The City Quarter as a Common Ground

Rethinking Vienna`s planning strategy for large scale urban projects in times of the IBA with its subject "New Social Living"

Dottorato di ricerca in
Architettura - Teorie e Progetto

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The historical transformation and extension of Vienna

Fig. 1 Panorama Vienna Gustav Veith,, 1873

Vienna, the former capital of the Habsburg Monarchy, can be seen as a good example of the constant preservation and transformation of the Middle European city. The reason for using Vienna as the case study for this thesis is that the city underwent two very innovative urban extensions in its past. One of these was the construction of the world-known *Ringstrasse* (Ring Road), which is a successful junction between the historical city core and the suburban periphery. The project was initiated by the Emperor Franz Josef in the middle of the 19th century and can be considered a product of the first urban architectural competition in the world. The unification of the suburban towns, today's districts 2 to 9, with the inner city's first district was completed in 1861 after many years of political discussion. New modern ideologies rapidly transformed the way of life in the 19th century metropolis. The extensions and transformations radically changed the perception of many European cities and inspired a new method of urban planning. The formerly small, fragmented city of the pre-industrial era was transformed in the middle of the 19th century due to an overall planning strategy.[1]

[1] Harald R. Stühlinger, Der Wettbewerb zur Wiener Ringstrasse: Entstehung, Projekte, Auswirkungen

After Georges-Eugène Haussmann's transformation of Paris in the middle of the 19th century, the boulevard had become the symbol of the modern metropolis. The English architecture magazine *The Builder* said of the urban situation of Vienna in 1850: "Many years back there was a plan to start pulling down the bulky walls of the ramparts and to unite the city with the current suburbs by means of huge streets, leaving, as in Paris, room for boulevards on the largest scale. Vienna can hardly be rated as anything but in the range of the second class of the metropolises of Europe, and awaits, like many things of greater import, the expansion of the new time."[2] In contrast to the quite radical urban transformation of Paris, with linear cuts through the very dense city structure, the *Ringstrasse* was like the filling of an empty space. The former glacis had been the military defence space of Vienna and consisted of a huge open green space surrounding the fortification wall.

Fig. 2 Vienna Glacis 1858, John Murray

[2] The Builder, Bd. 8, Nr. 382,1.Juni 1850, S. 255, In Harald R. Stühlinger, Der Wettbewerb zur Wiener Ringstrasse: Entstehung, Projekte, Auswirkungen

The master plan that was accepted after an urban competition was followed by a compromise between the first three winning proposals. This compromise was typical of the decision making of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its Emperor Franz Joseph, who was a master of diplomacy but whose innovative, modern style of decision making is not well known. In 1858 the emperor founded the "city extension fund", which financed the demolition of the city walls, the construction of new bridges over the Danube canal and all the representative public buildings along the *Ringstrasse*. After the parcelling out of the former glacis land, it was sold to private investors and the empire bore the cost of the construction of famous buildings, such as the opera house, the parliament building, the university and the town hall. The majority of the land parcels were sold to stakeholders from the rising bourgeoisie, who were thus given a clear urban space between the nobles and the working class. Art historian Rudolf von Eiterlberger made a critical comment in the newspaper *Wiener Zeitung* in 1859 regarding this development: "The architectural movement of Vienna is evoked by the necessities of the wealthy population to advance to the centre of the city, which was blocked before for administrative and military reasons. Ultimately, powerful interests of the trade business, urban mobility, health and cultural life shaped the transformation of Vienna."[3] The public-private partnership was a good financial deal for the imperial state, but not for the city of Vienna, which tried without success to gain more influence in the decision-making process.[4] Also, the fact that the former fortification was owned by the city of Vienna and not by the state was given no attention by the royal court. However, the city had to provide all the infrastructural costs from the regional municipal budget.

[3] Wiener Zeitung, Nr. 75, 2. April 1859, In Harald R. Stühlinger, Der Wettbewerb zur Wiener Ringstrasse

[4] Gottfried Pirhofer / Kurt Stimmer, Pläne für Wien: Theorie und Praxis der Wiener Stadtplanung von 1945 bis 2005

Fig.3 Josefstädter Glacis

Fig.4 Master Plan for the *Ringstrasse*

Italian architect Pier Vittorio Aureli describes the *Ringstrasse* as one of the most archetypical spaces of the 19th century metropolis. "The project had two aims; one was the ideological aim to represent the bourgeoisie of the Austrian monarchy. The second was the design of a linear residential city for the middle and upper classes surrounded by public institutions, which is like a parade of

monuments that covered the financial speculation."[5] However, for all its grand monumental value, the boulevard does not really unify the medieval city with the former suburbs in a natural, fluent way. Instead of connecting the historical city with the suburbs through a coherent radial system of vistas or promenades, the side streets flanking the *Ringstrasse* serve, almost exclusively, the autonomous logic of the *Ringstrasse* itself.[6] A huge amount of capital was invested in this extremely large project with its mix of public spaces and monumental buildings. The isolation of the buildings is further underlined by their idiosyncratic eclectic façades, which in fact envelope spaces designed to maximise each building's financial performance, while the baroque space is still a cubic and haptic experiment in a free and optical composition.[7]

There is no typical baroque city form in which buildings continuously frame the street; instead, the buildings are floating in this huge urban void, where the infrastructure plays a fundamental role and becomes a real modern space.[8] This infrastructure was basically needed for mobility and hygiene reasons. The rising individual mobility and the need for a proper sewer system to avoid diseases resulted in a new perspective in the field of urban planning. Somehow the *Ringstrasse* master plan had a quite modern ideology, but the switch between the planning zones to the single buildings was more a travel into the glorious past of the Habsburg monarchy and its admiration for the Roman Empire. The world-famous buildings were designed in differing architectural styles and constitute a circular theme park of neo-classicistic architecture. These historicist buildings, in combination with the master plan, represent the condition of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire at that time. The Habsburg emperors often compared themselves to the ancient Roman imperators. Many buildings from the *Ringstrasse* period have similarities to ancient Greek and Roman architecture, such as the parliament building designed by Theophil von Hansen in 1874, the Karls Church by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1715) and the new castle of Gottfried Semper and Karl von Hasenauer (1869). This fact reflects the

[5] Pier Vittorio Aurel, Lecture: Design Without Qualities: Architecture and the Rise of Abstraction
[6] Amir Djalali, Common Space: Politics and the Production of Architectural Knowledge
[7] Ibid.
[8] Pier Vittorio Aurel, Lecture: Design Without Qualities: Architecture and the Rise of Abstraction

dualistic position of the emperor, Franz Josef, who knew that the city had to transform, like other European capitals, into a modern metropolis. On the other hand, he admired the historical, traditional way of historicism. The *Ringstrasse* is not a coherent space but rather a fragmented one, which is also visible in the master plan of the project. All in all, it became a very successful urban project and a paradigm of 19th century city planning.[9]

The unification of the former suburbs with the inner city was a symbolic move to incorporate the working class into the townspeople. David Frisby suggests another perspective in his text "Imaginaries and Modernity": "Vienna's inside / outside dialectic was reinforced not merely by the *Ringstrasse*, the intention of which was the break down the separation of the inner core from the inner suburbs but whose actual effect was to strengthen this separation, but also by the fact that the main radial streets now did not enter the inner city but terminated at the *Ringstrasse*."[10] This separation was definitely a real fact in the socio-economic pattern of Vienna, in the way of an early form of "gentrification" of the trade and industry districts. The nobility and the upper class bourgeoisie settled in the historical centre and in the new representative buildings of the *Ringstrasse*. Civil servants and the lower middle class settled in districts 2 to 9 and dispersed the underclass and the working class proletariat to the outskirts of the former *Linienwall*, which was a light fortification at that time. These very poor neighbourhoods are today's 15th, 16th and 17th districts, in the so-called "*Gürtel* (Belt) Zone". Until today, these districts can be considered popular working class areas with a high number of residents with migration background.

If we go back to the master plan for the *Ringstrasse* and its buildings, two famous Viennese architects had important and quite differing criticisms of this huge urban project. One was Camillo Sitte, in his book *City planning according to artistic principals*. The work is a polemic against the architecture of the "Ring", which destroyed the haptic of the historical urban space in the form of enclosed medieval squares. Sitte's critique is underpinned by nostalgia about the historical

[9] Pier Vittorio Aurel, Lecture: Design Without Qualities: Architecture and the Rise of Abstraction
[10] David Frisby, Streets, Imaginaries, and Modernity: Vienna is not Berlin

city, and he did not consider circulation as the most important element of the modern city.[11] The other important architect of that time who criticised the *Ringstrasse* was Otto Wagner. For Wagner, the urban space with its wide boulevards and clear urban spaces was a highly successful project. For him the urban spaces of the *Ringstrasse* represented the modern city, but the architecture of the buildings was too classical and too monumental in his opinion.[12] In his writings Wagner described the modern metropolis as a continuous repetition of the modern urban block with a variation in the designs of the façades and a focus on urban circulation and mobility.

As the 20th century approached, Vienna had a population of 2 million inhabitants and was the 5th largest city in the world in 1900 after New York, London, Paris and Berlin. At that time, the vision of a metropolis with a population of 4 million was quite realistic and many large-scale urban projects were being planned. Wagner was the leading Viennese architect at the time. He was an internationally-recognised architectural theorist, urban planner and professor. In 1911 he developed a master plan for the "endless big city", a kind of endless extension of Vienna. Wagner's plan for Vienna was a kind of speculative project that could be implemented when the municipality decided to expand the city.

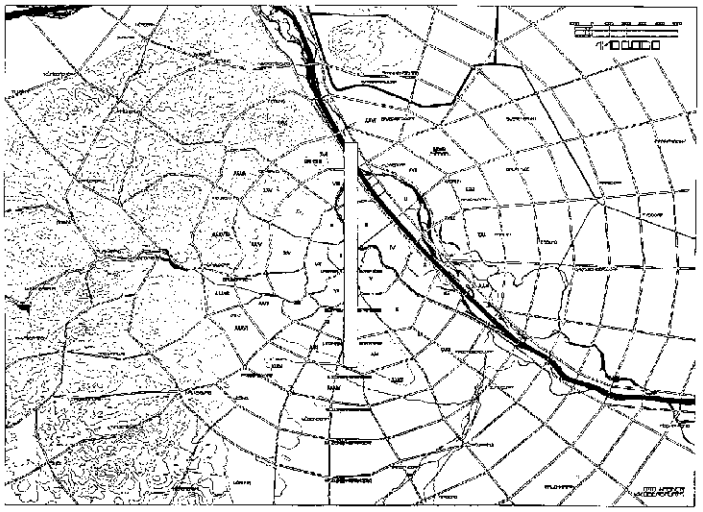


Fig 5 Otto Wagner 1910, Plan for the *Großstadt*

[11] Pier Vittorio Aurel, Lecture: Design Without Qualities: Architecture and the Rise of Abstraction
[12] Ibid.

The main idea was to reduce the macro-project of the city to the pure problem of circulation.[13] Wagner suggested that the municipality should buy the agricultural land in advance at a low price to avoid the fragmentation of the urban development areas by private stakeholders. After the land had been urbanised, it could be sold to private investors to finance the public infrastructure. The whole project would be based on the endless urbanisation of the city, in which it reproduced itself.[14] All the new city districts were, in Wagner's mind a constant network of flows guided by an efficient infrastructure network. He designed a radio-centric grid, with 31 districts for 100,000 to 150,000 inhabitants, in which every district had its own public cultural and social infrastructure.[15] Those districts were located in a greater system of radial boulevards, with each one starting from the city centre. According to this strategy there would be no limits to the size of the city, besides its topographical boundaries.[16]

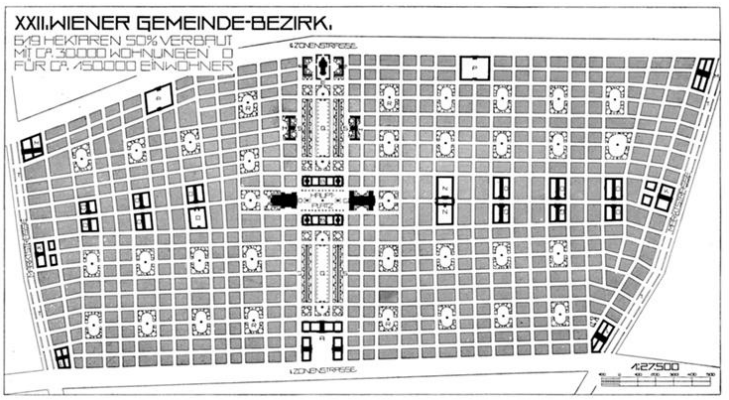


Fig 6 Otto Wagner 1910, Plan for the *Großstadt*

[13] Pier Vittorio Aurel, Lecture: Design Without Qualities: Architecture and the Rise of Abstraction
[14] Ibid.
[15] Helmut Weihsmann, Das Rote Wien: Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunikation 1919 – 1934
[16] Roberto Cavallo, Railways in the Urban Context: an architectural discourse

Fig 7 Otto Wagner 1910, Plan for the *Großstadt*

The money raised from the selling the land would finance these public buildings. For the bourgeoisie, the aristocracy and Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Wagner`s urban vision was too radical, so he was only commissioned to construct the Vienna *Stadtbahn* (city train) and the regulation of the Danube canal. The *Stadtbahn* was one of the first attempts to build a railway system as a coherent urban design project for the pre-metro system of the city, which opened in 1898. It was a complementary project to the *Ringstrasse* and encircled the city centre with a public transport circle, which could have been eventually expanded to address the future urban growth of the city.[17] It was also a kind of "public project" to propose an efficient mobility solution for the ordinary residents of Vienna. The different stations were to have a continuous design language, depending on the urban situation. It became a morphological project consisting of new technology and the existing historical structure of the city. The design for the *Stadtbahn* was a mix of brick aqueducts and light steel constructions, which were placed in an elegant way between the existing urban buildings. This project, which is very often overlooked by historians, is one of the very first projects of modern contemporary urban space.[18] The provision of urban mobility as a kind of social infrastructure can be seen as a starting point of the "common city" and its individuality. The debate on straight or crooked streets in the 1890s raised

[17] Pier Vittorio Aurel, Lecture: Design Without Qualities: Architecture and the Rise of Abstraction
[18] Ibid.

issues associated with the power of capital, the circulation of commodities and individuals, traffic configurations, the aesthetics of the street, historical memory, modernity and anti-modernity, street infrastructure and the pathologies of urban life.[19]

Fig.8: Otto Wagner, Vienna *Stadtbahn* System

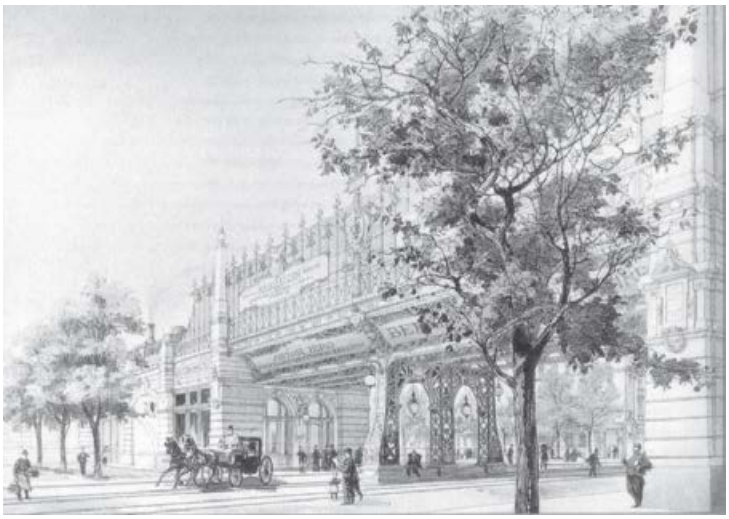


Fig 9 Drawing *Stadtbahn* Otto Wagner

[19] David Frisby, Streets, Imaginaries, and Modernity: Vienna Is Not Berlin

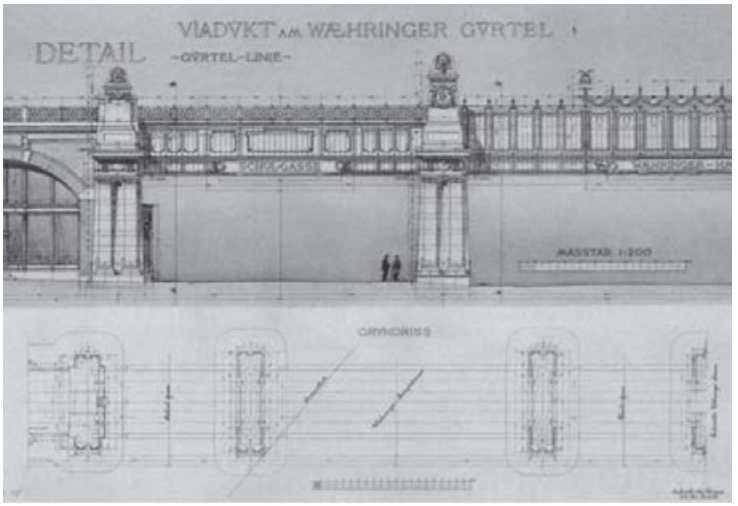


Fig 10 Drawing *Stadtbahn* Otto Wagner

On the other hand, Wagner monumentalised the flows, the differing directions and the urban-mobility purpose on which this project was based, in which the various flows of the city became visible. He accepted the ultimate fragmentation of the city and its increasing mobility, so that it functioned like a network in which the city was a blank space. This was achieved through circulation.[20] Until today the *Stadtbahn*, which was later integrated into the Viennese Metro system, is a unique and significant part of the city structure. The viaduct structure of the metro stations bordering the U6 line, which was built in the space where the *Linienwall* fortification of the city used to be, is an urban infill between the 19th century *Gründerzeit* city and the public transport infrastructure of the early 20th century. In 1998 the city initiated a regeneration project for the empty space in order to upgrade area, because the *Gürtel* Zone had become a den of prostitution and drug dealing. Today many little shops, bars and nightclubs are located under Wagner`s *Stadtbahn*, which connects the inner city districts with the more socially segregated suburban districts.

> Siegfried Giedion described Wagner`s idea of the *Großstadt* as an visionary, positive form of urban planning:

[20] Pier Vittorio Aurel, Lecture: Design Without Qualities: Architecture and the Rise of Abstraction

> Otto Wagner (1841-1918) belonged to a generation which had retained the hopeful attitude of the nineteenth century towards industry. He could never have imagined that the time would come when the great city – then at the full tide of its growth – would find its prosperity seriously threatened.[21]

Fig. 11 Viaducts of the *Stadtbahn*

At the beginning of the 20th century there was the time for a change in the way in which urban planning was conducted and a need to include the inhabitants in the planning process of the modern city. Wagner was among the first to see this clearly. His main interest was the creation of a healthy environment for the average man. He was one of the earliest to recognise that a great city embraces many different types of people, each type requiring a different kind of dwelling.[22] We can see in his approach to urban planning that he always had in mind the importance of social infrastructure, mobility and mixed-use multifunctional urban quarters. Compared to the current large-scale urban projects in Vienna and in other European cities, his ideas for new city quarters and urban life was

[21] Siegfried Giedion, Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition, Part 8: City Planning as a Human Problem
[22] Ibid.

far more innovative than most of the recently constructed city extensions in many major cities.

1.2 Background and Research Questions

If we look at current European city extensions, we can see a kind of undefined, soulless design and planning strategy. Top-down master-planning practices cannot accommodate the state-of-the art needs of a changing metropolitan society. The financial crisis of 2007, globalisation and digitalisation are motivating a different kind of living condition. Traditional labour conditions and the strict differentiation between working time and leisure time are changing into the more flexible ideology of the postmodern city dweller. In many major European cities, the property market has become overpriced in recent years and unaffordable for most residents. Many fast-growing cities, such as Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna and Copenhagen, are hosting master-planning competitions for their former brownfield areas or in their suburban areas. Most of the winning design proposals are have a soulless design strategy based on the classical "bird's eye" master plan, followed by strict planning rules and a dependency on profit-driven public-private partnerships.

The focus of this thesis is the city of Vienna and its transformation from a shrinking to a growing central European city. The two principal historical city extensions, the *Ringstrasse* in the 19th century and the "Red Vienna" social housing programme in the 20th century had a significant influence on the city and constituted clear statements about the important planning questions of that time. Today the *Ringstrasse* can be seen as an infrastructural project with many extraordinary buildings, which became major tourist attractions and boosted the commercial success of the city. On the other hand, the interwar social housing programme of "Red Vienna", which constitutes about 25% of the overall housing stock, is the backbone of affordable living in the city. These housing types, with their very particular architectural designs, made a statement about the poor living conditions of the working class population at the beginning of the 20th century.

Historically, architecture and city planning has always referred and reacted to the socio-economic and political situation of its time. With medieval cities the

most important planning issue was the fortification for the security of their population. On the other hand, 19th century planning strategies were based on the fast production of residential spaces for the rising labour class and their control. The European revolutions from 1848 fanned fear among the ruling aristocracy and resulted in changes in the urban and political landscape of Europe. Eugene Haussmann's plans for the transformation of Paris, with its large Boulevards and Vienna's *Ringstrasse* development was premised on the control of the urban space. The rising bourgeoisie became key players in 19th century city life and their financial capital shaped many shiny streets. During the industrial revolution, major cities rapidly doubled their populations and factory workers settled in poor neighbourhoods under terrible living conditions. The improvement of housing conditions for the labour class was a key task for "social" urban planning at the beginning of the 20th century. This was strengthened with the First World War and the global financial crisis of 1929, followed by a radical change of political power and the rise of nationalism. By 1919 Austria in particular had changed from being a multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian monarchy with 54 million inhabitants into a small nation state with 6,5 million residents.

In 1918, the Social Democrat Party had come to power and developed the "Austro-Marxism" model in Vienna. One of the focus points was to address the housing shortage with the construction of 66,000 new apartments in former brownfield areas in the city. Shortly before the decision was made to construct the "Red Vienna" communal housing, another fascinating and entirely overlooked urban phenomenon occurred. The *Siedlerbewegung* (Settler Movement), which had started constructing illegal, self-built settlements on the outskirts, became the counterpart to the political project of the city municipality. After protests by the settlers, who demanded that the municipality accept their housing movement, the city council legalised the settlements and various building-cooperative groups (Bau-Genossenschaft) were formed. Many prominent modern architects of that time, such as Adolf Loos, Josef Frank and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, supported the *Siedlerbewegung* with their ideas and some buildings. The settlements were built primarily by the residents and

included vast gardens, which facilitated the possibility of "self-sufficient" urban life. Urban housing was seen as a "collective project" of the settlers, in contrast to the "Red Vienna" superblocks, which were much more representative of a private sphere for the working class family. The architectural language of this huge social housing project was more or less rooted in the end of the 19th century. Many of the architects had been trained in the master class of Otto Wagner at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, the influence of which is visible in the hybrid design language, with their mix of elements from classicistic and modernistic architecture. This unique architectural style, together with large green courtyards, is still today the face of the working class and their right to the city. The basic architecture of "Red Vienna" was the residential unit block that was the home of the "Fordist" factory workers in the 1930s, with an evident separation between the private flat and the public courtyard. Its privacy was very much related to the family structure as a single unit, and the social and spatial difference between working and leisure time.
This separation continued in the 1960s and 70s, with suburban modernist block settlements such as *Grossfeldsiedlung*, the *Schöpfwerk* and *Donau City*. On the other hand, many single-family housing units were built on the outskirts of Vienna. The fragmented modern-block architecture of these houses has a typical suburban neighbourhood feeling.

The architect Roland Rainer, who was appointed as the city municipality urban planner in 1958, criticised the ruthless use of land for fragmented urban settlements on the Viennese periphery. For Rainer, the urban extension of the city was like the continuous weaving of a carpet with respect to the historical heritage. In his planning concept for Vienna, premised on a predicted constant population, the challenge of the urban transformation was the ageing population, which resulted in a decrease of working people and an increase of retirees. In his concept, "the segmented and scattered city", he proposed a scattering of the historical parts of the city and a densification of the suburban neighbourhoods. He also criticised the small substandard apartments in the *Gründerzeit* districts and the ongoing densification of the inner city at that time. For Rainer, it was much more efficient and economical to construct new dense

settlements in the suburbs of Vienna. The cheaper land would ensure the affordability of bigger apartments with private gardens and spaces for leisure activities. This strategy was based on the rising wealth of the middle-class family, which made the innovative architectural typologies of the 1970s affordable. Rainer's planning strategy was a direct reaction to the socio-economic and demographic situation in Vienna at that time. Many new housing settlements followed this example, especially in the suburban Donaustadt district. This progress was somehow the end of the "public project" towards an extended outdoor private space. The urban extension of the city became a playground for private investors, and the definitions and characteristics of the private/public dichotomy have dominated the leading civic discourse until today. It is clear that the production of urban space primarily pertains to the sphere of private interest. These personal interests are daily realities in public-private partnerships, in which capital controls the quality of newly-built urban spaces.

The focus on the future of the "European City" after the Second World War was based on the rising wealth of the so-called "post-war generation", with its increasing individual mobility and wealth, in combination with a powerful national welfare state. This welfare state became a symbol of the success of the European States, with their booming economies and endless possibilities. The European Union and its constant expansion were based on the success of a great collective, made up of various nation states. The notable players in this organisation were the main cities and their financial capitals, which resulted in a new "Renaissance" of the European city. Many new urban dwellers settled in central areas and revealed the importance of urbanity and lively neighbourhoods. This new "urban boom" resulted in a significant rent increase, followed by various displacement processes. Neoliberal ideologies forced the gradual downsizing of the welfare state and changed the possibility for a large part of societies to have decent jobs and affordable housing. Rising rents were reducing the private space to a minimum, a situation that would lead to a "public substitution" of the missing square metres. Working conditions had already changed drastically and the "typical" factory or office space was increasingly replaced by flexible multifunctional open spaces or co-working facilities. Also,

the borders between work and leisure areas are not that clear anymore, and the idea of a city without labour does not seem like a total utopia anymore. Ongoing globalisation and digitalisation is reducing the number of jobs and an unconditional basic income provided by the state could be a real fact in the future.

British architect Cedric Price had already proclaimed the notion of a society without labour in his project "Fun Palace" in 1962, and proposed in the project a kind of open multifunctional architectural typology for different kinds of activities. This had been a very radical and approach at that time in the context of the rising neoliberal British society and in the framework of architecture as the factory for urban life and its social interaction.

> The Fun Palace would challenge the very definition of architecture, for it was not even a conventional 'building' at all, but rather a kind of scaffold or framework, enclosing a socially interactive machine – a virtual architecture merging art and technology. In a sense, it was the realisation of the long unfulfilled promise of Le Corbusier's claims of a technologically informed architecture and the "machine for living". It was not a museum, nor a school, theatre, or funfair, and yet it could be all of these things simultaneously or at different times.[23]

The fact is that a rapidly changing society, with different leisure and labour conditions, needs an architecture of appropriation. This space must be flexible, multifunctional, with good solar conditions and easy to use. For that, Cedric Price's "Fun Palace" example was prescient in its design and multi-functionality. Also, the role of the European welfare state and its decline in the context of neoliberal politics and a capitalistic society, and its relation to architecture are notable facts:

[23] Stanley Mathews Hobart and William Smith Colleges: The Fun Palace: Cedric Price's experiment in architecture and technology

> If the built-up environment was of little significance to the welfare state, this situation might be understandable. But the planning of the built-up environment – from new towns, to social housing, to schools and universities, hospitals and healthcare centres, to leisure and sports complexes, to arts centres – was one of the key areas in which the welfare state sought to achieve its ambitions of economic redistribution and social welfare.[24]

Vienna, with its "Red Vienna" interwar social housing programme and its social democratic city government, is a prototypical city with respect to the interaction between the welfare state, its society and the role of architecture. It is important to see that a rapidly changing society needs an adaptation in the different functions of architectural space. In the early 20th century places of communal services were becoming enhanced with new components: *kindergartens*, schools, healthcare centres and hospitals, sports facilities and neighbourhood markets were all the result of struggles to which working class organisations had dedicated their active efforts.[25] In 2016, the city municipality decided to host the international building exhibition IBA in 2022, with the topic "New Social Housing". After the IBA had been announced, a vibrant discussion started in the form of public lectures, workshops and student projects. The discussions are mainly about the big three current urban development projects, the "Central Station", *Seestadt Aspern* and the "North Station" development, and their problems in the planning discourse, their mono-functionality and how to create an "Urban Quarter".

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss the role of architecture in the context of newly built city quarters and the need for "common spaces" and their qualities. At the beginning the focus is on the "Red Vienna" period as a positive historical example, and after that on the three dominant types of the European city quarter

[24] Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete and Dirk van den Heuvel, Architecture and the Welfare State
[25] Edoardo Salzano, Yesterday. The "right to the city" as it developed in post-fascist Italy, in The city as a common good: building the future drawing from our history

landscape and their urban qualities, namely the medieval quarter, the *Gründerzeit* quarter and the modern quarter, followed by the postmodern quarter and its production of urban space. The main idea is to discuss the current urban planning strategy of Vienna within the three large-scale urban development projects and their position in relation to the IBA topic "New Social Housing". It is obvious that there is a need to provide more than only residential space in new city quarters. To achieve that, architectural spaces beyond the conventional apartment building are needed to create a vibrant urban quarter. It seems that former industrial buildings with their open floor plans and their imposing architecture are working very well in cities such as Berlin, Rome, Athens and Amsterdam as a space for the production of an alternative approach to urban space and the role of architecture. These empty, formerly industrial buildings are mostly invaded by young creatives to host cultural activities. It is clear that with the rising prices in the housing market, private spaces are declining and this "lost-space" should be substituted with new architecture as a "common ground" for residents. The question is how these flexible multifunctional spaces could be integrated and financed in the urban development process and the problematic process of public private partnerships.

1.3 Conceptual Framework of the terms "Urban Commons" and "Appropriation of Space"

In recent years, the term "Urban Commons" has become increasingly popular within the field of urban studies and architecture. Since the Global Financial Crisis in 2007, many informal social movements have claimed their space and existence in cities around Europe, especially in Spain, Italy and Greece. A high number of mostly younger residents lost their jobs, and some countries made significant budget cuts in their welfare system. So-called "bottom up" movements often illegally occupy empty spots or buildings in the city. These spaces are mostly located in central areas of the city, in former industrial factories, empty building plots, cinemas, theatres or other atmospherically usable constructions. Urban gardening, free open air cinemas and concerts are often considered to be "Urban Commons", but the principle behind the term is more rooted in the "right to the city" movement and the collective protest against neoliberal planning and the decline of the welfare state.

Most definitions present commons as a construct comprised of three main parts: (a) common resources, (b) institutions (i.e. commoning practices) and (c) the communities (called "commoners") who are involved in the production of commons.[26] Common resources are, for example, public infrastructure such as access to clean water, streets, canalisation, or institutions such as *kindergartens*, schools, university buildings and hospitals. The communities that are organised as "collectives" of the "commoners" are organising themselves for the use and programming of spaces and activities. Energy and climate expert Jörg Haas describes the "commons" as consisting of things (resources, objects, spaces), systems and practices (regulations, communing), and the communities that are involved. Normally access to common resources is free or a very low amount has to be paid. Usually, if there is a high rent for the usage of a common space or resource, this overall idea of the shared collective space is not valid anymore. Affordability is one of the key issues of commoning and the guarantee of the

[26] Yochai Benkler, "The Political Economy of Commons" in Genes, Bytes and Emissions: To Whom Does the World Belong

further planning possibilities of the collective. Greek architect Stavros Stavrides describes the term "urban commons" as a social process:

> [C]onceptualising the commons involves three things at the same time. First, all commons involve some sort of common pool resources, understood as non-commodified means of fulfilling people`s needs. Secondly, the commons are necessarily created and sustained by communities […]. [T]he third and most important element in terms of conceptualising the commons is the verb "to common" – the social process that creates and reproduces the commons.[27]

A common quarter should have public outdoor and indoor locations that are spaces for labour and leisure time, and the exchange and interaction between residents. The concept of co-working spaces, which are usually quite expensive to rent, means providing an open, interactive working situation where people with differing professions can exchange their knowledge. An unstable and malleable social relation between a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet-to-be-created social and/ or physical environment is deemed crucial to its life and livelihood.[28]

> Traditionally, the common are the commons: resources that are owned collectively and for this reason could not be made private property. The commons are water, rivers, forests, etc. But a very important kind of commons is knowledge: the product of shared and collective intelligence that allows a multitude to cooperate and work together. What we traditionally understand as the "discipline of architecture" – i.e. a body of knowledge made up of experiences, historical examples, design and building techniques, ways to understand space and forms – is not the product of a few

[27] Massimo De Angelis and Stavros Stavrides,"On the Commons: A Public Interview with Massimo De Angelis and Stavros Stavrides," An Architektur e-flux journal, no.17
[28] David Harvey, Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution

> talented geniuses, but it is always collectively produced. Architecture can only exist as shared and thus common knowledge.[29]

Pier Vittoria Aureli is describing an important fact: that common resources are not always physical or visible as a form of public infrastructure. It is also important to see knowledge as shared and collective, because it is based on the interaction between people. This kind of interaction works very well on different online platforms, but in "real" world, spaces such as the Viennese coffee house, which were spaces for intellectual discourse, have became quite rare in our neoliberal society. It is important to create architectural spaces to keep the discourse in the "real life" world alive. From marginalised "grey spaces" and residential areas to vast open public city squares and their digital counterparts in the online world, contemporary spatiotemporal asymmetries constitute a population of locales with diverse rhythms of function, spread across a spectrum of complexity.[30] On the other hand, for North American geographer David Harvey, the need for the collective on urban issues is one of the most relevant points:

> The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is far more than the individual right, since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the process of urbanisation.[31]

If within the decline of the welfare state and rising neoliberal capitalism and its strategy to reduce common goods and the enclosure of spaces, which Ivan Illich referred to as "vernacular culture", then any form of resistance would certainly benefit from choosing the cooperation of differentiated practices over binary

[29] Pier Vittorio Aureli, The Common and the Production of Architecture: Early hypotheses
[30] Oren Yiftachel, 'Critical theory and "grey space": Mobilization of the colonized'
[31] David Harvey: „The Right to the City"

capital-labour relationships.[32] This implies the rise of non-hierarchical practices, which unlike more militant forms of resistance, might spread horizontally, constantly re-evaluating short-term configurations and long-term ambitions.[33] Hardt and Negri propose that the metropolis should be the factory of the production of the "common"; they suggest this as an entry point for anti-capitalist critique and political activism.[34] This form of a common metropolis needs the architectural space to become this factory. Not all spaces have the right quality to be representative of the social interaction of the urban dweller. When we think about space, we have looked only at its containers. If space itself is invisible, all theory about the production of space is based on an obsessive preoccupation with its opposite: substance and objects, i.e. architecture.[35]

To understand and analyse the symbolic and material perception of urban architectural spaces, it is necessary to first comprehend the various theories on the "production of space". Space and the distinction between inside and outside and their qualities are important questions in the architectural discourse. The role of space in our society is very important. For Michel Foucault, the condition of time defined the society of the 19th century, in contrast to today, when we observe that our society is more oriented towards space.[36] Space is a philosophical, sociological and physical term, which we can distinguish, according to Martina Löw, in terms of three theoretical definitions of space: the absolute space theory, the relative space theory and rational space theory.[37] The absolute space can be defined as a homogenous continuous space, which is represented as a closed container with moving objects inside it.[38] A room is defined as a container that exists independently from the objects and can be defined as moving people in architectural spaces.[39] For Aristotle, space was finite and dense, and for Newton endless and empty: in terms of the absolute theory,

[32] Ivan Illich, Vernacular Values
[33] Heidi Sohn, Stavros Kousoulas, Gerhard Bruyns, Commoning as Differentiated Publicness, Emerging Concepts of the Urban and other Material Realities
[34] David Harvey, Rebell Cities: From the right to the city
[35] Rem Koolhass, Junkspace
[36] Michael Focault: Andere Räume
[37] Martina Löw, Raumsoziologie
[38] Dieter Läpple, Gesellschaftszentriertes Raumkonzept
[39] Martina Löw, Raumsoziologie

space is defined as a container that is independent of the objects that exist in the space. Kant's view on space is based on the absolute definition of his principle of order, where space is not the object but the form of possible objects.[40] On the other hand, David Harvey's description of the entirety of space is a useful measurement for the definition; he compares it to a cadastre that could appear as a grid. The social consequences of this space depiction are national and administrative borders, and private properties.[41] Even before Kant, Leibnitz overcame the relational space theory, in terms of which there is no dimension of space that is separated from its objects. For him, space was the concept of order in which the observer was relative and the users were side by side. For Leibniz, space was relational because spatiality can be defined only in terms of interaction and relation. The relational conception of space is that there is no space and no time outside of the process of definition.[42] David Harvey proposed the simultaneous existence of absolute, relative and relational space.[43] Similarly to Henri Lefebvre, who completed in his theory of space, Harvey's theory of the trichotomy of material space is as follows:

> 1. Spatial practice, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance.
>
> 2. Representations of space, which are tied to the relation of production and to the "order" which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to "frontal" relations.

[40] Martina Löw, Raumsoziologie
[41] David Harvey, Räume der Neoliberialisierung
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.

> 3. Representational spaces, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may eventually come to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces).[44]

Dieter Läpple also defines space as a container and a relational ordinal-space. He suggests defining space, not as a closed container, but as a "Matrix-Space" where space and objects are not a separate definition but should form social interactions. Matrix-Space is a self-formative and restructuring space in which regulation systems are defined based on the power structure, ownership, class-conditions, juridical rules and the interconnection between the people and the artefacts.[45] If a society produces the material space with its forces and contradictions, the physical space will represent the power structures and the differences between the social classes of each society.

The relevance for its social character within the context of society will be produced after the appropriation of its user and their different uses.[46] It is clear that these quite complex sociological terms are not easy to transfer to an architectural context. The aim of the thesis is to focus on "open" architectural spaces that can be appropriated and which produce and provoke social interactions between the users. As Henri Lefebvre said, "Every society produces its own space". In that sense there is a need to rethink the actual design language of urban projects and their focus on the financial capital, which is not facilitating any form of urbanity or social interaction.

[44] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space
[45] Alessio Sandri, Soziale Integration im Wiener Sonnwendviertel
[46] Dieter Läpple, Gesellschaftszentriertes Raumkonzept

1.3 The Viennese Settlers Movement and the Social Housing programme of "Red Vienna"

At the beginning of the 20th century, Vienna had about two million residents, about 300,000 more than today. The housing shortage resulted in miserable living conditions for the majority of the working class. Many families lived in small substandard apartments, which had neither a WC nor running water. The apartments consisted of a kitchen and a room that was frequently shared by more than ten occupants. This housing shortage was a result of the rapid migration of workers from the surrounding territory of the Habsburg Empire. To understand the specific needs related to urban renewal in Vienna, it is necessary to have a look at its urban development in the 19th century. As with most of the European metropolises, Vienna had been an imperial residence city for centuries and had its most important period of urban growth during the second half of the 19th century. Industrialisation led to the rise of a broad belt of industrial enterprises and forced the private speculative building sector to produce, in a short period, many substandard housing units for the working class on the outskirts of the medieval city.[47]

The newly arrived workers became victims of the collapsed housing market and had to spend a large portion of their salaries on expensive rentals. Many tenants rented out their beds in the tiny one-room apartments to strangers during the day. Most of them were shift workers in factories that did not have their own apartments. In 1917, due to this situation, and following protests by the workers, the city determined a rent control law. At that time, Vienna had 554,544 apartments, and 73% of them were one- or one-and-a-half room flats without bathrooms, toilets or extra kitchens. Only 20,628 apartments met the standards we are used to today, with two rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom.[48] After the end of the First World War and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the population of the multi-ethnic state of 56 million inhabitants shrank to 6,5 million inhabitants under the Austrian Republic. The loss of resources from the

[47] Michaela Paal, The end of the Viennese way: Changing strategies and spatial impacts of soft urban renewal in the Austrian capital

[48] Helmut Weihsmann, Das Rote Wien: Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919 - 1934

former crown lands caused economic troubles for the new republic, especially for Vienna. A high number of German-speaking soldiers, public officials and railway employees were deported from Hungary, Poland, Bohemia and Moravia to Austria. Most of them settled in Vienna, which put even greater pressure on the housing market.[49] Moreover, the production of residential space was not regulated by need but by the amount of possible financial profit for the investors. If the financiers could maximise their profits better in other industries, then the capital went there. Even if the housing market was profitable, it was not possible to provide such a high number of new buildings in a short time. The city's municipality attempted a simplification of the construction activity in the form of orthogonal ground grids, tax exemption and an unregulated law of tenancy. This situation led to extremely high rents and dire living conditions for the poor population of Vienna.[50] As a result, many working class families were compelled to live as subtenants, lodgers, and *bettgeher* (bed tenants), who rented time in bed but were otherwise entitled to no further use of the apartments' space or facilities.[51]

Fig. 12 Housing situation in Vienna in around 1900

[49] Helmut Weihsmann, Das Rote Wien: Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919 - 1934

[50] Christoph Lammerhuber, Christoph Luchsinger, Isolde Rajek Manfred Schenekl: Urbanität durch Wohnen Eine neue Stadterneuerung, Erarbeitung von Kriterien zur Verbesserung der Wohnraumversorgung bestehender Wohnanlagen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Dichtebegriffs

[51] Eve Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna: The Historical City

At the same time, the social conditions in the physical space of the city structure caused by the Viennese speculative private housing sector resulted in social segregation between the districts. A particular residential pattern developed over the city map, which is still visible today. In 1892 a law exempted the owners of tenements in the other districts from real estate taxation for thirty years.[52] Ostensibly intended to encourage the construction of inexpensive housing, this law triggered a decade of widespread speculation. Tenements, which were known at this time as "rental barracks", became the property of small investors who exploited the legal building prescription to build on every square metre allowed by the building law. According to the housing census of 1917, the number of the smallest dwellings (one-room and kitchen apartments, the largest of which also had a small cabinet) was 405,991, or 73 percent of the 554,525 residential units in Vienna. The poor population found their small primary apartments around the so-called *Gürtel* zone and in the second and 20th districts. About 80% of the working class residents lived in these sub-standard apartments outside the city centre.[53] In the seven predominantly proletarian districts, such small apartments constituted over 90 percent of the housing stock.[54] Most of the districts between the *Gürtel* and the *Ringstrasse* were popular residential areas for the lower middle class and craftsmen. The upper-class bourgeoisie and the aristocracy settled around the *Ringstrasse* in the first district. The high rent taxes in Vienna (more than twice those of Berlin at the time) had two significant implications for the housing system in Vienna. Firstly, they led to increased building density. Secondly, they made large-scale investment in land speculation unprofitable. Most of the rental property in Vienna, as a result, was owned by individuals or groups of individuals rather than by large corporations.[55] The property market was not controlled by the city, and the ruling Christian Socialist party had no interest in the rising working class and their housing problems. In 1911, the rent and food prices simultaneously increased and this provoked a "rent-strike" and widespread rioting by a significant portion of the Viennese

[52] Eve Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna: The Historical City
[53] Wolfgang Maderthaner / Lutz Musner: Die Anarchie der Vorstadt. Das andere Wien um 1900
[54] Eve Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna: The Historical City
[55] Ibd.

population. The situation concerning small, affordable food resources became much worse during the First World War. In 1915 neither the imperial bureaucracy nor the city administration was capable of providing shelter or enough food to sustain the two million inhabitants.[56] Due to the heavy food and housing crisis, settlers started to squat on public land on the outskirts of Vienna. At the beginning of the movement, they lived in self-built shelters and planted their own vegetables in huge gardens. By 1918 more than 100,000 people were living in their self-built shelters on 6,5 million square metres, which were cultivated by 14,000 families. According to the gardening newspaper *Gartenfreund*, the food production in 1918 amounted to 1,200 railway cars of vegetables and provided nourishment for 160,000 people.[57] Peter Marcuse described this huge self-sufficient phenomenon of urban agriculture as "probably the most widespread example of physical self-help in housing in the twentieth century in an industrialised nation",[58] which resulted from the heavy economic condition caused by World War One and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Many architects and intellectuals were involved in the settlement movement, such as Adolf Loos, Josef Frank, Margarete Lihotzky, Franz Schuster, Gustav Scheu, Max Ermers and Otto Neurath, who were sympathetic to garden city ideas but who also strongly supported the Social Democrats' social and economic policy for Vienna.[59] In 1918, when the Social Democratic Party came to power, the city municipality declared immediately that addressing the problematic food supply and the housing crisis was at the top of their priority list. The conflict between the city officials and the illegal settlers ended, after much negotiation, with the legalisation of the settlement movement by the city of Vienna.

[56] Eve Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna
[57] Ibid.
[58] Peter Marcuse, A Useful Instalment of Socialist Work: : Housing in Red Vienna in the 1920s
[59] Eve Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna

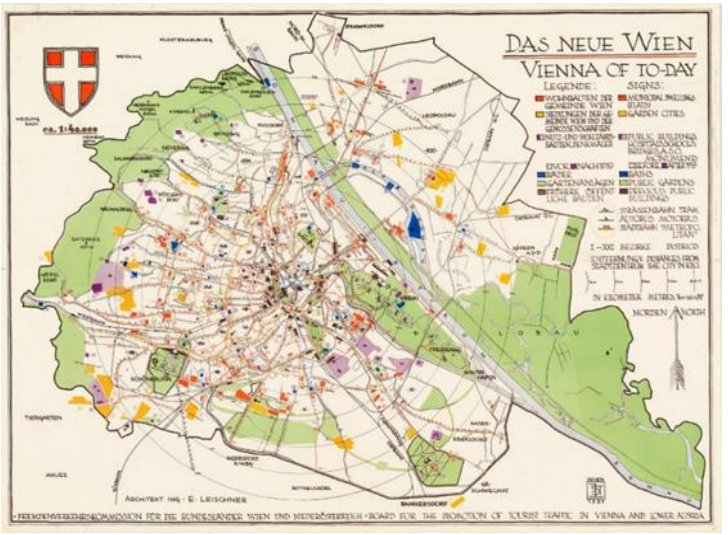


Fig. 13 "New Vienna Map"

In the years between 1919 and 1923, the wild settlements became permanent communities, and they began to organise themselves politically and economically into cooperative associations that took it upon themselves to grow their own food, produce their building materials, and construct and manage their housing.[60] A kind of self-help movement emerged and began to be organised into special community clubs. In addition to social and cultural clubs, the settlers also established a newspaper, a museum and schools. But beyond a "curriculum" of lecture series by prominent figures of the movement, the settlers' schools remain widely unexplored.[61] Factory and railway workers, art historians, writers, civil servants, anarchists, Christian socialists, libertarians and Baptist-theosophists, socialists, German nationalists and Jews worked adjacent to and with one another.[62] In 1921 the settlement movement obtained the support of the mayor of Vienna and a number of Social Democratic politicians, as well as that of left-leaning architects, journalists and intellectuals such as Adolf Loos, Margarete Lihotzky, Max Ermers and Otto Neurath, who attended the second largest settlers demonstration in front of the city hall on 3 April 1921 and helped

[60] Eve Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna

[61] Stefan Gruber, Designing Commining Institutions: The Dilemma of the Vienna Settlers, the Commoner, and the Architect, in Spaces of CommoningArtistic Research and the Utopia of the Everyday

[62] Klaus Novy and Wolfgang Förster, Einfach Bauen

to air the grievances of the workers in the city. Adolf Loos became the architectural director of the *Siedlungsamt* (settlement office) and was the chief architect of the settlement movement from 1921 to 1924. His office drew up the first settlement zoning plan and he established design guidelines for further settlements. In 1921 Loos developed a prototype settlement house, which was called "House with one Wall: System Loos". He applied his new structural system to an 8-row house in Plachygasse. The purpose of Loos' invention, which was patented in December 1921, was to cut building costs by reducing materials and labour.[63] He explained that it was more efficient if the foundations of the two external walls were dispensed with. This is done by suspending them from, rather than basing them on, the foundation that supported them.[64]

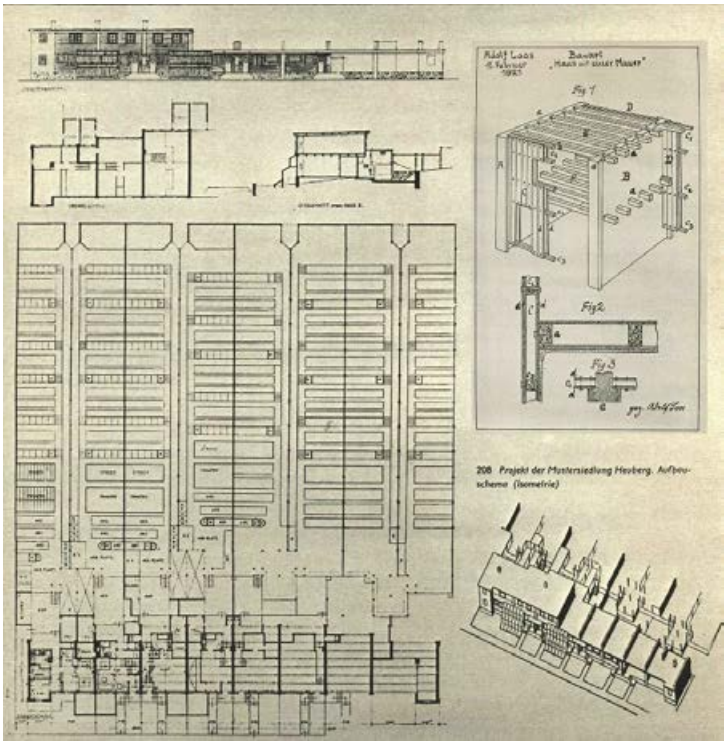


Fig. 14 "House with one Wall: System Loos"

[63] Klaus Novy and Wolfgang Förster, Einfach Bauen
[64] Adolf Loos, Regeln für die Siedlung

The row of houses in the front where interwoven with each other. One main wall supported two houses and the ceiling was constructed with 4m wooden beams. In the back, there was the organised garden space for the cultivation of the land. The biggest settlement to which this system was applied was the *Heuberg* row of houses, which still exists today. The settlers had their most intense time between 1920 and 1924, when the informal movement was structured and the official co-operative collectives were developed. As a consequence, the parcels of land became smaller and the building ground denser and more urban.[65] The last significant achievement of the settlement movement was the *Werkbund Siedlung* in 1932, which was organised by Josef Frank. It was the counterpart of the German *Werkbund* with its *Weissenhofsiedlung* in Stuttgart.

In 1924 the municipality of Vienna, together with the Social Democratic Government, initiated its own multi-story social housing block development. Compared to the settlement movement, the "Red Vienna" housing strategy was from the beginning based on definite plans and an urban strategy. The building of about 60,000 new housing units, which were completed in 1934, was financed by the invention of new luxury and real estate taxes. Many of the construction sites for the new "workers palaces" were at former industrial sites, most of them quite near to the city centre. The public and socio-spatial focus of that programme and the role assigned to architecture and urban design in realising it, remained a reference, challenge and standard against which the post-war Austrian social welfare programme was measured and, especially in the decades following the Second World War, was found wanting.[66] Over 190 architects were involved in the construction of this huge housing project, ranging from smaller projects to fill the gaps in the existing city structure to larger scale *höfe* (courts), settlements and ultimately the large superblocks.[67] Most of the housing typologies were designed by architects who were trained at the Academy of fine Arts under the influential Viennese architect Otto Wagner. While these architects followed a traditional language of design in combination with the

[65] Andreas Rumpfhuber, Michael Klein, Modelling Vienna: Real Fiction in Social Housing
[66] Eve Blau, From red superblock to green megastructure: Municipal socialism as model and challange
[67] Eve Blau, The Architecture of Red Vienna

ideology of the Social Democratic Party, the new residential complexes also represent a very modernist paradigm.[68] In the design language of many of the large-scale projects, the concept of Wagner's idea for the *Grosstadt* (Metropolis) was quite visible. The integration of collective facilities for the residents, such as public swimming pools, community spaces and washing salons were combined with large green courtyards in these famous housing estates.

Fig. 15 Advertisement Poster for the Social Housing Programme

Fig. 16 Karl-Seitz Hof

The socialist reshaping of Vienna was achieved over the next fourteen years through a broad set of social, cultural and pedagogical institutions, including health and welfare services and clinics, childcare facilities and *kindergartens*,

[68] Dietmar Steiner, Introduction, Housing as an essential cultural expression of life In: Housing in Vienna, Innovative, Social and Ecological

schools, sports facilities, including swimming pools and soccer stadia, organised competitions, libraries, theatres, cinemas, clubs, exhibitions, public lectures, etc.[69]

After the Second World War and as part of the discussion on the reconstruction of the destroyed cities, many important architects, such as Oswald Matthias Ungers in Germany, and Aldo Rossi and Manfredo Tafuri in Italy, studied the "Red Vienna" housing examples and, especially in the case of Ungers, they influenced their designs. Ungers was impressed by how collective spaces were combined with ordinary residential projects.

> Vienna's municipal government opted instead for a new social housing stock in the form of a very precise typology: the *Hof*, a superblock whose spatial and programmatic principle was based on monumental interior courtyards reminiscent of the monastic typology of the cloister. As Ungers emphasised, the superblock's clear architectural identity and generosity of collective spaces were in opposition to the individualisation of bourgeois metropolitan residences.[70]

[69] Dietmar Steiner, Introduction, Housing as an essential cultural expression of life In: Housing in Vienna, Innovative, Social and Ecological

[70] Pier Vittorio Aureli, The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture: The City within the City

Fig 17 Amalien Bath

Fig. 18 Amalien Bath inside View

Typologically, the Viennese *Gemeindebauten* is very hard to define in architectural terminology. The architecture is not modern and not classicistic; there are "Stalinist" elements in the design and perception, but the Viennese "Superblock" is not as brutal as the housing projects of the early Soviet Union. It is a kind of "hybrid" design, which was very well integrated into the historical landscape of the city. One of the most famous examples is the "Karl Marx Hof" in the west of the city, which was built between 1927 and 1933 by Otto Wagner's student Karl Ehn. The whole complex consists of 1,382 apartments for about 5,000 residents and is 1100m long, which makes the "Karl Marx Hof" the longest residential building in the world. Only twenty percent of the approximately 150,000m2 site is covered with buildings, which surround a huge green space.

The monumental design, with its huge entrance viaducts, is similar to many "Stalinist" projects of the former Soviet Union. In the middle of the area there were public baths and a washing house, which is museum today. The complex also hosted a *kindergarten*, a library, shops and a medical centre.

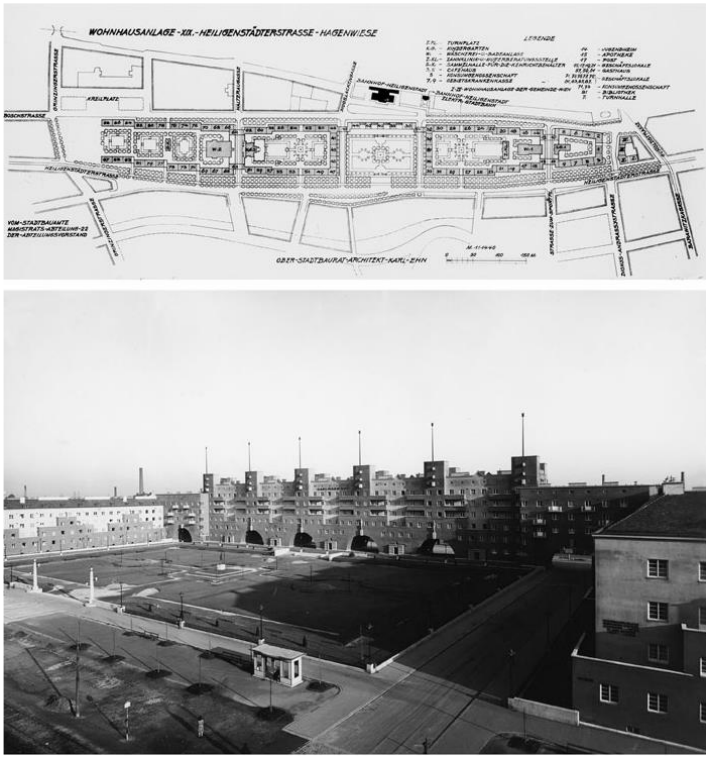


Fig 19 Karl-Marx Hof, 1933

Fig 20 Karl-Marx Hof, 1933

The *Gemeindebauten* are in many ways multi-functional buildings, part dwelling space, part institutional space, part commercial space (shops were located along the street fronts). They were multi-functional, multiple-use structures that operated as both housing and urban infrastructural nodes in the vast network of social and cultural institutions inserted by the municipality into the existing fabric of the city.[71] There were also some experimental approaches in the design of some of the complexes that were never realised. Two of the most interesting examples are those by Adolf Loos and Oskar Strnad, drawn up in the early 1920s, for *Terrassenhäuser*, high-rise apartment blocks with stepped garden terraces.[72] These two proposals broke with the typical design language of the "Red Vienna" period. Adolf Loos and Oskar Strnad's proposals were much more modern and futuristic, and perhaps too radical for the city's municipality. Loos and Strnad's terraced housing projects were intended to show how typological innovation, artistic freedom and a new architectonic conception of the modern democratic city might be combined in an urban architectural design project.[73]

[71] Eve Blau, From red superblock to green megastructure: Municipal socialism as model and challange
[72] Ibid.
[73] Eve Blau, From red superblock to green megastructure: Municipal socialism as model and challange

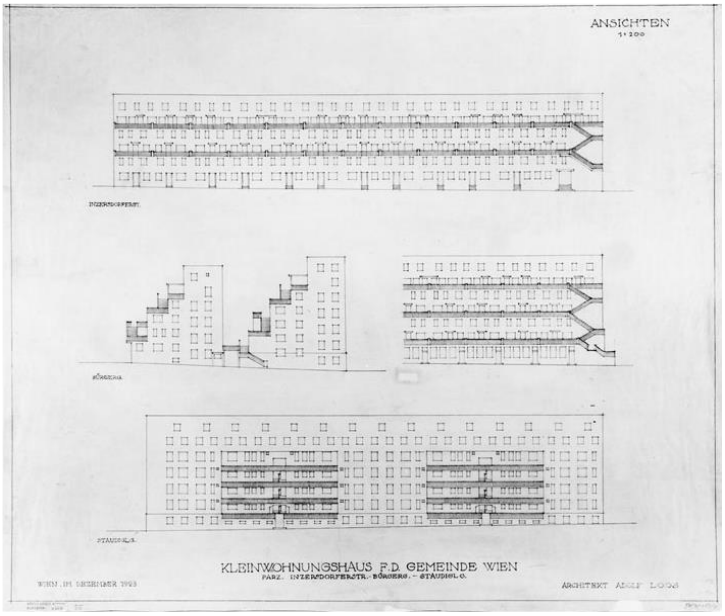


Fig. 21 Terrace, House Adolf Loos

Fig. 22 Terraced House, Strnad

Other designs that were used, such as the *Reumannhof*, were not that experimental but they are still masterpieces of social housing and well integrated into the cityscape of Vienna. The quite influential Viennese architect in the interwar period, Hubert Gessner, designed a complex that was constructed in 1924 / 1926 with 478 apartments and 19 shops. Its design is similar to the "Karl Marx Hof", very monumental with an impressive entrance portal and two big courtyards. The *Reumannhof* became famous for its symbolic location on the *Gürtel*, which is considered to be the *Ringstrasse* of the proletariat.

Fig 23 *Reumannhof*

> Probably more than anything else, the city houses [*Gemeindebauten*] made the Vienna worker realise that he was not a propertyless stranger in a society that was not his […] the stone witnesses of a ten-year building policy reminded the men and women of Vienna of the peaceful forces of democracy, which were created through the people and for the people.[74]

Even today the *Gemeindebauten* social housing projects of the interwar period still have a very positive connotation in the minds of the Viennese population. Their monumental appearance seems like a stone-made guardian of the Social Democratic commitment to Vienna. Even if many of the principles got lost with the neoliberal urban planning development of the city, the "Red Vienna" housing estates are a reminder of the importance of a socialist style of planning and decision making.

[74] C. A. Gulick, Austria from Habsburg to Hitler

CHAPTER 2 Planning Policy and Urban Growth

2.1 Vienna's demographic history and its current population growth

Increasing industrialisation had triggered an economic boom in the former capital of the Habsburg Empire during the second half of the 19th century. Vienna had been the main city of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation since 1556 and became the capital of the Austrian Monarchy after the fall of the empire in 1806. During the industrialisation process in the middle of the 19th century, the city had a massive population growth and gained one million inhabitants in 1870. Vienna was the most important city of the large multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire and became the melting pot of cultural and artistic activities. It had a population of 200,000 inhabitants in 1850 and reached its historical peak in 1914, with 2,2 million inhabitants.[75]

Industrialisation drew migrants from all over the empire, and in a 70-year span Vienna's population nearly tripled. This also meant that the new inhabitants had to settle somewhere, and therefore housing became one of the biggest challenges for the city during the second half of the 19th century.

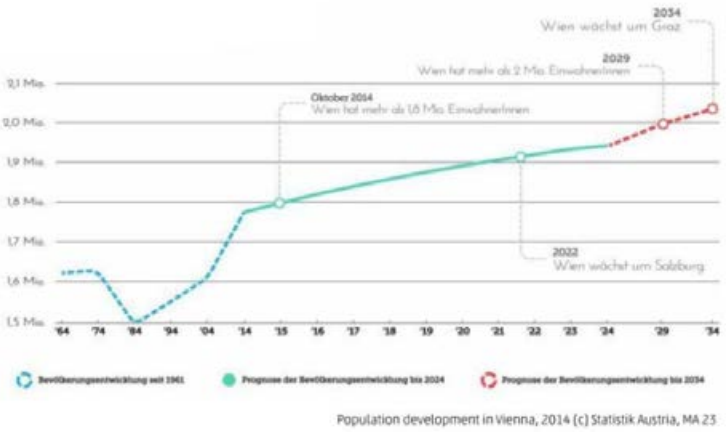


Fig. 24 Population Growth Vienna

[75] Heinz Fassmann, Gerhard Hatz , Urban Renewal in Vienna

While from 1850 onwards Vienna enjoyed success as the major city of the Habsburg Empire, and was the epitome of wealth and positive development, the end of the First World War brought a significant change to the city's status. Vienna went from being the glorified seat of a big empire to the capital of a small nation state. The newborn Republic of Austria had 6 million inhabitants and many non-German speaking residents of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire went back to their homelands, which were now newly-founded nation states. This had a significant impact on the structure and size of Vienna's population, which continued to decrease from 1919 to the beginning of the 20th century. After the First World War, the population shrank drastically due to migration to new nation states such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia. Even though the size of Vienna increased from 278 square kilometres to its current 415 square kilometres between 1910 and 1954, the Viennese population still declined.[76]

From the beginning of the 1950s until the middle of the 1970s the city had a constant population size, which declined at the end of the 1980s due to a decreasing fertility rate. Since 1995 Vienna has had a stabile population growth due to migration from former countries of the Soviet-Union and parts of the European Union. With about 1,8 million inhabitants, Vienna is by far the biggest city in Austria, the 7th largest city in the European Union and, after Berlin, the second largest German-speaking city.

Until the middle of the 1990s, Vienna had a growing ageing elderly population and a decline in most of the other age groups. The forecast for the year 2024 is a 16% (+40.000) increase in the under-15 age group and a growth of 5% (+19.000) of young adults between 15 and 29 years old. In the 30- to 45-year age group, there will be an increase of 9% (+36.000) over the next 30 years and 10% (+38.000) in the 45 to 59 age bracket. It is clear that by 2044 the population of Vienna will be much older. In the next 30 years, the so-called "young elderly" (60 to 74 years old) will increase by +26% (+69.000) and the old population (75 years and older) is growing the most, by +96% (+118.000).[77]

[76] Heinz Fassmann, Gerhard Hatz , Urban Renewal in Vienna
[77] Ibid.

Until 2034 most of the population growth will be in the more suburban districts such as District 2. Leopoldstadt (+21%), 10. Favoriten (+21%), 20. Brigittenau (+25%) and 22. Donau-stadt (+36%). All of the currently planned large-scale urban projects are located in these districts.
Vienna has always been an attractive city for migration from the Austrian countryside and neighbouring countries. At the end of the 19th century, half the city's population had not been born in Vienna. Most of the residents had migrated from various territories in the Habsburg Empire until the First World War, but had a population loss of around 200,000 after the war. The Viennese population continued to shrink until the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, which meant that the city was no longer on the edge of Western Europe but back in its central geographical position. Due to the eastward enlargement of the European Union, the foreign-born population grew from 15% (1988) to 33% (2014).[78]

With the population growth, there is a need for many more residential spaces in the city. Vienna's municipality decided to undertake several new urban development projects with a high number of housing units. These new urban quarters are currently under construction at the new central station, which will have about 5,000 housing units, at the north station (about 4,000 units), at the north-west station (5,500 new apartments), and at the *Seestadt Apern*, where there will be 10,500 housing units. The smaller new residential areas are spread around the city, but most of the new urban development areas are in the districts north of the Danube River, such as the districts Floridsdorf (22nd) and Donaustadt (21st). The biggest ones, which are in the planning phase and will be built in the future, are the *Oberes Hausfeld*, which will have approximately 2,900 new apartments, the *Gaswerk* Leopoldau (1,400 units) and the *Donaufeld* (ca. 6.000 units). The City of Vienna is planning to construct approximately 60,000 new apartments, which is the same as in the "Red Vienna" period, by 2030.

[78] Klemens Himpele, Gustav Lebhart , WIEN WÄCHST… Bevölkerungsentwicklung in Wien und den 23 Gemeinde- und 250 Zählbezirken, STATISTIK JOURNAL WIEN 1/2014

2.2 The legacy of "Red Vienna" and the current substituted Housing Programme

The City of Vienna was also heavily damaged at the end of World War Two, and the reconstruction strategy was to reduce the density of the urban centre and increase the density of the peripheral zones. The housing deficit after the Second World War was about 117,000 homes. The priority was the maintenance of urban infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, housing and the construction of an underground system. In 1954, about 100,000 new apartments were constructed, most of them using prefabricated building systems.

Compared to the housing projects of the "Red Vienna" period, the post-war city extension followed the ideology of the modern architecture movement and its suburban "modern blocks". It took some time before post-war Vienna and the Second Republic were able to pick up the threads of the dialogue between the bourgeoisie and the social democratic movement initiated in the interwar period and to engage its dialectics. Architecturally, "Red Vienna" was highly problematic in the post-war context.[79] The discussion on architecture and urbanism at that time could not classify the social housing typologies that characterised the buildings of the 1930s. In terms of aesthetics, as well as typology, the buildings were considered retrograde.[80] Even before Tafuri's critique, Leonardo Benevolo declared in the 1950s the Viennese *Höfe* (courts) to be of greater sociological than architectural interest.[81] They seemed to lack just those features that for CIAM had distinguished the German and Dutch interwar housing: a unified planning concept, advanced building techniques, Taylorised living environments and modernist formal aesthetics.[82] Architect Roland Rainer, who was the Viennese city planning director from 1958 to 1962, promoted this kind of planning strategy. There was an essential difference between the political

[79] Eve Blau, From red superblock to green megastructure: Municipal socialism as model and challange

[80] Manfredo Tafuri, ed., Vienna Rossa: la politica residenziale nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1933, Milan: Electa, 1980

[81] L. Benevolo, History of Modern Architecture, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971, 2: 549.

[82] Eve Blau, From red superblock to green megastructure: Municipal socialism as model and challange

and the social objectives of "Red Vienna" and the post-war welfare state. Its purpose was not the same as the "Red Vienna" one, namely to turn the city into a model of municipal socialism that would prefigure the coming socialist society; part of a "slow revolution" toward state socialism. Rather, the aim was to reconfigure capitalism into a more sustainable and fruitful version from which both capital and labour would benefit.[83] The architecture should mainly provide proper residential space for the traditional working or middle-class family without any further ideology.

The first major council building project after the end of the Second World War was the *Per-Albin-Hansson-Siedlung* planned by Franz Schuster, a project that pursued the interwar idea of the garden city. The building project was completed with the support of the Swedish government war reconstruction aid programme.[84] Compared to the "Red Vienna" "superblocks", the architecture is very much a "British" settlement lookalike, two to three storeys high and with small gardens in front of the entrance doors. It combines pre-war CIAM site planning models, namely parallel rows of *Zeilenbauten* (rows of houses) in ex-urban settlements, with National Socialist Heimatstil (national vernacular style) modernism (brick bearing construction, small windows and steeply-pitched hipped roofs) to create a curiously unsatisfactory hybrid.[85]

[83] Eve Blau, From red superblock to green megastructure: Municipal socialism as model and challange
[84] Wolfgang Förster, Housing in Vienna: Innovative, Social and Ecological
[85] For Heimatstil in the Viennese context, see Blau, Red Vienna

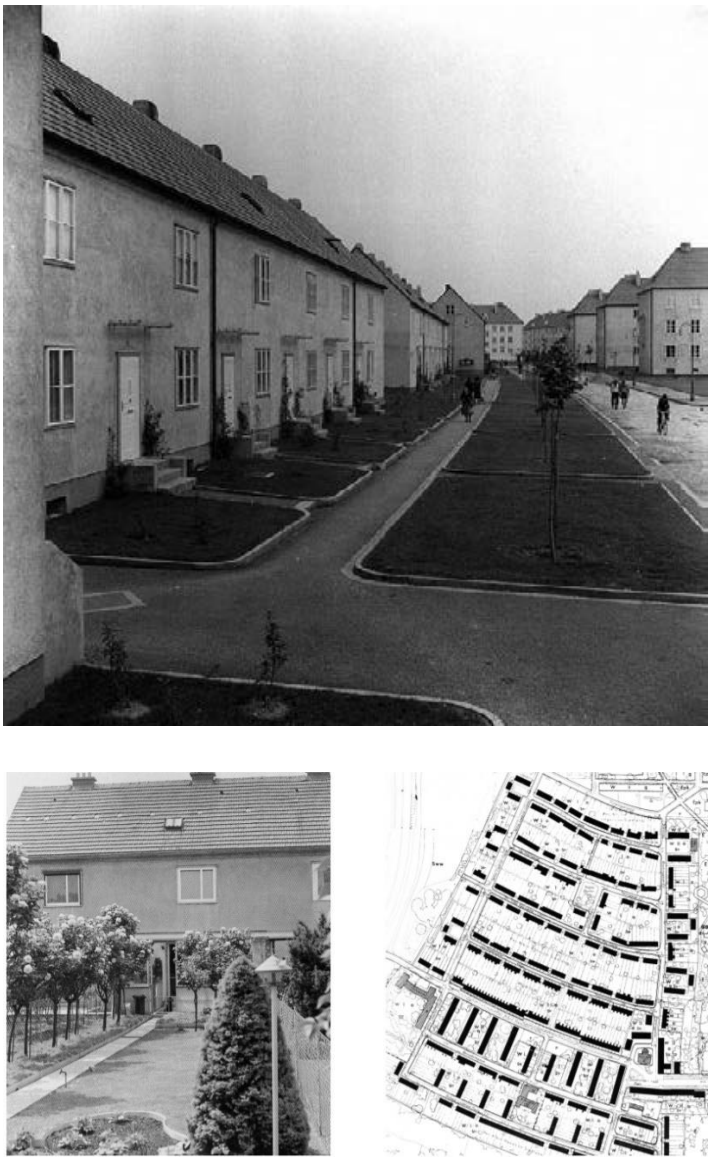


Fig. 25 Friedrich Pangratz, Franz Schuster, Stephan Simony, Max Fellerer and Eugen Wörle, *Per Albin Hansson Siedlung*

Under the direction of Roland Rainer in the late 1950s and 1960s, the Vienna City Planning office promoted this CIAM-based model of suburban expansion. Rainer's housing strategy was based on a mix of a garden city and a high-density flat settlement housing structure, which he implemented in Puchenau near Linz. For Vienna, he proposed similar settlements as an urban extension of the city.

He liked the ideology of the single family house, but without the wasteful land use. For Rainer, suburban expansion was a way of strengthening the autonomy of the old Viennese suburbs as areas with distinctive characters.[86] Vienna's municipality at that time was not particularly open to working on architectural experiments in the social housing sector. A few projects with prefabricated building modules were constructed in the early 1960s, such as the *Vorgartenstrasse* settlement built by Carl Auböck in 1962.

Fig. 26 Prefabricated Housing, Carl Auböck, 1962

In the 1960s, Vienna had an economic boom and became an attractive city for those seeking work. With regard to housing construction, a new system of financing was adopted. Federal allocation of long-term low-interest bearing loans, through which it was possible to finance up to 90 percent of building costs, gave enormous impetus to development by non-profit cooperative housing construction societies.[87] The city changed from following a communal housing policy to supporting cooperative housing developments with an annual construction rate of around 14,000 apartments.[88]

[86] Eve Blau, From red superblock to green megastructure: Municipal socialism as model and challange
[87] Ibid.
[88] Renate Schweitzer, 'Kommunale Wohnungspolitik'

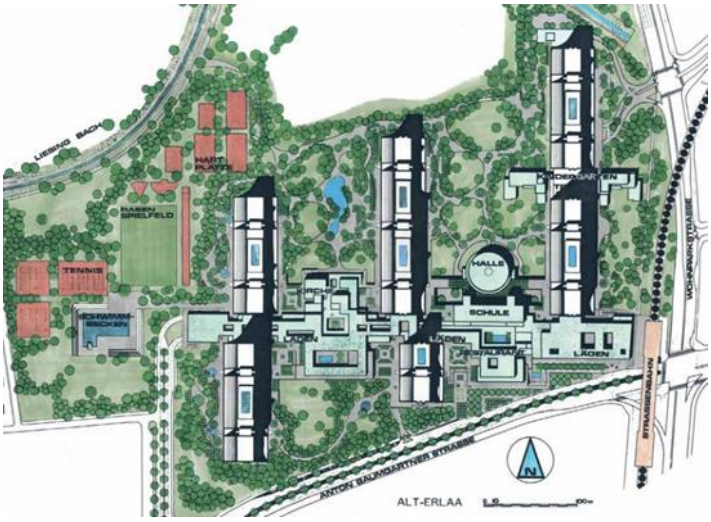
In response to the 1968 architectural scene, many important young architects protested against the boring functionalist architecture in Vienna and elsewhere. The movement originated in a seminar by Günther Feuerstein at the Technical University in Vienna. Groups such as *Hausrucker*, *Zünd Up* and *CoopHimmelblau* emerged and had intensive exchanges with groups in London, such as Archigram, and Italy's *Archizoom* and Superstudio. An international network for an experimental Deconstructivist Architecture movement emerged from the early student action period. Architects such as Hans Hollein, Walter Pichler, Raimund Abraham and Wolf Prix, became well known on the scene and proposed projects for the urban landscape of Vienna. In 1970 Peter Cook called them "The Austrian Phenomenon" in Experimental Architecture. They declared that the Austrian welfare state was producing buildings, and especially housing, that was "devoid of architecture" and called for a return to "urbanity" in Austrian modernism.[89]

Under the legendary SPÖ (Social Democratic Party) chancellor Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian state embraced liberal reforms in its social policy, such as social housing funds, new ideas on the urban planning sector and openness to new architectural ideas on the housing sector.[90] Ultimately, in the following years the abovementioned architects did not have much influence on Viennese housing production. One excellent example of the several modernist megastructure blocks that were built as part of the social housing project in this period is the *Wohnpark Alt-Erlaa* (1968–1985), designed by Harry Glück, who had very good connections in the SPÖ. The project was built and managed by the city-owned cooperative GESIBA. It consists of more than 3,000 apartments, a *kindergarten*, medical centre, sports and leisure facilities, and is designed as three-terraced mega-blocks with multifunctional community facilities in between. All the apartment blocks have sunlight on both sides, huge balconies and a swimming pool on the rooftop. Additionally, a shopping centre and a metro station are included in the design. Harry Glück's project was the most successful post-war

[89] Eva Meyer, The Austrian Phenomenon: Konzeptionen Experimente Wien Graz 1958–1973
[90] Renate Schweitzer, Kommunaler Wohnungspolitik

social housing development in Vienna and, with their rich supply of leisure facilities (in addition to the rooftop swimming pools and saunas, there were tennis courts and other sport facilities, mini golf, party rooms and shops), can be understood as refashioning the proletarian *wohnkultur*.[91]

Fig. 27 Alt Erlaa, Harry Glück



[91] Eve Blau, From red superblock to green megastructure: Municipal socialism as model and challange

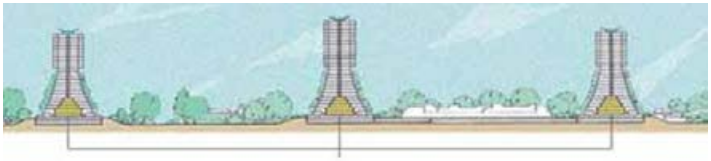


Fig. 28 Area Plan and Section, Alt Erlaa, Harry Glück

Another nearby urban housing megastructure is the *Am Schöpfwerk*, which was constructed between 1967 and 1980, and which has 2151 dwellings. Victor Hufnagl, and Wolfgang and Traude Windbrechtinger designed the courtyard-based terrace house by building on and merging "Red Vienna's" courtyard typologies with Loos and Strnad's proletarian *Terrassenhaus* 'counter-types' to achieve a vast complex of high-, low- and medium-rise building forms. *Am Schöpfwerk* offered a range of different dwelling types as well as spatial and formal complexity and urban ambition that had been absent from housing and urban design in Vienna since the 1920s.[92] *The Schöpfwerk* is a mix of a low-rise and high-rise buildings with three huge courtyards.

Fig. 29 Social Housing *Am Schöpfwerk*

[92] Gabriele Kaiser, Monika Platzer, Architecture in Austria

Fig. 30 Urban Situation, Social Housing, *Am Schöpfwerk*

One of the smaller exciting housing projects of the 1970s was the *Wohnen Morgen* housing complex. Wilhelm Holzbauer designed the concept of two modernist slab rows with an interesting typology that was constructed between 1974 and 1979. The space between the two blocks is a mix between a public and private space for multiple uses. *Wohnen Morgen* entails a fundamentally common conception of urban space, the character of which is to provide a clear organisational structure at the same time as maximum options for using and experiencing it.[93]

The post-war social housing projects of Vienna cannot compete with the inter-war period in terms of urban vision. Today, Austria still has an extensive social housing programme, although the institutional structures put in place by the welfare state are gradually being replaced by neoliberal instruments and private development initiatives.[94]

> Probably more than anything else, the city houses [*Gemeindebauten*] made the Vienna worker realise that he was not a propertyless stranger in a society that was not his […] the stone witnesses of a ten-year building policy reminded the men and women of Vienna of the peaceful

[93] Eve Blau, From red superblock to green megastructure: Municipal socialism as model and challange

[94] Wolfgang Förster, The Vienna Model'

forces of democracy which were created through the people and for the people.[95]

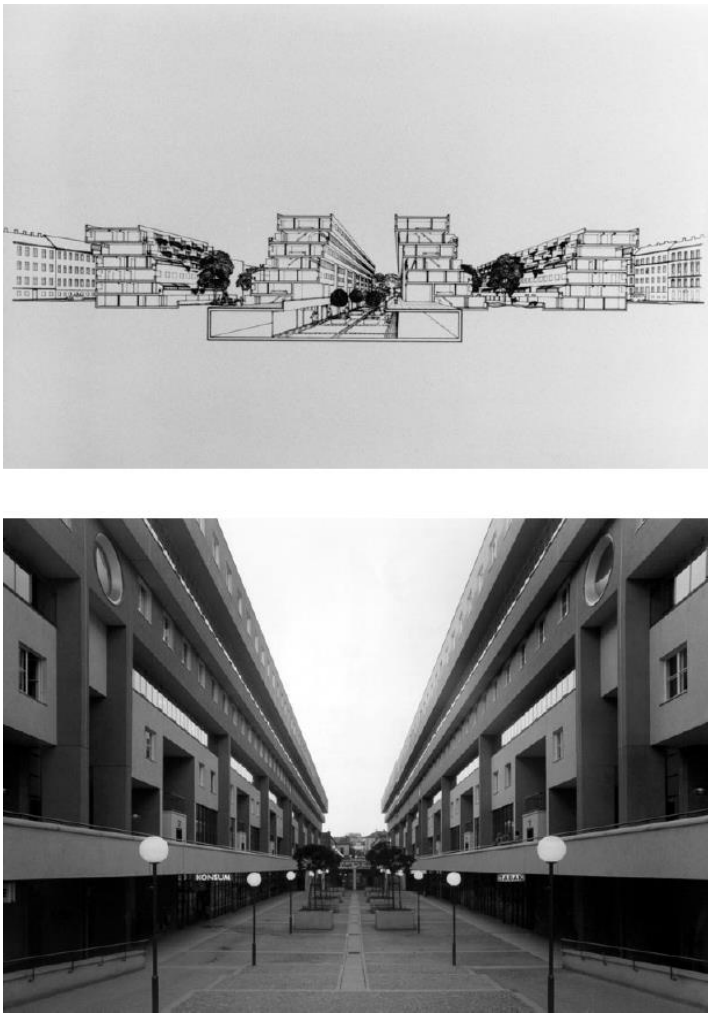


Fig. 31 *Wohnen Morgen*, Wilhelm Holzbauer

The long history of the relationship between architecture and social democracy still exists, but with the decline of the welfare state and the neoliberal movement in urban planning, the decision-making process is more guided by financial interests. Without any significant population growth until the end of the 20th

[95] Charles A. Gulick, Austria from Habsburg to Hitler

century, there was not much interest in reanimating the relationship between urban space, architecture and social democracy.

> In this way the strategies of the 1920s for socialising the spaces of the bourgeois city by interpolating superblocks into the old city fabric informed the strategies of architects in the 1960s for generating new urban fabric on ex-urban sites, and both those previous episodes inform the efforts of planning officials and architects today to deal with current issues of immigration, diversity, preservation and postindustrial decay.[96]

In the 1980s, the city municipality focused on the "gentle urban renewal" of the sub-standard *Gründerzeit* housing stock and formed an inexpensive segment of the supply of housing.[97] The rundown housing estates were renovated with the public funding of the city municipality of Vienna. Toilets and washing facilities where installed in each flat and the facades and the street level were renovated and activated with new shops, cafes and bars.

[96] Eve Blau, From red superblock to green megastructure: Municipal socialism as model and challenge

[97] Kurt Hofstetter, Jacqueline Stehno: PROGRAMME FOR THE INTERNATIONAL BUILDING EXHIBITION VIENNA 2022

Fig. 32 Renovation of the historical buildings

Fig. 33 Design proposal by the City Municipality

Due to the massive population growth in recent years and the forecast of further growth, the housing market went in a problematic direction. Rents have increased rapidly and the city has to produce about 15,000 new apartments per year. The last communal social housing building was constructed in 2004 and since then the city of Vienna has promoted subsidised housing funds at a cost of €750 million per year. Most of the projects are done with property developers, who are forced to provide rents that are not more than €6.50 per square metre if they get the public funds for their construction. Compared to other European

cities, the amount of social housing, which is about 30 percent of all apartments, is still quite high.