

A HABITABLE DOMESTIC SPACE:
LUCIEN KROLL AND HIS PARTICIPATORY METHODS

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

A HABITABLE DOMESTIC SPACE: LUCIEN KROLL AND HIS PARTICIPATORY METHODS

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Today, the house, its meaning, and its industrial production and construction is both an architectural and interdisciplinary issue. How the housing environments are shaped affects the inhabitants, and the meanings conveyed by the built environment are interpreted by them in various ways depending on social, cultural, political, and economic contexts. However, during the post-war period, the architects were appealed to the idea of mass-produced standardized housing in favor of low-cost and rapid construction to cover the housing shortage. A unifying approach in aspiration of functionality and mechanization resulted in vast landscapes of mass housing. On the one hand, the dwelling was perceived as a unique, individualistic expression of self-image and personalized meanings for its inhabitant varying from physical to cultural and social aspects, on the other, the standardized construction of the houses excluded the individuality from the creation process. Hence, a contradiction occurred between the inhabitants and their built environment as the decision-making process in constructing houses disregarded the inhabitants holding the most intimate knowledge about their domestic space. In this sense, the role of an architect and his/her chosen design methods became prominent as the decisive factors in the process of building housing environments. Some architects adopted a participatory

approach to provide people with habitable domestic spaces, instead of well-calculated and standardized geometries. Among them, Lucien Kroll became an internationally recognized architect under favor of his design methods collaborating with the inhabitants. His architecture contained diversity and was tightly connected with landscape, while utilizing industrial elements in a way that allowed creativity, rather than monotonous repetition. Therefore, this study focuses on the domestic space in relation to inhabitants' associated meanings and their social, cultural, and mental backgrounds, the importance of the inhabitants' participation in the decision-making and actively building processes of domestic space, and Lucien Kroll as an architect who practiced and experimented on domestic spaces in collaboration with the users. It aims to understand Kroll's design approach, especially in the matter of house and housing, and his architecture in relevance to the theories associated with the place, the built environment and the house through an interpretive study.

Keywords: House and Housing, Selfhood, Vicinitude, Participation, Complexity, Self-Generating Architecture

ÖZ

YAŞANABİLİR BİR KONUT MEKÂNI: LUCIEN KROLL VE ONUN KATILIMCI YÖNTEMLERİ

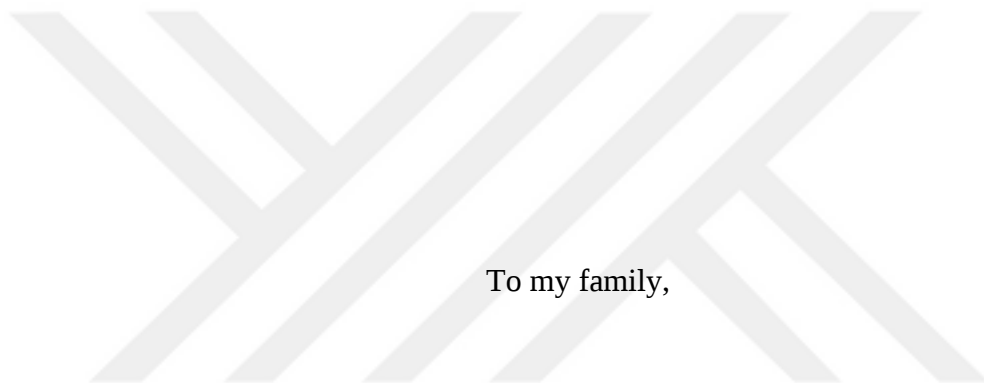
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Bugün, ev mekânı anlamı, üretimi ve inşası ile birlikte mimari ve disiplinler arası bir konu olmaya devam etmektedir. Konut çevrelerinin sakinleri için taşıdığı anlamlar, sosyal, kültürel, politik ve ekonomik bağlamlara bağlı olarak çeşitli şekillerde yorumlanmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası konut açığının yaşandığı dönemde, mimarlar bu sorunu gidermek için düşük maliyetle seri üretimi yapılan standartlaştırılmış konut tasarımlarına yönelmişlerdir. İşlevsellik ve makineleşme amacı güden birleştirici bir yaklaşım, geniş alanlara yayılan standart toplu konutlarla sonuçlanmıştır. Bir yandan konut, benlik imgesinin benzersiz, bireysel bir ifadesi ve içinde yaşayanlar için fiziksel, sosyal ve kültürel özelliklere göre kişiselleştirilmiş anlamların temsilcisi olarak ortaya çıkmış, diğer yandan ise konut yapımında etkili bir yol olan standardizasyon, bireyselliği evin yaratılma sürecinin dışında bırakmıştır. Dolayısıyla, konut yapımındaki karar verme sürecinin, ev mekânı hakkında en derin bilgiye sahip olan konut sakinlerinden bağımsız olarak ele alınması, ev sakinleri ile yapıları çevreleri arasında bir ilişkisizlik ve çelişki ortaya çıkartmıştır. Bu anlamda konut ortamlarının yapım sürecinde belirleyici faktörlerden biri olarak mimarın rolü ve tasarım yöntemleri öne çıkmıştır. Konuyla ilgilenen bazı mimarlar ise, iyi hesaplanmış ve standartlaştırılmış geometriler yerine, insanlara

yaşanabilir ev mekanları sağlamak için katılımcı bir yaklaşım benimsemiştir. Bunlar arasında Lucien Kroll, kullanıcılarla iş birliği yapan tasarım yöntemi sayesinde uluslararası tanınırlığa ulaşmış bir mimar olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Onun mimari anlayışı çeşitlilik ve peyzajla olan ilişkilerden ilham almış ve endüstriyel unsurları bilinçsiz bir tekrardan ziyade yaratıcılığa izin verecek şekilde kullanmayı hedeflemiştir. Bu çalışma; ev mekanını sakinleriyle ilişkilendiren anlamlara ve bu anlamları sosyal, kültürel ve zihinsel ortamlarla bağlantı kurarak ortaya çıkartmaya, sakinlerin ev mekanının aktif yapım ve karar verme süreçlerine dahil olmasının önemine, ve bir mimar olarak ev mekanlarının tasarımında kullanıcılarıyla iş birliği içinde çalışan ve deneyler yapan Lucien Kroll'a odaklanmıştır. Ayrıca, Kroll'un özellikle ev ve sosyal konut konusundaki tasarım yaklaşımını ve mimari anlayışını, dönemin mekân, yapılı çevre ve ev ile ilgili teorileriyle ilişkilendiren yorumlayıcı bir çalışma olarak anlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ev ve Toplu Konut, Benlik, Komşuluk, Katılım, Karmaşıklık, Kendini Üreten Mimarlık



To my family,

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Today, in the twenty-first century, the house, its meaning, and its production is both an architectural and interdisciplinary issue. The values assigned to the house environments vary in social, cultural, economic, and physical aspects according to the focused area of specialization. The meanings that the inhabitants create through their lived-in experiences in house environments are considered from the selected aspects of spatiality, and in a separate context from the physical construction of the house. But the production of the houses is conditioned primarily by the impositions of the construction industry, apart from its users. When the relationship with the house environments and their users is considered, the house emerges as an intricate medium that is too complex to be subjected to any perspective focusing on singular or selected aspects. Especially the modernist approaches, the effects and methods of which are evident even in the present day, focus on houses as industrial products and their quantitative characteristics. They disregard the relationship between the domestic space and the social, cultural contexts, abstracting it as measurable geometries to be built all around the world.

However, the house relates to varying meanings and values in different dimensions, as well as integrating both material and moral elements in an environment. To begin with, it appears as a physical medium that responds to people's most basic needs for shelter, and encloses their immediate surroundings. Furthermore, the act of organizing the space, which begins with a simple need, also becomes a tool for people to convey their intangible values and particularities to the material world. In house environments, people express their feelings and thoughts that are shaped in social and cultural realms, and affect the creation of a house by developing appropriate habits and behaviors. A dwelling is not only composed of structural elements but also of all the actions of its users that reflect themselves. For example;

a display of flowers in the window, or tightly closed curtains, a welcoming pathway to the front door, or raised walls around the yard, an enlarged window for more light, or a narrowed one, and so many other details all contribute to a conversation about the house and its inhabitants. It is under favor of the fact that the inhabitants shape their living spaces as an artifact rather than a mere physicality. Conversely, the qualities of the house create a reciprocal dialogue by generating attributes about the inhabitants. While the inhabitants construct their houses based on their value systems, the characteristics of a house create the backdrop for its users in a shared system of associated meanings. Therefore, the relationship between the inhabitants and their house environments becomes a dynamic and mutual configuration that is significant on both social, cultural, and personalized levels.

In our contemporary world, house environments continue to be built in large numbers. Moreover, the production of the house follows a method that emphasizes the use of standardized products while disregarding the preferences of the inhabitants in favor of time efficiency and economy. Such a method became prominent during the post-war period of housing shortages and in the convenience of developed industrial production. The allowances of mass production drew attention to the house's quantitative aspects and the economy in its construction. A unifying approach in aspiration of functionality and mechanization resulted in vast landscapes of mass housing, impersonalized and uniform house spaces. Moreover, the form, physical characteristics, and spatial organization of a house were determined by building or design specialists and those with power in the construction industry. Such a method only produced monotonous and standardized commodities rather than socially and culturally signified environments. Therefore, the housing problem remains unanswered even today, despite large numbers of houses are being built for people from all parts of society, because the approach to housing remains the same. According to this approach, the house is considered as a standardized product, that does not recognize individual particularities, and it perceives the inhabitant as a static entity with standardized needs as well. It is unable to transcend providing a certain mode of living, which is restricted by precise calculations of architects, engineers,

planners, constructors, and so on. Therefore, the house under the impositions of specialists and construction actors becomes inadequate to meet the individualistic and distinctive needs of its users. While people need house designs that are specific to their social and cultural contexts and contain their own meaning and symbol systems; the houses keep being mass-produced all over the world in the form of standardized dwellings for the inhabitants. Furthermore, people throughout the world with varying social, cultural, and economic backgrounds meet with their houses only when their construction is completed and ready to move in. It is because the houses, which are composed as standardized units that respond to the reduced needs of their users, can not correspond to the complexity brought by individual needs, so the users become excluded from the design and construction process.

The questioning of the inconsistency between the built house environments and the users constitutes the starting point for this study. The publications examined based on this interest have shown that such an inquiry has also been the subject of the critical thinking of the 1960s, a decade when the mechanized environments, and top-down impositions restricted people's everyday lives. Some intellectuals of the period saw potential in the architectural medium to demonstrate their ideas, and some architects started to search for ways of enabling users shaping their physical space. Some architects, who were concerned with this question, adopted a participatory approach to provide people with habitable domestic spaces, instead of meticulously calculated housing units. Among them, Lucien Kroll, who is a Belgian architect, not only criticized the mechanistic impositions of standardization on space and advocated for a participatory approach, but he was also a practitioner of designing with the inhabitants and the developer of a collaborative method. He primarily practiced in house environments where the inhabitants have an almost instinctive knowledge of how the space should be organized because they know what they want for themselves in their intimate enclosures. Inspired by the users, his architecture aimed to be diverse and in connection with the social and cultural context, as well as utilizing the industrial elements in a way that allowed for creativity rather than 'mindless' repetition. He became an internationally recognized architect after his

collaborative design with the medical students of UCL (L'Université Catholique de Louvain), in December 1969, an era of egalitarian and free spirit. The students chose Kroll's name from a list of architects, and after he was commissioned, their accomplishments presented the possibility of diversity brought by the users' involvement in the design process. The methods he utilized during the design process; such as inviting the students for meetings to exchange ideas, working with them on a plastic model in scale where the students could organize their desired relations between the functions and masses, integrating the industrially produced components in a non-repetitive and changeable way, were introduced to the English speaking world by Charles Jencks' publication.¹ His compiling work on the post-modern architecture presented Kroll's design as 'complex' and 'rich in meaning', and differentiated it from other attempts of participatory design processes as it actively involved the community. Indeed, Kroll argued that there can be no architecture without knowing the inhabitants and their expectations from the space. He practiced according to the information he obtained from the users, both in the house environments he designed from the scratch and in the social housings he renovated to be more habitable.

While houses still reflect the values of the construction industry and housing providers regarding the economy and standardized production, the previous practice on participatory architecture shows that it is important to understand the relationship between the house environments and their inhabitants to develop a perspective on more habitable houses. Therefore, this study takes an interest in revealing the house as a domestic space that is organized by the inhabitants' social, cultural, and mental settings that convey meaning between people and their physical environments. Hence, it draws attention to the reinstatement of the inhabitants in decision-making and actively building the domestic space, and Lucien Kroll as an architect who

¹ Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1984), 105-106.

practiced and experimented on domestic spaces in collaboration with the users. Also, it aims to understand Kroll's participatory design approach, especially in the matter of house and housing, and his architecture in relevance to the period's associated theories about the place, the built environments, and the house through an interpretive study.

1.1 Definition of the Problem

The house environments have been approached from many aspects such as behavioral, cultural, historical, social, structural, industrial, political, economic, and many more.² However, the arguments remained constrained by their field of view and were ineffective to present a comprehensive approach to the house both as an architectural object and an artifact of the users. Whereas the organization of the house is a socially and culturally specified act of its users, it is also a physical construction that utilizes current technologies and building techniques. Therefore, in consideration of the house's multi-dimensional aspects, some studies³ were focused on the subjective experience of the house and the constructive behavior of the users that convey meaning between their house and the perceptual world they belong to. Some other studies⁴, however, focused on the housing methods that have influenced the landscapes all around the world by mass-produced houses. The former displays the house through behavioral, cultural, historical, social, anthropological, or phenomenological arguments about the place and its subjective construction. On the

² For comprehensive studies conducted about house environments, see; Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner, ed., *Home Environments (Human Behavior and Environment; v.8)*, (New York: Springer Science & Business Media,1985).

³ Perla Korosec-Serfaty, "Experience and Use of the Dwelling." in *Home Environments (Human Behavior and Environment; v.8)*, ed. Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner (New York: Springer Science & Business Media,1985), 65-83.

⁴ See esp., N. John Habraken, *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing*, trans. B. Valkenburg Ariba, (New York, Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1972).

other hand, the latter focuses on the construction methods, which are closely related to the integration of industrial products in an intelligent way to build houses.

However, it is important to understand the house both as an individual act of generating a living, and a building practice, that utilizes elements produced by the current technology and construction techniques, to comprehend this significant architectural object and the affecting factors on its creation process. On one hand, the house relates to various characteristics of its inhabitants that are generated in the living continuum; on the other, it is composed of industrial products using a method chosen by specialists – which often appears to be repeating a restricted range of standard elements. In between, the standpoint of an architect in deciding the instruments they utilize reveals itself to be crucial in building domestic spaces, as they affect the characteristics of built environments. Since the house emerges as a distinct, individualistic representation of self-image, what kind of an approach should an architect take in the design process of constructing the inhabitant's dwelling?

The house mediates the manifestation of the intangible attributions of its inhabitants in a physical medium. So, in consideration of the relationship between the users and their domestic space, how should the standardized element be used to create the users' immediate surroundings and materially demonstrate their particularities? Should they be organized in a mechanized and repetitive manner in favor of rapid production and low cost, and if not, how can the industrial element be organized intelligently? The modernists aspired for a repeating housing type that is reduced to its quantitative characteristics that can be subjected to industrial production, ignoring the other aspects that make a house locally distinguishable. So, is it necessary to detach this architectural object from its local context, resources, social and cultural specificities, in order to make way to a universal form? Also, the physical manifestation of the people's features, that are embedded in their mindsets and their 'selves', creates a dynamic relationship between the house space and its inhabitant. Accordingly, the constructive behaviors of people shape their surroundings, and the attributed characteristics of their environments affect the people's self-image that is

perceived in social and cultural dimensions. Since the inhabitants are capable of organizing their domestic space, as a matter of fact, need to do so, in order to convey their individualistic mindset, inclinations, and meaning through their houses, is it necessary to exclude them from the design process? Since the houses are under the restricted influence of specialists and those in power in construction industry, how could the users be re-included in the decision-making process of their own domestic spaces?

Reflecting on the impersonalized and dull landscapes of mass housings, facilitated by the bureaucratized industrial production methods, the reestablishment of the users' relations with their house environments, as well as their involvement in the building process appears to be only necessary. To do so, the associated meanings of the house must be unfolded in relation to its inhabitants, in order to be understood as an apparatus for the architects who aspire to lead a potential to 'complexity'. As an exemplary practitioner of such an attitude, Kroll shares his opinions about mass housing and collaborating with the inhabitants as an alternative:

We know the 'mass' now for fifty years, says Lucien Kroll in 2002. And seventy million prefabricated houses do not produce anything for civilization. So, we consider the individual as a unit, and as a typology of citizens. Well, people...have many differences... I do not know any urban design for them, the help that the inhabitants may give to the urban designer helps so that he gets a possibility of having complexity. I ask the inhabitants, I invite (them) to help me because I am not able to create a real complexity, and they always answer very patiently.⁵

⁵ Architectural Association School of Architecture (@AA School of Architecture), "Lucien Kroll - Spontaneous Cities and Gardens," YouTube video, June 2, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cVhJlmsOw&t=1364s&ab_channel=AASchoolofArchitecture.

As Kroll mentions during his lecture in AA School of Architecture in 2002, subjecting the house to the impositions resulting in mass housings has not provided an answer to the expectations from a house. It is because the house is situated in both time and space, unlike the modernist approach that positions the house in an abstract, timeless, and universal realm. A home-place provides a physical locality where the social, cultural, emotive and mental worlds of people are constructed. Hence, the home emerges as a significant medium for the formation and reproduction of basic social relations, providing a constructive link between its household and contemporary society. The house and its surroundings become an environment in which people bond with the larger society. Therefore, the standardized houses that are mass-produced by giving importance primarily to their physical and functional features are insufficient to reflect the lived-in dimensions of their users. In order to understand people's connection with their home-place and their lived experience, it is important to interpret the house both as a material object and as a symbolic entity that is shaped and reshaped by owners (and tenants) over time in response to changes in the household's life course and the variations in their social, cultural, political and economic context.⁶

However, prevalent approaches to housing – particularly those aimed at low-income people – stem from a perspective that promotes a mechanized and deterministic architecture compatible only within its 'closed system'⁷ and comprised of strictly

⁶ Kimberly Dovey, "Home and Homelessness", in *Home Environments* (Human Behavior and Environment; v.8), ed. Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner, (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 1985), 33-51.

⁷ Lucien Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, trans. Peter Blundell Jones, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1987). "Composants - faut-il industrialiser l'architecture?" was the title of the first Belgian edition, released in 1983. It may be immediately translated as "Components - should the architecture be industrialized?" In his book, Kroll protests the prevalent authority of designers and manufacturers, those "men of power and influence who are preparing, under the pressure of false economy, to devastate architecture yet again." Therefore, he carries his loud criticism to the title while opposing the confinements of heavily industrialized constructional elements which "are wrongly described as

standardized elements. It is a perspective that was once adapted by many architects who agreed under modernist discourses, that were emerged with the comfort of the changing construction technologies of the period, rapid industrial production, and repetitive building components. Hence, the modernist response to severe housing shortages during the postwar period manifested itself in large assemblages of repetitive houses that were meticulously measured “in favor of a new kind of hygiene, of rational efficiency, the new enlightenment.” Only, the inhabitants’ variables in everyday living (place, time, race, tradition, scale, return to roots, climate, recent history, everyday geography, etc.) were left out of all the functions and behaviors that were measured in a house. As a result, the geographies of mass-produced houses were incompatible with their context and relatable only with their industrially produced components. They were not in any relationship with their inhabitants, but rather strongly committed to the industrial manufacturer, the engineer, the architect, the specialist.⁸ Therefore, while the effects of this point of view persist, the incorporation of industrially produced architectural elements into the primary mediums of people's living, into their homes, and their social context remain unsolved. So, it raises questions about how architecture can integrate the resources of industrial construction methods, and where the architect fits into this relationship. Despite all the best intentions of accommodating people of various income groups in well-functioning housing, the inadequacy of the standardized dwelling reshaped the issue as a question of method and presented a conflict residing in the architect’s position.⁹

The contradiction of the architect’s position lies in the method that utilizes the standardized construction elements. It is not an issue of whether such elements should be used, but a consideration of how they should be applied to the housing of

‘open’ components, for all too often they fit together only with others of the same type, and are therefore ‘open’ only within the system.”

⁸ Ibid., 1-11.

⁹ N. John Habraken, *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing*, trans. B. Valkenburg Ariba, (New York, Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 1-3.

people since the house exceeds a simple act of accommodation and carries greater meanings for its users. On the one hand, the architect occupies a specialist's position, evaluating the house due to technical and economic means, on the other hand, stands for a form giver, whose product evokes instinctive reactions in the social context. Followed by the specialist's principles, the repeating housing unit, which is carefully measured from selected aspects, revealed itself as efficient but answerless to its users' expectations. As one of the critical thinkers about repetitive housing methods, N. John Habraken's quote from Berlage – who is considered as a pioneer of modern architecture in the Netherlands – presents the rejection of standardized repetition in the inhabited environment; “And now this proposed form of housing, which has already been drastically characterized in a revolutionary organ as ‘one uniform, one fodder, one kneel,’ means to them (the workers) being stacked away in some sort of cellular prison.”¹⁰ Therefore the multiplication of standardized types in favor of an industrial ideology became an issue brought up together with the housing problem.

Architectural narratives and the production of the architectural object – especially the house – have always been influenced and formed by each other; however, singularly focusing on certain production methods or architectural aspirations has never been a fundamental solution to continuous housing problems. Therefore, it is unavoidable to shift focus from this dual relationship to the process itself, in order to develop a better method that is responsive to the housing the communities. Likewise, modernist architecture stripped the home environments of their tradition, their spontaneity, and their capacity for instinctive response, because the modern house was as static as it perceived its users. Further, the repetition of the modern house in the form of mass housing created a manner of removing the inhabitant from the building process to avoid any disruptions in production that may be caused by the user's individual desires or inclinations. The method of mass housing is focused on the number of houses built and the time efficiency in the process; it is not concerned

¹⁰ Habraken, *Supports*, 2.

with the sufficiency of those built, and opposed to the presence of a dynamic individual. The consideration of users, as well as their changing needs in course of life, suggests a non-static organization of space and diversity that may appear as 'chaos'¹¹ from a modernist point of view because the repetition of standardized elements is incapable of creating diversity. Therefore, the reinstatement of an individual into the design signifies the abandonment of mass housing as a method in pursuit of providing a responsive dwelling for inhabitants.¹² Besides, the involvement of individuals in housing methods reveals to be necessary because the house itself responds first to its inhabitants rather than imposed architectural narratives of industrial apparatus.

The reintroduction of the inhabitant with the house brings into the argument an inquiry of the relationship between the dynamic individual and the dwelling. Such an inquiry comes from a perspective that does not evaluate the house solely on physical criteria, such as occupant-area ratios, the supply and disposal of fluids like air, sewage, water, gas, and so forth calculated needs of a presumptive inhabitant in a static realm. It requires an understanding of the intricate organization of built space and the meanings attached to it. The house is not just a means of shelter, but also an area where the individuals attempt to anchor one's 'self' into the material world to manifest their geographical and sensory existence. Further, it creates a tangible environment that is relatable to its user by symbolic and meaningful elements which are interwoven by mental, social, emotive, and physical relations.¹³ Therefore, a design process that includes the inhabitants also suggests involving the intricate relationship between people and their domestic environments. Consequently, this study deals with revealing the dimensions of the complex relationship between the domestic space and the inhabitants by benefiting the published literature, and seeking

¹¹ Kroll welcomes the chaos brought to architecture by the reinstatement of its user because this kind of architecture fosters creativity by reintroducing "ambiguity, complexity, subtlety, and contradiction." See; Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 12-13.

¹² Habraken, *Supports*, 4-9.

¹³ Altman & Werner, *Home Environments*, esp. introduction, xix-xxii.

for those aspects in Kroll's architecture that uses a participatory approach towards housing.

1.2 The Structure of the Study

This study presents an endeavor of a holistic inquiry about the house, its relationship with its user, and Kroll's position in building such a distinguished architectural object while benefitting from the published literature of multi-disciplinary studies. It aims to create an integrated perspective from the dispersed ideas about the house environments, present them within the scope of Lucien Kroll's accomplished works, and reveal their implementations in his architectural approach. However, the purpose here is undoubtedly a restricted one. It is not an in-depth analysis of the house environment from phenomenological, psychological, or anthropological aspects, or a bibliographic presentation of Kroll, or an assessment of his works on grounds of a detailed analysis of the participatory process by introducing the actors and evaluating their involvements. It is an inquiry of the associated meanings of a house as an environment, and an attempt to understand the constructive interrelationship between the users and their houses – not only when the users receive it as a ready-to-move-in shelter but when they partake in its creation. It aims to interpret Kroll's architecture in this sense because he designs 'with the help of inhabitants' rather than applying decisions centering on the architect. Also, this study is concerned with understanding Kroll's architectural approach in relation to the period's theories regarding the place and house environments, as Kroll's architecture was developed in an atmosphere of critical thinking against modernist housing approaches and their consequences.

In order to present a theoretical framework concerning the house as a multi-dimensional architectural object and a phenomenological entity that occurs through an interaction with its inhabitant, this study benefits from books, journals and conference papers, magazines, and online sources. These sources, which cover a wide range of topics in addition to architecture, define the house, its relationship with

its inhabitants, and its construction through discourses relevant to their field. Therefore, in interest of a holistic approach, that is resorted in this discussion, some repetitive concepts are used interchangeable in relation to the meanings they evoke. For example, 'housing' resonates in a thinking about sheltering people, construction, and providing them physical environments to inhabit in consideration with their social, economic, and political features. A singular 'house', however, signifies more specific qualities of its owner and relates with a more definable geography, a 'place'. Even if it is evaluated by its mere physical features such as the piece of land it stands on, its value in housing market, the number of rooms, the materials used to cover the facades, and so on, the house reveals an identity that can be positioned in the accepted economic and political norms of the current society. When it is introduced to cultural, social, and communicative attributions of its users, it becomes a home-place. The organization of its spatial features in a certain manner that is unique to its inhabitants reorients the house's associated meanings from a mere physicality to an activity and a phenomenon that is embedded in every person. The dwelling that was an enclosure and a shelter from nature and others out there, against which requires protection, becomes part of a life practice; both a physicality constructed according to culture specific behaviors and a sum of behavioral patterns that takes a constructive role on people's lives. Therefore, reducing the house into its physical features without considering the aspects what makes it a home, or thinking about housing people while disregarding the personal attributions to a singular house create a disconnection in understanding the dynamics which make the house environments responsive to people's needs and their everyday living. As a matter of fact, adopting an attitude that makes clear distinctions between what makes it a house and what makes it a home also appears to be contrary to what is intended with a holistic approach. Such an attitude resonates in an approach such as determining the range of the domestic space according to which the inhabitants should restrict themselves to involve with, or addressing the environments from a singular perspective with selected features that differ according to their evaluated scales, and so on.

The deterministic approaches to architectural space were embedded in modernist solutions to housing people during the post-war era, and eventually led to an increased importance given to participatory approaches in architecture to reestablish the relationship between the individual and the house, and reconnect the domestic space with the lived-in context. The intellectual and considerations, emerged in response to modernist approaches, influenced many architects to experiment on spatial possibilities that can be achieved through user involvement in the design process. However, the participatory approaches differed according to the interpretations of the architects who conducted the design process and become the mediator between the users' needs and their architectural elucidation. Therefore, it is more likely to develop a discussion about exemplary practices of architects in collaboration with users, rather than asserting a particular participatory method.

In the following chapter, this study introduces Kroll as an architect who developed a participatory approach, and other aspects of his architecture. It deals with the influential thoughts and the early opportunities in his carrier where he had the chance to experiment with participatory architecture, thereby developing his architectural approach after his education. He adopted a critical approach towards an architecture that focuses on the rapid production of a great number of houses, which disregards the users' contentment and the habitability of domestic space. He remarks that the emphasis on repetition and the preference for abstract geometries designed without considering the local context, bureaucratize and even militarize architecture, leading to an uninhabitable conception of designers and specialists. Instead, he advocates for an architecture that is in relation to its surroundings and open to its users' spontaneity and diversity.

In the third chapter, the relationship between the users and the house environments becomes unfolded by evaluating it from various aspects such as social, cultural, cosmic, economic, political, and so on. Accordingly, the tangible organization of a domestic space reveals to be closely related to people's intangible construction of selfhood. It creates an identity that gives clues about an individual's social status, economic capacity, political potency, or cultural practices, and communicates with

the larger social and cultural realms that a person associates one's self to. On the other hand, due to the nature of communication, the generally accepted facts in those realms affect a person's self-formation from the outside, which appears as an internal activity at first. Therefore, the central decisions made in political, economic, and aspects affecting the construction of the home environments disrupt a natural formation of the relationship between the house and its users and detach them from their domestic space. However, as it is demonstrated by Kroll's architecture, the collaboration with the users creates an opportunity for them to reflect their individualistic particularities to the house environments and build unique relationships with their domestic space.

The fourth chapter focuses on Kroll's architectural methods that place the inhabitants in the center, as well as his use of industrial components in an organization that encourages creativity rather than numbing repetition. In creating his architecture, he uses industrial components in a complex relationship that reflects the diversity of the inhabitants, in opposition to rigid applications of modern methods. Therefore, the resulting structures are not monolithic concrete masses formed from repetition, but structures that are suitable for human scale and communicate with their users in a living continuum. Hence, he refers to his designs as a 'soft'¹⁴ architecture in comparison with the 'rigid' one promoted by modernists. Kroll provides a 'soft' responsiveness to the users' needs as well as creating an environment that generates relations with its physical, geographical, social, cultural, economic and community-related dimensions. Such relations locate the house environments within the unity of the city, in contrast to modernist planning's strictly divided urban zones, which assign singular functions to each zone and are unable to create a habitable whole of relations. This chapter explains Kroll's endeavors to create an architecture that collaborates with the inhabitants to generate a 'soft zone'. Also, it includes the

¹⁴ Lucien Kroll, "The Soft Zone," in *Architectural Association Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (October/December 1975): 48-60.

criticism that subjects his architectural methods for almost ignoring the inhabitants who show reluctance to the participatory process. Another included criticism that has developed around his architecture is the style, which was evaluated as a picturesque use of industrial elements in favor of complexity. Therefore, this chapter deals with Kroll's three best-known projects, which were subjected to various publications and reviews, through explaining; the architectural process that Kroll applied, the attitudes of the inhabitants in the participatory process, the disruption of the design and decision-making process by the central orderings of institutions, and the post-occupancy evaluations made about the projects.

The concluding remarks reveal the sum of objectives that Kroll adapted in his architectural approach and applied them in the creation of house environments. It evaluates the relevance of his architecture to the period's theories about home places that object to the reductionist approaches of modernists. It presents the participatory approaches to architecture as an opportunity to free the domestic space from the rulings of specialists, institutions, bureaucrats of industry, and the construction agencies in power, and as a chance to create habitable domestic spaces, as demonstrated by Kroll's accomplishments.

CHAPTER 2

LUCIEN KROLL AND HIS CRITICAL POSITION AS AN ARCHITECT

Lucien Kroll was born in 1927 to a metallurgical engineer father, a nurse mother, and a non-architect family. Although he hesitated between pursuing medical studies or opting for architecture, Kroll graduated from the École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de la Cambre in 1951. Then he enrolled in urban planning with Gaston Bardet, and was largely influenced by his teachings.¹⁵ Gaston Bardet was an advocate of a traditional urbanism emphasizing the historical continuity in cities, which was an argument that emerged after WWI with Marcel Poëte in France. Bardet was one of the few to speak out against the mechanization that endangered the historic fabric, as conceived by Le Corbusier and endorsed by the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM). He considered the modernist ways of reconstructing the cities as a rejection of the past and tradition, therefore embraced an approach in course of Marcel Poëte's teachings, which were constantly making a connection between the richness abide in the history and the culture of the French urban and its future.¹⁶ Thus, Bardet aspired to a national regeneration, preferred Wright's 'spacious city' to Le Corbusier's 'radiant city',¹⁷ opted for a decentralized organization of communities on small scale, and appreciated the city's history and local building practices. Bardet strongly criticized the modernist doctrines in urban planning, claiming that it ignored the social nature of the city, which was emerging with its various aspects every passing day. The modernist approach to post-war city reconstruction included zoning the city parts according to their function, organizing

¹⁵ Patrick Bouchain and Collectif, *Simone et Lucien Kroll, une Architecture Habitée* (Arles: Actes Sud Editions, 2013), 9.

¹⁶ Nicholas Bullock, "Gaston Bardet: Post-war Champion of the Mainstream Tradition of French Urbanisme," *Planning Perspectives* 25, no. 3(July 2010): 347–363.

¹⁷ Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 20.

the road network free from building borders, and high-rise housing. However, according to Poëte's approach, which was pursued by Bardet, the city is a complex structure that evolves throughout its history and by people's interactions with the environment.¹⁸ Therefore, the central interventions of planners towards the city contradict its characteristics and its formative relationship with the inhabitants. Also learning from Bardet's urban teachings, Kroll developed a critical approach towards the modernist attitude that reduced the city into separate zones of precise functions ignoring the diversity embedded in people's activities. His criticism was loud against modernist impositions on the city and the dwelling, which were concentrated in Le Corbusier's assertions.

The modernist pioneers got together in Athens to write themselves a charter for architecture and planning, and Le Corbusier rewrote it to purify it more completely of all reference to tradition, all hesitation, all disorder.¹⁹

Even though the modernist way of thinking in the design of cities was being mentioned simultaneously with Le Corbusier, the collective effort of the members of CIAM almost canonized the image of the cities of the twentieth century. It was through their manifesto, the 'Charter of Athens', and four meetings held in La Sarraz (CIAM in 1928, and CIAM4 in 1933), in Frankfurt (CIAM2 in 1929), and in Brussels (CIAM3 in 1930), that the modernist city had emerged as a scientifically planned and well-ordered scheme. It was based on a rational framework of the functional units that were organized at enlarging scales; for example, the smallest units would be the low-cost dwellings to concentrate in buildings, then to create neighborhoods

¹⁸ Bullock, "Gaston Bardet," 351-353.

¹⁹ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 11.

and eventually the cities. The dwelling was a ‘rationalized’ living unit to be multiplied, and a geometrical unit consisting of calculated surfaces and rooms provided with healthy air and light circulation, insulation, heating, and so forth technical qualities that create fundamentals of modern living.²⁰ The low-cost and rapidly constructed dwellings, that were also providing the sufficient living conditions determined by the specialist, were favored by the government housing policies, and vast numbers of dwellings were constructed in both forms of single-family houses and high-rise blocks. Regardless of the composition of dwellings, a ‘good home’ carrying the image of a modern domestic organization was promoted as being a part of a modern community and sharing the values of modern culture.²¹ However, the modern utensils that were equipped in houses, or furniture that provided free use of space remained restricted to responding to the technical aspects of a house, and the social and cultural aspects of a dwelling that makes it a ‘home’ became expressionless in a modern domestic environment. Such a spatial insufficiency and restriction in everyday living became resonated in the critical thinking in intellectual and architectural fields by the late 1950s. The conditions of modern living which had led to mechanization and assigning people in living spaces determined by central decisions led architects to seek alternatives.

2.1 Kroll’s Experience as an Architect that Led to Participation

Kroll's architectural perception was developed under the influence of the intellectual and everyday environment of the late 1950s and 1960s, which was an era of criticism towards specialized functions and monotonous spatial organizations in the fields of architecture or urban planning. His education, his early experiences of encountering the users he designed for, and taking a curious perspective to understand what kind

²⁰ Aristotle Kallis, “From ‘Minimum Dwelling’ to ‘Functional City’: Reappraising Scale Transitions in the Early History of CIAM (1928–33),” *Planning Perspectives* 36, no.1 (2021): 125-145.

²¹ Fredie Floré, “Lessons in Modern Living: Home Design Exhibitions in Belgium 1945–1958,” *The Journal of Architecture* 9, no.4 (2004): 445-462.

of places the inhabitants want for themselves led him to develop a participatory approach in his architecture. The concepts and principles of Kroll's architecture emerge as an integration of the critical position of the period, the influence of intellectual approaches from different disciplines such as sociology and anthropology, and Kroll's own experiences with the inhabitants.

Gaston Bardet was possibly one of the most influential teachers in Kroll's educational life, and it was from him that he learned principles like 'incrementalism' and 'vicinitude,' which he incorporated into his own architecture. The former is “a science of muddling through”; it is a resourceful agglomeration by adding one element after another without order, it prevents any definitive forms from the beginning of the process. The latter, on the other hand, mediates the proximity, familiarity, and neighborhood; it is an available nearness that is unlikely to be disrupted by means of architectural forms and legal devices, it avoids seeing architecture isolated in itself and unlinked. Kroll's architecture is also decentralizing (the urban environment is guided through disintegrated decisions instead of a central ordering of the country), it employs the existing (the urban planner composes with the flow of exchange and human activity rather than the precision of zoning), refers to neighborhood as a smaller piece of urban cluster, it is diverse (primitive regional distinctions may fade as a result of interactions between cultures, but emergent differences grow more pronounced, new ones emerge, and ecology grows richer.), biological (the urban framework reintegrates with nature, regenerates and expands or breaks up) and harmonious. To create a habitable architecture and ecological neighborhoods, his architecture respects the biological patterns of humans and their heterogeneity, considers the five senses as well as the activities. For Kroll, the buildings constitute a relational whole together with their landscape, in which the gardens contribute to biodiversity. He learns and receives assistance from his wife, Simone Kroll, in designing gardens for his projects. Simone Kroll, who is a potter and a gardener, organizes season specific views for those who experience the garden and walkers passing by, considering the horizontal and vertical relations, colors, light and shadow, and the changing intensities in a vegetation. She aims to express the

diversity and uniqueness that is inherent in all things, and she avoids utilizing straight lines that imply the presence of a centralized power in parks and gardens, as well as disregard for cosmic disorder. Therefore, both Simone and Lucien Kroll design to achieve a heterogeneity that is rooted in people's perception of the world from both imaginative and sensitive perspectives. They aspire to meet the inhabitants' expectations by following a participatory method.²²

During the early stages of his career, Kroll practiced with modernist methods when he started working with his classmate, Charles Vandenhove, who became a celebrated architect in Belgium and the Netherlands with his modern and functional designs respecting the historic fabric of the city. According to Vandenhove, buildings were compositions of a strictly ordered industrial products, and the architectural objects were only becoming meaningful by the distance between the architect and the user, therefore, leaving no room for participation. Kroll, on the other hand, disagrees with an architect's position as a decision maker apart from the users. He does not rely on an architectonic mindset about design, construction, or the social perspectives on the architect's duty. He believes that an authoritarian and self-reliant attitude is both uncontemporary and undesired. The architects who aspire for modernist ambitions assign the inhabitants to architectural organizations that they did not decide for themselves. The emerged architectural space becomes regulated by the architect's consideration of the economy and the application of industrial product, therefore distancing from its users. According to Kroll, this can only be avoided through close collaboration with inhabitants and clients, which is a process that breaks apart from the conventional authority coerced by the architects, institutions, and industry. Although, Kroll saw potential in combining two fundamentally opposite perspectives to result in complexity, conflicts occurred

²² Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 20-29.

between the two architects. After designing a few detached houses, a chapel, a stable, a tourist restaurant and a watchtower, they ended their association peacefully.²³

One of the definitive experiences that established the insights of Kroll's architecture started with his employment by a Benedictine priest, Thomas Desclée, in 1957, for various small reorganizations to be conducted at the abbey of Maredsous. It was including the renovation of an assembly room, the integration of little roofs, and the transformation of the barn into workshops. Moreover, the workshop's design provided him with a venue through which he could learn about participation where he could ask everyone what they anticipated and what was most important to them. Later, the Benedictines asked him to develop an architecture in the monastery near Butare, in Ruanda, a country in Central Afrika which was under the colonial rule of Belgium as a League of Nations mandate, beginning from 1916 during World War I until the early 1960's. The priests' request was for a place that would connect the specificities of its location while maintaining modern objectivity. In Ruanda, Kroll observed an expression of locality, a distinct relevance to the landscape that was represented in the spontaneity of the vernacular huts, houses and gardens. Therefore, he included them in his architectural dialogue rather than disregarding or replicating them. He built a guest house, an eating hall, a library, chapels, and workshops connecting with the larger landscape through gardens and courtyard, at the same time, managing the hot climate. Then, he was commissioned by the Ruandan authorities to build a ministry and a presidency building and asked to create a town that was distinctive of Ruanda and Central Africa. He envisioned a dispersed urbanization that represented ancestral organization of the place while utilizing a rationalized infrastructure system, allowing the town to grow swiftly within a broad domain in which people were induced to build in connection with their

²³ Christophe Van Gerrewey, "Living in Liberty after 1968: Charles Vandenhove versus Lucien Kroll," *OASE* 97, (October 2016):99-108, <https://www.oasejournal.nl/nl/Issues/97/LivinginLibertyafter1968>.

circumstances.²⁴ Later, such an architectural approach that builds relations to people, their activities, and the local context (such as the history, and the living of inhabitants, etc.) revealed itself in Kroll's narrative as a 'civilized' architecture. Such an architecture emerges from the unique situations and conditions, and produces a diversity of possibilities and relations. It develops in contrast of modernist segregation of urban zones as specialized spaces, opposing a 'militaristic' architecture that is predetermined in all aspects.²⁵

Another turning point that marked Kroll's career was surely the Medical Faculty (Maison Médicale, also known as La Mémé) at the University of Louvain, which brought him a recognition on international level. The attention was drawn initially because of its provocative look compared to modernist aesthetics, and then because of its participatory methods, which incorporated students in both decision-making and constructing processes. When observed together with the adjacent monolithic hospital, its opposing presence emphasizes the fundamental distinction between bottom-up and top-down planning.²⁶ According to Kroll, any forced architecture implies an assemble of isolated concepts since it reduces the inhabitant to an occupier, a mere wanderer. However, an inhabitant – who is free from imposed principles – constructs, manages, restores, and expands his home place; exploring different forms, uses, practices, and symbolizes, above all, demonstrates diversity. The habitability of an architecture, on the other hand – whether a house, a school, a social center, and so on – is determined by the quality of its process, which follows a dialogue with the inhabitants and users. The architects do not force anything; instead, they compose for and, if possible, together with the inhabitants.²⁷

²⁴ Kroll, *Buildings and Projects*, 18-27.

²⁵ Wolfgang Pehnt, "Return of the Sioux," in *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects*, trans. Joseph Masterson, (Stuttgart: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 7.

²⁶ Peter Blundell Jones and Eamonn Canniffe, *Modern Architecture Through Case Studies 1945-1990* (Oxford: Elsevier, 2007), 127-138.

²⁷ Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 31,32.



Figure 1: The west view of the site. La MéMé, the social zone of the students, which consists of restaurants, an elementary school, a metro station, administration, and gardens, as well as accommodation. The complex structure shows a significant difference in scale and mass organization when compared to the hospital building on the left.²⁸



Figure 2: The view of La MéMé with the monolithic hospital building at the background.²⁹

²⁸ Image source: Kroll, *Buildings and Projects*, 41.

²⁹ Image source: Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 96.



Figure 3: The students participating in the 'cultivation' of the grounds of their domestic environment. The hospital building is at the background again.³⁰



Figure 4: The view from the elementary school in the social complex. The pure geometry of the hospital sets the background of the children's playground.

³⁰ Top image source: Kroll, *Buildings and Projects*, 61. Bottom image source: Ibid, 53.

Charles Jencks' widely circulated publication, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*³¹, was another medium that brought significant recognition to Lucien Kroll and his accomplishments through La MéMé. In its first edition in 1977 Jencks introduced La MéMé under a grouping of 'ad hocism,' which he defined as an eclectic approach that agglomerates various elements in a creative manner and it aims to be heterogeneous and chaotic in opposition of modernist architecture. He complemented the outcome architecture of Kroll's collaboration with the students for expressing deep and extensive meanings, but condemned him for going too far in favor of spontaneity and leaving no room for 'ordinary architecture,' even to the point of enforcing participation. Even though he acknowledged an achieved pluralism that would have taken years by many inhabitants' adjustments and contributions over time, Jencks was overwhelmed by the idiosyncrasy of the organization that aimed an individualization at human scale and the absent representation of the 'silent majority.' In his comments on the builders' addition to the design (Figure 02), he added: "Participation and individualism have produced a witty environment, which only lacks normality. One longs for a bit of straight Modernism here..."³²

Jencks generalized the characteristics of the Post-Modernist architecture as responsive to modernist concepts of being timeless and transnational. He described it as "one-half Modern and one-half something else", and that something else being an endeavor to communicate with the inhabitant through tradition and local values. Maintaining the modernist aspirations of using the current production methods and technology but aiming a local relativity that communicates with the society created a conflict because the interpreted meanings varied between the architect, the design

³¹ Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (London: Rizzoli, 1977), see esp. 92-96.

³² Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1984), 106.

specialist, the craftsman, the client and the inhabitant. Therefore, Jencks depicted the Post-Modern architecture as “doubly-coded”, designed with modernist concerns and styled in traditional or local tastes, which created an essential duality in means of referring both to the architectural profession in touch with various cities around the world and multinational cultures, and to the local public and the inhabitants in concern.³³ Kroll, however, makes a clear distinction between a subjective architecture that responds to local specificities, and a collective attitude of opposing modernist forms by differentiating the architectural product merely stylistically. For him, following the same construction methods results only in visual change, and still does not provide a habitable longevity.³⁴

Tzonis and Lefaivre, however, described Kroll’s architecture under the influence of the concepts of Spring’68, which was a reaction against the institutional orderings and the contemporary machine society’s impoverishment, misery, and deterioration. In response to what was modern, architecture created a medium to convey a discussion dissenting in abstraction, universal and everlasting standards. The architectural proposals were in opposition to the ideological orientations centered on mass consumption and favor of productivism, the commoditization and depersonalization of the architectural object in pursuit of bureaucracy, and thus alienating the inhabitants from their environments. The design shifted its focus to the concepts of appropriation, a sense of togetherness and diversity in society, having a voice in decisions to be applied and in terms of living. Instead of imposing the orderings of an institutionalized architecture, the implementations of the design became relevant to its landscape, social and cultural living, and expressive of the individualistic imagination. Kroll’s design for the medical students was also one of the materialized examples of such an approach allowing the students to express their

³³ Ibid, 5-6.

³⁴ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 11.

individualistic aspirations by defining their intimate spaces, deciding on the positions of the separation elements or even the components of the façade.³⁵

Kroll's approach to housing reflects a pluralistic image that involves inhabitants and their constantly changing individualities, instead of perceiving them as static practitioners of certain functions. In addition, he recognizes the impact of architecture on inhabitants' actions. Therefore, he does not only invite the inhabitants and their living continuity into his design, but he also utilizes the industrial element to express their diversity. For example, in La MéMé he chose windows in every possible type and dimension, so that a claustrophobic may prefer wide openings while an agoraphobic can enjoy narrow ones. He avoids repetition because monotony breeds uniformity, whereas irregularity fosters creativity.³⁶ Kroll aims to reflect a collectivity of inhabitants' needs through participation and a 'smart' use of industry.

2.2 Kroll's Critique of 'Taylorization' in Architecture

Kroll outlined his architectural insights and the methods he followed through design and actual construction process in his book, entitled "An Architecture of Complexity" in 1987 (translated by Peter Blundell Jones). Initially it was published in 1983 as "Composants—faut-il industrialiser l'architecture?" which may be immediately translated as "Components - should the architecture be industrialized?". In his book, Kroll criticizes the pervasive authority of designers and manufacturers, individuals of power and control who are posing a threat to damage architecture under the excuse of misled economics. Therefore, he carried his loud criticism to the title while opposing the heavily industrialized elements that confine the form and

³⁵ Alexander Tzonis, Liane Lefaivre, *Architecture in Europe: Memory and Invention Since 1968* (Thames & Hudson, 1997), 10-11.

³⁶ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 44-49.

character of the architecture, whereas they should have been utilized in creative formations.³⁷

The design of a residential environment, according to Kroll, is a political statement by which some attitudes strengthen the prevailing authorities. When confronted with a range of various factors, the 'functional' spatial planner would first ignore the landscape and utilize self-reliant abstracted types in proportions determined by the manufacturers, then repeat the established model inconsistent with the landscape, assemble it according to an ordering process, indifferent to any locality. Therefore, he directs his critics towards a monotonous architecture restricted by the specifications of industrial materials in favor of manufacturers' economy. He objects a militaristic architecture that imposes abstract rules on landscapes at the expense of the local varieties, resulting in rational geometries detached from any context, and hence compatible only with themselves to recur in similar rows. According to him, such an approach to building cannot lead to any industrialization, but simply result in Taylorization.³⁸

The most prominent reason for Kroll's opposition to Taylor was his concentration on administration, which gave overall authority to bureaucracy, leaving very little opportunity for political inventiveness and imagination.³⁹ Taylor separated and arranged labor based on individual productivity, removing idle time and movements in worker operations in favor of efficiency.⁴⁰ Although an intelligent work organization provides efficiency, Taylor's methods went a step further by keeping the assignment from arranging itself and from creating a positive connection with its surroundings, unless the central decisions require so. The realm of work, on the other

³⁷ Lucien Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, trans. Peter Blundell Jones, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1987).

³⁸ Ibid, 7-9.

³⁹ Ibid, 18-19.

⁴⁰ Encyclopædia Britannica, "Taylorism", date published November 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/science/Taylorism>.

hand, has a strong parallel with the realm of architecture.⁴¹ Dismantling the connections between individuals and their activities also disrupted other entangled linkages to local history, geography, and custom. The mechanical divisions of urban regions, along with activities, shifted in the means of providing inhabitants with specialized areas, such as spaces for inhabitants that were indicating merely their mechanical needs.⁴²

The relationship between the ‘work’ and the sum of people’s everyday lives, as well as every object within, was also explained by Henri Lefebvre, who was a critical thinker and writer on the “rational kind of interpretation” of the city, time, social and private life, space, society and so on. Recalling a period when every objective or social reality was not evaluated according to Cartesian ideas, he remarked that the diversity in people's lives was perceived as an entirety. The practice of various functions, relatable and distinguishable forms, and institutional, social or natural structures were indicators of the locality of a geography or country, its demographic features, possible expense of natural resources, environmental conditions, and so on. Together, they were creating a sum of realities that were connected by symbolic values and associated meanings. Therefore, any object that was created as a result of work done in that entirety of relations, likewise, contained the values attached to it. The rationalization, however, distinguished all of the relationships and activities one by one, reorganizing them as elements of mechanical functioning, mass-producing them, and imposing them on people through advertising and influential economic and political forces. Elements were constructing autonomous subsystems to be multiplied according a self-relevant ordering into a greater system. As a result, a diversity of local, or regional architectural organizations were displaced by an

⁴¹ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 17.

⁴² Lucien Kroll, “Friendly Architecture. What is Good Architecture?,” *OASE* 90 (May 2013): 28–31, <https://www.oasejournal.nl/en/Issues/90/FriendlyArchitecture>.

"architectural urbanism," a unifying framework of functions and forms in ostensible rational geometries.⁴³

In favor of a rationalized construction, the urban settings became un-differentiable by a "repetitive precision" of similar houses without any reference to history, time, nature, tradition, or place; "thousands of identical pre-fabs destined to be destroyed after a mere twenty years."⁴⁴ One of the examples of such is the Quartiers Modernes Frugès in Pessac, designed by one of the most recognized modernist pioneers, Le Corbusier. The settlement was 'revisited' after some forty years by Philippe Boudon, and he gathered his observations and analyses in his book titled "Lived-in Architecture: Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited" (translated by Gerald Onn). There, Boudon encountered with the dwellings that had been rearranged by their inhabitants rather than modern 'machines to live in' conceptualized by their architect.⁴⁵ In the opening markings of the book, Lefebvre addressed Le Corbusier's intentions to provide low-cost buildings considering the challenging economic and social circumstances. He intended to design a functional system that would facilitate technology while being comfortable to live in, wherein the people could establish themselves and their everyday livings. However, rather than settling into the architect's predetermined and uniform framework, where the residents would have to adjust their lives into a 'passivity,' they chose to live 'actively,' demonstrating that living in a house is not a mere occupation but an activity. Because Le Corbusier's system only emphasized the correlation between the form, function and structure while following a monotonous repetitive manner, and the inhabitants would remain passive in the presence of predefined imagery and landscapes, as well as the decisions made by bureaucrats, by the impositions of consumerism and its established requirements. Instead, the inhabitants operated on what they were given,

⁴³ Henri Lefebvre, "The Everyday and Everydayness," trans. Christine Levich with the editors, *Yale French Studies*, no.73 (1987): 7-11.

⁴⁴ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 10.

⁴⁵ Philippe Boudon, *Lived-in Architecture: Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited*, trans, Gerald Onn (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1972).

transforming it, integrating their own needs and personal characteristics, and creating differences.⁴⁶ Kroll remarked on Pessac's modernist forms while pointing out their inability to reveal any information about their assembling despite all the statements about righteousness of structure. He only saw a connection between the living continuity through the deteriorating modern overlay that revealed the building's bricks over time.⁴⁷

Kroll thinks that the architect and architecture must stay inquisitive and not be tempted by bureaucratic rules, but rather utilize the methods of production. Architecture must become descriptive and sensitive to changing incidents by making use of every potential and current circumstances.

Why should materials and production processes ruthlessly dictate the form, structure and texture of an object in common everyday use? This madness has produced crude and nasty products which served as barbaric propaganda for a nascent industry. It would be more appropriate to select techniques according to use and to change them if the product gains an unsympathetic image.⁴⁸

According to Kroll, an attitude of separating architecture from place and time in pursuit of reductionist rational goals blunts architecture and its relations to the social context. Instead, he proposes a decentralized and responsive architecture that is adaptable to local circumstances. An architecture that reflects the distinctness of its immediate surroundings, and does so without completely rejecting the industrial

⁴⁶ From Henri Lefebvre's preface in *Lived-in Architecture: Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited*, by Philippe Boudon. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1972).

⁴⁷ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 15.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 11.

product, but rather utilizing it at an appropriate scale to allow its locale's subjectivity, its pluralistic render.⁴⁹

2.3 An Architecture that is 'Civilized' versus 'Militarized'

The house, both as an environment and as a building activity, always implies a reflection of individualism. The act, however, does not always follow its 'natural' progress of spatial organization when it is distorted by varied orderings based on political or economic ideals, along with laws, restrictions, safety regulations, and so on. Furthermore, majority of individuals and communities no longer arrange the space by distinct indicators or elements that express the befitting conditions and their behavior patterns, nor do they take part in the initial construction of the built environment, but rather they occupy the present spaces appropriated by the architect.⁵⁰ Having introduced to industrial production methods, the Fordist mode of accumulation,⁵¹ – facilitating capitalist social relations, consumerist culture, and governmental policies – and Taylorist management of work⁵² appealed the designers

⁴⁹ Ibid., 1-9.

⁵⁰ Amos Rapoport, "Social Organization and the Built Environment," in *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology: Humanity, Culture and Social Life*, ed. Tim Ingold, (Oxon: Routledge, 1994), 460-502, see esp. 489.

⁵¹ Fordism has been examined on four levels. To begin with, it is an industrial paradigm that entails mass manufacturing of standardized items on a moving assembly line employing dedicated machinery and semiskilled labor. Second, it incorporates a virtuous cycle of mass production and mass consumption as a national accumulation (or growth) regime. Third, Fordism as a mode of regulation entails (1) an institutionalized compromise between organized labor and big business, in which workers accept management prerogatives in exchange for higher wages, (2) monopolistic competition between large firms based on cost-plus pricing and advertising, (3) centralized financial capital, deficit finance, and credit-based mass consumption, (4) state intervention to ensure full employment and establish a welfare state, and (5) the abolition of the minimum wage. Fourth, Fordism is defined by mass media, mass transportation, and mass politics as a way of life. See; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Fordism", date published May 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Fordism>.

⁵² Taylorism is a system of scientific management advocated by Fred W. Taylor. In Taylor's view, the task of factory management was to determine the best way for the worker to do the job, to provide the proper tools and training, and to provide incentives for good performance. He broke each job down into its individual motions, analyzed these to determine which were essential, and timed the workers with a stopwatch. With unnecessary motion eliminated, the worker, following a machinelike routine, became far more productive. See; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Taylorism", date published November 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/science/Taylorism>.

with the aspiration of the mass-produced houses and their potentialities. The followers of Modern Movement built their motives around mass production; their pursuit revolved around a standard type that can be aligned in reference to its dimensions and be repeated, and around an objective of uniformity in both technical and visual aspects.⁵³ As a result, architecture abandoned its relations with the context and the inhabitants, to be repeated in a segregated form of well-functioning geometries that is only expressive of itself and creating a unity out of solidarity.⁵⁴

According to Kroll, the industrial orderings, operating in favor of economic considerations and profit motives, has depredated not only the physical environment but also the social and psychological realms, the expressed symbolism, divinity, family, history, culture, nature, and so on. Such a brutal organization of industrial elements created a ‘schizoid’ alignment because, as the term refers, it is lack of relations and consisted of autonomous components.⁵⁵ Whether it is housing, clothing, or food, they were produced as self-reliant subsystems that were mechanically organized to create consumable systems under the guise of diversity. Consumption, on the other hand, was managed by producers: administrators and the ones in hold of the means of production, not by the ones who actually produced them⁵⁶ – the ‘workers’ – for they have already been removed, or ‘alienated’, from the creative process. The manner of production in form of disharmonious and non-relational elements reflected on urban planners as a tendency of mechanical division of urban areas and the forced economics upon civic life. According to Kroll, the objective became to promote “well-ordered cubic meters,” rather than establishing civilized architecture.⁵⁷

⁵³ Gilbert Herbert, (1984), “The Dream of the Factory-Made House: Walter Gropius and Konrad Wachsmann,” in *Housing and Dwelling: Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, ed. Barbara Miller Lane, (Oxon: Routledge, 2007): 240-248.

⁵⁴ Kroll, *Friendly Architecture. What is Good Architecture?*, 29.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Lefebvre, *The Everyday and Everydayness*, 8-9.

⁵⁷ Kroll, *Friendly Architecture. What is Good Architecture?*, 29.

The house, under the influence of modernist narrative and Taylorist production methods, therefore, bespoke homogeneity and conformity. Herein, a confliction emerged between the produced housing types, the repetitive similar dwellings, and the expected ideal of personalized, self-sufficient dwellings.⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, French philosopher and poststructuralist theorist, explains the production of subjectivity in relation to impersonalized masses, via a model, which he calls disciplinary society. In disciplinary societies populations are regulated through a dialectic between individual and mass.⁵⁹ He explains the discipline not as a way of executing punishment but as an instrument that reorganizes the internal mechanisms of power. It targets to control the operations of an individual to be affective in a unity comprising of individuals. By calculating the efficiency of movements and restricting them, the internal organization of an individual becomes subjected to control. Regulating the time, space, and movement makes it possible to control the individual's body, hence, putting an uninterrupted and continuous pressure on it by supervising the process of its activity. Therefore, the impositions of being more rapid and effective creates a functional organization that subjects the human action to a mechanization and militarization.⁶⁰ The logic that automizes the bodily movements in repeating order in parts of time was surely one of the focal points of Taylorist production manners, that was also adapted to architecture in form of militarized housings repeating in rows. However, differentiates the organization of work and its militarization:

... we should surely distinguish between the intelligent organisation of group work and the reinforcement of power which results from

⁵⁸ Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983), esp. introduction.

⁵⁹ Joshua S. Hanan, "Home Is Where The Capital Is: The Culture of Real Estate In An Era Of Control Societies", *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 7, no. 2 (2010): 176-201.

⁶⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

organised work. In its brutality at the beginning of the century, Taylorism produced only tools (machines, clocks and methods) but these certainly were not there to encourage self-realization. Spontaneity and discipline produce very different ways of working and different arrangements of space and time. Sometimes these result in quite different products even when starting with identical knowledge and techniques.⁶¹

The dialect between the individual and the mass is maintained by the disciplinary institutions operations in spatial enclosures that maximizes the collective energies while also producing individual identities suitable to that enclosure.⁶² The disciplinary operations connect the singular and the multiples by allowing a person's characterization both as an individual and in the regulations of a given multiplicity. In this way, the modern house emerges with the capacity of both eliminating and increasing the individual identity; since it has become a mediatory site of disciplinary orderings such as architectural narratives, institutions, or, construction industry. Hence, it acts as a cell of a disciplinary enclosure that provides fixed positions where supervision, separation, and coordination of tasks are imposed and made efficient. The tasks here refer to the family unit's production and consumption activities in constant motion.

Far from being a medium of individualistic aspects, the house instead concentrated the post-war society's contradictory needs, expectations, and the consumerist culture of capitalism and accumulation regime, as well as reflecting the identity of every family and every member. The purchase of a finished house, as a commodity of mass production and mediation of consumerist culture, became a comprehensive, standard

⁶¹ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 18,19.

⁶² Hanan, "Home Is Where The Capital Is: The Culture of Real Estate In An Era Of Control Societies", 176-201.

package. It included a wide range of services from piped water and sewers to electricity and paved roads, or a planned neighbourhood; moreover, it reflected – and produced – the moral character of its owner. The house that ensured the self-actualization of its inhabitants showed certain characteristics which were associated with an idealized single-family dwelling. The best modern houses were those that positively structured a family's physical and social development: while proper ventilation and sunlight promised good health, a tasteful arrangement of furniture and home decor assured the cultivation of high-minded aesthetic principles. The arrangement of rooms and hallways, on the other hand, provided the need for privacy, and the kitchen created a casual space for social encounters.⁶³ Everything is thought, and well-ordered.

The conflict resided in the people's subjective expectations from a product under capitalist production manners, which depend on accumulation and mass, was also explained by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. They emphasized the 'schizophrenic tendency' of capitalism that fragments the identity by the interferences of economic and political agencies in social medium. Their collaborative work depicted one of the distinguishing features of capitalism as detaching the identity from its context and value systems, in order to reconstruct it as a commodity that can be bought and sold, held as property, and used as resources.⁶⁴ Among other mass-produced commodities, the house became prominent for its direct associations between the consumerist identity and the selection of disposables at a house; such as its theme (historical, local, or materialist), its furnishing and ornamentation, furniture, types of equipment, application of media, and so on. The rationalized modern house, designed identically for different families, repeated in rows, and organized in convenience of economics and industry, was itself a consumable architectural object

⁶³ Kristina Marie Borrman, *A Model House Scientifically Designed and Managed: "America's Little House,"* diss. in University of California, 2015.

⁶⁴ Giles Deleuze & Felix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem & Helen R. Lane, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 259.

and a locale of consumerist culture at the same time, therefore it was only meaningful in relevance to other products of its closed system, segregated from anything local and inconsistent with the landscape and neighbouring developments. In the face of segregation, Kroll described Félix Guattari's concerns were to be firstly with the social, racial, and worldly – as the whole of living – equality, secondly with the psychology – what actions are generated by which medium, – and thirdly with the physical aspects of the method. Although Kroll noted that each stage is only meaningful in relation to the others. Contrary to schizophrenia, architecture is relational, moreover, it is ecological, for the term 'ecology' was introduced by Ernst Haeckel, in 1866, as the science of relationships with the environment. Instead of imposing its own ideas on people, the architecture prioritizes relationships over outcomes, is open to possibilities, and supports people's desire to inhabit the world.⁶⁵

2.4 A Homeopathic Architecture: A Habitable Home

Kroll remarks that the “naïve hymns in praise of industry”⁶⁶ resulted in a wrongly assumed method of blindly replicating the housing units which that created uninhabitable human environments. He starts addressing the issue by questioning the position of an architect. Analyzing the standpoint of an architect in the process of producing architecture, is one of the thresholds inquiries that shaped his architectural approach. After some 25 years of exposing the interruptions of engineers and bureaucrats into the architectural intentions of helping change the world, the unforeseen consequences of their actions began to reveal themselves on the lives of users. For Kroll, the architects needed to leave the comfort of a decision-making position and abandon the mentality that responds to the mere economy of building.⁶⁷ He rejects an architecture that follows a central form, an authority, or an imposed

⁶⁵ Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 32-44.

⁶⁶ Lucien Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, trans. Peter Blundell Jones, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1987), 11.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

unifying manner. Instead, he aims at a medium of free creativity, giving space to self assertion of an individual, creating a landscape rather than ‘concrete jungles’ of mass housing. To create such an architecture, the architect should turn towards the local communities, co-production with people, and individuals with their relations to the given environment. Through a setting that encourages intuitive expression, the housing would be subjected to a self-generating architecture, and the outcome of which would undoubtedly differ in shape and coherency from those produced by ‘experts’.⁶⁸ That is an architecture “that you don’t have to decide everything as an architect”.⁶⁹

When the relationship between the house and its inhabitant is considered from a holistic aspect, rather than the house as a product of material quality and standards as well as the inhabitant as an entity of measurable values, this relationship emerges as an activity. It is a mental, social, emotive, economic, and physical activity of the inhabitant that uses the house place as means of fulfilling or exhausting their needs. From the viewpoint of a central planner, or an official designer, or administrator, the needs of a user are interpreted as tangibles and consumer products, that are standardized in favor of production, and therefore set by their minimally approved measurements. However, the house can be experienced and evaluated only by its user during the activity itself, which is a more productive and creative process than its required produced things.⁷⁰ The user’s unmeasurable values and habits open the process to intuitive spontaneity and unformulated desires, to their disorder. Therefore, it is only natural to assess the house together with its user who has every capacity to make decisions in the process of creating it.

⁶⁸ Lucien Kroll, “Animal Town Planning and Homeopathic Architecture,” in *Architecture and Participation*, edited by Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, Jeremy Till, (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), 183-186.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 183.

⁷⁰ John F.C. Turner, “Housing as a Verb,” in *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*, edited by John F.C. Turner and Robert Fichter, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), 148-175.

During his lecture in AA School of Architecture in 2002, Kroll illustrates the creativity of users that relates to the real, to the landscape and its relations with human living by giving an example from where he resides:

We live here, says Lucien Kroll while showing a picture of his current residence, it is mixed-used. We work and live and everything together. And the facades are covered by ivy and normally it is a very good thermal insulation and hygroscopic insulation also. It is not possible to get a drop of rain on the wall because it is protected. But I did not see any engineer calculating that, and it flourishes for the same price.⁷¹

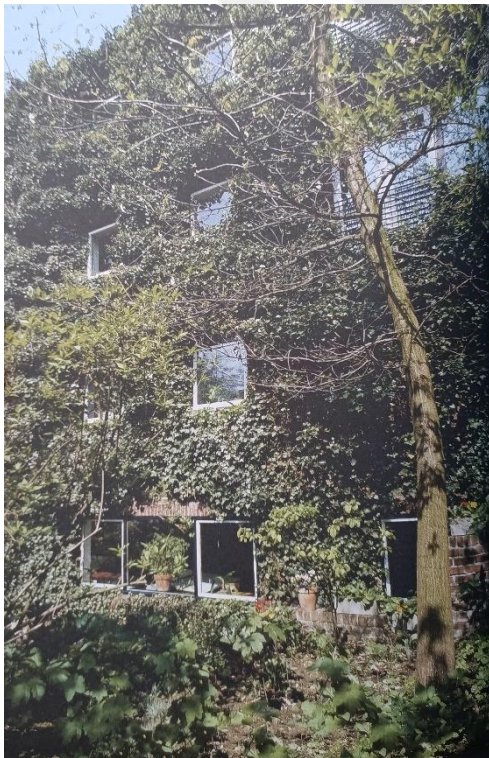


Figure 5: A wall covered with vegetation in the residence of Kroll. Image source : Patrick Bouchain and Collectif, *Simone et Lucien Kroll, une Architecture Habitée* (Arles: Actes Sud Editions, 2013), 46.

⁷¹Architectural Association School of Architecture (@AA School of Architecture), “Lucien Kroll - Spontaneous Cities and Gardens,” YouTube video, June 2, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cVhJl-zmsOw&t=1364s&ab_channel=AASchoolofArchitecture.

CHAPTER 3

UNFOLDING THE HOUSE

The following chapter introduces a conceptual framework⁷² concerning the house environment that has attracted the interest of a wide range of researchers. It aims to reveal the patterns that are meaningful both in the immediate discussions wherein they appear and within each other. Rather than focusing on a single phenomenon or describing a 'model' for house environments, it takes a holistic approach to consider the relationship between the house and its users, which is mediated by a variety of mechanisms such as meaning, cultural validity, timely relevance, social and economic significance, environmental compatibility, and so on. By attempting to bring together multidisciplinary approaches under the conceptual framework of mutual interactions between the house and its inhabitants, it becomes clear that these perspectives are not mutually exclusive, but rather complementary in explaining the mechanisms in question.

Although the definition and meanings of house environments for their inhabitants are not limited to the following discussion, the purpose here is to conceptualize the prominent aspects that present how complex the relationship between the domestic space and its dweller is, and how they cannot be subtracted from each other.

⁷² Amos Rapoport, "Thinking about Home Environments," in *Home Environments (Human Behavior and Environment; v.8)*, ed. Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 1985), 255-286. Rapoport explains the conceptual framework as neither a model nor a theory. They contribute to the understanding of a phenomenon, the organization of data, and the discovery of patterns, which leads to the development of models and theories.

3.1 Shelter of Body, Mind and Heart

In the case of Archaic and Classical Greece, literary evidence provides the context for an interpretation of the courtyard house as the architectural manifestation of a 'corporate' power strategy which promoted equality of access to political power by investing each man with authority as head of an independent household. Both the internal layout of the house and its outward appearance reflected his (leach man's) proper observation of moral codes, which determined his suitability to participate in the political community.⁷³

It (The Roman house) was the locus of the owner's social, political, and business activities, open both to invited and uninvited visitors. Because of this, the location, size, and decoration of each space formed codes that cued the behavior of every person under its roof, from intimates (the family, friends, and slaves) to distant clients.⁷⁴

The house – when it is considered as a locally materialized enclosure of domestic behaviors that occur under distinctive environmental circumstances and cultural influences – emerges as an elaborated architectural unit that is strongly related to the notion of identity and its material manifestation. Therefore, throughout its history, the object itself has been subjected to different narratives that have promoted any related identity, resulting in different architectures such as the 'courtyard house', the backdrop of an ancient Greek⁷⁵; the 'domus', the locale of an ancient Roman's activities⁷⁶; or a 1920s' 'dream house', an American's material statement of the

⁷³ Ruth Westgate, "The Greek House and the Ideology of Citizenship," *World Archaeology* 39, no. 2, The Archaeology of Equality (June 2007): 241.

⁷⁴ John R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration*, (London: University of California Press, 1991), 1-2.

⁷⁵ Westgate, "The Greek House," 229-245.

⁷⁶ Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy*, 1-29.

‘self’⁷⁷. These narratives vary according to how their users identify themselves under the social, political, and economic circumstances of the current society. In the complex structure of our contemporary society, these circumstances emerge in a successive relationship with the current production methods which can be applied to the house as well as any product. It is because these methods and their agencies create a direct relation between the construction of identity and the product by attributing meanings to its behaviors of consumption. Therefore, the environmental circumstances that establish a basis for architectural narratives drift away from their cultural genuineness and local context to a social stand of distinguished identity created by the economic and political means.⁷⁸ Thus, the twenty-first century’s contemporary house, under the overbearing influence of its production methods in succession with creating a social and singular identity, is far from its early constructions as a vernacular house related with a local identity that brings its cultural context to the fore and consists of its immediate material resources.⁷⁹

The house, as a physical enclosure responding to the natural setting, is initially emerges as a vernacular type. The inherited knowledge to create its physical boundaries that have been developed in time to include the knowledge about the organization of space according to aspects of everyday living such as storing the food and manufactured goods, making use of animals, control of sunlight, heat and air circulation, and so on. Further, the organization became even more complex to adapt the cultural and social patterns of behavior, religious or traditional rituals, developing economic and political relations within the society, etc. It became an intricate and tangible object that conveys meaning in a shared system of values and intersubjective ideas. In addition to providing a physical shelter, the house referred to a medium for communicating emotions, thoughts, social patterns, and culturally specific

⁷⁷ John Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House 1690-2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:2005), 249-289.

⁷⁸ Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 1-14.

⁷⁹ Peter Blundell Jones, “Translator’s Foreword,” in *An Architecture of Complexity* by Lucien Kroll, trans. Peter Blundell Jones, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1987): ix-xiii.

behaviors. As a part of an organized human environment, the domestic space emerged as an instrument for an individual to express one's unique perspective of a shared composition of material culture, social customs, routines, and rituals through one's house.⁸⁰ Therefore, reaching out to house ownership became a symbol of a certain position in the given society, as well as an indicator of one's own values.

The interpretation of the house environments takes its references from an individualistic to a cosmic image, depending on positioning the place in relation to all things that are both earthly and divine. Yi-Fu Tuan – a prominent figure in human geography⁸¹ – interprets the relationship between the 'self' and place on a level of awareness; an unconscious awareness of place as a result of familiarity as well as a conscious sense of place incidental to effort, or, an emotional awareness felt at the heart that stands for locality and community as well as a 'cosmic' sense of harmony that is for space, society, and the city.⁸² Therefore, the sense of place, which creates a feeling of belonging and identification through home-places, gets affected from various scales. It can be internal and interpreted according to personal aspects, or it can influence from larger systems such as shared values in society, economic conditions, or political power relations etc. However, the aspects at different scales that create the sense of place, or sense of home, do not operate separately, but rather in a mutual relationship. Therefore, when those aspects contradict with each other on fundamental basis, it disrupts the relationship between the individual and one's place. As a result, only if the place is organized harmoniously by the aspects at scales of individual and societal values, the home becomes where an individual belongs to.

⁸⁰ Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), esp. chapter 3, pp. 46-82.

⁸¹ "Yi-Fu Tuan", Wikipedia, last edited October 27, 2021, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yi-Fu_Tuan.

⁸² Yi-Fu Tuan, "Introduction: Cosmos versus Hearth," in *Textures of Place: Exploring Humanist Geographies*, ed. Paul C. Adams, Steven Hoelscher, and Karen E. Till (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 319-325.

3.1.1 The Self-Referential House

The modernist thinkers deliberately established architecture as an abstract realm where the architect's idealized principles were ordered. In the case of housing, it was not just an architectural goal but also a social agenda according to which human geographies were organized by the architect's decisions.⁸³ The well-intended response to the severe post-war housing shortage was evaluated on a 'universal' ground so that the abstracted plans and standardized construction elements could be put together anywhere on the globe to fulfill one of the people's most basic needs, accommodation. It was only the most rational and efficient solution to build in the centralized impositions of the specialists in the field, with the allowances of the reproducibility of the prefabricated building materials. That also meant providing better living conditions in an engineered environment, ticking like clockwork. However, under the ordering principles of designers, producers, technicians, and administrators, the house and its creation process have been detached from the users, and rather, it became a consumer's product of standardized elements that are non-responsive to variabilities of everyday life. Although the requirement and practicality of standards are undeniable in the planning of a complex operation, their distinguishment between "what things are, and what they do in people's lives"⁸⁴ fails in the process of providing houses.

Henri Lefebvre criticizes the architects for imposing a conceptualized space that is facilitated by power relations, one of which is understood as the means of the prevalent production method. Hence, the design became abstract and geometrically ordered.⁸⁵ He also brought a different perspective to the issues of production (in their broadest meaning) with his approach based on the exploration of the potentials of

⁸³ Ibid., 7-12.

⁸⁴ Turner, "Housing as a Verb," 152-153.

⁸⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1974), 36-46.

everyday life. Through the allowances of creative activity that occurs in everyday life, people organize, preserve, and adjust their dwellings, thereby reshaping the products into creations and resources by appropriating the systems of indirect or direct meaning.⁸⁶ Accordingly, rather than following the path of a selective discourse in a single specialty, it takes an everyday-specific and contextual approach to think about people and their immediate built environments, which are directly related to their intimates and notions of self. Therefore, instead of an imposed environment of specialists, an environment that involves people in its creation process and allows them to build actively comes to the fore, because the inhabitants have first-hand say about their home environments rather than any central ordering agencies. In this way, the house would distance itself from imposed narratives, and emerge as a habitable space where the inhabitants' actual requirements were advocated.⁸⁷ If the house is distanced from central interventions of a close circle of decision-making actors – probably more priorly than it is off decoration – and re-introduced to the user, it will also restore its connection with the local landscape, culture, and history, for it is an object shaped by its inhabitant according to time and as an expression of 'self' image in domestic space.

In the case of architecture, the production methods are heavily influenced by the publications and the inner dialogues between those who define architecture. N. John Habraken traces back the effect of publication on architecture⁸⁸, starting from the Italian Renaissance to a point where architecture gradually divorces from its context and becomes a shared way to build by a certain group of practitioners – transcending any nation, locality, or culture. It is by means of publication, that the depicted models of architectural products are carried away from their actual context to another site, where it will be 'adjusted' among the locally distinctive vernacular buildings. In the

⁸⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper Torchbooks, 1971), 21-24.

⁸⁷ Kroll, "Animal Town Planning," 183.

⁸⁸ N. John Habraken, *Palladio's Children: Seven Essays on Everyday Environment and the Architect*, ed. Jonathan Teicher (London, New York: Taylor & Francis, 2005): 1-29.

same way, the representational architectural model that is carried over distances conveys a dialogue among those who are interested in an established way to build an architectural product, which makes it even more reserved to the model's practitioners. Therefore, the depicted architectural object carries a great role in the production of an architecture that is only relevant in itself when compared with its surroundings, and it becomes free from any political or cultural boundaries⁸⁹.

After many decades of inheriting their predecessors' documented construction methods, and their *œuvre* as specialists in building to add, the architects concerned with the issues of 'modern' society developed the tendency of responding from a constrained perspective of specialists – but with much more advanced tools at their disposal.⁹⁰ Henri Lefebvre also criticized the architects for condemning the space on a two-dimensional plane, an attitude which he calls “representations of space”. According to him, it is a depiction where a ‘lived’ dimension, which ought to contain the identifiable aspects of the space, is reduced to conceptualization. Accordingly, the space, that lacks its diversifying dimensions, is dragged towards uniformity, towards the removal of existing variations or idiosyncrasies. He suggested that, instead, the goal of those engaged in space creation should be to analyze the experienced and lived space in order to create possibilities that generate the unique dynamic, which is developed by the individuals in their daily lives.⁹¹ In order to create such a space, the co-production with people becomes prominent in sense of a community that evaluates and critiques a given space and its production⁹² - which leads to a self-generating architecture rather than a self-referential one.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Lucien Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, trans. Peter Blundell Jones, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1987).

⁹¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), 21-24.

⁹² Garrett Wolf and Nathan Mahaffey, “Designing Difference: Co-Production of Spaces of Potentiality,” *Urban Planning* 1, no. 1 (March 2016): 59-67.

In the case of architecture, the production methods are heavily influenced by the publications and the inner dialogues between those who define architecture. N. John Habraken traces back the effect of publication on architecture⁹³, starting from the Italian Renaissance to a point where architecture gradually splits from its context and becomes a shared way to build by a certain group of practitioners – transcending any nation, locality, or culture. It is by means of publication, that the depicted models of architectural products are carried away from their actual context to another site, where it will be ‘adjusted’ among the locally distinctive vernacular buildings. In the same way, the representational architectural model that is carried over distances conveys a dialogue among those who are interested in an established way to build an architectural product, which makes it even more reserved to the model’s practitioners. Therefore, the depicted architectural object carries a great role in the production of an architecture that is only relevant in itself when compared with its surroundings, and it becomes free from any political or cultural boundaries⁹⁴.

After many decades of inheriting their predecessors’ documented construction methods, as well as their *œuvre* as specialists in building, the architects concerned with the issues of ‘modern’ society developed the tendency of responding from a constrained perspective of specialists – but with much more advanced tools at their disposal.⁹⁵ Henri Lefebvre also criticized the architects for condemning the space on a two-dimensional plane, an attitude which he calls “representations of space”. According to him, it is a depiction where a ‘lived’ dimension, which ought to contain the identifiable aspects of the space, is reduced to conceptualization. Accordingly, the space, that lacks its diversifying dimensions, is dragged towards uniformity, towards the removal of existing variations or idiosyncrasies. Instead, he suggested that the goal of those engaged in space creation should be analyzed in terms of the

⁹³ N. John Habraken, *Palladio’s Children: Seven Essays on Everyday Environment and the Architect*, ed. Jonathan Teicher (London, New York: Taylor & Francis, 2005): 1-29.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Lucien Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, trans. Peter Blundell Jones, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1987).

experienced and lived space in order to create possibilities that generate the unique dynamic, which is developed by the individuals in their daily lives.⁹⁶ In order to create such a space, the co-production with people becomes prominent in sense of a community that evaluates and criticizes a given space and its production⁹⁷ - which leads to a self-generating architecture rather than a self-referential one.

3.1.2 A House in Landscape

Having the house built by the political and economic orderings that are disengaged from lived-in-context, for some hundred years now, created a conflict between the individual and one's environments, resulting in a rupture of context in accordance with rational ideas, and further disrupted the house as an activity.⁹⁸ One of the most dramatic examples of his concept may be Disneyland, which was explained by Yi-Fu Tuan as an inclination of 'escape'. He positioned it in a polar conceptualization of what is natural one end and what is 'urban' on the other end—referring to what is human-made, a stand against nature. Disneyland was at the far end of what is 'urban', which was then understood to be the whole of the highly artificial and modern. He elaborated these characteristics as predictability and prosperity (or plenitude), which were to bring happiness and safety, however they failed to do so. It was because the apparent plenitude was only a consumerist mode of accumulation, a 'culture' that only increased the desire and sense of need instead of fulfilling them, and the safety was exaggerated.⁹⁹ Coincidentally, the same artificial structure was used by Kroll to explain the extreme juxtaposition of abstracted forms and primary color. The

⁹⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), 21-24.

⁹⁷ Garrett Wolf and Nathan Mahaffey, "Designing Difference: Co-Production of Spaces of Potentiality," *Urban Planning* 1, no. 1 (March 2016): 59-67.

⁹⁸ Robert M. Rakoff, "Ideology in Everyday Life: The Meaning of the House," *Politics & Society* 7, no. 1 (1977): 85-104.

⁹⁹ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Bir Kurucu Unsur Olarak Kaçış*, trans. Ş. Emek Ataman (İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2015), 13-17.

unifying abstractions and conceptualizations in singularity could be at most fantasy world.¹⁰⁰

In response, Kroll adopted the 'landscape' as a concept in his architecture; a balance and a wealth of diverse species, which are also local and contemporary, and a complexity that no artifice can manage to replicate.¹⁰¹ Therefore, Kroll aspired for a functional, aesthetic, and social diversity in his designs of domestic space. The house environments are located in a landscape, which comprises of harmonious relations, therefore, embedding various functions from houses to locales for coffee-circle-ladies, or, from communal halls to butcher shops, featuring various styles, and accommodating different people of various socioeconomic status, race, age, occupation groups and many more.¹⁰²

3.2 House as a Medium Reflecting Selfhood and Identity

The house corresponds to an immediate enclosure of an intimate interior, an expression of our self-image. It creates a locale where people live, consume, behave (singular or in groups), grow and raise following generations, *dwelling*¹⁰³, practice their customs, traditions, beliefs and ideals, create meaning; articulate their individualities and their status in society.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the house emerges as a symbol-of-the-self which is shaped and reshaped by the users over time in response to changes in the

¹⁰⁰ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 16-17.

¹⁰¹ Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 118.

¹⁰² Nan Ellin, "Participatory Architecture on the Parisian Periphery: Lucien Kroll's Vignes Blanches," *Journal of Architectural Education* 53, no. 3 (February 2000): 178-183.

¹⁰³ Martin Heidegger, a philosopher and phenomenologist, defines *dwelling* as staying with things. It is the capacity to achieve a spiritual unity between humans and things. See: David Harvey, *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*, (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 299-302. See also: Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1962).

¹⁰⁴ Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner, *Home Environments* (Human Behavior and Environment; v.8), (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 1985).

household's life course and in their social, cultural, political and economic context.¹⁰⁵

Following the manner of rational thinking back to eighteenth century, it provides an opportunity develop a discussion around the house as an architectural type that is the apparatus for creating an identity that mediates the notions of Enlightenment. In the eighteenth century, the heightened inquiry of the construe of a human being developed around the concepts of property, privacy, labor, and selfhood, which were eventually materialized in domains of house-environments. The architects and planners' response to the process was to re-create the forms as a reflection of selfhood and identity. Thereafter, the 'invented' detached house became the instrument of expressing its inhabitant's unique particularities, manifesting their realizations, choices, and practices throughout the process of self-actualization. Possessing a private house on a legally, economically, and politically potent capacity was at the core of self-construction, which was correspondingly communicated through social, cultural, economic, and politic practices in relation with the space.¹⁰⁶

Although the relation between the architecture and the 'self' has always been an implied conception, the Enlightenment era became prominent as a parting point for its given importance to individual identity that belongs to the realm of consciousness, and not any physical world. John Locke – one of the most influential philosophers of the era – construed 'personal identity' as the 'self,' which he defined as the thinking consciousness in connection to any previous action or thought.¹⁰⁷ However, Locke depicted the architectural elements with a capacity of containment, such as cabinet and closet, that are found in private domains of domestic environment as a

¹⁰⁵ Rapoport, "Social Organization and the Built Environment," 460-502.

¹⁰⁶ Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 1-14.

¹⁰⁷ Edward Casey, "Body, Self, and Landscape: A Geographical Inquiry into the Place-World," in *Textures of Place: Exploring Humanist Geographies*, ed. Paul C. Adams, Steven Hoelscher, and Karen E. Till (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 403-425.

metaphor for the structure of human mind.¹⁰⁸ Despite the emerging conflict of keeping the self apart from the place, the following architects were influenced to construct the house as a rational expression of selfhood, furthermore, to instrumentalize the house to shape the inhabitants' consciousness. Therefore, the house became a medium for the personal identity, the established consciousness, to be both displayed and determined through certain dispositions in dwelling. The inhabitants' dispositions were determined because they were disrupted by the central impositions of architects, planners, or administrators of production, however, they were also displayed because the internalization of the prevailing social and cultural rules was reflected in domestic practices.¹⁰⁹

Locke's construction of the self from a non-physical aspect (of consciousness) was an endeavor to establish the self as a politically autonomous individual, free of the prevalent social structures of hierarchy and feudal rules that draw strength from belief, or divine right (in an accurate way). Detaching the self from any social and physical realms positioned it 'prior to society,' but required the individual to provide some mediator for the assertion of identity. Having removed from its former array in society, 'one's own identity' was recognized by its determinant features, and the dimensions of its personal identity. Thus, distinction of one's qualities was sought in a location specified and appropriated by that 'one'. On one hand, the mediation of personal indicators in physical means was attributed to the individual's private dwelling, on the other, the material aspects of a house were subjected to capitalist mode of production and consumerist culture during the post-war era. Although the positioning of an individual in society was released from the existing social ranks and ancestry, it was reordered in means of wealth, affordance, and other associated

¹⁰⁸ Locke associated the raw mind (a newborn's mind) with a completely blank sheet (a tabula rasa) that starts to gain knowledge and understanding through five senses. However, he described the bringing of the five senses as organizing itself in an architecturally structured manner. For example, the senses allowed for ideas that 'furnished' the still 'empty cabinet', or the sensations were the 'windows' that let the light, knowledge, into the 'dark room' which is the mind. See more; Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 6.

¹⁰⁹ Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 17-28.

meanings to the purchased product. Therefore, the affordance of a private dwelling – architecturally fitting the individual aspirations to social status – became significantly important to build an economically and politically potent self within the ‘space’.¹¹⁰

According to Locke’s rationalization, that led to the modernist thinking, the ‘self’ was concurrent with the notion of property, political autonomy, and liberty without any architectural engagements or whatsoever. The ‘space’, nonetheless, was defined as something abstract, absolute, and uniform; that is uninterrupted by any ‘body’ or matter, but a ‘signification for distance.’ Therefore, the articulation of selfhood was prominently by means of instrumentalizing the property, that is the detached house on a privatized land, however the ‘self’ was positioned on a common, uniform field, on an abstract space without any anchor to physical world. Thus, defining the rationalized self in distance to random points created an obscurity that challenged the architects to locate the particularities of an individual in any physical medium. As a result, designers separated the dwelling as a private sphere that was an elaborated as a locale for personal solitude and cultivation, making room for study and retreat while excluding the public (apart from the invited friends and extended family members) in respect for the intimacy of the family life, and domesticity. Therefore, the ‘self’ became more prominent approximate to patriarchal family owning and appropriating the private spheres of a dwelling.¹¹¹

Assigning the private dwelling to a locale of individual seclusion, where one could retreat from social context to ‘heighten the state of consciousness’ on an intellectual basis, resulted in direct spatial implementations of organizing the domestic place according to intended privacy and use of space – which became more and more emphasized as isolation of individual in the modern architectural discourse in the

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 29-36.

twentieth century.¹¹² Lefebvre explained that such an isolation of the individual was situated at the core of the segregation between private and public spheres. The development of individuality was concurrent with the time of differentiating the relations between work, house, and everyday life of the family. Therefore, the consciousness of a person split between the differing activities in private and public spheres. By removing the work as an activity from the domestic domains, the living practices of a household, in turn, became detached from productivity.¹¹³ According to his theory of the relationship between objects and activities, some objects reject to be reduced to mere functions and artificial compositions, and they become emotionally or creatively loaded as a result of how they are considered (socially) and represented, whereas others obtain a 'superior' position through an ideological exaggeration. As a result, the inhabitants perceive the privatized dwelling as something to which they can adjust (their private identity), as well as a 'dream and ideology' (providing a social identity).¹¹⁴

3.2.1 A Self in Place and Time

The rational thought and the following modernist view considered the 'self' without any relation with place, and rather separated the personal identity that is embedded in consciousness from a physical one that holds no awareness at all. Also, they have reflected the Cartesian view of separating the self from body and place, moreover, giving primacy to space over place. According to modernist interpretations, the stretched space was indefinite to include the constrained and intensified place. In contrary, the postmodernist thought saw the place as intrinsic to individual's sense of self, and attempted to reinstate it as a significant value.¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, the re-

¹¹² Ibid, 42-137.

¹¹³ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life Vol.1: Introduction*, trans. John Moore (London, New York: Verso, 1991), 30-31.

¹¹⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, 1971), 89.

¹¹⁵ Casey, "Body, Self, and Landscape," 404-406.

establishment of the significance of 'place' in construe of human identity occurred at the same time as the inquiry drew attention of different disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, geography, philosophy, psychology, and so on. Their interest in the spatial arrangement of humans in relation to behavior and belief systems elicited a connection between human identity, and the ways in which it is structured through particularized relations (social, cultural, cosmic, economic, political, institutional, and likewise) that operate in built environments.¹¹⁶ Therefore, the recognition of place, which is intricate to one's awareness, situated as an important discussion where the modern and postmodern thoughts diverged. According to latter, the place was no longer a mere signifier for a physical identity but a condition to stimulate the construction of the self and raise a spatial awareness for a personal identity.¹¹⁷

The concept of 'place' is a construction of mental, social, emotional, and physical elements that are regulated by time and relationships. Places are the conjunctions of complex interactions of the body with these elements, which are composed in various scales of local, regional, country-wide, or even international. They are dynamic focal areas within a wider system of everyday life and experience, rather than constrained intensities. Therefore, the place has emerged as a valuable concept for addressing the interaction between individuals and the outside world, as well as embedding the lived-in dimension. It suggests that the personal identity is formed not just inwardly in the mind, but also externally through the interactions of the body. Thus, the interrelation between an individual and the place entails both an emotive reaction to the environment, and a behavior of producing the place actively.

The aspects of an environment, that result in behavioral patterns leading to the production of the place, include not only physical stimulations of the body but also the intangible values that are conveyed in a shared system at different scales. On one

¹¹⁶ Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 9.

¹¹⁷ Casey, "Body, Self, and Landscape," 404-406.

hand, an individual's understanding of the place might be quite personal, but it is also impacted by the wider social, cultural, and economic situations in which individuals position themselves.¹¹⁸ It is because thinking about 'one' in a society requires the 'other', together they create an intricate web where one interferes with a little part of the other. For Simone and Lucien, this is not a difficulty, rather it is a coherent living where they can find their ideals, and their ways of being on world together with the others.¹¹⁹

3.2.1.1 A Coherent Living and 'Vicinitude'

The 'sense of place' implies an entity that is aware of a somehow definable connection with the place in a conscious or unconscious level.¹²⁰ For people, this entity elaborates in the notion of 'self' that relates not only with an existence but also an attribution of singularity. As an abstract notion as it is, the 'self' also seeks ways to anchor itself into the material world to manifest its unique presence. Herein emerges a discussion about an obscure yet perceivable relation between people's surrounding physical world and their 'selves,' which orients people to comprehend the place. Accordingly, people reach out to the physical forms that are perceptible and distinguishable, and to symbols which are relatable and significant.¹²¹ Robert David Sack defines the house (or home) as a place of familiarity which can also connect the people's actions to the wider environments in various scales. The house is a place that reverberates with strong meanings, including a cultural significance

¹¹⁸ Hazel Easthope, "A Place Called Home," *Housing, Theory and Society* 21, no. 3 (2004): 128-138.

¹¹⁹ Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 16.

¹²⁰ The sense of place, according to Yi-Fu Tuan, suggests a particular distance between self and place that permits the self to comprehend a place. Rootedness, on the other hand, entails unselfconsciously being at home. Hence, he distinguishes between rootedness, which is a consciousness that is the result of long-term familiarity, and the sense of place, which is an awareness that is the result of intentional effort. See: Hazel Easthope, "A Place Called Home," *Housing, Theory and Society* 21, no. 3 (2004): 128-138. See also: Yi-Fu Tuan, "Rootedness versus Sense of Place," *Landscape* 24 (1980): 3-8.

¹²¹ Clare Cooper, "The House as Symbol of the Self" in *The People, Place, and Space Reader*, ed. Jack Gieseking and William Mangold et al. (New York, London: Routledge, 2014), 168-172.

that lets an individual to determine the house, and be affected in turn.¹²² The inhabitants, then express their identity and ‘selves’ by determining the physical, cultural, and symbolic aspects of their houses.

Most people – particularly those in the contemporary English-speaking world – reach out to predetermined houses to reinforce their image of self, reflecting both aspects of their individualistic aspirations and the ones associated with social status. People only prefer to live in the kind of houses that would display their particularities such as introversion or extroversion, their occupations, prosperity, their uniqueness or compatibility, and so on. In an increasingly conformist world, people seek an expression of selfhood among the dispersed private dwellings that are distant to their roots and local environment. Hence the housing problem remains still, and people show reluctance to subsidized housing or to the ones provided by the governments. Cooper suggests a need for a universal form for houses because people are unintentionally attracted to detached single-family houses that reflect an archaic type, connecting people to a collective unconsciousness. However, Cooper also finds a symbolic expression of selfhood through the appropriation of intimate places at home, and the actions took in immediate environment because the mutual interrelation between the self and the environment, as in both physical and social aspects, resides at the core of identity.¹²³ However, altering a part of the house or decorating the interiors in a given universal dwelling unit does not provide a comprehensive or sufficient enough of an approach in composition to freely creating the house environments to reflect any user specific difference. It is because the standard units tend to create a monotony and indifference in built environments and restrain their user to represent ant idiosyncrasy that would be incompatible with its surroundings, its neighborhood, and the larger city.

¹²² Robert David Sack, *Homo Geographicus* (Baltimore, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 13-16.

¹²³ Clare Cooper, “The House as Symbol of the Self”, 168-172.

In validity of the house as a symbol-of-self, and seeing the self and environment in a state of mutual regard, Kroll adopts the notion of ‘vicinitude’ as a proximity and availability. The word “vicinal” was used to imply “neighbor”, and the “vicinity” was adopted by Kroll’s teacher Gaston Bardet to refer neighborhood. So, the vicinitude represents a proximity to the city, the street, and the neighborhood because together they constitute a society, which is the vicinity as whole. It also represents availability through both the nearness and the relations within the society. It is the moment of contact with the neighbors, the neighborhood, the village, and their interrelations. While suggesting a relationship of localities, it avoids the reductionist manners of any architectural or imposing apparatus, such as the unified form.¹²⁴ Therefore, it is no surprise to encounter the traces of vicinitude in the residential building of Kroll in Augerdem, Brussels, where he stands both as an architect and as an inhabitant. There, he imagined, together with gathered friends and family, to create their living, working, and cultivating domains in a collective construction of housing volumes. Fifteen apartments were constructed from 1961 to 1964 on a land that was planned to hold five villas. It was by means of Kroll’s imaginative organization of dwellings, the inhabitants of which were also the co-creators and neighbors who trusted in human creative initiative. The result was an architecture that concerned with the tenants’ or owners’ desires in the process of becoming, involving differences of each, such as their likes and dislikes that embedded in their personal identities. Therefore Kroll, himself explained the coherency in this neighborhood, again, by the means of “vicinitude”, the concept that is the least of relationships. Vicinitude, here, does not refer to any closed group of people who are separated from their context, any condominium, or any gated community; it is their agreements and disagreements at the same time, in a way that does not endanger the habitability of the whole. The relationships are based on a distance that becomes sensitive and responsible only in tragic circumstances: “It avoids an isolated ‘one’ to

¹²⁴ Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 25.

die of thirst, hunger, or loneliness in urban anonymity, and then it encourages more easily to build cooperation or sharing.” For Kroll, it is the condition of surviving in a dispersed urban.¹²⁵

3.2.2 Intermedium of Place and Inhabitants

Houses (or homes) are constructed as physical structures that are positioned on land, and in relation with the approximate built, natural, and social environments. However they are also ‘places’ that convey meanings from social, emotional, cultural, and psychological dimensions of the living. They are appropriated by the inhabitants’ actions, social practices and beliefs, but also, regulates people’s activities and impose certain constraints upon them. The intermediary mechanism of the mutually constructive relationship between people and place is explained by Pierre Bourdieu as “habitus”. He introduced a particular dimension of human consciousness which operates to recognize one’s self in specific positions in a given culture and becomes accustomed to performing in a certain way. The notion of ‘habitus’ is a sum of dispositions around which an individual’s thoughts and practices are constructed, whether being cultural, social, intellectual, or emotional. The regulated activities and things inside the intimate space of the house, in turn, results in an unintended creativity through habitus.¹²⁶ Therefore, through the mediation of habitus, the house also becomes a subject of creative productivity and innovation, mutual with its inhabitant.

According to Bourdieu, the dispositions are not fixed, but longevous, therefore the dispositional human behavior is conducted in a ‘practical system’, in ‘style’. He refers to ‘style’ as a consistency of preferences, similar to how ‘lifestyle’ is a cluster

¹²⁵ Ibid, 47-59.

¹²⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, “Habitus,” in *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, ed. Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby (London, New York: Routledge, 2006), 43-53. See also: Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990).

of behavioral aspects of etiquette, communicating, saving money, caring, and so on. Hence, the human behavior is consistent but not rigid, rather, it is very broad, very diversified, yet limited. Habitus is shared by individuals who live in equivalent social circumstances that are created by history, social experience and education; hence, it can be modified by comparable historical, experiential, educational or training circumstances. Therefore, the dispositions continue to occur, reconstruct, and modify by deliberate and conscious effort. Another aspect of habitus is its distinction from habit, as habitus is never only a repeating pattern. It has a reproductive potential as a dynamic system of dispositions that engage with each other, and as a regulation of innovations. On the other hand, when the established structure of habitus is confronted with an objective structure, it operates in structuring manners that discriminates and transforms the elements of the objective structure while reconstructing itself. This suggests that in quickly shifting societies, habitus transforms continually, but only within the constraints of its original structure. The confrontation between habitus and objective structures can be exemplified by the conflict between habitus and the socio-economic and living circumstances in social housing.¹²⁷ While the former is culturally structured, the latter is ordered by central authorities.

Kroll suggests that his architecture advocates the similar principles residing in habitus, because their common features of diversity, re-constructability, social and cultural relativity conflict with the impositions of modernity; the unifying manners – that do not cohere but standardize – in decor, tone, form, furniture, interior, exterior, and so on. He appreciates Bourdieu's standing against the oppressive orderings that do not emerge from the lived-in medium, as demonstrative by his analysis from the fieldwork in north Africa in 1962. His studies shifted to include the problems of personal subjectivity and an opposition to the disciplinary inelasticity imposed on social relations.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

He (Pierre Bourdieu) studied the way people live, first in Algeria and then in France. It was not so much a question of square meters as of what kind of symbolic space they live in.¹²⁸

Influenced by Bourdieu, Kroll finds his inspiration while choosing a form not in any tool of domination, but rather, in spontaneous manifestations of a sense of locality and in an area of creative productivity. He tries to avoid being an authoritarian by inviting people and asking their assistance to organize the built environment as well as the landscape.

3.2.3 A Self-Reflecting House

The re-constructive interrelation between the house and its inhabitants are mediated through a system of physical, social, cultural, historical, and educational relations from which people's practices are derived, the house-place is modified accordingly, and the patterns of everyday living are transformed in return. Therewithal, the phenomenological studies interested in the relationship between house and inhabitants revealed different perspectives of their interrelation, that is reflected not only in practical but also in imaginative and poetic construction. Gaston Bachelard, who is one of the leading interpreters of such a phenomenological inquiry, refers to house as a physical medium we inhabit, but also a construct of our memories that is physically engraved in us. According to his theory, it is especially the childhood house that comes prominent to construct an ideal of a house, because it is where the child was born into, inhabited, created an organization of functions and a psychological composition that conveys appreciations of intimacy in dialect with the

¹²⁸ Kroll, "Animal Town Planning and Homeopathic Architecture," 185,186.

house parts. In structuring of a house, and thereby the self, habitus operates in an unconscious level of unintended dispositional behaviors and only becomes conscious in presence of intentional effort; however, the commemorative and poetic construction of a house operate in a level of daydreaming.¹²⁹ It is the reason why people always recall the stairs to a cellar as an image of looking down while the stairs to an attic is looking up, and the associations of the former are dark and earthly feelings while the latter is related with solitude and retreat, and so on. It is the physical, and also the latent structure of the house, and the experience of its all dimensions.

The house creates a dialectic between the public and private dimensions; it excludes a space which is the outside and public, and encloses an interior¹³⁰, for example by walls that hide the private living from an intruder's sight, or by windows and doors that allow for controlled vision and transition. Together with all, the house creates a façade that reflects its inhabitant's choice of intimate characteristics to display, hence, it is also an exterior. When passed the front gate, for those who are invited, again there are spaces visible and hidden in deeper domains. The living room, for example, is the most apparent and continuously presented of all private places. It signifies the inhabitant in means that indicate the individual's 'style' of being and dwelling. The organization of objects, the arrangement of space, and the order of uses, such as what is concealed and what is displayed, or what is allowed and offered for others to observe and what is retained from their gaze, all contribute to the dimensions of a house in terms of its use and experience. For Bachelard, the experience of a house is only completed with the significance of the rather hidden domains such as the cellar and the attic, and an ideally or imaginatively completed house generates a protecting and self-reflecting 'universe'.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Gaston Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 14-15.

¹³⁰ Clare Cooper, "The House as Symbol of the Self", 169.

¹³¹ Perla Korosec-Serfaty, "The Home from Attic to Cellar," in *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 4, no. 4 (December 1984): 303-321.

Also, Kroll refers to the parts of a dwelling that are opening to the street, to public as its most critical and significant places. They transmit an idea about the inhabitants within the limits of what they want to reveal. The windows that are once meticulously cared for their appearances, and the front door signified and taken into safety under the veranda were the material display of the inhabitants.

Not so long ago the window looking on to the street would display a vase, a plant...or a statue facing outwards... Front doors had attention lavished upon them...this is after all the frontier of tactile contact between the outside world and the family. Nothing was abstract, nothing done in a mean or contemptuous way.¹³²

Kroll adopts the concept of the dynamism created in house-places by the inhabitants' extended influence over the rather remote parts of the house, in result of appropriating them in means of creative production and a coherent image of the lived-in spaces. Since he disagrees with the 'ideal' form of a house as a detached single house dwelling which is praised by Bachelard, which indicates a discipline, and dispersion in contrary with relational coherence, Kroll utilizes the concept creatively in his architecture that opens possibilities in both functional and imaginative interpretations of the extensions, and sub-systems of houses.

3.2.3.1 A Continual Architecture to Live-In

Having exposed to rational manners of abstraction, mechanized means of production in allowance of technology, concerns of economy, impositions of central and bureaucratized orderings, and promotion of consumerist culture, the domestic

¹³² Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 27.

architecture took the form of a detached single-family dwelling, creating vast areas of empty individualism. Such an architecture it also detached from its roots, its history, its divinity, and the relations that attach the house to its surroundings of various scales from the local landscape to universe. Condemning the house in an abstract realm and reducing its production in a few mechanical stages, eventually diverted the architectural image from its appropriate place and time.¹³³

Houses are elaborated architectural places that should not be subjected to any abstractions or dominating tools addressing the masses, because they are both time and place specific productions. A home-place provides the missing link between a social, cultural, and emotive construct as well as a physical locality. It emerges as a crucial 'locale' where the basic societal relations are constituted and reproduced. Furthermore, the house and its near environment are through where people bond themselves to the larger society.¹³⁴ In order to understand a person's connection with their home-place and their lived experience, it is important to interpret home both as a material object and as a symbolic entity that is shaped and reshaped by the inhabitants over time, and in response to changes in the household's life 'style' and in their social, cultural, political and economic context. Therefore, it possible to imagine for people – for example the 'early inhabitants – to arrange the landscape collectively, and then, to organize the spatial and other characteristics of the dwelling. After the inhabitants of a dwelling eventually replaced by new ones, they would also continue practicing and constructing according to the current sum of relations. The physical representations of their personal attributions would create a valuable continuity, a possibility of habitability that inspires newcomers to participate in turn.¹³⁵

¹³³ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 23.

¹³⁴ Kimberly Dovey, "Home and Homelessness", in *Home Environments* (Human Behavior and Environment; v.8), ed. Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner, (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 1985), 33-51.

¹³⁵ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 78.

There comes a question of the possibility of such a continual productivity on a place other than appropriated private dwellings, say in social housings. During a competition in 1978, Kroll intended to create a domestic space organization that allows the house to be reapplied to the surroundings, transforming it into an apparatus that acts on broad subjective networks rather than detached elements of the industry. The competition was held to build 250 houses on a vacant coalmining site in Liège. They were to be built with elements acquired from Walloon industries. When Kroll conducted interviews with members of the local community and families, he discovered that their aspirations laid in a pleasant environment with gardens and walking paths for pedestrians, as well as facilities for social and cultural gathering and recreational sites, rather than concentrations of concrete structures, uniformity, and assembling of housing units and their tasteless unsightly walls. Kroll's solution was to combine all of the various types of local houses in an organization of varying density. Some houses were clustered together while others were nearly detached, providing openings for free movement, as well as different options of affordance. Instead of repeating the same housing unit, he organized an assemble of '*maisonettes*' which played an important part in the inhabitants' ability of the appropriation of the place. The division of the building into *maisonettes*, with separate entrances for each as much as feasible, allowed the facilitation of service and circulation areas in private domains, which are usually utilized communally. Furthermore, positioning the *maisonettes* above the ground level and above the one-story residences, enabled the organization of bright 'cellars' for shared use on the ground floor, as well as a potential of expansion. Kroll attempted to overcome the trapped sensations that inhabitants have in dense social housings by providing spatial choices, like an "air space left within an egg", which are the possibilities of adding expansions or modifying the spaces such as cellars and attics. He imagined such remote spaces to become an opportunity of creative production stretched throughout the inhabitant's experience of the dwelling. As a result, Kroll's concept was encouraging the inhabitants to use the space according to their own creativity and variety once they were acquainted with their surroundings. Rather than a restricting

and unrevolutionary architecture, Kroll's approach is diversified, ranging in program, shape, material and so on, exploiting the industrial elements to their full capacity, non-repetitive, and most significantly continually reinventing itself throughout the course of its existence.¹³⁶



¹³⁶ Ibid, 64-72.

CHAPTER 4

SEEKING AN ARCHITECTURE THROUGH PARTICIPATION

During the post-war period of demolished and damaged landscapes, it became a social agenda to provide people with low-cost and rapidly constructed houses. Furthermore, under the allowances of industrial production technologies, houses were considered as products of fabrication that can be assembled anywhere on globe to respond people's accommodation needs. Therefore, they were simplified to their physical and technical qualities that were established according to universal principles. However, the best intentions of providing people with better living conditions and what seemed to be a liberation in building resulted in an economically driven process of assembling house components, which are indifferent to users' personal choices derived from social and cultural contexts. The houses, on the other hand, exceed their physical aspects to become home environments that differ in accordance with life styles, experiences, and expectations of their inhabitants. An attribution given to a person as a user of the space is only possible to the extent of his/her relations and interactions with the environment. When the inhabitants are disrupted from their connections with the environments by some forces that develop external to lived-in dimensions such as central decision of specialists, impositions of the market demands, economic agenda of the manufacturers, etc., the house environments become less habitable. Therefore, a participatory approach in architecture concerns with, not only proving people with accommodation, but also the active involvement of the users in the process of designing and constructing the environments that they experience in their everyday lives.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Ali Kemal Terlemez, "Uygulamalı Katılımcı Mimarlığın Türkiye'deki Bağımsız Mimari Gruplar Üzerinden İncelenmesi," *The Turkish Online Journal of Design, Art and Communication – TOJDAC* 8, no. 1 (January 2018): 143-152.

Participatory approaches find their roots in the failure of modernist approaches that took form in slab blocks of housing units. The modernist monolithic buildings came to fore with their given importance to repeatable form of abstract geometries, and disregarded anything specific to their landscape and locality, as well as the history and complexity of the city. In response, the spontaneity of the inhabitants of a city, which creates complex organizations of built environments, was recalled by the architect who were also critical towards institutional impositions and established hierarchies. Compatible with the optimistic, utopian, and egalitarian spirit of the late 1960s, the products of such a critical approach manifested itself in the ideals of urban such as Cedric Price's Fun Place, or the Archigram group's 'Instant City', etc. Even though they were not 'traditional' architectural products constructed on site, the visualization of a conceptualized architecture that defies institutional, economic, and even practical restrictions led to perspective of free creativity and expression of shared ideals. Accordingly, divorced from a bureaucratized way of thinking in using the industrial products, architects sought for different possibilities to construct houses. In mid-1960s, Walter Segal – a practitioner and publisher in architecture – developed a system that is 'self-build', composing of a timber frame and constructed with the materials at available sizes. In the process of constructing a temporary house for his family, while waiting for the completion of their actual house, he succeeded to use the mass-produced materials, readily found at the market, to build a low-budget house. Later he suggested this self-build method to his clients and redefined his position as an architect who facilitates the users' organization of space, rather than imposing his own technical and bureaucratic ideals.¹³⁸

A participatory approach in architecture requires the architects to leave their position as decision makers to create built environments for people, and reorient themselves as mediators between the users' expectations from space and its construction. The

¹³⁸ Peter Blundell Jones, "Sixty-eight and after", in *Architecture & Participation*, ed. Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, 132-150.

architects should lead the inhabitants through the necessary stages of constructing the house, and work on the possibilities at the users' affordance to achieve the expectations from the domestic space. Another experiment of involving the users in design the process of their house was conducted in Peru as self-help and industrialized housing, and published in *Freedom to Build*, edited by John F.C. Turner and Robert Fichter. Turner remarks that it should be in right of the users to manage their house financially as well as building it. He emphasizes the distinction between what is inhabitable and what is habitable, when people's wishes and needs are considered, as well as the idea that people can build their own houses within their own budget.¹³⁹ The economic and political impositions of a bureaucratized industrial organization in construction were also criticized by architects such as Giancarlo De Carlo and Aldo van Eyck, both were members of Team X. The group was founded on a common ground that contradicts with the modernist ideas predicated by CIAM, and aimed to rethink the modernist ideals on a perspective that relates architecture with its context and empowers the users.

Also, N. John Habraken was influential in rethinking the organization of industrial products in a way that could include the users in building their home environments. He considered the architect as a provider of a support system that would be filled with the appropriative actions of the users. He compared this organization of supporting framework and infill to a bookshelf, which can hold a broad variety of goods on its several shelves. The basic structure would be manufactured industrially, but the infill would be left to the builders or, in the case of an adequate supply of industrial elements, to the inhabitants' expertise. Habraken proposed that the re-establishment of architecture in society requires understanding the full extent of industrialization of construction processes as a method.¹⁴⁰ His ideas were also

¹³⁹ John F.C. Turner and Robert Fichter, ed., *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972).

¹⁴⁰ Peter Blundell Jones and Eamonn Canniffe, *Modern Architecture Through Case Studies 1945-1990*, (Oxford: Elsevier, 2007), 127-138.

influential on Kroll's architectural perspective, which was revealed in Kroll's organization of industrial elements in La MéMé.

4.1 A 'Soft' Architecture Opposing the 'Rigid'

The bureaucratized decisions in planning, concerning the economies and using the advantages of technology have brought a militarist attitude upon people's physical surroundings. Precisely defined zones and their hierarchical structuring resulted in the urban order as lacking in relations and proximities, therefore lacking in a 'real texture'.¹⁴¹ Kroll developed an alternative towards the rigid orderings of zoning by reconsidering the "quantity, density and diversity"¹⁴² of the urban fabric. Accordingly, he configured La MéMé as a permeable area between its adjacent uniform building that is disconnected to its locality, and the city with neighbouring suburbs. While designing La MéMé, Kroll collaborated with the students to design an architecture that provides a possibility of integrating the users' relations with the local environment. The diversity of the relations, on the other hand, was reflected through the variations of industrial elements that compose the building.

¹⁴¹ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 5-9.

¹⁴² Lucien Kroll, "The Soft Zone," in *Architectural Association Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (October/December 1975): 48-60.



Figure 6: Top picture: The Soft Zone, the relationship between the already existing hospital building and La MéMé.¹⁴³ Bottom picture: The general view of La MéMé, the metro station and garden in the front and the hospital building at the background.¹⁴⁴



¹⁴³ Image source: Lucien Kroll, "The Soft Zone," in *Architectural Association Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (October/December 1975): 54.

¹⁴⁴ Image source: Kroll, *Buildings and Projects*, 69.

In consideration of industrial components, Kroll advocates an approach that exploits its amenities, rather than being restrained by its modes of administration. Maybe the most prominent of those are constructing in a manner of numbing repetition and reducing the building components to lessened choices of material, portion, type, and so on. The multiplication of the same, or a few numbers of, standardized elements only result in a uniformity, stability, and massive accumulations of spatial units. In validity of the physical space and the users' behaviors in an interrelation – which is a dialogue, a conflict and an agreement at the same time – and their constructive impact on one and other; the mass-production oriented architectural object detaches both itself and its user from the social and cultural specificities of the setting. Kroll, however, suggests that by removing the industry, or its bureaucratic agents in position of central ordering, from its domination of the built environment would restore its relations to what is local.¹⁴⁵

It is important to differentiate between the intelligent organization of industrial component and militarizing manners of bureaucratic tools. While detesting repetition, Kroll seeks a way to utilize industrial products to create diversity.¹⁴⁶ He demonstrated such an endeavor in La Mémé's spatial and structural organization. Instead of favoring what's massive and uniform, Kroll explored a diversifying possibility by considering the design module at the smallest unit feasible. Therefore, he designed the structural system on a grid – of 10 cm bias towards 30¹⁴⁷ – and organized it with acceptance of industrial technology. Further, he created 'wandering columns' positioned in varying spacings and free-standing from the exterior walls.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 31-44.

¹⁴⁶ Lucien Kroll, "Animal Town Planning and Homeopathic Architecture," in *Architecture & Participation*, 186.

¹⁴⁷ This orthogonal grid is generated from the SAR (Dutch Foundation for Architectural Research) module created by N. J. Habraken as mentioned in his theory of supports. See: Peter Blundell Jones and Eamonn Canniffe, *Modern Architecture Through Case Studies 1945-1990*, (Oxford: Elsevier, 2007), 127-138. See also; Wolfgang Pehnt, "Return of the Sioux," in *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects*, trans. Joseph Masterson (Stuttgart: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 7-14.

Hence, it allowed the partitioning of rooms in various combinations.¹⁴⁸ His attitude towards industrial components explored a maximum diversity, which would provide a type of decentralization and emergence of the complex image.

4.2 Participation over Specialization

Kroll challenges the architect's authority because it tends to extract people's choices from the constructed world. Architects, who are frequently commissioned by individuals with power and money, are often influenced by the construction concepts and ideology of those in power, which benefit their economies. In this manner, the public at large gets alienated from the architectural creation process. The architectural objects, on the other hand, become available to potential customer's purchase after produced in accordance with the specialist's own system of ideals and values. Therefore, the built environment isolates itself from what is required and expected as it is seen by the mass housing projects where the individuals were left to face uniform living circumstances without any room for spontaneous growth. On the other hand, the participatory method incorporates the user at every stage of architectural creation, resulting in a sense of place that is adaptable to change.¹⁴⁹

Rather than enforcing organizational principles of calculations, abstraction, rationalization, or so on, Kroll seeks the fundamental aspects of architecture in apparent arbitrariness, intuitive behaviors of people, spontaneous expressions of sense of belonging, or pluralistic circumstances of lived-in space. Such an approach keeps him from establishing himself in a position of ultimate power, as well as allowing him to design for, and alongside others who will be affected.¹⁵⁰ According to Kroll, architecture should be shaped – and re-shaped – in response to inhabitants'

¹⁴⁸ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 37,38.

¹⁴⁹ Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till, *Architecture & Participation*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), xiii-xvii.

¹⁵⁰ Wolfgang Pehnt, "Return of the Sioux," in *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects*, 7-14.

lived-in actions, and places should develop and grow with them.¹⁵¹ This perspective is also interested in the queries of 'why', more than the ones of 'how'. For example, 'why' the housing construction should be cheap, instead of 'how' can it be as cheap as feasible, since the price of reductionist methods are equivalent with the low cost production plus the cost of demolition.¹⁵² Or, 'why' the house should be squeezed into minimum volumes of cubic meters, or fewer materials and dimensions, while the intelligent utilization of industry is capable of producing spacious dwellings varying in material and proportions, insulated with multiple layers to provide comfortable spaces, that are also appropriated for communication.

Giancarlo De Carlo¹⁵³, a friend of Lucien Kroll and the initiator of summer school ILAUD that Kroll participated, concerns with the concentration of the inquiries about 'how' while excluding the ones of 'why'. At the same time, he argues that such an approach eventually eliminates reality from the design process. As a result, the abstracted concepts of specialized knowledge puts architecture into a conventional act of authority, but rather, it should be subjected to a participatory process. He advocates that the boundaries between constructors and users should be removed so that construction and usage may become interconnected aspects of the same design

¹⁵¹ Patel, "Realizing Henri Lefebvre: Ideas of Social Space in Lucien Kroll's La Mémé, Brussels 1969-1972 and Bernard Tschumi's Parc De La Villette, Paris 1982-1987," 91-123.

¹⁵² Lucien Kroll, "The Soft Zone," in *Architectural Association Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (October/December 1975): 48-60.

¹⁵³ Giancarlo De Carlo, an Italian architect born in 1919, was one of the new generations of architects (including De Carlo, Alison and Peter Smithson, Aldo van Eyck, and Jacob Bakema) invited to the 1956 congress, the end of the CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) that was marked with the start of Team X. They were in expectation of a new type of architecture, one which was suited better to local social and environmental conditions and a medium where people were not reduced to abstract figures.

He also founded, in 1976, the ILAUD (International Laboratory of Architecture & Urban Design), based on the principles of Team X, which took place every summer in Italy for 27 years, in order to carry out continuous research in the evolution of architecture. See; Wikipedia, "Giancarlo De Carlo." Team X was a group of architects and other invited participants who assembled starting in July 1953 at the 9th Congress of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) and created a divergence within CIAM by challenging its doctrinaire approach to urbanism. Team X's core group consists of Pancho Guedes, Geir Grung, Oskar Hansen, Reima Pietilä, Charles Polonyi, Brian Richards, Jerzy Sołtan, Oswald Mathias Ungers, John Voelcker, and Stefan Wewerka. See also; Wikipedia, "Team 10."

process. As a result, the inherent self-centeredness of architecture and the user's imposed passivity can disintegrate. Further, the user transforms into a creative actor with decision-making equivalence to the architect, however, having a distinct consequence. Hence, any actor's intervention, regardless of who conceptualizes and implements it, creates an architecture¹⁵⁴ – which is 'incremental'. He also breaks down the participative process into three stages: discovering needs, formulating hypotheses, and actual usage – not in a hierarchical order, but rather, in an interrelationship. The first concerns with the users' expression of their particularities in means of needs, values, cultural distinctiveness both in moral and tangible, and so on. Such expressions are not structured by power relations, but they are intrinsic to those in concern. The second relates to the organization of the process, which does not follow a central ordering, and may be represented in any operational and behavioral structures that emerge from constant debate between the needs derived from the lived-realm and the spatial organizations subjected to imaginative-realm. Consequently, the third is an interrelationship between the architectural object and its user, which are in constant dialogue. According to De Carlo, this conception provides a variability of architectural whole – for Kroll the 'whole' interprets in ecology – that is generative.¹⁵⁵ De Carlo's conception does, in fact, resonates in Kroll's exercises throughout the design and construction process of La Mémé, which has been recognized as a powerful image of self-generating architecture.

4.3 A Complexity that Encourages

Kroll welcomes the chaos brought to massively produced architecture by the reinstatement of its user, because this kind of architecture fosters creativity by reintroducing "ambiguity, complexity, subtlety, and contradiction."¹⁵⁶ His

¹⁵⁴ Giancarlo De Carlo, "Architecture's Public", in *Architecture & Participation*, ed. Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, 3-23.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 12-13.

experience and interactions with the inhabitants taught him that complexity is often achieved through user participation because it generates arguments of time and place, which can prevent monotony and repetition. This passion for complexity stems from a way of seeing the inhabitants not as mere means to produce commodities, but as a network of relationships, actions, and behaviors that gradually form an architectural object.¹⁵⁷ When subjected to user participation, the house may reapply itself in its timely and spatially relevant context, operating on a system of relations rather than self-reliant elements, and renouncing the concept of a purely industrial system.¹⁵⁸ It appears that the architectural method must be transformed by the chaos brought about by the individual in order to move away from the concept of having the industrial element as a goal, and begin using it as an instrument to create dwellings in connection with their landscapes. Therefore, Kroll believes that the disorder emerging from the users' initiatives and their creative participation creates a complex network in the social texture, and free of institution. Hence it encourages the inhabitants to further involve in the organization of the built environment¹⁵⁹ – which would continuously reinvent itself.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Lucien Kroll, in *Simone et Lucien Kroll, une architecture habitée*, under the direction of Patrick Bouchain, edited by Édith Hallouer, (Arles: Actes Sud Editions, 2013), 214.

¹⁵⁸ Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, 21-22.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-12.

¹⁶⁰ Giancarlo De Carlo, "Architecture's Public", in *Architecture & Participation*, ed. Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till, (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), 3-23.

4.4 Revisiting Kroll's Architecture

4.4.1 A Self-Generating Architecture of La MéMé



Figure 7: La MéMé, a general view of the buildings.

The Maison Médicale, often known as Mémé (Grandma) after the students' nickname, was built between 1969 and 1972, in administration of the Catholic University (L'Université Catholique de Louvain). Its extensive program comprised of a large social center that includes student housing, restaurants, stores, social services, and a metro station with underground access. The 'social zone' of the relocated medical faculty was planned in Woluwé St. Lambert, Brussels, on an area adjacent to the already built monolithic hospital which was constructed with a

campus-wide approach of uniformity and functionality. However, the students revolted against the mechanical and repetitious method that was prescribed for their living environment, an approach inconsistent with the democratic spirit of 1968, the year of uprising and protest. Following the rejection of various requests, the students agreed to pick an architect from a list provided by the university administration. Because of his recognized enthusiasm in participating, Kroll's name was called from the bottom of the list, and he was commissioned in December 1969. The process continued in stages until 1972 with.¹⁶¹

The students' strong reactions towards homogeneity and simplifying were unavoidable, given that the producing approaches of those massive and rigid buildings were purely technical and ignoring the community. Kroll took advantage of the setting by creating a participatory medium through which he could install a 'self-generating' architecture.¹⁶² The students, who were grouped into re-configurable teams, involved in design process along with Kroll, and his atelier. He documented the establishment of the design by utilizing a plastic model; the positions of differently colored parts were changed by the students according to their construe of relations, and they were not allowed to undo the changes, but only to modify. Kroll re-arranged the groups periodically to keep them from becoming too preserving or obsessed.¹⁶³ He attempted to encourage a desire of continuous interactions between students and their living environment through integrating the participatory attitude.¹⁶⁴ This concept of interactions and accumulating modifications is also embedded in one of the inspirational aspects of Kroll's architecture; incrementalism. It is a concept that refuses to predetermine the overall operations from the beginning without considering the developments of each step.

¹⁶¹ Peter Blundell Jones and Eamonn Canniffe, *Modern Architecture Through Case Studies 1945-1990*, 127-138.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, (London: Academy Editions, 1984), 104-106.

¹⁶⁴ Patel, "Realizing Henri Lefebvre: Ideas Of Social Space In Lucien Kroll's La Mémé, Brussels 1969-1972 And Bernard Tschumi's Parc De La Villette, Paris 1982-1987," 119-123.

So, the end is not established from the early stages. Incrementalism is an ecological way of accumulating both relationships and physical modifications through the constant participation of all the information and informants.¹⁶⁵

Kroll's architecture, which is built through a collaborative process, does not emerge around one person's ideological design, but rather is the result of an attitude established on the belief that architecture validates itself only through the will of people for whom it is produced.¹⁶⁶ With the same aspiration, Kroll rejects the central ordering of an architect as well as the restraining use of the industrial product. Therefore, to utilize in La Mémé's physical arrangements, Kroll chose detachable and changeable portioning walls, and then step aside for students to organize their own areas.¹⁶⁷ The partitioning of the building was expanded to allow a more efficient interchangeability; corners and façades of the building were organized free from the structural elements, so that the changeable interior and exterior elements would not be restricted by the positions of the columns; the exterior elements composing the facades varied in every feasible cladding material, size, color, so on. La Mémé was designed with the help of students at every step. They aided in the development of its characteristics such as horizontal and vertical functional connection, the use of flexible walls, the centralized distribution of washrooms, the cultivation of vegetable gardens on terraces, and the establishment of connections with neighboring suburbs.¹⁶⁸

A challenge of participatory construction, on the other hand, lies in the issue of 'the second generation'. has the benefit of being able to express their preferences through what they want to be built, but those who come after them must accept what is

¹⁶⁵ Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 304.

¹⁶⁶ Wolfgang Pehnt, "Return of the Sioux," in *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects*, trans. Joseph Masterson, (Stuttgart: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 7-14.

¹⁶⁷ Lucien Kroll, *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects*, trans. Joseph Masterson, (Stuttgart: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 47,48.

¹⁶⁸ Peter Blundell Jones and Eamonn Canniffe, *Modern Architecture Through Case Studies 1945-1990*, 127-138.

already there.¹⁶⁹ Although it may appear to be disadvantageous, people have the possibility of modifying the decisions of the first generation since they are able to re-appropriate the space. Individuals may, and do, constantly interfere with the already-built places in such a manner that social interactions are maintained on terms that are mostly of their own construction, allowing them to discover, practice, and embrace continually altering aspects of identity.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, Kroll believes that living with choice made in respect of human experience is always superior to living with decisions made in regard of an architect's idealization.

4.4.2 Reinstating the Inhabitant in Z.U.P. Housing

The local administration commissioned Lucien Kroll in 1978 to convert the units of the Perseigne social housing project, Z.U.P. (zone for urban priorities) in Alençon. Kroll was tasked with renovating the exteriors, and later the inner areas, although for Kroll, it was an attempt to overcome the mechanical building scheme of ZUP, infuse it with life, develop and humanize it. There, he envisioned a compact urban that would divorce the altered landscape from the unequal differentiations created by economic and political decisions. The plan was comprised of condensed peripheral areas organized within an organic system that was revealed by following the trails of pedestrians throughout the region. It was the embedded network of the landscape, an ancient pathway that was about to disappear, though kept in the minds of inhabitants' instinctive steps. By compromising with the inhabitants' preferences, requirements, and everyday life, Kroll intended to create a disorder, a landscape consisting of parks, pedestrian routes, tamed roads and parking lots, a school for children, work places, a common hall, little gardens, and so on.¹⁷¹ While doing so, his choice of method

¹⁶⁹ Wolfgang Pehnt, "Return of the Sioux," in *Lucien Kroll: Buildings and Projects*, 7-14.

¹⁷⁰ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 94-100.

¹⁷¹ Kroll, *Buildings and Projects*, 102,103.

was none other than the participation with the inhabitants, who were inspired to confront their physical and social situations, again, by Kroll.¹⁷²

Tony Schuman examines Lucien Kroll's approaches to restoring the Z.U.P. Perseigne and discusses the post-occupancy assessment of Kroll's architectural interference to create a social and physical landscape that overcomes the prevalent moral and material dissolutions. While discussing the inhabitant's participation as way of determining the user's requirements and desires through direct interactions, Schuman also underlines the associated power relations that exist in social housings. He argues that while the inhabitants engage in the decision-making process of the physical modification of their surroundings, they do not use this right on daily basis and do not question the power mechanisms that provide affordable living conditions that are adequate at bare minimum. The explanation is related to the problem because the architectural space seems to have a certain impact on the behaviors of its users. In case of social housing, people become exhausted by their living conditions, which are established by a standardized organization that precludes any initiative or creativity, resulting in people becoming passive and alienated from their surroundings.¹⁷³ As a matter of fact, this concept comprises the precise motive behind Kroll's attempt to reinstate the diversity and complexity into the landscapes, through which the users would be inspired to reflect their own particularities to enrich the diverseness even more.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Z.U.P.s, or "zone for urban development in priority," were created by the French authorities in the form of enormous assemblages of rapidly, inexpensively, and massively constructed houses to replace approximately three million dwellings that were badly damaged or demolished following the two world wars. Nonetheless, despite the good intentions of sheltering the poor, Schuman

¹⁷² Tony Schuman, "Participation, Empowerment, and Urbanism: Design and Politics in the Revitalization of French Social Housing," *The Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 4, no. 4 (December 1987): 349-359.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

explains that strategy as the empowerment of people, particularly those without the economic capacity to afford a house in the free market, by fixating them on government welfare and financial guarantees, and by excluding them from their own capacity to build for themselves.¹⁷⁴ As typical of its precedents, Z.U.P. Perseigne in Alençon was developed between 1963 and 1969 with a plan of 3.541 housing units, although only 2.300 were built to house 6.500 inhabitants. As a result, by operation and planning of the heavy prefabrication and the 'crane', Perseigne was able to shelter a population of 70 % employees and laborers, moreover, the 25 % percent of the houses were overcrowded. Following that, faced with the same deterioration as its precedents, the housing assemblage, that was enable to comprehend its local values and disengaged with its neighborhood, was even proposed to be demolished.¹⁷⁵

Kroll describes the sites, when left to central orderings of economic and political authorities and architects, become sterile and lacking in a culture of domestic scale and complexity that is embedded with the inhabitants' insight.¹⁷⁶ This concept was also evident in Arlindo Stefani's social studies in Perseigne, which employed a cultural anthropological approach. He claimed that all sub-groups of a diverse community had a dynamic culture, even if they were denied the tools to articulate it. During direct encounters with residents, they asserted discontent with Perseigne's physical environment, which prevented a significant cultural expression and spatial organization, due to oversimplified and uniform design and planning. Hence, when Kroll was commissioned by the local government in 1978, he worked with the inhabitants and sought methods to make their participation in the process easier. Accordingly, his atelier created a 1:100 scale site model that allowed residents to envision the planned renovations, and they held public meetings and conversed while

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. 350,351.

¹⁷⁵ Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 225-233.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

hovering over the subjected site.¹⁷⁷ In response to inhabitants' discontent about the area, for example, the fast cars driven on vast roads, Kroll proposed installing speed humps to control the traffic, and planting widely to create smaller enclosures in the region. He was also asked to build a school for 600 students, and rather than allocating education to its own separate domain outside the housing area, he divided the structure into smaller buildings and organized it along the pedestrian pathway (which was previously mentioned in the beginning of this discussion). The buildings, which included a school, a community center, and a common space to accommodating the farmer's market, were constructed by a local architect, Claude Chifflet, in partnership with Kroll's atelier and according to his schematic design.¹⁷⁸

The "re-urbanization", or "civilization," of the housing project was facilitated by the inclusion of diverse functions, such as education, commerce, administration, and so on, as well as the conventional urban elements, like the street and the square. Kroll also suggested demolishing some of the units on upper floor to reconfigure the roof, as well as building additional houses in shape of small detached dwellings, adding balconies, thermally insulating and modifying the facades, adapting spaces in commercial, business or private use, and reutilizing some of the apartments in collective ownership. However, the authorities did not approve when confronted with the magnitude of the proposed changes.¹⁷⁹ After the proposal was changed from renovating a hundred units on the Place René Descartes to ninety units on the Rue Flaubert, only a part, comprising nine flats and a stairway, was actualized. Also, the first and second floor were converted as offices for Social Security, insulations of other units were renovated, and two pitch roofed structures were added on the upper floor.¹⁸⁰ Although the welfare offices remained functioning, the modified apartments stayed unoccupied by the time of Schuman's revisiting the area in 1987. On the other,

¹⁷⁷ Schuman, "Participation, Empowerment, and Urbanism," 353-355.

¹⁷⁸ Kroll, *Buildings and Projects*, 107.

¹⁷⁹ Schuman, "Participation, Empowerment, and Urbanism," 355-356.

¹⁸⁰ Kroll, *Buildings and Projects*, 108.

the inhabitants corresponded positively to the additional balconies their attributed a spontaneity in character, however, their choice of positioning the additions was disrupted by the bureaucratic control.

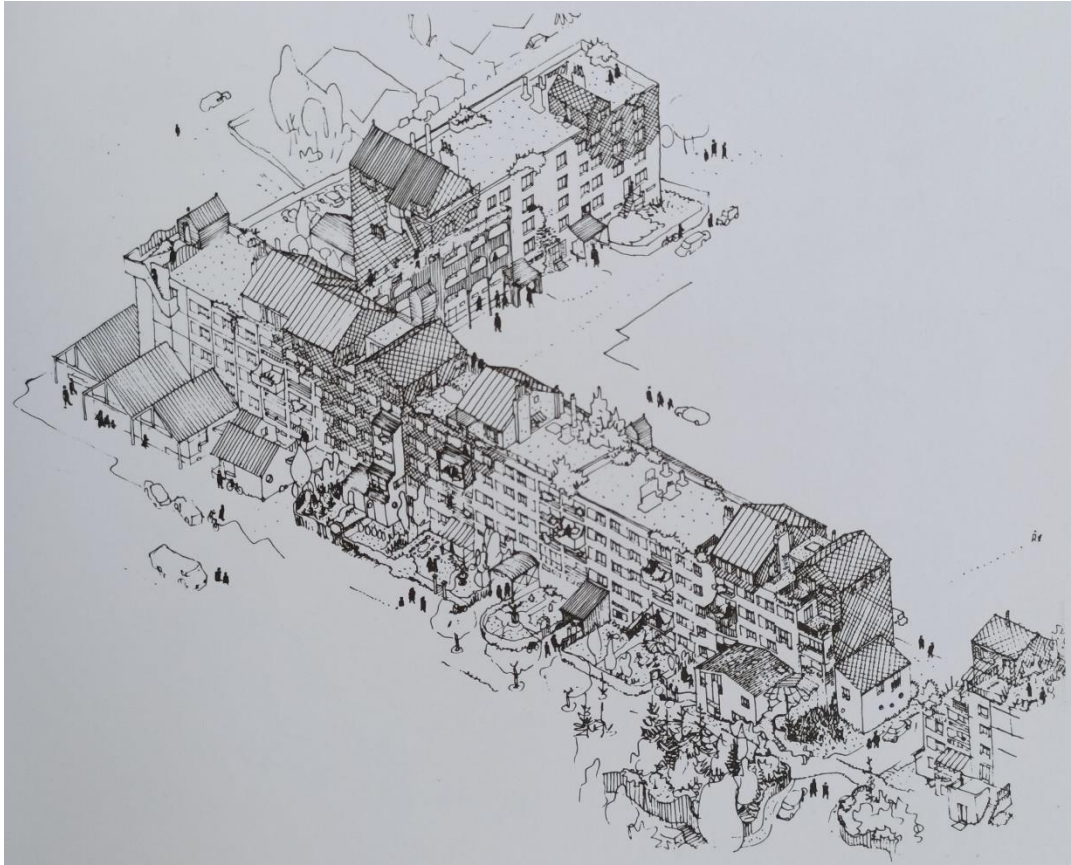


Figure 8: Z.U.P. Perseigne; Kroll's proposal for the buildings on the Rue Flaubert. Image source: Lucien Kroll, *An Architecture of Complexity*, trans. Peter Blundell Jones, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1987), 108.

Despite the reluctance of governmental support when confronted with the extent of changes suggested by Kroll, the concern of the limited funding that would not be sufficient for demanding renovation in other parts of the region as well in case of actualizing Kroll's propositions at their fullest, and oppositions from local business owners who felt under threat in face of new work opportunities, Kroll's architecture received much support by the inhabitants. The constructed school and 'urban

square', the renovated apartments, the interfered monotony, and the reinstated experience of a landscape (by the re-organization of pathways, motorways and vegetation), in short Kroll's architecture, had an undeniable influence as an endeavour to reinstate the poor in their right to decide for their living conditions. Furthermore, he called for an architectural approach that would encourage the inhabitants to question their social as well as physical environments, in contrast to the strict functional zoning and homogeneity enforced by modernist principles.

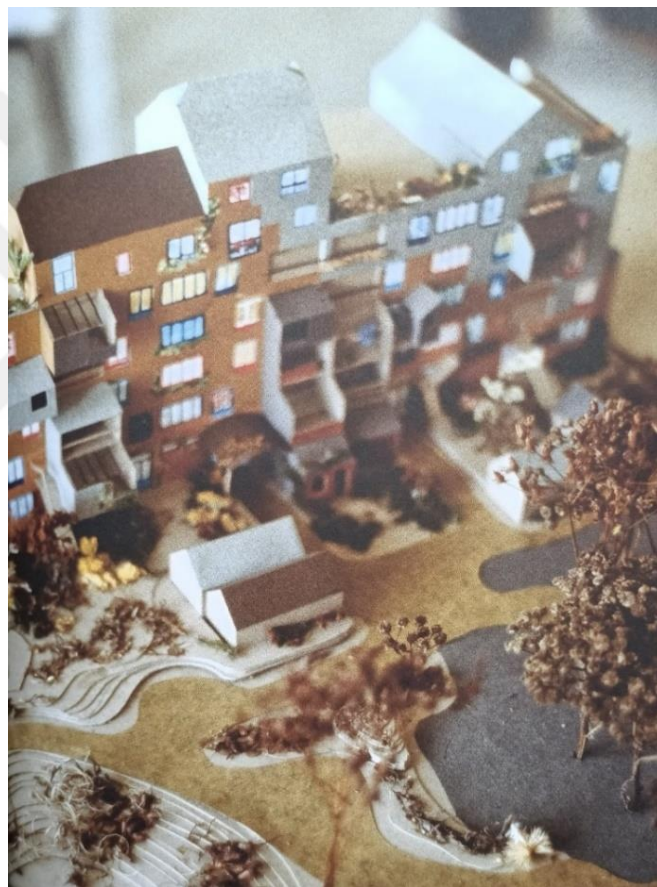


Figure 9: Z.U.P. Perseigne; the physical model in scale, depicting some of Kroll's proposals on Rue Flaubert.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ Image source : Patrick Bouchain and Collectif, *Simone et Lucien Kroll, une Architecture Habitée* (Arles: Actes Sud Editions, 2013), 233.

4.4.3 Composition of an Architecture in Vignes Blanches

The architect does not force anything; instead, he composes for and, if possible, alongside the inhabitant.¹⁸²



Figure 10: Vignes Blanches; the houses are blending in the landscape and creating a town. Image source : Patrick Bouchain and Collectif, *Simone et Lucien Kroll, une Architecture Habitée* (Arles: Actes Sud Editions, 2013), 144.

In 1976, Kroll and his atelier won a competition that was held for “townhouses”, planned to accommodate 150 families in a part of the new town of Cergy Pontoise, in west of Paris. Since Kroll refuses a planning without the inhabitants, initially he started debating with other architects, and soon after he invited potential residents that he searched over a long period of time. Throughout the process he conducted fifty-eight meetings with more than a hundred participants, some of which were substituted by others when they lost interest in buying. Some of them even drew their imagined houses and none of each were identical. According to their wishes, the program resolved around a family-oriented perspective, a neighborhood including different dwellings for different families, a communal hall, buildings for social gatherings, shops, a network of streets, and so on. Therefore, in face of creating a

¹⁸² Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 21.

new town, Kroll envisioned a texture based on familiar and responsible attitudes of the inhabitants, instead of an architecture expressing the industry or welfare policies.¹⁸³

The built forty houses with their surroundings consisted a cooperative, supported by a middle-income group that was named as Vignes Blanches (White Vineyards). It is because, before the cadastral definition of the area, it was originally a vast vineyard established by monks from the Parisian St. Martin. According to Kroll, the completion of the 'town' in collaboration with the residents, were also a conception of a new approach to urbanization, a structure of disorder, that is a conjunction of the inhabitants' living density. He claims that, in several meeting with groups of inhabitants, it is possible to develop forms of spontaneous agglomerations, by combining the diversity of particularities of cultures, ages, roots, history, experiences, as well as conflicts, ambiguities, failures, and so on. Although some of these may be foreseen by the architect, the complexity could not be invented as whole.¹⁸⁴

However, Kroll explains that participation is not "*laissez-faire*", allowing things to happen without the architect. He explains the role of an architect as a helping mediator, a composer who converts inhabitants' thoughts into physical medium. A diversity can be achieved only by the architect's determinate and assertive attitude, emphasizing innovative ideas while also being responsible for the residents' as well. Some inevitable cases of rebellion, resignation, or resentfulness of certain neighbors could be overcome by encouraging them to create their own localities by appropriating them. Participation generates a compatible and productive structure, on the other side, central decisions and mechanization confirms large ensembles.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Lucien Kroll, "Das Wohnquartier "Vignes Blanches" in Cergy Pontoise," in *Vitale Architektur*, ed. Manfred Hegger, Wolfgang Pohl, Stephan Reiß-Schmidt (Braunschweig, Wiesbaden: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1988), 58-61. Also: Kroll, *Buildings and Projects*, 88.

¹⁸⁴ Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 146-161.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

Some contradictory remarks were also made by Nan Ellin in her evaluations about Les Vignes Blanches, a study that utilizes the interviews she conducted with Kroll and the inhabitants in 1987. She describes Kroll's architecture as picturesque, and non-communicative about its participatory means in an observer's eyes. According to Ellin, despite the hardworking of Kroll's atelier and the efforts of the inhabitants, the result is not so differentiable from the neighboring housings of those produced by prefabrication, and the style of the houses were unsatisfactory to inhabitants' expectations. A man, who participated the process from its beginning expressed his disappointment of receiving a 'townhouse' although his previous presentation of a drawing to Kroll was very different, depicting a detached house with a gable roof, a memory of his childhood house. Furthermore, the compatible social relations, that were aimed in Kroll architecture, became disrupted by the disagreements about the maintenance, workloads arising from the way a cooperative operates, or intolerance. Hence, Ellin remarks that the means of physical organization, such as Kroll's, that aims to recognize and meet the needs and wishes of a diverse population was attempting to interfere with a network that is too distant from architecture and planning disciplines. However inconsistent with her critiques, she also suggested that the architectural approaches following the course of listening to the clients, proposing elaborate programs, comprising of the inhabitants' wishes and requirements should be able to generate "healing" and "responsive" physical surroundings. Therefore, while reading from Ellin, one wonders if Kroll was on a proper path by inviting the inhabitants to create his program, or, if he was framing his architecture's range in a scope that he was not able meet.¹⁸⁶ Still, his endeavors such as searching for potential inhabitants, even when there were none to find, and empathizing with the people, who would come to live in Vignes Blanches, about

¹⁸⁶ Nan Ellin, "Participatory Architecture on the Parisian Periphery: Lucien Kroll's Vignes Blanches," *Journal of Architectural Education* 53, no. 3 (February 2000): 178-183.

their possible requirements from the landscape, and so on are undeniable approaches he exhibited, rather than imposing his ideals in a standardized mode of production.

On the other hand, Simone and Lucien Kroll's revisiting the site in 2013 presented a more optimistic image. There, they encountered with the inhabitants who has taken the material expressions of their characteristics to the extent of sidewalks; like painting their garage entrance matching with the entrance door, creating little pools of plantations just outside the dwelling's walls, deciding on the pavement, and so on. A woman who raised her children in Les Vignes Blanches even described the neighborhood as a chance to create living conditions in relation with a natural setting, which would be impossible in the Parisian urban. Over the years they changed the interior spaces and add more openings to the living room, which has 'energized' the room, and some neighbors even converted their attics to be used in daily routines. Furthermore, the squares, maintained in collaboration of the vineyard, schools and the inhabitants of thee cooperative, housed memorable parties during the harvest times.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 331-343.



Figure 11: Street view from Vignes Blanches.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ Image source: Bouchain et al., *Simone et Lucien Kroll*, 161.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In the post-war era of housing shortages, caused by the demolition or severe damages in the housing in great numbers, the prevalent technologies of industrial production were adapted in architecture as standardized housing. The mechanical construction of the house that utilizes the mass-produced industrial components assigned the house environments to an abstracted realm where the quantitative aspects, i.e. the number of housing units became prominent. The modernist focus on the house's capability to be produced rapidly, in large numbers, and anywhere on the globe led to a universal form that was detached from any local context, history, resources, tradition, social and cultural specificities. The spatial organization of the home place, the materials used in its physical creation, the operating services such as electricity, water, gas, and so on, the functional dimensions such as the minimum square meters required for eating, and likewise were meticulously calculated and applied by the architects, engineers, and construction agencies. However, a house that was stripped of social and cultural signifiers and incapable of creating relations with its surrounding environment was unable to respond to its users' expectations from the domestic space. It was because the house was also striped from a lived-in dimension. Therefore, the inhabitants became detached to their home environments that were produced by the rationalizing methods of modernists, and the housing problem remained unsolved. Furthermore, the methods of modern thinkers lasted until today as a prevalent construction technique. Hence, the look-alike houses keep being built on vast landscapes all around the world for people from different backgrounds of social, cultural, economic, and political aspects.

The inadequacy of modern architecture, however, became a subject drawing the attention of critical thinkers from various disciplines such as sociology, phenomenology, history, psychology, anthropology, and so on. In the following

period, in 1960s, the effects of the mechanical orderings were visible on people's everyday living as an impoverishment of meaning, mainly. The architects with a critical approach to mechanical segregation of space, who were also the intellectuals of the era, developed alternatives in the method of constructing house environments. Among them, Lucien Kroll was one of the prominent architects who adapted a participatory approach to architecture, and became recognized internationally by actually involving the community in the architecture designed for them. Starting from the early stages of his career, his design process developed through communication with the inhabitants by inviting them to meetings, and asking what they expect from the built space. He argues that an architecture cannot be created without the inhabitants, or at least the potential ones in case of their absence. Since he perceives architecture as a whole of relations, in contrast to modernist assignments of space in an abstract dimension, he inspires from the ideas of thinkers in other disciplines that deal with the relationship between the built space and its users. Being interested in various fields which deal with the space from sociological, philosophical, cultural, anthropological, and many aspects, he learns from his teacher and French urban planner, Gaston Bardet, reads and influences from Ernst Haeckel, Henri Lefebvre, Pierre Bourdieu among others, who have been influential not only in social sciences, but also in the field of architecture with their thoughts.

While developing his architectural concepts, Kroll adapts several notions that together constitute his approach to house and housing. Among those notions, the most prominent are; banal, ecology, vicinitude, landscape, incrementalism, participation, complexity, heterogeneity, and diversity. His architecture is *banal*, for being ordinary and collecting, as there is nothing really extraordinary or truly new. It brings together; applies the real, the experienced situation, the respect for the differences of each, and the relations – which is *ecology*. When architecture, urbanism, and landscape prioritize relations over predetermined consequences, they become open to possibilities. Thereby, the design becomes capable of adapting the people's changing needs, rather than being exposed to the impositions of the static ideas of specialists. In a whole of relations, the architecture also relates to its locality

and neighborhood. The proximity and certain nearness to the neighbor, the 'other', implies *vicinitude*, which is staying at a certain distance to the 'other' and having the bare minimum of relationships. It creates an opportunity to cooperate at times of need, and a sensitive and responsible organization of neighborhoods. The actions of people in the proximity to their neighborhoods in the level of everyday life, on an other hand, generate a disorder that cannot be separated into functional zones, but can only occur in a *landscape*, which is the only rational way of perceiving the lived-in dimension. Hence, reducing space to the abstract dimensions of mechanical functions becomes inapplicable for a living and habitable architecture. It is only habitable when it relates to its locality and involves the existing and the past. Therefore, it emerges as an accumulating process of actions, decisions, and events. So, rather than predetermined decisions imposed on each step, it evolves intuitively through its process, which is *incrementalism*. It is an ecological way of deciding through the continuous *participation* of all the information and informants that arise during the operation. The *diversity* of the involving variables in the process creates a complex environment accumulating throughout time. Indeed, Kroll's architecture reflects a diversity that is achieved through the participation of inhabitants. The aspects of his architecture varies in function, in aesthetics, and in social attributes; together, composing a *complexity*, that no reductionist or conceptualizing attitudes can create. The embedded *heterogeneity* in the inhabitants' particularities is reflected in the physical medium by encouraging them to appropriate their immediate surroundings.

The heterogeneity is represented by Kroll in the composition of components in various materials, dimensions, and relations. He believes that the repetition of the same element is unacceptable in the intricate organization of domestic environments because the physical space should be expressive of its users' diversity. It is a complexity that no architects or designers can generate on their own, therefore, he only designs with the participation of inhabitants. Nonetheless, he is also criticized for the complexity of his buildings, which were claimed to be too idiosyncratic and picturesque. His designs, which do not allow repetition in both their appearance and

organization, created the impression that Kroll was taking acceptable limits too far to create diversity and even imposing participatory methods on the inhabitants. Although Kroll opposes the central orderings of any authority and the definite role of the architect as decision maker, he does not completely reject the necessity for an architect. However, he believes that an architect should be composing, rather than imposing. Consistently, he demonstrates an attitude as a composer in his meetings with the inhabitants. In a design process, he invites the people who are involved in the project, and asks questions about their desired environments. When the ideas pick up a momentum in dialogues, he steps aside to listen and learns from the inhabitants. At a certain point of the process, he asks for people to display their ideas on a physical model of the site, which is built in scale by Kroll's atelier. Thus, he helps people to integrate themselves into the landscape, as well as generating an accumulation of living that would have taken years in its natural course. Every piece of plastic that people put next to another in the physical model, let them organize their domestic environments, build relations, and attach their particularities in an ecological way. Hence, through an incremental process, Kroll composes an architecture that is reflecting the participants' diversity. Furthermore, he utilizes the heterogeneous environments as a medium where people will not be hesitant to manifest their diverseness because they could be adapted in the built environment by favor of its character. Therefore, he does not force, but encourages people to be more assertive in appropriating the space. In that way, an architecture emerges, which does not result in architects' or any other central authorities' decisions, but continues to evolve throughout the inhabitants living. It is not finite, and re-inventing of itself while providing habitable domestic spaces.

Kroll's participatory approach also derives from his belief that people capable of organizing their own domestic spaces, because they are the only source of information about how they want to live in their intimate surroundings. Therefore, the aspects of a house are only habitable when they are evaluated in collaboration with their users, rather than any singular decisive authority, administrator, or an agent of bureaucracy. Such a concept also reveals itself in the studies of various

disciplines subjecting the relationship between people and their surrounding built environments. Accordingly, the house emerges as an intricate organization of the tangible and intangible elements that people use for receiving and conveying meanings in their social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. It provides a physical shelter that begins with as a response to the natural setting; protecting from heavy rain, or shadowing the scorching sun light, or helping to maintain cleanness, or storing the food, or likewise. Hence, every responsive action occur in domestic environments emerges as a relation with the landscape, the world, and the universe. It positions the house in a system where patterns of behaviors occur in relevance to its geographical, cultural, and social environments. The physical space becomes arranged by the behavioral and cultural settings, which generate meaning and signify position in the social organization. Therefore, the house creates the backdrop of its inhabitants and emerges as an instrument for anchoring their 'selves' in the material world. However, when the house is constructed by central authorities, that primarily concerns with the economy and subjecting the house to industrial production in favor of efficiency and rapid construction, it becomes prominent as a commodity that is mechanical and detached from the contextual specificities. Further, any signifier of the house becomes an aspect that can be marketable and sold to people who relate themselves with the certain signifying constituent. Hence, bureaucratization of the house detaches the inhabitants from the housing process, and reduces them to static beings who perform mere functional behavior, or involve in the process only at the stage of purchasing. Therefore, the participatory process provided an alternative to reductionist attitudes, in order to restore the relationship between the inhabitants and their house environments, relying on the concept that people are potent of organizing their domestic space.

Today in 2022, nearly a century after the well-intended enthusiasms of modern architecture and its failure in the following, the architects had the opportunities to distance themselves from a period, in which the house environments were heavily produced by favoring the industry. A possible alternative way of constructing the domestic space was demonstrated by Lucien Kroll, who was critical to condemns of

modern architecture that separate the house, hence the people, from everyday living and its contextual organization through space. However, piles of the same housing unit remain to be built all around the world. So, it appears that the prevalent construction methods of housing, as well as the position of the architects in the process have not changed significantly to develop around their users, and the social and cultural contexts. Therefore, it should be the contemporary architects' and designers' duty to search for different possibilities to make use of industry, so that, it opens a way to responding to the inhabitants' needs and allowing for their creative construction of the domestic space. Consequently, in our contemporary period, it appears that it is still relevant to understand Kroll's architecture that has made the domestic space habitable again by restoring its relations with the landscape, the context, and the inhabitant, as well as utilizing the industrial product in the process.

Finally, the discussion about the contextual relevance requires mentioning the context of this study, which is conducted in Turkey and finalized in 2022. As it has been observed world-wide, the repetition of the same housing types have been constructed in great numbers, in landscapes all around the cities of Turkey. While subjecting the urban space to modern housing blocks, the inadequacy of accommodating the low-income groups of people, who have migrated from rural areas to the urban, resulted in slum areas at the verge of cities. It was during a period consequent with the increasing ideas favoring the participatory methods in Europe, and the housing unit in the slums of Turkey, called *gecekondu*, became a subject of interest for its construction process; solely based on its inhabitants' inherited knowledge about vernacular house, and the collaboration of the small community that provides on its own capacity. However, today, the informally built slums became a part of the expanding urban fabric, and created infrastructural and social issues because of the failure of their integration into the city from all aspects of physical, cultural, social, economic, and so on. On the other hand, the production of the housing in concentrated areas of cities for different income groups has continued and it dispersed people to detached zones of the city. Top-down ordering of governmental policies and construction sector has resulted in the construction of new

development areas with stereo-type housing blocks everywhere. The mechanical production of housing in large quantities and socio-economical division of the urban areas that are lacking of relations and ecology have deepened the social segregation that negatively affect people's everyday living. Therefore, learning from Kroll's humanistic, participatory approach to the design of houses continues to be an alternative for an intelligent organization of the built environment that allows people to organize their own space in a harmony with the larger landscape and urban ecology.





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