focal points of the culture's integration. A limited set of behaviors are exclusive to other behaviors within a particular culture. Postulates are generally accepted by all members of society and considered to be the natural order of things. Hsu, however, points out the fact that fundamental values are not always consistent with each other. Consistency is the indicator of cultural integrity (1969:61).

For Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), the normative aspect of culture is determined by certain value orientations. In their view, value orientations are "complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process" (1961:4), defined as cognitive, emotional and guiding aspects. Although the principles change from culture to culture, variability only appears in the pattern of the elements (principles), which are themselves cultural universals. The authors identify five orientations, and three degrees within each orientation. The combination of orientations defines the image of a given culture. In the theory of value orientations, transitions completely disappear. The pattern that represents a given culture seems to create a particular type of human being (good or evil, being subject to nature or living in harmony with it), whose scope of validity applies to all members of society. In the case of the orientation examining "the temporal focus of human life" (1961:13), the evolutionary program can be identified suggesting that on the basis of time-orientation, cultures could be ranked. Following the theory of Kluckhohn, a self-sufficient individual questioning the achievements of modernity may appear in a negative light, even if he lives in our time, not to mention the representatives of traditional cultures.

The characteristics of the postmodern age may perhaps only be expressed in Williams' (1979) reading alone: both the situational nature of the given sociocultural surroundings, and the interpretative act based on the subjective point of view of the individual, form an equally integral part of his theory. The author's view is that "values may be said to be complex precodings for behaviour choice – precodings that also continually change in response to current inputs" (1979:21).

Another group of authors concentrates on the transition between modernity and postmodernity and tries to understand the persistence of traditional values and the characteristics of the (post)modern personality. This conception was originally outlined by Roland Inglehart (1997), who tried to visualize cultures in a coordinated system by examining the relationship between survival versus self–expression and traditional versus secular–rational values. The difference between modernity and postmodernity is, however, an evolutionary one: the traditional value system appears as the lower level of social development, the world of social backwardness and exploitation. Negative characteristics of societies representing traditional values, or emphasizing survival, could be almost indefinitely enumerated in Inglehart and Baker's (2000) work: low tolerance of abortion, of divorce, of suicide and homosexuality, male dominance in economic and political life, religious commitment, protectionism, condemnation of individualism, nationalist sentiment. Further, secondary condi-

tions arise from these: the marginal role of individual well-being, lower health conditions, lower level of trust, intolerance of outside groups, and rejection of gender equality. In developed, industrialized countries, however, the values of freedom of expression, rationalism and individual security gain a decisive role.

Inglehart and Baker's research does not really investigate traditional societies, but rather the consequences of modernity: the life of local communities subverted by industrialization, market economy and the global rise of capital. The authors overemphasize the individual well-being brought about by economic recovery and see it as a result of straightforward development. Through the West's ethnocentric filter, they negatively denote all cultures in which globalization processes were resisted. Progress was, however, by no means unbroken. Modernization, a local process of the West with global implications, was in practice the looting of peripheries, which brought impoverishment, economic uncertainty and vulnerability to many people. "This system, developed in the US, is being exported to other countries in the name of globalization" (Ainger 2003).

Inkeles and Smith (1974) examine the causes of the appearance of the *modern man*. Starting from the contrast of the value system represented by traditional village agriculture and modern institutions, they reach the conclusion that "men become modern through the particular life experience they undergo" (1974:6), specifically through work experience gained in factories and industrial plants. The everyday life of modern man is mostly involved in an urban lifestyle and consciously takes advantage of opportunities available in the city, such as the educational system, theatre, cinema, leisure, or various recreational activities. The authors are convinced that personality traits are not necessarily formed in childhood only: changes in values may take place in adulthood as well. The individual, after having come into contact with an institution, incorporates its characteristics into his or her own personality.

At the same time, one can critique the authors' portrayal of an orientation towards modernity through the presence of certain personality traits, to which they attribute arbitrary social processes whose causes are not fully clarified. Leaving the native village is not necessarily a sign of openness, but in many cases is simply an economic necessity. The practice of preserving traditions by the rural population forced into the urban milieu is not the same as the survival of traditional societies. Likewise, similarities between individual responses to the challenges of industrial culture are not a sign of modernity but a consequence of the structural nature of modern institutions. The authors often narrow the spectrum of examination, that is the number of variables, which in many cases leads to misconceptions. When examining the individual conditions of prosperity between city and village, it is not simply the role of urban existence in preserving psychic integrity that is at stake. Other variables like environmental load, global warming, consumption pressure, degree of freedom, and dependence on large supply systems or formation of *latifundiums* entailing the depopulation of villages should also be taken into consideration (1974:12–23).

Of the features listed as the attributes of modern humanity, undoubtedly many traits can be detected in the toolbox of the people of our time; however, it would be a mistake to link these attributes- such as long-term planning, efficiency, faith in predictability, or openness to new experiences- to the era of modernity. The idea that traditional societies were exempt from planning or openness to alternative solutions, but lived their lives in obedience to the law of their traditions, irrespective of environmental change, is hardly tenable since these communities were more vulnerable to environmental constraints than their modern counterparts and thus had to plan and seek alternative solutions when disaster struck.

IV. Case study – Grundgarden 3.0

What is a garden? A piece of land inherited from generation to generation kept together by the cohesive power of a family or a temporary parcel established on a demolition area whose existence is defined by the arbitrary power of city investments? Grundgarden is one of the first community gardens in Budapest, launched in 2012 by a group of enthusiastic young people. The site was made available to the community by the Futureal real-estate development and investment group. Under their agreement, Grundgarden can use the vacant lot until its building work starts. When it's time to build on the site, Grundgarden must leave. Since its foundation in 2012, the garden has been moved twice so far. The current community garden, Grundgarden3, occupies a vacant lot on Apáthy István Street, where the gardeners will now start their third growing season.

Grundgarden is a micro-community. It is a highly heterogeneous one, as its members are from a range of social backgrounds. Their ages, cities of origin, and occupations are diverse as well. Some are university students or retired people; others are teachers or programmers. Some live in the district, some live outside of the capital. In addition to individuals, some associations also have small plots of land. These include the 'Menedék' Hungarian Association for Migrants. They joined Grundgarden in the hope that the garden will help reduce prejudice against refugees and help them integrate into Hungarian society.

Although Grundgarden is mainly a group of people which grow vegetables, the community has a presence on forums like their Facebook group with its 194 followers. However, due to location changes and changes in time commitments from members, the number of people actively cultivating allotments on the site is about 35. The size of each plot ranges from 8 to 10 square meters on average. There is uncertainty affecting the gardeners' future, and the community launched the Grundgarden Club last year. Members are in the process of turning this into an association to help decide the future of the community. As we can see in the following account:

> *I trust that by now we can say that even if there is no actual physical location, our community is still viable and will survive, even if in a limited way. With the launch of the Grundgarden Club, we were able to separate ourselves from the physical location. Of course, the place is very important, as it is the basis for all the rest, but if it were not there, the fellowship would still be able to survive through the club. (G)*

Since members of the community garden mainly seek answers to practical questions about environmentally conscious living, sustainability and community development, my research relied on semi-structured interviews recorded with community members in order to explore the interconnectedness of personal motivations and local needs of the community. Interviews were carried out in the Grundgarden, the neighbouring parks and the Gólya Community House between March and October 2016. During my research 10 gardeners were questioned out of those 12 to 15 members who also took an active part in community development and organization of different projects besides cultivating their own plot. Interviews were documented with a video camera, the recordings of which later served as a basis for an independent documentary film (Grundkert 3.0). Recordings were transcribed verbatim and then analysed using the method of thematic analysis. Accounts were coded to identify recurring themes and topics of the personal interviews. Based on the themes obtained from the analysis, correlations were refined and further developed.

In addition to questions about value systems and worldviews, life-history facts also formed a crucial part of the research. According to Thomas and Znaniecki, social facts exist only through the subjective filter of the individual. During various historical periods, and even in different geographical locations, different narratives come to the forefront emphasizing different aspects of social reality as supreme organizing principles. Therefore, the varying phenomena of social life should be interpreted as the result of an uninterrupted interaction between individual consciousness and social reality (Thomas and Znaniecki 1958:1-8). With the help of life-his-

tory questions, a range of individual interpretations of social facts can be found even within a relatively small community such as Grundgarden. Interviews fitting into the order of Grundgarden's discourse thus both model reality and create narratives. Accounts of life-history carry an implicit narrative structure, a story-model which renders reality comprehensible in the form of storytelling. The creation of the past also means the creation of the present. Narrative structures not only serve to organize data, but also determine what we consider to be data at all, regardless of the opportunities offered by experience (Bruner 1997).

Beside semi-structured interviews, participant observation also formed an essential part of my research. One of the indisputable advantages of the participatory method is that it dissolves the "scientific self" of the researcher, who thus appears more authentic to the members of the community studied, as Katz (2015) points out. Even if the location of the research is influenced, to a certain degree, by the presence of the researcher, the community still remains the same as it was before. During participatory observation, members of the community explore their daily lives not from the perspective of a social science but from their own (2015:138). I visited community events on a regular basis and recorded interactions and conversations not only between community members but also between members and outsiders. These were occasions like seed exchanges, garden works, community meetings, open-air parties, special occasions like the Night of Community Gardens, and a team-building event taking place in the Bérces farm.

The individual is exposed to an incessant flow of external impressions. The influencing power of social reality that surrounds us is inevitable. *Thrownness*, being immersed, being delivered into this world gives rise to a kind of vulnerability (Heidegger 1962:174), which encourages individuals to interpret the world's phenomena constantly. Values as a guideline therefore always gain their meaning in reflecting on a specific life situation, and by creating a specific "matrix" they become part of the individual's value system. Correlations play a key role in this process. There is a never-ending dialogue between the individual and the external variables of his or her own sociocultural environment. A correlation is in fact this *dialogicity* in its reflective entirety. Value systems are characterized by people's personal relationship towards correlations which are shaped by the interpretive nature of people's consciousness. In my view, individuals seeking self-fulfillment and personality development turn towards communities. Only there, immersed in the life-world of a self-organized community, will they be able to fully unfold the values they profess, and preserve at the same time their independence. During my research I distinguished twelve basic correlations, which seem to comprise a typical Grundgarden individual's value system:

1. Correlation between the community and the individual

Grundgarden is not only a means of self-expression, but also a manifestation of the human need to recreate a community. It is a place where personal commitment towards community values and the integrating power of the community spirit itself become united. Grundgarden is a kind of supreme authority that acts as a regulator in the lives of the members, and influences them in the process of individual decision-making and living their everyday life:

> *We have never had a garden, and indeed, it feels good cultivating a small piece of land of our own, spending our free time there, and on top of that, together with other members forming a small collective and having a good time. (AI)*

> *It's really unusual that these people, completely voluntarily, take the time to develop this community. No one is forced to be here, they are here to have fun. They could be at home, staring at the TV, but no. They come to work in the garden and help to build a community. (BI)*

> *Grundgarden2 was a good thing to build nice memories. I expect from our new place that it can help us to weld the community together. (Granny)*

The community often appears as a counterculture, counterbalancing negative effects of the surrounding consumer society. Members of the community garden consciously strive to endorse the values they consider important, even if they have to give up some benefits of modernity:

> *I wouldn't say that it is against consumer society, but it is a very important addition to city life. It creates a connection with the food we eat, nature that consumer-urban existence takes away. [...] It works precisely against the fact that no one in his own small 30-40 square meters apartment, isolated from each other on the upper floors sees any green, unless on TV. Going to a place instead, being part of a community, to link, to connect again what the city separates, doing it together, sharing with one another. (G)*

> *Many people think this is a counterculture. I don't think it's a kind of rebellion. It's more about being different. That we are not buying these products at the market. Although we also buy things there, because we cannot grow that much on 10 sq meters. (R)*

Contrary to the traditional view, community in the postmodern age is "no longer defined by place but by a perception of personal connectedness". It appears to be "a particular type of social bond characterized by a sense of mutuality, care, connection, identity, awareness and obligation to others", as it is defined by Boyes-Watson (2005:362). Grundgarden is a meeting place for diversity: a wide variety of people of different ages and different professions connect with each other there, sharing ideas, broadening knowledge, and strengthening personal ties:

> *The garden is very diverse, with a wide variety of ideas, with a great variety of motivations. There are those who prefer gardening, then there are those who don't even care if they have a piece of land, but feel it is more important for them to be here, to take part in community building. (CZR)*

> *Even if it neither fosters nor hinders the everyday life of the community in general, it's still a very important added value that being in such a heterogeneous environment broadens the spectrum and the sensitivity to the world of the people who are part of it. (HK)*

2. Relation to spirituality

Although in the postmodern era everything is pervaded by a sense of instantaneousness and immediacy, there is still an unbroken desire in people for permanence and continuity. "The greater the ephemerality, the more pressing the need to discover or manufacture some kind of eternal truth that might lie therein", as Harvey points out (1990:292). Increases in spiritual susceptibility in postmodernity underline this basic human need, which is also reflected in people's value systems. Even if Christian religiosity appears in the Grundgarden's value system, it is its individual interpretation aligned to the garden's value system that is being emphasised. Although members of the garden do not regard themselves as religious, their mentality can still reveal some spiritual openness. A personal commitment towards transcendence is accentuated here without which a balanced relationship between man and landscape is inconceivable. As is revealed by my interviewees:

> *There exists perhaps some kind of animistic nature-worship. We are much honoured to receive seeds from Kishantos, also from the Krishna Valley. From the seed bank of Tápiószele we got preserved seeds native to our region. And with respect to these, many have the honour of knowing that these are the same seeds folk planted and harvested here centuries ago. (G)*

> *The whole garden is a creation, because both community and physical things are created. Like when you build a log cabin, you figure out how to get water. You find the way and you get the things you need. The plants are growing. So, I think this is its spiritual dimension. (CZR)*

3. Correlation between humankind and nature

Landscape is not only regarded as intact or wild nature, but also as a cultural landscape carrying traces of human intervention. Therefore, it incorporates everything that is associated with green thinking including ecological self-restraint, sustainability, nature conservation, non-growth economics, organic farming, and environmental awareness both at the individual and community level:

> *Greener - in this you can go to the extreme. At home, you can raise earthworms in a double bucket to break down organic waste. Make an earthworm compost. Garbage recycling. Take your unused items to a charity shop. [...] This is what it means to me. (BI)*

> *I take part in selective waste collection and recycling, and things like that. [...] I'm not as environmentally conscious as many are, but I do what I can. Basically, I like to live comfortably. Obviously, I don't overdo it, though. If everybody paid just as much attention as I do, then everything would already be much better. (R)*

Instead of evading nature and artificially manipulating it, the notion of guardianship becomes accentuated. According to this approach, living communities are considered to be equal to humankind. The idea is also emphasized by Thiele (1995), who argued for such a personal relationship towards nature, free of desire for possession and domination. As is so strikingly illustrated by one gardener:

> *The bees were here. From their perspective, we are the arbitrary settlers. We tried to decide whether they ought to go or stay. It was also a community decision that, if possible, we choose peaceful coexistence and cause no harm, since originally this was their domain. (AI)*

Guardianship builds community, strengthens social cohesion. As a result, a feeling of connectedness is being created among members. They emphasise common goals and cooperation. In their effort to create such a milieu, members are trying to counterbalance the negative effects of urban life. These often lead to "the predominance of individual strategies of survival over the principles of intragroup and intergroup identity and cohesion", as Uzzell *et al.* (2002:27) describe it. The urban environment, the everyday rush, and traffic difficulties, however, often force gardeners to make concessions away from the environmentally-conscious lifestyle:

> *Not everyone has the opportunity to do gardening in the middle of a microdistrict. He or she must also eat something. And these people need to be served. You cannot tell everyone to move to the countryside. Right now there is a need for shopping malls and multinationals. (BI)*

> *Distances are quite significant in Pest, our work takes a lot of time, and we cannot insist on buying something there just because it is more "bio", it's healthier. Actually, shopping depends on a matter of convenience. (CZR)*

4. The role of space

Community gardens must clearly be distinguished from the built environment. They are much more like nature, providing opportunities for recreational activities and community interactions. "The 'role of place' in generating social capital" is a relevant aspect of them, as Kingsley and Townsend (2006:534) note. This multifunctional dimension, the contribution of community gardens to deepening the feeling of connectedness, is also emphasized by the members:

> *It's a green island for me. In terms of its function, there are several: a resting place, a recreational place, a place for the community. That's how it's complete. And we grow vegetables that we eat afterwards. Well, there must be several functions of a different kind of garden. There are huge parks, huge ornamental*

gardens that are beautiful, but have no use. [...] We have already talked about whether or not we need gardens, or whether humanity is going in the direction it seems to be going in these days. Yeah, it's really going in that direction. And to counterbalance this, there must be a garden. (BI)

The garden is primarily the source of peace, tranquillity and recreation in the minds of the members. It makes it possible to offset tensions arising from their urban lifestyle, to take a momentary break from the *hustle and bustle* of the city:

On the one hand, a lot of people move to Budapest from the countryside where they live in a house with a garden or where their parents have one, which does not particularly seem important or attractive while one is young, but after a few years in this grey, high-rise, concrete jungle you are starving for some greenness. Just to feel a little of the outdoors, a little of the countryside. Even if it's just a tiny area, but it's a big break from day-to-day life. (CZR)

Grundgarden is a kind of remedy that seeks a way to bring back into the concrete jungle some opportunities ruined by consumption-based society. However, the relationship between the city and the community garden is a rudimentary one. In Budapest, the phenomenon of a community garden is still very *underground*, as opposed to other European cities such as, for example, Berlin. As a result, its status is regarded as ambiguous: although it operates in several districts, it has not yet been fully accepted by most of the capital's residents. It is considered more of a curiosity and its reason for existence has to be justified from day to day:

I think many people don't even know about it. They go by, they peek in. Kind of like a playground. I do not think it bothers anyone. I do not think it would be tolerated if it did. It's like a public park or a crack in the road. It simply exists and people accept it. (RJ)

[The Grundgarden] brings color to the overall image. At the Night of the Community Gardens we could see that people are interested in having a garden. They were curious. I think there is room for it in the city. [...] If we do a lot, and work hard for it, then it has a future. (CZR)

5. Power correlation

Power in postmodernity is manifested mostly in local contexts. Grundgarden's everyday life is primarily determined by the relationship with the Corvin project. The Corvin project is not just a development but a power factor that decisively influences the fate of the garden and the future of the community. The relationship between them is a controversial one, which often divides even the gardeners:

They [the Corvin project] support this as long as they feasibly can. But obviously they have no economic interest in letting us stay inone place. This is their lot. It's only ours until they start building. After that ... The difference is in the background. The economic interest. They are not benefiting from us using the site of a multi-million project. Even so, I'm still grateful that we can be here. We always win and are going to win as long as there is a place for us to do our gardening. (BI)

Historical perspectives of the nation state as a symbol of stability and uniformity appear very rarely on the horizon of the gardeners. Only one interviewee emphasised the integrative role of the Carpathian Basin as a cultural unit. But even in his account, the ecological unity of the region is accentuated:

It's a great feeling to discover that we somehow fit into this landscape. Not into this urban landscape, but into this Carpathian Basin, even if there are new plants now. (G)

6. Level of self-expression

Individual self-expression also plays an important part in the Grundgarden's values. In postmodernity, most people are forced to follow a way of life that is determined by predefined choices. For the members of the Grundgarden community, on the other hand, the garden embodies freedom, the fulfilment of personal ambitions and motivations:

> *I think the community is a very good field of self-expression. We become a community while we give each other freedom. There are very few rules in the Grundgarden. We are really trying to keep it that way. We do have a lot of quarrels when we decide how much it should be regulated, what can or cannot be done. Or how much freedom you can grant. I prefer to grant more freedom, because from freedom comes self-expression. If there is freedom a constructive dialogue will start, and that way we can learn more about each other. (G)*

At the same time, freedom of self-expression must be achieved in accordance with community values. Individual initiatives cannot override the interests of the community. Grundgarden is characterized by ideals of community-building and cooperation. The members are strongly convinced that personal goals can only be realized within the framework of a well-functioning community. As expressed by one of my interviewees:

> *This is a very interesting situation of balance between individual freedom and community assistance. There is this wild-capitalist, absolute-individualistic viewpoint, that you can only have something if you manage to scrape it together. Self-reliance, the idea that you must do everything for yourself, is not the primary goal in Grundgarden. What is important for us is that everyone has values. And we put these values together. (G)*

7. The need to identify with the cycle of life

The need to identify with the cycle of life is most likely to emerge in the intergenerational context as part of the members' children's learning process. It is a kind of confrontation with the biological order of nature, life and death, the unbroken cycle of birth and passing, usually suppressed by modernity's faith in human perfectibility.

> *There were many motivations here. Families with small children were able to get allotments. Here the children saw for the first time how a plant grows from the seed, how the crop ripens, and they saw how it can be harvested. (AI)*

The traditional concept of community is complemented here by the idea of the mutual relationship between humanity and landscape whose foundations were laid down by Leopold's land ethics (Leopold 1949). Prominence is given in Grundgarden to attitudes like personal commitment and deepening of ethical behavior towards natural communities:

> *I think most people had the idea that it's an eco-conscious community. In the middle of the city, we create a little green for ourselves, where we can go down to "peck at the ground". My son was already two years old and we could show him that vegetables do not grow in the store, but here we plant the seeds, then we take care of them, and finally we harvest the results they produced. (G)*

8. The role of tradition

In postmodernity, the sense of permanence seems to collapse and be replaced by the experience of temporality, discontinuity, and fragmentation. As a result, our values are constantly being re-evaluated. Not only do the number of values found in society grow radically, but value systems also multiply. Even within a

small geographical area many value systems exist alongside one another. A value system is no longer "hereditary", nor is it determined any more by the compelling power of tradition (as it may appear to be by many during the examination of traditional societies). Rather, "it is a content mediated by the expectations of postmodernity, which are assembled by the individual using his or her own past experience. Its dimensions also shift: value systems are no longer decisive at the overall societal level, but on a much smaller scale: at the level of local communities" (Gyökér 2016:1).

For many members of the Grundgarden, tradition is not merely the influence of the past but also the need to maintain a bond between successive generations. Knowledge transfer within families and a commitment to continuing family traditions are embodied in this correlation. The notion of tradition is transformed, though. Motivations that lead to the birth of communities combine divergent life paths and interpret the legacy of the past through their own system of rules:

> *I always take my tomato seeds from the previous years. [...] I save a ripe one this year and plant its seeds next year. To me it's a sort of relic. It might come from my grandma's garden. But this is a personal thing, a personal piece of memory. And I look at the tomato and I remember my grandma. (R)*

> *Now that my grandchildren are here, the fact that they care for the plants themselves and harvest them is an incredibly good thing. There is no large quantity of anything here, but whatever there is, it's a good supplement. It's more like something special. (AI)*

In the postmodern era we find polyphonic life paths containing values that are different from each other (often incompatible with the past and the sociocultural traditions of a given region), or values that are just trying to redefine tradition. Someone can be an IT person, make a movie, and even cultivate an organic garden at the same time: his value system will be made up of preferences set by the horizon of his life cycle. As described by one of my interviewees:

> *My parents always had a vegetable garden. They had a lot of livestock, still do even nowadays. Rural life is not far from me. For me, this is how a city can be liveable. I work at a mall, and I live on the second floor, where there is a tiny balcony packed with potted plants. (BI)*

9. Attitude towards visions

Regarding visions of the community members, this is not simply the future, but the connection between these different alternatives and their reality horizon. The reality horizon, the place where their vision and the future meet, is manifested at many levels of these individuals' lives. Among the alternatives we find the chance to leave the city and turn towards rural farming, as well as the need for a more conscious and reflective application of *green* thought:

> *More and more people are thinking more deliberately about these issues and think about either rural self-sufficiency, or even just an urban version of a sustainable, consumer-critical way of life. It would be good to disseminate this idea and I think local communities in big cities could be a good forum for this. (HK)*

> *I would like to open my own garden centre within about 10 years and specialize in ornamentals. Since most of my friends live here in the city, I would also like to stay here nearby. (BI)*

> *In my heart, I had a desire to adopt animals. And then it would obviously involve a level of self-sustainability. But I did not go into details because for the time being I am tied down here. Staying within what reality dictates, my present lifestyle, my family, my job does not allow it right now. It can only be a hobby. (AI)*

10. Ways of acquiring knowledge

Knowledge acquisition is being transformed in postmodernity. Alternative forms of gaining knowledge are at the forefront. Resources offered by the internet are emphasised while knowledge transmitted by the traditional institutions is often pushed into the background:

> *I ordered linseeds through the internet from France. They cost a few hundred forints. There were some I planted which did not come out. That's fine. These cost only one or two dollars, it doesn't matter. (R)*

Beside opportunities offered by the internet, traditional ways of learning still remain an essential dimension of knowledge acquisition. Tim Ingold (2000) emphasizes the importance of personal interactions in cultural learning. In his view, most learning processes "take place through trial-and-error and practice". Although beginners follow certain rules, these rules only define the framework of the learning process and are independent of the component parts of the content itself. This is because "the skilled practitioner consults the world, rather than representations (rules, propositions, beliefs) inside his or her head, for guidance on what to do next" (2000:164). As is revealed by one of my interviewees:

> *I tried to learn from watching others. That was mostly at the beginning. Then I and the guy working on the neighboring plot exchanged ideas. Then we exchanged seeds. Now, this is happening on a much larger scale. We go together to seed exchange events. But I try to learn in advance, or ask for advice. There is not one member among us who does this kind of work on a high level, as a profession. I'm such a small-scale gardener, but I'm happy to do everything. (AI)*

11. Choosing communication modes

Beside opportunities offered by various internet sites, face-to-face communication is the preferred way for information exchange between community members:

> *By meeting people on a regular basis you will get into a very helpful medium, where you will get help, advice and thoughts regarding most areas of your life. Even physical help. For example, when we had our wedding, a lot of people from the garden worked very hard to get everything ready for the event. (CZR)*

Face-to-face communication is, however, not only a communication mode but also the pledge of happiness that enriches one's life by deepening personal ties with others. As is emphasized by one of my interviewees:

> *Material goods do not necessarily bring happiness. They always inspire you to get things you don't have yet. But if you free yourself from this pressure and start to focus more on opportunities offered by our garden, such as going to the garden, talking to your friends, these opportunities will bring you much greater happiness. And this is what small communities can achieve, but urban existence cannot provide. (G)*

12. Attitudes towards the culturally alien

Waldenfels (1997), exploring the experience of the *alien*, the culturally *other*, comes to the conclusion that the *alien-experience* is a relative and occasional attribute, which is shaped in the cross-section of general laws and individual facts. During the process of interpretation, the specific characteristics of sociocultural space, the temporary nature of the field and the high diversity of subjective interpretations all play a decisive role. Apart from directly realising personal goals, the influence of Grundgarden can also help overcome social prejudices and negative attitudes towards people arriving from different cultures or those who have drifted to the edge of society. This can happen via various forms of communication blossoming inside its boundaries:

> *I think in any community-based initiative where people make contact with each other or work together on the same mission, they find more in common with each other. Such projects, I think, will definitely*

help, let's say, a refugee or a foreigner, or any other marginalised person, anyone having difficulties finding his place in the majority society, to get connected. (HK)

Fear of the unknown, fear of the culturally *alien*, is a characteristic feature of human nature. Success in overcoming this sentiment largely depends on how migrants find their place in the community, how they get involved in the everyday lives of local people. Community gardens can provide an adequate space "to make the unfamiliar familiar; re-creating the sense of belonging for migrants", as Agustina and Beilin recognized (212:447). In a community garden the spirit of community is emphasized. Since these localities are highly receptive, to belong to them can be a good opportunity for foreign refugees and other migrants to become accustomed to the habits of their newly adopted society. Thus, through shared practices between gardeners with different ethnic backgrounds, social inclusion and adaptation can be realized:

Last year there was a family, a refugee woman, who has since joined her husband and is no longer in Hungary, who took advantage of this opportunity. She regularly visited the garden and even celebrated her birthday there.

Conclusions

During my research, I sought to explore the structural relationship between the individual and his or her environment, as revealed at the level of the individual value system. My starting point was the assumption that value systems in the postmodern age are no longer cast from a single mould, but are much more of a dynamically changing framework. This framework is characterised by the dialogue between constituents of a given sociocultural situation, the distinctive role of individual interpretation, and the dynamism of values resulting from their positioned meaning. I am convinced that culture is meaning that arises as a result of individual interpretation, which is created in the overlap between tradition, knowledge and values. In examining values, therefore, I did not set out from the list of abstract ideas of freedom, happiness, or equality laid down by Rokeach (1973). Instead, I defined so-called *correlations* in which the individual's relationship towards a particular sociocultural variable is reflected. This relationship takes on a new dimension when anchored in values, though. Thus, values are the unfolding of the dialogical relationship between the individual and the external variables of the sociocultural realm, a relationship carrying the possibility of practical potential. During my research, it became apparent that neither the correlations – nor the values deduced from them – can be regarded as pure forms of absolute concepts. In a single value, the influencing power of numerous correlations can be identified, and at the same time, one distinct correlation can be present in the content components of many other values as well. The dialogue between them is always determined by the sociocultural medium in which they surface. Although correlations as core elements of value systems were examined within the limited boundaries of a community garden, conclusions drawn from the results go beyond its limits. These conclusions can serve as a general framework for future research addressing value systems within self-organized communities.

References

Ainger, K. (2003) The New Peasants' Revolt. *New Internationalist* Issue 353: 9–13. Retrieved February 05, 2017 (https://newint.org/features/2003/01/01/keynote).

Araghi, F. A. (1995) Global Depeasantization, 1945–1990. *The Sociological Quarterly* 36 (2): 337–368. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1995.tb00443.x

Agustina, I. – Beilin, R. (2012) Community Gardens: Space for Interactions and Adaptations. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 36:439-448. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.03.048

Baudrillard, J. (1988) Simulacra and Simulation. In *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings,* edited by Mark Poster, 166–84. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Benedict, R. (1961) *Patterns of Culture*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Boyes-Watson, C. (2005) Community is Not a Place but a Relationship: Lessons for Organizational Development. *Public Organization Review: A Global Journal* 5:359–374. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11115-005-5096-5

Bruner, E. M. (1997) Ethnography as Narrative. In *Memory, Identity, Community. The Idea of Narrative in the Human Sciences*, edited by L. P. Hinchman and S. K. Hinchman, 264–80. New York: SUNY Press.

Clifford, J. (1986) Introduction: Partial Truth. In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus, 1–26. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Crapanzano, V. (1986) Hermes' Dilemma: The Masking of Subversion in Ethnographic Description. In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography,* edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus, 51–77. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Derrida, J. (1997) *Ki az anya?* Pécs: Jelenkor Kiadó.

Foucault, M. (1972) *The Archeology of Knowledge.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (2000) A tudományok archeológiájáról. In *Nyelv a végtelenhez: tanulmányok, előadások, beszélgetések,* (szerk.) Sutyák T. 169–99. Debrecen: Latin Betűk.

Foucault, M. (2002) *Order of Things.* An archeology of the human science. New York: Routledge.

Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures.* New York: Basic Books.

Gyökér, R. (2016) Gazdálkodók: Alternatív értékrendek, személyes identitások a posztmodern korban. *Kultúra és közösség* 7 (1): 75–91.

Hall, S. (1990) Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, edited by J. Rutherford. London: Lawrence and Wishart. 222-37.

Hall, S. (1991) The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity. In *Culture, Globalization and the World System*, edited by A. King, 19-39. London: Macmillan.

Harvey, D. (1990) Time-space compression and the postmodern condition. In *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Heidegger, M. (1962) *Being and Time*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Hoebel, E. A. (1954) *The Law of Primitive Man*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hsu, F. L. K. (1969) *The Study of Literate Civilizations*. New York: Holt, Reinehart and Winston.

Inglehart, R. (1997) *Modernization and Postmodernization. Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, R. – Baker, W. E. (2000) Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values. *American Sociological Review* 65 (2): 19–51. https://doi.org/10.2307/2657288

Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception of the Environment. Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skills.* London: Routledge.

Inkeles, A. – Smith, D. H. (1974) *Becoming Modern: individual Change in Six Developing Countries.* London: Heinemann.

Jameson, F. (1991) *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Katz, J. (2015) A Theory of Qualitative Methodology: The Social System of Analytic Fieldwork. *Méthod(e)s: African Review of Social Sciences Methodology* 1 (1-2): 131–146. https://doi.org/10.1080/23754745.2015.1017282

Kingsley, J. 'Y.' – Townsend, M. (2006) 'Dig in' to Social Capital: Community Gardens as Mechanisms for Growing Urban Social Connectedness. *Urban Policy and Research* 24(4): 525–537. https://doi.org/10.1080/08111140601035200

Kluckhohn, F. R. – Strodtbeck, F. L. (1961) *Variations in Value Orientations.* Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company.

Leopold, A. (1949) Land Ethic. In *A Sand County Almanac and Sketches Here and There*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lowe, J. E. (2008) Essentialism, Metaphysical Realism, and the Errors of Conceptualism. *Philosophia Scientiæ* 12 (1): 9–33. https://doi.org/10.4000/philosophiascientiae.222

Lyotard, J-F. (1984) *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

McMichael, Ph. (2004) *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective.* London: SAGE Publications.

Mitchell, Th. (1984) What is an Image? *New Literary History* 15 (3): 503–537.

Reed, I. A. (2009) Epistemology Contextualized: Social-Scientific Knowledge in a Postpositivist Era. *Sociological Theory* 28(1): 20–39. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9558.2009.01365.x

Rokeach, M. (1973) *The Nature of Human Values.* New York: The Free Press.

Rorty, R. (1979) *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Rosaldo, R. (1993) *Culture & Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Said, E. W. (1994) *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Thiele, L. P. (1995) Nature and Freedom: A Heideggerian Critique of Biocentric and Sociocentric Environmentalism. *Environmental Ethics* 17(2): 171–190. https://doi.org/10.5840/enviroethics199517228

Tyler, S. A. (1986) Post-Modern Ethnography: From Document of the Occult To Occult Document. In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus, 121–40. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Uzzell, D. et al. (2002) Place Identification, Social Cohesion, and Environmental Sustainability. *Environment and Behavior* 34(1): 26–53. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916502034001003

Waldenfels, B. (1997) Paradoxien ethnographischer Fremddarstellung. In *Frenderfahrung und Represäntation*, edited by Iris Därmann and Christoph Jamme, 151-82. Weilerswist: Verlbrück Wissenschaft.

Williams, R. M. (1979) Change and Stability in Values and Value Systems: A Sociological Perspective. In *Understanding Human Values*, edited by Milton Rokeach, 15-46. New York: The Free Press.

Znaniecki, F. – Thomas, W. I. (1958) *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America Volumes I and II.* New York: Dover Publications [1918-1920]

Rebeka Dóra Balázs

Pebble in the pond
The socio-spatial effects of a participatory landscape design project in Budapest

https://doi.org/10.18030/socio.hu.2020en.138

Abstract

Architecture is an intervention in the existing socio-spatial dynamics of a given society. This intervention can strengthen the status quo or create a new social order by triggering social relations and conflicts, which empowers one social group while oppressing others. This paper offers a deeper insight into the impact of this intervention by analysing a participatory landscape design project in Budapest and the surrounding discourses.

The participatory landscape design project of Teleki Square in the 8th district of Budapest was carried out in 2013 with the involvement of local residents. The project was hailed as a success by the field of architecture, the media, and the local council. However, critical voices drew attention to the fact that the marginalized people of the neighbourhood were not present in the design process and only a quasi-homogenous and relatively more affluent group of people attended the design workshops. While the participating group has been empowered by the participatory design project, the group gained de facto the right to control the accessibility of Teleki Square. In this context the participatory landscape design project can be seen as a struggle for the urban space, where the lay participants circumstantially became the supporters of the ongoing local council-led gentrification in the neighbourhood.

To understand this struggle and the dynamism that the participatory design brought in the socio-spatial conditions of the neighbourhood, this paper uses relational analysis. As opposed to choosing the stakeholders of the design project as fixed analytical units for a starting point of the analysis, the author builds on a relational framework that enables one to grasp the emerging and disappearing circumstantial coalitions between the stakeholders. Looking at the participatory landscape design project as a field of forces nested within the field of the gentrification, the position of the stakeholders can be defined by the different types of capital they possess. This analysis builds on interviews with four stakeholder groups of the participatory landscape design project (local council, architects, 'Partners for the Teleki Square Association' and 'critical intellectuals'), videos of the participatory design workshops and local council documents. The empirical data was collected in 2016–2017.

Keywords: sociology of architecture, participatory design, gentrification, Budapest, social inclusion/exclusion, social (in)justice, slum

Rebeka Dóra Balázs

Pebble in the pond

The socio-spatial effects of a participatory landscape design project in Budapest

Introduction

Architecture – as a practice of designing the built environment and the materialized outcome of that practice – is an intervention in the socio-spatial dynamics of a given society (Lefebvre 1991). This architectural intervention often strengthens the status quo. For example, the traditional synagogue architecture for a long time supported the male-dominated worldview of orthodox Judaism by setting up a spatial hierarchy reflecting social hierarchy and separating women from men. In other cases, the intervention helps to create a new social order by triggering social relations and conflicts, empowering one social group while oppressing others. This happened twice in the history of the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, which was demolished in the Stalinist era, supporting the atheist ideology of the socialist state, and then rebuilt during the presidency of Yeltsin, supporting religious groups. Nevertheless, the social effects of the architectural intervention to a great extent remain hidden to the observer, similar to the roles and the changing relationships of different actors in the process, like the state, the architects and the civic society.

Figure 1: Map of Magdolna Quarter and the Teleki Square Community Park (Source: Rebeka Dora Balazs)

This article aims to shed light on the intervening nature of architecture, by analysing the design process of the Teleki Square Community Park in Budapest, Hungary (Figure 1). The park, which is located in the Magdolna Quarter of the district, is popular with the locals and well-known in architects' circles. It is one of the few public spaces of Budapest in which the landscape was redesigned with the involvement of local residents. It is a green oasis protected by guards and a massive fence, located in one of the most stigmatized areas of the Hungarian capital that is associated with crime, prostitution, poverty and discrimination against ethnic minorities (Czirfusz et al. 2015). The contrast between the park and its surroundings is astonishing. Inside the park one can find a neat lawn, flowerbeds, comfortable park furniture, toddlers playing with their mums, and retired couples reading and playing chess (Figure 2). Outside the park there is dirty asphalt, migrants gathering in front of a Lagos buffet, Roma youths hanging out on benches and homeless people sleeping under the few trees in the paved area next to the park.[1] This physical contrast is one of the materialized mementos of the social processes and conflicts triggered by the architectural intervention.

Figure 2: Toddlers' playground in Teleki Square (Source: Rebeka Dora Balazs)

The conflicts can be traced in the opposing interpretations of the participatory landscape design project of the park. The project was considered a great success by the media, the local council, the architects, and the majority of the local participants of the design. According to journalists it was "an exemplary project of social architecture[2]" (Zöldi 2015), and it was not simply a "symbolic, PR-bullshit, but the architects several times sat down [with the locals] for brainstorming-discussing [sic]" (Dobó 2014). For the architects, the project was "one great common experience" (Majorné Venn 2014), while the local council considered it "exemplary community planning" (Józsefváros 2013). The majority of the lay participants talked about the design process and the features of the park with great enthusiasm, interpreting the architectural intervention as their recapturing of the park[3]. They even established an association named 'Partners for the Teleki Square Association' [PTSA] that provides the local residents a legal framework for taking care of the park – and controlling its accessibility. PTSA

1 This description is based on fieldwork data obtained through participant observation in 2016. Assumptions about ethnicity are based on individual observation.

2 The quotes in the article translated by the author, unless stated otherwise.

3 See for example the invitation to celebrating the 1st anniversary of the renovated park on the Facebook page of PTSA (TTTE 2015)

set up strict rules on how to use the park; for instance, it is not allowed to enter after sunset, eat, smoke, or consume alcohol there, and it is forbidden to play football since the grass would be damaged.

At the same time, some lay participants and activists voiced their critique concerning the project. They highlighted that the park was designed by and for the relatively more affluent ethnic Hungarians of the neighbourhood, and neither the design process nor the functioning of the park took into consideration the needs and interests of the marginalized groups, such as homeless people, ethnic minorities and people in poverty. Their critique was well summarized in a blog post by Ivan Tosics, a Hungarian sociologist:

> *The result […] is a nice green area for different age groups, developed in a participative planning process which, however, excluded all groups which were considered deviant by the majority population. This has led in practice to a new exclusion: the hated groups have even less access to green space than they had before the improvement of the public square started*[4] *(Tosics 2015).*

The common characteristic of the lay participants and the activists who criticized the project, and who will be called 'critical intellectuals' in this article, is that either they are sociologists and social workers, or leftist intellectuals informed by social sciences. For a while many were members of PTSA. However, the intolerant attitude of the more affluent group towards homeless people, migrants, and other "deviants" led to emerging tensions and heated conflicts, and caused the critical intellectuals to leave PTSA. At the same time, an alliance emerged between the local council, known for its revanchist politics and gentrifying attempts, and PTSA[5].

These conflicts, tensions and changing relations shed light on the intervening nature of architecture. Indeed, architecture as an intervention evolves from these struggles, "circumstantial coalitions", opposing interpretations, and their imprint on the physical world (Monterescu 2015). In order to uncover these constitutive elements, and thus to understand the socio-spatial impact of the participatory landscape design and its embeddedness in gentrification, this article looks at the case of Teleki Square from a relational point of view, by building on the field theory of Bourdieu (1985).

Thus, the effect of the participatory design project will be analysed through the changing relationships of four groups of stakeholders: the local council, the architects, PTSA, and the critical intellectuals. With the help of video records of the participatory design workshops in 2013, local council documents, newspaper articles, and interviews conducted in 2016–2017[6], the article retraces the changing relationships and positions of the four groups during the participatory landscape design project and the development of dominant discourses aimed at making the project socially meaningful (Jones 2011). The first section discusses a relational theoretical framework and the key concepts of Bourdieu, the second section introduces the four stakeholder groups, while the third section retraces the social processes triggered by the architectural intervention, and the development of the dominant discourse on the participatory landscape design project.

4 Ivan Tosics did not participate in the project and he criticized the project from outside. However, his approach resonates with the approach of the groups of intellectuals criticizing it as insiders.

5 The article refers to the right-wing local council that was in power between 2009 and 2019, the politics of which was characterized by revanchism and gentrifying attempts (see for example Czirfusz et al. 2015). In 2019 the opposition coalition won the local council elections. It is as yet unclear if the new mayor and the local council will change the direction of local politics.

6 In the research, 11 semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected members of the four analytical groups, with six women and six men from different age groups. Besides, 14 short interviews were conducted with the passers-by in the park and its surroundings.

Theoretical framework: Relational sociology of architecture

Just as a pebble splashes in the water and the ripples spreads out, architecture intervenes in the socio-spatial textures of a society. The circular waves fade away in a few seconds and everything again seems to be intact for the observer; however, in the inner structure of the water a new equilibrium is reached. In order to understand the change caused by the intervention, like the circular waves on the surface, one has to examine the process in its dynamics and reconstruct it from its genesis. By thinking of architecture – that is to say architectural interventions – as a process, it can be seen as a time- and context-dependent production of space (Lefebvre 1991). As Soja writes, "space itself may be primordially given, but the organization, use, and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation and experience" (1980, 210).

During an architectural intervention, social positions are strengthened, social relations and spatial practices are changing, and different interpretations of the spatial design compete to become the hegemonic discourse. The dynamics of social relations, spatial practices and the conflicting visions of space develop in interplay with spatial transformations. The transformation of space does not unidirectionally determine social change, nor does social change determine spatial transformation, but rather space and social relations mutually constitute each other (Gottdiener 1985).

In order to understand the socio-spatial dynamics caused by the architectural intervention, this analysis follows a relational approach. Relationalism, as defined by Emirbayer in opposition to substantialism, "sees relations between social units and actors as pre-eminently dynamic in nature, as unfolding ongoing processes rather than as static ties among inert substances" (Emirbayer 1997, 289). From this viewpoint, social categories, positions, and spatial meanings originate from these dynamic relationships between social units. Indeed, architecture as a process of intervention is implemented through the constantly changing and mutually constitutive relationship between the participating actors.

To operationalize this relational approach, the following pages will analyse architecture as an intervention by building on the field theory of Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). By this means, the analysis aims to contribute to a tradition that is apparent in the sociology of architecture, marked by the works of Garry Stevens **(1998)**, Kim Dovey **(2010)** and Paul Jones **(2011)**. The aim of the article is to provide a polychrome picture of architectural intervention, by showing its effects on the local community and its embeddedness in the larger picture of gentrification in the neighbourhood. Thus, the article aims to extend the existing literature on participatory practices in Hungary (Csanádi, Csizmady and Kőszeghy 2010) and on the transformation of urban spaces in Budapest (Bodnar 1998; Boros et al. 2016; Berki 2017).

Building on the concept of Bourdieu, any architectural intervention and thus also the participatory landscape design project of Teleki Square can be seen as a field, specifically a "field of forces, i.e. as a set of objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter the field and that are irreducible to the intentions of the individual agents or even to the direct *interactions* among the agents" (1985, 724 original emphasis).

The stakeholders of the participatory landscape design (which can be individuals or a group of individuals) are defined by their relative position in the field, and by the sum and the composition of the different kinds of capital – economic, cultural, social and symbolic – they possess. While economic capital (e.g. property rights) can be directly converted into money, cultural capital (e.g. educational qualifications) and social capital (actual and potential networks of relations that the social agents can mobilize) is convertible to economic capital only in certain conditions (Bourdieu 1986). Symbolic capital is the form that the capitals of various sources take when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate (Bourdieu 1989). By entering the field, the stakeholders accept the rules of the game, namely the legally or socially guaranteed hierarchy of positions; however, the stakeholders have the possibility to change those rules.

In the field of the participatory landscape design, the four groups of stakeholders – the local council, the architects, PTSA and the critical intellectuals – can be seen as four classes. Members of a class are characterized by their similar positions in the field and are more likely to possess similar interests, habitus (systems of disposition), and thus lifestyles and taste (Bourdieu 1985; 1984). At the same time, the classes are struggling to ensure their relative position in the field of participatory landscape design by distinguishing themselves from the other classes. They ensure their positions and distinguish themselves by the aesthetic and value judgements they make, like distinctions between refined aesthetics and kitsch, between decent people and deviants, between us and them (Bourdieu 1984).

The four groups, by means of capitals they have collected in other fields and in the field of the participatory landscape design project, struggle over the production of the legitimate vision of the world and the participatory landscape design of the park (Bourdieu 1989, 21). In these struggles, however, neither the boundaries of the group nor the alliances between them are fixed; the relations are fluid and are in constant change. At the same time, social relations, and the divisions and distinctions the stakeholders make are translated into the physical space symbolically and materially (Bourdieu 2000). The distinction between decent people, who deserve to use the park, and people with deviant behaviour, from whom the park has to be protected, materializes in the design features of the park aiming to attract people with decent behaviour (Balazs and Zein 2019).

With these socio-spatial distinctions, the participatory landscape design project fits neatly into the ongoing gentrification of the neighbourhood, marked by the physical renewal of the residential buildings and public spaces. The neighborhood to date is one of the most run down areas of Budapest, characterized by poor quality housing, relatively high criminal rates and a large proportion of marginalized groups. The slow but steady physical and social deterioration of the area can be traced back to the interwar period and the following Socialist times; the transition starting from 1989 worsened the situation. The regeneration of the Magdolna Quarter – and that of Teleki Square – became possible only after EU accession, thanks to the newly available EU funds. The EU funded the Magdolna Quarter Programme [MQP], the third phase of which targeted Teleki Square. The MQP was promoted as a 'socially sensitive urban regeneration programme' putting emphasis on the social aspects of urban regeneration and the participation of local people. Nevertheless, Czirfusz et al. (2015) argue that the local council sought to support the gentrification of the neighbourhood under the veil of the regeneration programme. The gentrifying attempts of the local council were supported by selective social policies that tend to racialize and criminalize poverty. These revanchist policies, which are supported by an increased number of local police, force homeless people, prostitutes and drug users into the dilapidated industrial buildings in the edges of the district and outside the district – thus displacing people seen as deviant from the inner areas (Keresztély, Scott, and Virág 2017).

Considering the ongoing gentrification of the neighbourhood, which is implemented as a socially sensitive regeneration programme and at the same time characterized by the racialization and criminalization of poverty, this article argues that the gentrification of the Magdolna Quarter is being constructed within fields of forces like the participatory landscape design. The relational dynamics of the participatory landscape design project of Teleki Square shed light on some local processes that constitute the urban transformation at the neighbourhood level. It has to be noted that neither the relations of the four groups, nor their role in the gentrification are fixed. Between the four otherwise conflicting groups circumstantial coalitions can emerge (Monterescu 2015). At the same time, in the dynamics of the field of forces the beneficiaries and supporters of gentrification could equally become the opponents and subalterns of gentrification.

The four stakeholder groups in the field of participatory landscape design

Before the third phase of the Magdolna Quarter Programme [MQP III] began, the conditions of Teleki Square and the neighbouring market had already been a recurring topic of the local council. The general feeling toward the area can be well illustrated by the way a conservative representative described her experiences in the area at a meeting of the municipal council:

> *It felt like being back in the end of the 18th century. To be honest, I saw such shameful, disgusting, sickening, inhuman environment, Honourable Council, probably only in the Mexican district of the US [...].There are such people with such an appearance out of whom the 90 % have tuberculosis, I think. [...] In the portals, in the stores, everywhere is 'grovelling'. They lie in everything including their own faeces (Budapest Józsefvárosi Önkormányzat 2009).*

This opinion – that the conditions of the area are intolerable – seemed to be a shared view of many people with different social and cultural backgrounds. The discourses of the time were marked by the recurring topics of homeless people, the illegal traders of the market, the pubs, and the used hypodermic needles in the grass (Budapest Józsefvárosi Önkormányzat 2011b). When the participatory landscape design project was first announced, it was welcomed by all the people of the neighbourhood irrespective of their social background. Even the conflicts analysed here focused on *how* the park was renovated instead of *why.*

The following section introduces the four groups in the chronological order that they entered the field of participatory landscape design, beginning with the local council and the architects, and continuing with the members of PTSA and the critical intellectuals. Besides discussing the power relations between the groups, it also explains their group-forming practices building on the field theory of Bourdieu.

3.1 Local council securing the investment

The participatory landscape design project began on a warm summer afternoon in late May 2013. The workshops started off with the introduction of a man in his early fifties:

> *The local council decided to share the decisions with you, Ladies and Gentlemen. During the process as you make the decisions together with the local council, the local council will accept these decisions, so it's not merely a survey of opinions but a real decision-making process including the final decision (Milyen legyen a Teleki tér?! 2013).*

This man spoke in front of an audience of approximately thirty people, mainly adults and pensioners, in the local community house of the district. He is the leader of RÉV8, a shared company of the Local council of Budapest and the Local council of the 8th district, which is in charge of the development projects of the 8th district. He was a planner of the MQP III and the main initiator of the participatory landscape design project. Looking back to the project, he considered himself a mediator between the local local council and the architects, who ensured the background of the participatory landscape design project.

It was the leader of RÉV8 who convinced the local council to accept the idea of the participatory landscape design project. "Initially both the mayor's office and the local council stood against it, but at the end everyone liked it," as the leader of RÉV8 remembers (I1 2016, personal communication, August 5).

Even though the leader of RÉV8 tends to present himself and his colleagues as being independent from the local council, as their introduction at the first workshop cited above shows, they entered the field of participatory landscape design as representatives of the local council. The position of RÉV8 in the field of forces was primarily determined by the symbolic capital that the local council transmitted to RÉV8 as a municipally owned corporation. In line with this, this article considers RÉV8 as being part of the local council as an analytical class.

While the leader of RÉV8 and his colleagues rarely appeared rarely at the meetings and preferred to remain observers, the interests of the local council were present throughout the design process and were named in the explicit rules of the game. These rules ranged from the ultimate viewpoint that the renovation of the park was a necessary good; to the financial, spatial, and time limits of the project; and the initial determinacy of the power relations of the field. For instance, the participatory landscape design workshop limited the possible decisions to be made about the future of the neighbourhood to the aesthetic and functional features of the park. In a similar way, the budget of the project and the borders of the site limited the extent of the potential decisions to be made. Finally, in assigning different responsibilities to the architects and the lay participants, the local council influenced the initial system of relations.

The municipal rules of the game were also embedded in a broader field of forces, namely the rules of the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund, which to a great extent financed the Magdolna Quarter Programme III and supported the involvement of the locals in urban regeneration (Czirfusz et al. 2015). Nevertheless, the participatory landscape design project only happened in Teleki Square because it was in line with municipal interests. The leader of RÉV8 (I1 2016, personal communication, August 5) explained:

> *Teleki is a very complicated square. Because its cultural notoriety is quite big, you know, the deterioration was very serious, and still quite a lot of what you could call quasi-white-collar people live there, it was likely that if anybody designs anything, it won't be good.*

To put it in another way, the participatory design method served to make the renewal of the park more socially acceptable amongst the dominant residents of the square and later was used to gain a better position for the regeneration programme.

Besides setting up the rules, the local council had another impact on the formation of the field of the participatory landscape design, and thus the architectural intervention, because it was given the choice of an important player in the game, namely the architects. In 2012 the local council launched a restricted tendering process and invited three landscape architect groups, including the Ujirany Group, which won the project.

After the construction work was finished, the role of RÉV8 became less significant in the field of the participatory landscape design and the representation of the municipal interests was taken over by the mayor's office. The mayor maintained a friendly relationship with PTSA and they often used it for political purposes.

3.2 Idealistic architects: Ujirany Group

Ujirany Group [UG] is a landscape architect studio that was established by a group of university friends right after their graduation with the aim of working out the design of the Millenáris Park, a pioneering example of brownfield investment in the 2nd district of Budapest. With this design UG became well known amongst professionals dealing with the built environment, due to their unusual artistic ideas and creativity, which often targeted the more educated social groups, requiring certain cultural competence to understand the design intervention.

UG's position in the field was characterized by the symbolic capital they possessed as licensed landscape architects charged with the management of the participatory landscape design project, the preparation of the final design and the working drawings, and site supervision. This position caused their dependency on a powerful player in the game – the council – which they had to take into consideration when contacting local groups in the preparation phase of the participatory landscape design process. For instance, one of the architects explained:

> *There was this group in the district that organized programs [...], but they were very oppositionist and offensive, but we had to be cautious, since the local council commissioned the work and we are kind of local council-dependent so we did not dare cooperate with such people, who are against [the work of the local council] (I2 2016, personal communication, May 18).*

At the same time, UG's position ensured them greater power over the field as opposed to other players. In the organization of the workshops, apart from accepting the rules of the game that were set up by the local council, UG had a free hand. By setting up the sequences of the workshops, by explicitly and implicitly determining the freedom of decision-making of the local participants, and by moderating the discourse, UG could impose another set of rules of the game embedded into the pre-existing rules of the council. As one of the architects explained, "we told them the rules of the game, it was projected on the wall, that we were aiming to reach a consensus, we were listening to each other, we were respecting each other's opinions, and things like that and of course we had to draw their attention to these from time to time" (I3 2017, personal communication, February 6). With these rules, they already initiated a direction the participatory landscape design process has to take – that is, reaching consensus as an ultimate goal – which is a recurring critique of participatory practice in academic circles (Abrams 2000).

UG, as opposed to the other groups, stepped into the field as an "actual class" (Bourdieu 1985). UG thought of themselves and were recognized by the others as a real group, due to their educational background, their common professional and personal history, and their socially- and legally guaranteed status in the participatory landscape design. During their education and their work they had acquired a "culture of practices", a system of embodied and self-evident actions that are hard to explain to a layperson (Cuff 1992). Through internalized practices, shared meanings and values, UG explicitly and implicitly legitimized, reproduced and distinguished itself from the other groups.

The schedule of the workshops, which was shared with the lay participants, contained a list of planned activities phrased with architectural terminology, like "spatial organization", "functional schema" and "design program" (see the presentation published in Tihanyi 2013). During the workshops, the use of professional terminology served not only the direct reproduction of the group of the architects and indirect reproduction of the field of architecture but also it helped UG in dominating the discourse and in addressing problems from their point of view. This professional terminology gave priority to their embodied normative values gained in the field of architecture, especially the "judgement of taste" (Bourdieu 1984). For instance, as one of the architects explained:

> *It happened often that [a participant] came up with very... I can say such things that she brought kind of kitschy ideas, can't I? [...] and in these cases they have to be told "OK it is good in some context but our concept is this neutral style and all the chosen elements have to fit this so that there won't be dissonance" [...] And there were two people who had superb taste, so funnily we named them the Design Team (I3 2017, personal communication, February 6).*

UG's habit of prioritizing aesthetics and universalizing their measure of aesthetic quality was also reflected in the debate around the sculptures of the park. From the very beginning of the design process, three sculptures were planned to be placed in the park that commemorated the history of the neighbourhood and Earl László Teleki, after whom the square was named. The artefacts chosen by the people of the neighbourhood did not fit into the refined aesthetics that UG preferred, being "genre sculptures"[7] instead of the abstract

7 In the last few years numerous so-called "genre sculptures" appeared in Budapest being supported by the local councils. They depict famous or average figures being engaged in everyday activity, like Ronald Reagan in the Liberty Square or a girl with a dog on the river side. While there are amiable and easily understandable compositions, it is a common critique of people with upper social status that they are clichés and have no underlying meaning (Földes 2014).

ones they recommended. Therefore, UG disavowed these sculptures in every possible forum, denying their responsibility or support for the choice and arguing that it was a decision made by the broader public rather than the participants of the workshop (Somlyódi 2015). This disavowal reflects not only their architectural habitus – which they had to develop in order to be accepted by the professional field – but also their taste for high culture, by which they distinguish themselves from groups of lower social status (Bourdieu 1985). The distinction by taste became even more apparent during the fieldwork, when it turned out that PTSA in fact liked the genre sculptures.

Despite the habitus that distinguished UG from the locals, the architects explicitly tried to demolish the symbolic barriers between them and the lay participants, i.e. as they put it, "taking one's ego off the table". When one of the architects said too often during the presentation "we wanted that..." and "we thought that..." another architect drew him aside and reminded him to say "everybody" instead of "we" (Pápay and Tóth 2013). The architects even joined PTSA and one of them continued visiting the weekly meetings for a year after the implementation of the park. Nevertheless, as the intolerant attitude of PTSA came to the forefront, this circumstantial coalition of the architects and the PTSA was broken. The denial of social distance did not demolish the difference between the two groups. Nevertheless, the profits of this denial could be reaped by the architects.

3.3 Partners for the Teleki Square Association and Critical Intellectuals

The announcement and the opportunity to participate in the design project attracted approximately 50 people, out of which 15-20 were active, based on the estimation of the architects. The interviewed participants saw the announcement of the workshops in the local newspaper and on the streets, or were invited by their neighbours. Most of them had already known each other and many had already been active in the public sphere of the neighbourhood – as one of the critical intellectuals explained, it was not the participatory design project that first mobilized them as a group. Despite the heterogeneous social and ethnic composition of the neighbourhood, all of them were ethnic Hungarians and, compared to the neighbourhood average, they were more educated and relatively better-off people. This relative affluence, however, does not mean their existential security; as one of the architects said, "in fact, these people are really poor, but in this country, there is always somebody poorer" (I2 2016, personal communication, May 18).

The idea of an association as a frame for organizing programs in the park after the renewal was brought in on the second workshop by one of the architects, as a solution to the fears of the locals about how the new park could be protected. UG brought the examples of the Bryant Park and the Highline in New York, which are maintained by non-governmental organizations. UG argued that an association would help to sustain the park by taking over tasks from the local council, which would not be able to meet the challenge of managing the public spaces in the district. The idea fell on fertile ground and the participants decided that they would name it 'Partners for Teleki Square Association' [PTSA].

As opposed to the local council and UG who were perceived as real groups from the very beginning, the formation of the other two groups took longer. For a while, the critical intellectuals were members of PTSA, however, as the intolerant attitude of some members intensified, they decided to leave. Nevertheless, the rupture between the two groups could have been predicted based on their different interests and composition of capital in the field of participatory landscape design (Bourdieu 1985). Their different positions can be best grasped by comparing and contrasting them as analytic classes.

The critical intellectuals possess a great amount of cultural capital and a fair amount of economic capital relative to the PTSA – all of them have graduate degrees and work in the non-profit sector (teaching at university or working for NGOs) with secure financial background. In contrast, most of the members of PTSA possess only an undergraduate degree or have no qualification. PTSA members typically work in the service sector, are

retired, or are on disability pension. Many of them live in their own flat; however, at least two of them recently lost the ownership of their apartment.

Furthermore, the two groups can be characterized by their different motivations for participating in the design project. The members of PTSA – typically living in the buildings around the square – wanted to change the socially and physically declining park that was full of homeless people, junkies and dogs. "Since I moved here, I have hoped that the park would be renewed. My flat was also promoted with the promise that something would happen with the park. It has been a recurring topic for 8 years or so," explained a man in his late thirties on why he participated in the workshops (Teleki téri közösségi tervezés 2013). Furthermore, PTSA members hoped that participating in the design would ensure that the park would actually fit their needs. "I thought, what if it was actually as it was advertised that they would listen to the locals [...] I would also like to sit outside on a bench, play table tennis, if it was implemented in a way that they asked our opinion," remembered one of the participants, a woman in her forties, who is on disability pension (I4 2017, personal communication, April 12).

On the other hand, the critical intellectuals live further from the park than the members of PTSA, often in the nearby neighbourhoods or even outside the district. Even though from the insider's point of view, they were also lay participants like the members of PTSA, from the analytical viewpoint their motivations went beyond the actual renovation of the park and distinguished the critical intellectuals from the members of PTSA. The critical intellectuals were concerned instead with working for a better society and intervening in the process of the participatory design: their perception on the participatory design is structured by their knowledge about the revanchist politics of the local council. They interfered with the participatory design "*as* intellectuals, that is, with a specific authority grounded on their belonging to the relatively autonomous world of art, science, and literature and on all the values that are associated with this autonomy – virtue, disinterestedness, competence, and so on" (Bourdieu, Sapiro, and McHale 1991, 656 original emphasis). As an associate professor of sociology who has a history of civic activism in the neighbourhood explained: "My aim was not primarily to influence the physical appearance of the park or the design of it [...] I went there as a curious observer and an activist who seeks to intervene" (I5 2017, personal communication, February 10). Since he knew the shortcomings of the second phase of the Magdolna Quarter Programme [MQPII], which misused its keyword of 'participation' unabashedly, he wanted to bring into the workshops a bit of scepticism and caution toward the local council practices, aiming to put pressure on the local council if necessary.

Another critical intellectual, a social worker working at the time for the Jakab Glaser Memorial Foundation [JGMF] of the apartment synagogue in Teleki Square, aimed to help the architects on a voluntary basis with the involvement of the locals. Ironically enough, before the participatory landscape design project of UG began, the social worker had already been preparing a community organizing project in the square by means of "doing something with the park" (I6 2017, personal communication, March 23). As part of a fellowship program for community organizers, he conducted interviews in 2012 in the neighbourhood to identify three core, local, social problems – identified as racism, gentrification, and crime – and then he left to participate in a six-week-long community organizer training in the US. When he arrived back to Hungary, he learned that a very similar project was already in progress. Therefore, he decided to integrate his own project with the participatory landscape design project of UG and offered them the help of the synagogue, especially after seeing their lack of experience in involving hard-to-reach people. In this work, the social worker was supported by a recently graduated sociologist. "We thought that this thing that they were advertising that there would be a community design project, and they posted what the schedule of it would be, so... this method especially in Teleki Square wouldn't work... and in fact nowhere else, I think" she says (I7 2017, personal communication, March 19). Therefore, they went around the residential buildings in the square, knocking on all the doors and tried to address people who could not be engaged simply with a poster.

The work of the critical intellectuals for universal and moralistic values is often driven by a guilty conscience, as one case shows (Bourdieu 1985). This critical intellectual is an art historian and university teacher who moved to the neighbourhood after the participatory landscape design project ended and the construction works of the park were finished. She explained why she was motivated to join PTSA:

> *After half a year one realizes that there are very tragic things happening. But presumably the most tragic is not that [someone tells me that] she inherited a cerebral tumour [...] but why people start telling such things to each other. Anyway, I thought that something has to be done since compared to many people here I'm seen as bloody rich. [...] What is it to me to bake another two pans of cookies and bring them down for the children in the square? [...] Also it was my story of becoming leftist. But I always tell my leftist friends that I will never be such a "real leftist" as they are because... shit, I am wearing a hundred-year-old ring for teaching that I inherited from my grandma. I can't be as angry as they are (I8 2017, personal communication, April 13).*

The motivations of the critical intellectuals in joining PTSA connected to their motivation of empowering the citizens and of intervening in the politics of the local council as public activists. In this sense they did not think of themselves as part of the community of PTSA. "It's not the thing that it is my life to go down to the [club of] PTSA. Because for many of them [from PTSA] it is their life," explains the art historian (*ibid*.).

In comparison with the other three groups - the council, the UG and PTSA - the critical intellectuals remained a "probable class" in the sense that they did not mobilize themselves towards reaching their goals, even though they knew and liked each other, possessing a similar position in the field of forces (Bourdieu 1985). Some of the critical intellectuals simply decided to leave the field of forces when the conflicts of interests became readily apparent. Others, on online forums or on presentations of the project as a best practice, aimed to change the hegemonic discourse around the park and PTSA (see for example the comments posted to Bardóczi, 2015).

Interpretations and Clashes

This section discusses the diverging interpretations on the participatory landscape design and the park itself, and the clashes these interpretations caused, as symbolic struggles drawing on different kinds of capital. Furthermore, the analysis shows the way the participatory landscape design project, as a social space, and the park as its physical projection, were embedded in the field of forces of the ongoing gentrification of the Magdolna Quarter.

The struggles of the four groups are focused on two main topics: the aim of a participatory landscape design and social control over the park. These topics, as the frontlines of conflict, brought to the surface the division between the critical intellectuals and PTSA and also brought about circumstantial coalitions between the otherwise conflicting groups.

4.1 "What should Teleki Square look like?" — A simple question triggering multiple answers

By analysing the discourses around the participatory design, it is striking that all four groups defined the aims of the project along different dimensions. The identified dimensions were sustaining the quality of the park, organizing a community, utilizing local knowledge, and empowering the locals.

The primary aim of the local council with the participatory landscape design project was to ensure the sustainability of the park. This aim, however, has to be understood in the broader context of the Magdolna Quarter Programme III. MQP III was a complex regeneration programme that aimed to invest in residential,

community, urban and economic functions, hoping that the effects would mutually reinforce each other (RÉV8 2012). According to the programme, such a synergy could be reached if the investments were concentrated on a relatively small territory and if the elements of the programme connected to each other. In accordance with this, Teleki Square – including the market, the park and two other connecting public spaces – stood at the core of this integrative rehabilitation programme, and its regeneration was seen as a continuation of the redevelopment projects of MQP II spreading out of the neighbouring Mátyás Square. The documents of MQP III explained:

> *The redevelopment of the neighbourhood will bring about numerous positive environmental changes. Therefore, it will be a better, more attractive urban environment to live in. As a result of the changing image of the neighbourhood, positive changes can be anticipated in the local real-estate market on a medium-term, and higher value-added producing enterprises will appear (RÉV8 2012, 21).*

To put it another way, the local council aimed at closing the rent gap by means of changing the landscape, serving as a message for private investors (Smith 1996). In this context, the involvement of the locals can be seen as a "bourgeois civilizing mission", where the aim of participatory landscape design is to decrease the amortization risk of the investment and to sustain the quality of the renewed public space by means of social engineering – by changing the locals' attitude toward their environment and inducing the emergence of local networks of relation (Monterescu 2015).

As the leader of RÉV8 (2016, personal communication, August 5) explains:

> *There is a strong municipal interest that they put in 170 million Forints [in 2013, approximately 570.000 EUR[8]] [in the park] and it should be sustained as long as it is possible. Plus, everyone far and wide pesters the local council that the area is deprived, and everything is constantly breaking down in it. Therefore, it works at full blast [to protect it].*

For the local council, the participatory landscape design project was believed to foster individual responsibility for the environment and enhance trust between the lay participants and toward the local council. In accordance with this, the park at Teleki Square was planned to be placed into community care (RÉV8 2012). This community care meant that it would become the responsibility of the emerging community to prevent vandalism and to take care of the park with the financial and practical support of the local council. In this sense, the council considered the project successful. In the opening ceremony, the mayor of the district stated that the value of the square could be measured in its power of organizing a community that undertook both the challenge of protecting the park and of guarding it (Józsefváros 2014).

Similar to the local council, both PTSA and the architects highlighted the concepts of community and sustainability in relation to the participatory design project. A middle-aged local woman argued that it was worth involving the local people, since they would find more satisfaction in occupying and collectively protecting the park that they had designed together. One of the architects also affirmed in an interview:

> *Of course, the biggest advantage of this collective work is that a common plan emerged. What can be highlighted too is that a community was created, which is also important in this kind of work so that after the park is implemented it will continue to have life and for years and decades it can remain a self-sustaining public space (I3 2016, personal communication, February 5).*

Nevertheless, the local council and PTSA defined 'community' in opposition to other social groups of the neighbourhood that they considered as deviant. According to their interpretation, participatory landscape

8 In 2019, it would be approximately 752.000 EUR, based on the Hungarian Cost Estimation Manual of the Building Industry of 2013 and 2020, and the annual average exchange rate in 2019 (ETK 2013, 2020).

design is a tool for recapturing public space and for excluding the deviant groups from the park. As a member of PTSA, a local man in his thirties explained: "The substance of the participatory design is that the locals step by step retake the space that in fact belonged to them but somehow they forgot about it, they left it and gave away to people – who we exclude now" (Pápay and Tóth 2013). Similarly, the mayor of the district, while highlighting that the renewed park can be a meeting point that strengthens social cohesion, expressed the view that with the exclusion of criminals finally the park could be used by people who deserve it.

Critical intellectuals were also concerned with community. However, as opposed to the other three groups that emphasized its importance in the sustainability of the park, the critical intellectuals rather considered it as a community for its own sake, as a precondition for the collective well-being of the society. They thought not only of the community of the actual participants but a broader community of the various ethnicities in the neighbourhood who can potentially represent its interests in opposition to the local council.

Apart from the importance of community, the understanding of the four groups on participatory landscape design was very diverse. For the Ujirany Group the community was rather a welcomed side-effect and the participatory method meant the utilization of local knowledge and a break with the traditional top-down architectural interventions driven by capital and the authoritarian image of the architect. One of the architects explained that she started thinking about the involvement of local residents during her master thesis. She said: "What bothered me was that people decide about a future of an area, people who are for example concerned with the viewpoint of investors. And at the same time, they change a place and often create something that does not fit there" (I3 2016, personal communication, February 5).

For her thesis she developed an intuitive system for conceiving a site that requires "time and space for understanding the sense of a place" as she put it. In her mind this system included the people who used a given place so that they could also feel and help to understand these *genius loci*. The more people go out to a place and the more interpretations come up, the better the chance to create something good. From this point of view the involvement of people in the future of a public space had various and equally valid faces, ranging from a conceptual spatial art that makes people think, to an actual participatory landscape design project.

This point of view fits in the general understanding of the field of architecture. The architects tend to look at the participatory design method either as a means for a good design or as a way of fulfilling the general right of users to design their own environment (Jenkins, Milner, and Sharpe 2009). In both cases, the idea of power is taken into consideration in the relations of the architect and users and neither allows for differences between users in terms of power, taste, and interests. Furthermore, architects think of participation as a potential threat to the aesthetic quality of the design and thus they aim to teach people good taste. By design quality the architects not only secure the quality of the final design, appealing to people with upper social status, but also ensure their position in the field of architecture and their position in a broader social space. Another aspect of the approach of architects is the need to reach a consensus, which the Ujirany Group often emphasized during the workshops and when they discussed the project.

As opposed to this, the critical intellectuals took into consideration utterly different dimensions and tried to challenge the idealistic power- and ethnic-blind picture of participatory landscape design. "What I really consider as problematic is that the poor residents of the square and the neighbourhood were left out from the participatory project," wrote one of the critical intellectuals on an online architect forum (in a comment posted to Bardóczi 2015). He referred to the fact that the project could only address and take into consideration the interests of a quasi-homogeneous and relatively better-off group of ethnic Hungarians, and the viewpoint of the marginalized groups of the neighbourhood could appear only through the lens of the locals that had more capital.

The recently graduated sociologist also assumed that the local councils did not intend to involve the marginalized groups. For her it could be seen in the fact that the council did not assign social workers alongside the architects, despite being aware of the deep social problems of the neighbourhood. In fact, she and the social worker, through their voluntary work, tried to counteract this weakness of the project and talk personally to all residents in the square; however, their attempts were not successful. "Many of them invited us in the flat and listened to us, and of course everyone had an opinion about the square. Though it's another question how many of them came to the meeting at the end, because for this, one invitation is not enough," she said (I7 2017, personal communication, March 19). The disinterestedness of the local council in the involvement of marginalized groups made her feel bad, when she tried to involve the locals:

> *For me it is always an inconvenient situation that I am standing there and want to sucker them into something, like "come and participate, how super it will be, we will design the park, which you probably can't use, because they will nicely arrange it so that you can't use it," so I don't know, it's like being the devil's advocate (ibid.).*

Considering this, the critical intellectuals understood the aim of the project through the dimension of 'power' and 'exclusion'. For the critical intellectuals a participatory project is inherently political, and its final aim should be to include the have-not citizens and their interests in the decisions about the future of their own environment, a viewpoint which resonates with Arnstein's critique of participatory projects (1969). From this point of view, the participants, due to their better social position and education, had better chances in the participatory landscape design to be heard as opposed to the marginalized groups, who due to their generally weak position in the social space of the neighbourhood would have needed extra support from the side of the local council.

In general, the critical intellectuals thought that the architects did their best, despite the limits of the project as determined by the local council and the RÉV8. Nevertheless, some of them accused the architects of not making enough effort to involve a more heterogeneous group and of not being well-prepared for the job. As the young sociologist said:

> *I think if an architect says that he or she can conduct a participatory design project, they should know how to do so [...] I know that it isn't easy, I know it from my own experience but if I wanted to do a community design, I would look for groups who are doing similar things and perhaps using a method that I can use (I7 2017, personal communication, March 19).*

The reactions of the architects to these critiques reflected their ambiguity. Even though the representation of the wider society was an indifferent factor in their theoretical model of participatory landscape design, they seemed to understand the critique of the critical intellectuals. However, the architects highlighted the limits of time and of their professional background in addressing hard-to-reach groups. "We are landscape architects, our job is to design, we're not sociologists, plus we didn't really have time, because there was an arrangement, I think we signed the contract in spring and we had to hand in a fat volume of concept plans, so we didn't really have time for advertising," explained one of the architects (I2 2016, personal communication, May 18). At the same time, they considered the input of the critical intellectuals during the workshops to be a nuisance in the process of design, as they said "there was this oppositionist opinion leader [critical intellectual], who initially came to the workshops, and his aims were good but then he went crazy because of it and practically he was trolling the workshops" (*ibid*.).

As opposed to this, the council does not think that the equal representation has to be the substance of a community design. As the leader of RÉV8 (I1 2016, personal communication, August 5) said:

It seems that we should use different methods to involve Aunt Mari, and Uncle Pista, and Earl Józsi at the same time. And the question is, whether it would be a community design? Does it represent the will of the locals? Since in this case many elements appear in the design that reflect our middle-class value system. […] Participatory landscape design appears as a panacea for people, the purpose of which is to solve all the social problems in the neighbourhood [for] poor people, gipsies, petit bourgeoisie, and bourgeoisie. And during a sweet community celebration and by planting two trees, every problem will be solved. I don't think so.

He is also sceptical that a real multi-cultural community could have emerged. Instead, he excuses the local council and highlights the dependency of the local council on its voters and its party: "Sometimes I tell the Mayor that I would be the happiest if the ›Józsefváros is being rebuilt‹ logo would be on a poster on which he shakes hand with a Nigerian, a Roma and a Turkish shopkeeper. But then he would be shot. Both by his own staff, his party and the people" (*ibid*.)

4.2. "The Association's Burden" – Social control over the park

While not all groups gave equal importance to involving people from different social backgrounds, none of them denied the apparent consequence of the selectivity of involvement. The homogeneous value system of the members of PTSA is reflected both in the design features that aimed to attract people with decent behaviour and in the strict rules for using the park that were set up by PTSA. The different understandings of the aim of the participatory landscape design traced out the potential alliances and conflicts between the groups, and the way PTSA controlled the park led to ruptures between those groups. This section introduces how the social control over the park was conceptualized in the workshops, and how it affected the physical design of the park.

Originally the park was dreamt of as an inclusive place. The idealistic architects involved with the park recommended that the park should be an open, tolerant and multicultural place, by referring to the history of the area and to Earl László Teleki, the Hungarian statesman after whom the square was named, who was known for his tolerant politics towards different nationalities. Connecting the concept of the design on an intellectual level to the historically built identity of the neighbourhood was considered by the architects to be a measure of a good design and reflected the internalized and shared values of the field of architects. At the same time, the lay participants, irrespective of their capital, supported this idea.

While the starting point of the architects was understanding the historically constructed genius loci, their idealist concept of the park affected the image of the emerging association. As a result, PTSA was envisioned as a tolerant, inclusive, socially sensitive organization that would take care of the park and seek to teach people how to behave. For instance, a local woman in her forties, who was an active member of PTSA explained:

It isn't a question of who and against whom but that why we associate. […] It should not be this oppressive system; we can't solve the problem with violence for sure. Rather with love, rather with guidance. And if such a value system lies behind [PTSA] and we are able to accept that a scruffy homeless person has the right to come into the park […] then in my opinion a change can happen (Pápay and Tóth 2013).

From the very beginning, it was a common view of the four groups that a fence around the park, and some kind of a social order, was a necessary precondition for the sustainability of the park. It was also a shared view that this social order – which in this context has to be understood as decreasing the rate of crime and social conflicts – had to be maintained by the people of the neighbourhood. To put it another way, the White

Man's Burden[9] turned into the burden of PTSA. For example, one of the critical intellectuals, the recently graduated sociologist, argued during the workshops that to prevent crime "it is not enough to have a guard, somehow it has to be organized that every two hours or so in the night two people go around [in the park]; there are methods for doing this" (Pápay and Tóth 2013). She added that at that time she and the social worker were working on fostering this social responsibility. By talking to people of the residential buildings in the square they tried to convince the locals that it would be their task to teach social norms – like not to litter – to others. In a similar manner, one of the architects argued that "I think it is in fact this community consciousness that there will be this [PTSA] and more and more people join it [...] and perhaps it can be educative in a way that people warn others not to throw away the cigarette stub on the ground".

Nevertheless, this social order for maintaining the park involved distinctions between decent homeless people and criminals, between the lovely noise of a playground and the loud group of 'Romanian Gipsies' around the corner, between 'us' and 'them'. This categorization, however, seems to replicate the "vision of division" that the local council aimed to impose on the people of the neighbourhood, which appeared both in the official communication of the mayor's office and the local municipal council's meetings (Bourdieu 1989). This dominant ideology was reflected in the argument of the mayor in a municipal council meeting dealing with the criminalization of homelessness, that "homelessness is not crime, but deviance is" (Budapest Józsefvárosi Önkormányzat 2011a).

With the implementation of the design that had been created in the workshops, these categorizations were becoming imprinted on the physical space and materialized through certain design features of the park that aimed to attract decent people and to exclude homeless people, teenage gangs, and other marginalized groups (Balazs and Zein 2019). The locals thought of functions that would appeal to people with habitus similar to theirs. It can be seen in the fence around the park and in the park furniture that was designed to serve only individuals or companies of two or three people, a tiny playground for toddlers, and the lack of features serving children older than 8 and teenagers. In accordance with the request of the locals, the plans of MQP III determined a separate park for the older children, the so-called FiDo Park, on the other side of the Népszínház Street, which is equipped with a caged area for playing sport, so that the Teleki Square Community Park could remain a place for quiet activities. Furthermore, the decent and quiet way of using the park is ensured by the guard and the strict rules and regulations set up by PTSA and accepted by the local local council.

Thus, the selectivity of the lay participants is reflected in the design features of the park and sets limits to its functionality for different social groups. A casual conversation with a grandmother in the FiDo Park revealed that she found problematic the lack of features for children in Teleki Square and the lack of features for toddlers in FiDo. She said: "If we come to FiDo the 7-year-old is fine but what can the 2-year-old do? Kick the gravel? Then if we go to Teleki the 7-year-old is bored" (I9 2017, personal communication, April 1). Similarly, the tiny playground seems to be dysfunctional for Roma families of lower social status who prefer to go to the playground collectively, with three generations and friends all together. While having a conversation with each other, the adults could take care of the toddlers playing in the sand box. Even though the short single benches were not designed for large gatherings of people, having no other options for toddlers in the close neighbourhood, large families do come to Teleki Square. This exclusion that the design features and the rules imply does not explicitly target the Roma people of lower social status, and PTSA tends to refuse these critiques by the critical intellectuals. Nevertheless, since the local Roma people are more likely to hold lower social status and to possess different habitus than PTSA, de facto they bear the loss of the renewal of the park.

9 The White Man's Burden refers to a controversial poem of Rudyard Kipling, about the Philippine-American war, that suggests that it is the moral obligation of the white man to civilize and rule the non-white people of the world. It is also a point of reference in critical development studies.

The distinctions that PTSA made and the over-controlled idea of the park were unacceptable for the critical intellectuals and led to heated conflicts between the two groups. As the social worker from JGMF remembered, the lay participants then split up into two groups, one group of the critical intellectuals, who drew attention to the interests of the minority groups and the marginalized, and the other group of PTSA, who argued that the mayor did not give the money to support criminal groups and which was characterized by open racism. The vice chairman of PTSA for a long time tried to mediate between the two groups. However, his attempts were unsuccessful, and at the end the critical intellectuals left the association.

Meanwhile the social worker from JGMF also had to make a decision about the future of his own community organizing project. Informed of the intolerant attitude of the [PTSA], his mentors proposed to him two options: either he could continue his work at Teleki Square and step-by- step change the level of tolerance of PTSA or he could restart his project somewhere else. In the end, the social worker gave up the project, and moved to Berlin.

The design features that target people with decent behaviour were supported by the architects, as they were in line with their architectural habitus and upper social status. The strict rules and regulations, however, brought to the fore the different attitudes of the members of PTSA and the architects. When asked about his opinion regarding the rules and regulations, one of the architects explained in an interview:

> *It bothered me, because we landscape architects imagine it as in the West that you sit outside with your friends with a blanket, a bottle of Beaujolais, baguette and cheese. And then the locals said that it is forbidden to smoke, how fucked up is that and I argued for a long time with the locals but the problem is that they are right and here not the sitting-on-checked-blanket-and-drink-Beaujolais kind of people come, but three vagrant old men sit on a bench and the PET bottles are flying (I2 2016, personal communication, May 18).*

As opposed to the critical intellectuals, the idealistic architects seemed to accept the argument of the PTSA, suggesting that they were the legitimate users of the park from the architectural point of view. As one of them highlighted in an interview, it can be assumed that the presence of homeless people would discourage decent people from using the park, which would lead to the deterioration of the park again.

It can be said that the aim of the local council to protect the investment and its "vision of division" was co-opted both by PTSA and the architects as well (Bourdieu 1989). Even though PTSA in many aspects did not agree with the politics of the governing party – that is with the party of the mayor and the majority of the local municipal council at the time – and in their weekly meetings PTSA tended to criticize the council, they did try to maintain a good relationship with the local council. PTSA did so with the aim of gaining a better position within the neighbourhood. Their attempts were in accordance with the local council's endeavours to gain local support for their politics, and thus PTSA had become one of the few non-governmental organizations that was accepted as legitimate by the local council. This circumstantial coalition of otherwise conflicting groups could be traced to the attendance of the vice mayor in the events of PTSA and the informal relations of the vice mayor of the district and the chair of PTSA, demonstrated in gestures like greeting each other by kissing on the cheek.

The architects on the one hand found problematic the tendency of the council to use participatory landscape design as a political tool. On the other hand, being dependent on the local councils as their long-term clients, the architects could not give up the circumstantial coalition with them. In an interview they admitted that "landscape architecture has always been a political tool" (Somlyódi 2015).

Conclusion

On a late weekday afternoon, a toddler is playing in the sandbox in the tiny playground of Teleki Square Community Park. The mother is sitting on the edge of the sandbox, taking care of her. While she is helping her prepare mud-pies, she is talking to someone through the massive fence around the park. It is the father of the baby. "Come in," says the woman. "I can't," says the man showing the beer can in his hand and nodding his head toward the guard. "He won't say anything," the woman answers. Finally, the man slips into the park by hiding the beer with his arms.

This scene sheds light on the role the renewed park plays in the socio-spatial transformation of the neighbourhood. By means of physical design elements and the rules and regulations that were set up by PTSA, the project made changes in the habitus of users of the park. Before the renovation, drinking beer in the park would have been an ordinary event. However, since the park renewal occurred, consuming alcohol inside the fenced area has become a forbidden activity. The father of the baby, presumably due to his experience of being warned by the guard or a member of PTSA, adjusted his spatial dispositions to the changed circumstances in a creative way, not subjecting himself fully to the objective structural constraints. At the same time, this event highlights a spatial aspect of habitus, by making a difference between acceptable behaviour inside and outside the park.

The socio-spatial transformations triggered by the architectural intervention are not limited to the spatial unit of the park. The renovation of Teleki Square transformed not only the ways of using the park but also the ways of using other public and semi-public spaces. Being excluded from Teleki Square, the homeless people, the youth gangs, and the drug-users appeared in other less-controlled squares and in the shadows of doorways.

The stakeholders of the participatory landscape design – drawing on their different sets of capital – struggled to *shape the architectural intervention* in line with their values, beliefs, and interest. The local council and the PTSA saw the project as a reoccupation of a place by people who deserve the place. The critical intellectuals aimed to challenge the power- and ethnic blind idea of the participatory landscape design and emphasized the issues of power and exclusion. The landscape architects emphasized the importance of local knowledge, but also attempted to universalize their measure of aesthetic quality.

The ability of the stakeholder groups to shape the architectural intervention was limited by their relative position in the field of participatory design and in other fields. UG's actions were influenced by its financial dependency on local councils and political actors. At the same time, the opportunities of the local council were limited by its dependency on private investment and politics on larger scales.

At the same time, the stakeholders were *shaped by the architectural intervention*. An important moment of the architectural intervention was the transformation of the habitus of the members of PTSA. Being involved in the design process they started to consider the public space as their own place, where they now had the authority to determine the expected patterns of behaviour so as to fit with their own values. Going around the park, they now warn people to use the park in a way that they as a group consider normal. PTSA's dominant position in the control over the space has been legitimized by the local council. By contrast, participatory design distanced the critical intellectuals from Teleki Square and strengthened their disconnection from the neighbourhood. Due to their conflicting relationship with PTSA, they started to avoid Teleki Square.

As the habitus of the stakeholders changed, so did the relationships between the stakeholders. Despite the differences between the stakeholder groups in terms of social status and sets of capital, it seemed for a while that a circumstantial coalition could emerge between the architects, the PTSA and the critical intellectuals. However, the different values and conflicting interests of the critical intellectuals and the PTSA led to a rupture between these two groups and increased the social distance between them.

The changing relationships affected the relative positions of the four groups within the field of participatory design, and more importantly their positions in other power fields. The architects and the PTSA could keep a positive relationship with each other for longer, due to their non-conflicting interests. This relationship, which relied on the denial of social distance between the two groups, supported the positive interpretations of the participatory design project, and strengthened the position of UG in the field of architecture.

Similarly, the circumstantial coalition between the local council and the PTSA originated from the field of participatory design, and later ensured both the local council and the PTSA a better position within the neighbourhood. The local council found local support in the members of PTSA, while the PTSA gained the right to step into the field of local politics.

At the same time, the marginalized social groups bear the loss of the participatory design project. As a result of the architectural intervention, the social position of the marginalized groups of the neighbourhood became even weaker. Their weakening position can be traced in the social and physical exclusion from public space. Their exclusion, however, supports the gentrifying attempts of the local council.

This article shed light on the socio-spatial effects of architecture by analysing the case of Teleki Square Community Park from a relational viewpoint. The relational approach enabled a shift from looking at the architectural intervention in an episodic nature to considering it as a situational process, which leaves symbolic marks both on the physical and the social environment.

Furthermore, the relational framework of analysis made it possible to grasp the fluidity of social relations underlying the architectural project. This understanding of the circumstantial coalitions between PTSA, the local council, and the architects demonstrates a new face of the gentrification of the neighbourhood, in which it becomes PTSA's burden to civilize their neighbours while looking forward to the arrival of the gentrifiers. Thus, the article provides a polychrome understanding of the transformation of the neighbourhood as opposed to the black-and-white picture of top-down gentrification led by the local council.

References

Abrams, S. A. (2000) Planning the public: Some comments on empirical problems for planning theory. *Journal of Planning Education and Research,* (19), 351–357. doi: 10.1177/0739456X0001900404

Arnstein, S. R. (1969) A Ladder Of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association,* 35(4), 216–224. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225

Balazs, R. D. – Zein, D. (2019) Social Cohesion vis-á-vis Spatial Division: The Contradictions of Participatory Design. In Aelbrecht, P. – Stevens, Q. (eds.), *Public Space Design and Social Cohesion: An International Comparison*. New York: Routledge, 78–97.

Bardóczi, S. (2015) Eldorádó Józsefvárosban, January 28. *Építészfórum*. Available at: https://epiteszforum.hu/eldorado-jozsefvarosban [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Berki, M. (2017) Érzékelt tér, elgondolt tér, megélt tér: A térbeliség trialektikája egy budapesti barnamező-rehabilitációs beruházás példáján, *Tér és Társadalom*, *31*(2), 23–43. https://doi.org/10.17649/TET.31.2.2844.

Bodnár, J. (1998). Assembling the Square: Social Transformation in Public Space and the Broken Mirage of the Second Economy in Postsocialist Budapest. *Slavic Review,* 57(3), 489-515. doi:10.2307/2500709

Boros, L. – Fabula, S. – Horváth, D., – Kovács, Z. (2016). Urban diversity and the production of public space in Budapest. *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin,* 65(3), 209-224. https://doi.org/10.15201/hungeobull.65.3.1

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1985) The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups. *Theory and Society*, *14*(6), 723–744.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The Forms of Capital. In Richardson, J. G. (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for Sociology of Education* (pp. 241–258). Westport: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1989) Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory*, *7*(1), 14–25.

Bourdieu, P. (2000) *Pascalian Meditations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P., Sapiro, G., & McHale, B. (1991) Fourth Lecture. Universal Corporatism: The Role of Intellectuals in the Modern World. *Poetics Today*, *12*(4), 655. https://doi.org/10.2307/1772708

Bourdieu, P. – Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992) *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Budapest Józsefvárosi Önkormányzat. (2009). Municipal Council Meeting Minutes, January 21. Available at: https://jozsefvaros.hu/onkormanyzat/testuleti-ules/23-20090121 [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Budapest Józsefvárosi Önkormányzat. (2011a). Municipal Council Meeting Minutes, June 2. Available at: http://jvo.hu/tu_dokumentumok/1733_20110602_jegyzokonyv.pdf [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Budapest Józsefvárosi Önkormányzat. (2011b). Municipal Council Meeting Minutes: Public Forum, December 15. Available at: http://jvo.hu/tu_dokumentumok/2143_20111215_jegyzokonyv.pdf [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Cuff, D. (1992) *Architecture: The Story of Practice.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Csanádi, G. – Csizmady, A. – Kőszeghy, L. (2010) Nyilvánosság és részvétel a településtervezési folyamatban. *Tér és Társadalom, 24(*1), 15-36.

Czirfusz, M. – Horváth, V. – Jelinek, C. – Pósfai, Z. – Szabó, L. (2015) Gentrification and Rescaling Urban Governance in Budapest-Józsefváros. *Intersections*, *1*(4), 55–77. https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v1I5.104

Dobó, G. (2014) Átadták a Teleki teret – és jó lett! September 15. Index. Available at: https://index.hu/urbanista/2014/09/15/szerdan_atadtak_a_teleki_teret_es_jo_lett/ [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Dovey, K. (2010) *Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Power*. London: Routledge.

Emirbayer, M. (1997) Manifesto for a Relational Sociology. *American Journal of Sociology,* 103(2), 281–317. https://doi.org/10.1086/231209

ETK. (2013) Építőipari Költségbecslési Segédlet. Budapest: Építésügyi Tájékozatási Központ.

ETK. (2020) Építőipari Költségbecslési Segédlet. Budapest: Építésügyi Tájékozatási Központ.

Földes, A. (2014) Elárasztották Budapestet a debil szobrok, September 15. Index. Available at: https://index.hu/belfold/2014/09/15/ezert_ontottek_el_budapestet_a_debil_szobrok/ [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Gottdiener, M. (1985) *The Social Production of Urban Space.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Jenkins, P. – Milner, J. – Sharpe, T. (2009) A brief historical review of community technical aid and community architecture. In Jenkins, P. – Forsyth, L. (Eds.) *Architecture, Participation and Society*. New York: Routledge.

Jones, P. (2011) *The sociology of architecture: Constructing identities.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Józsefváros. (2013) Példaértékű közösségi tervezés: Elkészült a Teleki téri park végleges terve, August 1. Józsefváros. Available at: https://jozsefvaros.hu/hir/1338/elkeszult-a-teleki-teri-park-vegleges-terve [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Józsefváros. (2014) A Teleki térnek lelke van: Szép parkkal és szoborcsoporttal gazdagodott a kerület, September 10. Józsefváros. Available at: https://jozsefvaros.hu/hir/2046/szep-parkkal-es-szoborcsoporttal-gazdagodott-a-kerulet [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Keresztély, K. – Scott, J. W. – Virág, T. (2017) Roma communities, urban development and social bordering in the inner city of Budapest. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *40*(7), 1077–1095. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1267376

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Majorné Venn, M. (2014) Creating Partnerships on Teleki Square, October 16. URBACT, The Blog. Available at: https://www.blog.urbact.eu/2014/10/creating-partnerships-on-teleki-square/ [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Milyen legyen a Teleki tér?! (2013) Online video. Ujirany Group. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ayHvw0NJx3g&list=UU7BVGeUiozzIvS_63-bQ9RQ&index=33&ab_channel=csoport%C3%9Ajir%C3%A1ny [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Monterescu, D. (2015) *Jaffa Shared and Shattered: Contrieved Coexistence in Israel/Palestine*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

RÉV8 (2012) Magdolna Negyed Program III, 4. kötet. Budapest: Budapest Józsefváros Önkormányzat.

Pápay, G. – Tóth, G. (2013) *Video records of the workshops*. Uncut video.

Smith, N. (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London: Routledge.

Soja, E. W. (1980) The socio-spatial dialectic. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *70*(2), 207–225.

Somlyódi, N. (2015) „A tájépítészet mindig a politika eszköze volt": Interview with Gabor Szohr and Dominika Tihanyi, the Designers of Ujirany Group, August 19. Magyar Narancs. Available at: https://magyarnarancs.hu/lokal/a-tajepiteszet-mindig-a-politika-eszkoze-volt-96143 [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Stevens, G. (1998) *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Tihanyi, D. (2013) Milyen legyen a Teleki tér?, August 14. Építészfórum. Available at: https://epiteszforum.hu/milyen-legyen-a-teleki-ter [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Teleki téri közösségi tervezés. (2013) Online video. Ujirany Group. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KAgeDU9ue0w&list=UU7BVGeUiozzIvS_63-bQ9RQ&index=21 [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Tosics, I. (2016) Részvétel vagy befogadás?, January 11. Urbact. Available at: http://www.urbact.hu/node/191 [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

TTTE. (2015) Meghívó a Teleki téri Közösségi Park 1 éves születésnapjára, September 8. Facebook, TTTE. Available at: https://hu-hu.facebook.com/tarsakatelekiterert/photos/a.172488742923427/473042662868032/?type=3&theater [Accessed: 30-04-2020]

Zöldi, A. (2015) Terepgyakorlat: A Teleki tér megújulása, February 19. Magyar Narancs. Available at: https://magyarnarancs.hu/lokal/terepgyakorlat-93809 [Accessed: 30-04-2020]