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The theory of socialmaximum

*a housing strategy
for the contemporary Switzerland*

*“It is not men’s consciousness,
which determines their being, but
their social being which determines
their consciousness.”*

*Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of
Political Economy (1859)*

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The term person commonly used today, comes from the Latin “*persona*,” the mask, which literally means the individual and the singular. This term, however, succeeds the earlier much more interesting one used in Greek, *πρόσωπον* (*prósôpon*), to indicate that the person is the one who stands before the eyes of the other. This term is based on a Greek concept pivotal in Hellenistic culture: social relationship as the foundation of identity. The person therefore does not have identity simply by being born, but it is acknowledged by others: it is in fact a recognition.

With the advent of Christianity, new importance was given to the identity of the individual linked to the concept of the soul. Later with the development of capitalism, the concept of individuality was further amplified: contemporary individualism is thus the tragic derivative of the primacy of the individual over society.⁰

This process has had a great impact sociologically, economically, and has especially affected the spaces in which we live and dwell. Today, dwellings are solely for individual households, fewer and fewer in number, who carry out all their daily activities within the walls of their homes, and thus have no relations with the rest of the community. Most of the relationships that take place within dwellings mainly occur in the spaces dedicated to common services, but often only with members of the household in the dwelling. The concept of collectivity, sharing and belonging to a society has been completely lost over time, thus reflecting the increasingly individualistic organization of domestic spaces.

The advent of the pandemic has further underlined the strong spatial individuality that occurs nowadays, challenging our need for collectivity. Above all, it has highlighted how our spaces, our homes and the housing market itself are now antiquated and how they no longer respond to contemporary needs. The new, previously almost forgotten need to relate to others, to share spaces and exchange views with others, resurfaces after the pandemic in a preponderant way, bringing the concept of society to the fore once again.

In this context we must then recover the Greek concept of person: the one in front. In fact, philosopher Plato argued that with the best part of the eye, the pupil, you look at the best part of the other’s eye, seeing into yourself. So once again what you are as an individual is perceived only because others exist. One must now think then of a picture where the individual and the spatial collective are no longer opposing elements, but elements that are part of the same reality.

Collective spaces now return to prominence in the design of home and non-home environments. The need to meet in presence for activities such as discussion or informal moments of exchange makes it necessary to give more and more value to and aggregative spaces at the expense of individual spaces.

Through the development of this thesis, we will attempt to give answers to the following questions, which are the result of reflections and thoughts on the practice of dwelling.

+ How can we return to a collective model of dwelling today in a society where the individualist model is the dominant pattern?

+ How can spaces within a contemporary dwelling be organized in a way that aligns with today's needs?

+ In a society where people have a wide individual space, what are the minimum spatial needs in the private sphere where humans can recognize themselves and feel protected?

+ On the other hand, what are the collective places where daily activities can be carried out in relation to others?

+ What social and spatial dynamics can be created in these collective environments?

+ What qualities can these new shared spaces offer people?

Methodology

To thoroughly examine the potentiality of space sharing, we decided to consider nine different activities that all of us perform within domestic spaces every day. These nine activities presented as follows comprise different physical actions that can be performed more or less collectively. From this analysis it has been produced an analytic diagram that allows us to classify all these actions, whether they are performed collectively or individually.

Relaxing

Relaxing refers to a particular psychophysical state, characterized by specific modifications of the body's activity on the one hand and by psychic sensations perceived introspectively as well-being, serenity and tranquility on the other. For this reason, we have decided to take into account both definitions of relaxation, linked for us to the action of sleeping, and others linked primarily to emotional relaxation, as leisure time with a tool book/phone or intimate relations with whomever we wish.

Focusing

The term 'focus' specifically indicates a mental act of concentrating on an activity and intensely fixing thought on an object. We have identified reading, listening and writing as activities that require a high level of concentration to be performed.

Getting ready

We have attributed the term "getting ready" to being able to face a test, an obstacle, a challenging event, thus being ready to accept even the most unpleasant things. More or less unconsciously we perform this activity every morning through the action of dressing and seeing oneself reflected in the mirror. Similarly, the activity is repeated at the end of the day, when by undressing we prepare to enter the world of dreams.

Preparing food

The activity of preparing food has a considerable impact on space and consists of several actions. The first action we have considered is certainly that of cooking. Cooking has a considerable impact on space and the quality of it, particularly if done collectively. Secondly, we decided to include in this activity the action of cleaning, which is deeply linked to the previous action of cooking. Cleaning and tidying up after eating are actions that profoundly mark domestic spaces.

Amusing

Having fun is also an activity that modifies domestic spaces in an important way. The actions we have found to be part of this activity are mainly related to the free time we have. This is where we choose to devote ourselves to our hobbies or sports. The performance of these actions allows us to perceive a space as pleasant or not. If domestic spaces are able to allow us to perform these actions, they are perceived as satisfying and fulfilling.

Nourishing

Nourishing is certainly a basic activity in any human being's day. This activity consists of the actions of eating and drinking and these are among the most important moments within the day, because they are rightly moments of exchanging and sharing with others. For this reason, it is fundamental to assess what importance they take within the domestic spaces analyzed.

Participating

Working is also an integral part of human beings' days, and as such must then be analyzed. This term undoubtedly has a meaning related to the rise of capitalism, in which people are forced to do daily activities in exchange of a monthly wage in order to provide for them and their families. From a collective perspective, this action can be defined as participation, a group activity in which objects are created, transformed and cared for over time. Mutual help and participation make it possible to create a convivial moment at the basis of social relationships between people. It is therefore essential to consider this activity as an integral part of the spatial organization and perception of domestic spaces.

Taking care of the body

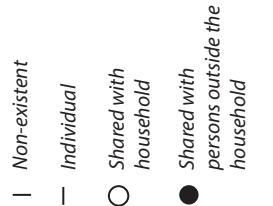
Taking care of our body is part of the daily activities that are performed every day by each of us. Performing these allows human beings to feel good about themselves and the body they are in. Through the simple actions of taking a shower, going to the toilet and putting on some make-up, one is able to feel truly comfortable in space. Taking care of our body is one of the most important activities within a human being's day.

Socializing

The activity of socializing indicates a complex process through which the individual becomes a social being, integrating into a social group or community. Being part of a community is fundamental for a human being, who through different actions such as debating and spending time together watching a movie, manages to establish deep relationships with others. It is therefore fundamental in the analyses that will be carried out to include this activity, which is so important for human beings.

All carefully chosen historical case studies, will therefore be analyzed from this point of view through the analitic diagram below, allowing them to be compared despite the fact that they belong to different historical and social periods.

The purpose is to be able to understand which actions have been carried out collectively and how, and which have always remained individually. This will make possible to develop the Socialmaximum theory with awareness of what has been made collective or what has never been.



	Shower	Toilet	Make-up	Watching movies	Conversing	Listening	Reading	Writing	Sleeping	Personal intercourse	Phone
Albergo dei poveri Genova	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	
Railroad tenement	●	●	●		●	●	●		○	○	
Phalanstère	●	●	●		●	●	●		●	●	
Topolobampo	○	○	○		●				○	○	
One person room for female workers	●	●	●		●	●	●				
Plaza Hotel					●	●	●				
National Hotel	●	●	●		●	●	●				
Hilversumse Meent	○	○	○	○	●						
Villa Savoye				○	○						
Karl Marx Hof	○	○	○	○	○						
Existenzminimum	○	○	○	○	○						
Dom-kommuna	●	●	●		●						
Dom-kommuna	○	○	○		●	●	●				
Stacken	○	○	○	●	●						
Karthago	○	○	○	●	●						
On Mountain Hut											
Kalkbreite	○	○	○	●	●						
Mehr als wohnen	○	○	○	●	●						

	Dressing	Undressing	Mirroring	Cleaning	Cooking	Doing sports	Hobbies	Eating	Drinking	Creating	Modifying	Maintaining
Albergo dei poveri Genova	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Railroad tenement	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	○	●	●	●
Phalanstère	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Topolobampo	○	○	○	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
One person room for female workers				●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Plaza Hotel				●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
National Hotel				●		●	●					
Hilversumse Meent				●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Villa Savoye				○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Karl Marx Hof				○	○	●	●	○	○	●	●	●
Existenzminimum				○	○	○	○	○	○			
Dom-kommuna				●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Dom-kommuna				●	○	●	●	○	○	●	●	●
Stacken				●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Karthago				●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
On Mountain Hut												
Kalkbreite				○	○	●	●	○	○	●	●	●
Mehr als wohnen				●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●

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HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE PRACTICE OF DWELLING

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3.1 End of feudalism, advent of I st. and II nd. Industrial Revolutions

Sharing life with others can be traced back to the very beginnings of humanity. In fact, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argued that societies of hunter gatherers based their communities on equitable social relations and common property. Therefore, the act of sharing with the commons has been part of human beings since their earliest beginnings. With the beginning of the first sedentary constructions, public space was identified as the space of political and social interactions, while private space was for biological reproduction. These conditions were not opposites, however, but found cohabitation in the domestic space, which served as a private and collective place at the same time. However, this state of perfect coexistence between individual and society, private and public, was altered and fundamentally changed during the late Middle Ages.

Between the XVI th and XIX th centuries in England and especially in Wales, a very peculiar phenomenon began to develop: citizens began to enclose land that until that moment had been in common use, to make it for the first time, private property. This phenomenon, known as "*enclosures*," first arose in England and then quickly spread to the rest of Europe beginning in the XVI th century. It was a very long process and although it happened gradually, it was particularly violent. Marx himself in Chapter 26 on "Primitive Accumulation" illustrates how, as a result of the process of enclosures, there were many peasants who were dispossessed of their own dwellings, resulting in a great number of homeless people.

First and foremost, from the enclosures phenomenon came a significant increase in the productivity of cultivated land. If previously the land was solely used to grow what was necessary for the sustenance of the family alone, now this created a surplus of production, thus reflecting a more intensive form of agriculture and pastoralism. Second, people who had lost their land now found themselves forced to work with new masters in exchange for wages, aimed at the latter's livelihood. Finally there was the total destruction of all small forms of agriculture, thus of all forms of production that were aimed solely at mere sustenance. This process was even promoted by the English Parliament itself, which basically made up of landowners, who manipulated the laws to obtain as much land as possible.

This historical period obviously had a great impact on domestic spaces, for whereas previously people tended to live in relatively large cottages located on land without property, now the new

landowners dispossessed the former residents. There then developed the phenomenon of mass homelessness, which before was conceived relatively positively, as poverty was synonymous with closeness to God, while now it began to be viewed negatively and in a hostile manner. Thus a true “slumification” of the countryside was born for the first time, the best-known models of which in England were the so-called hovels, small, often precarious and temporary structures that can be compared to contemporary slums. This delicate context of conflict and hostility between the now dispossessed old residents and the new landowners led the latter to understand their role and importance in the social and economic context of the time. The first experiments in social housing aimed at people living in extremely precarious situations then began.¹

Among the first major projects developed in the social housing context were the “Alberghi dei poveri”: large structures similar to monasteries that developed mainly in Italy. Perhaps the best known example is the “Albergo dei poveri” built in Genoa, Italy in 1656 in joint participation between private citizens and members of the Senate.

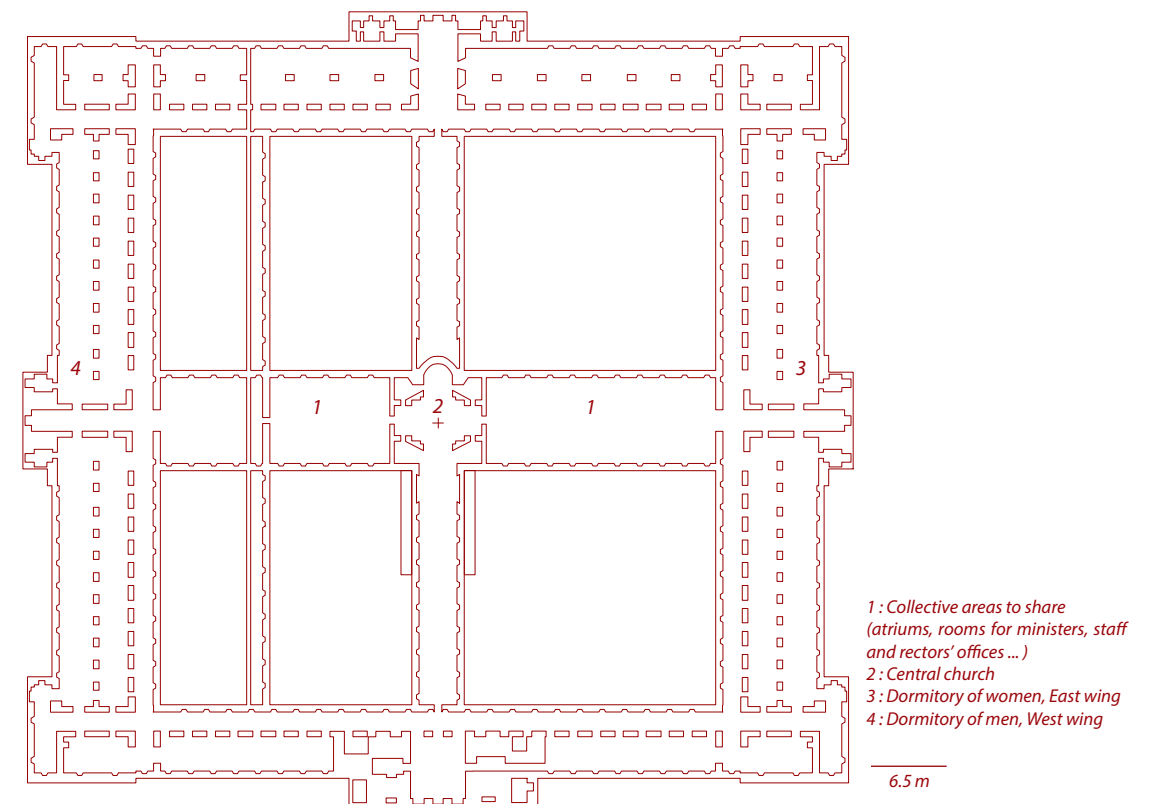
The construction, which began in 1656 in the heart of the little valley of Carbonara in Liguria, was long and laborious and went on for almost two hundred years because of the Great Plague, but also because of the difficulty of placing such a rigid and extensive structure on sloping ground. The design of the Albergo included a square layout within which was a Greek cross-shaped building intended for worship, defining four collective courtyards.

The structure served to house mainly poor people, who could live there in exchange for unpaid labor: work was the basic condition for being able to secure a meal and a place in the Albergo. While the Albergo was a facility that allowed the homeless to have housing, it was also a real factory and place of production. Here, the concept of the “good Poor person,” or the poor but productive person, a notion opposed to the “bad Poor,” the unproductive poor, was foregrounded. The work that took place in the inn included mainly manual activities, seen as a form of self-financing and at the same time as a means of spiritual salvation. These, along with prayer, punctuated the day of the residents, who could never leave the Inn, day or night, except in exceptional cases.²

The perimeter sections of the building were differentiated from each other with respect to the main body of the building, located to the south. Here in fact there were the common areas, such as the atriums, church, rooms for ministers, staff and rectors’ offices. The rest of the symmetrical perimeter structure consisted of large rooms facing a corridor; the space reserved for women was located to the east, that for men to the west, and they were connected by the church located in the center. These two large

Image 1

Image 1 : Ground floor plan of Albergo dei poveri, Valley of Carbonara, Liguria - Genoa, Italy (1656)



units appeared to be further subdivided into smaller units, which may have corresponded to the housing of one or perhaps more districts.³

The “*Alberghi dei poveri*” were complex structures, as they favored a sharing of both private spaces, as the bedroom, and more collective ones, such as the meal area or the space dedicated to personal hygiene. As a consequence, hotel “guests” were no longer regarded as individuals with own identity, but as a number within a collective.

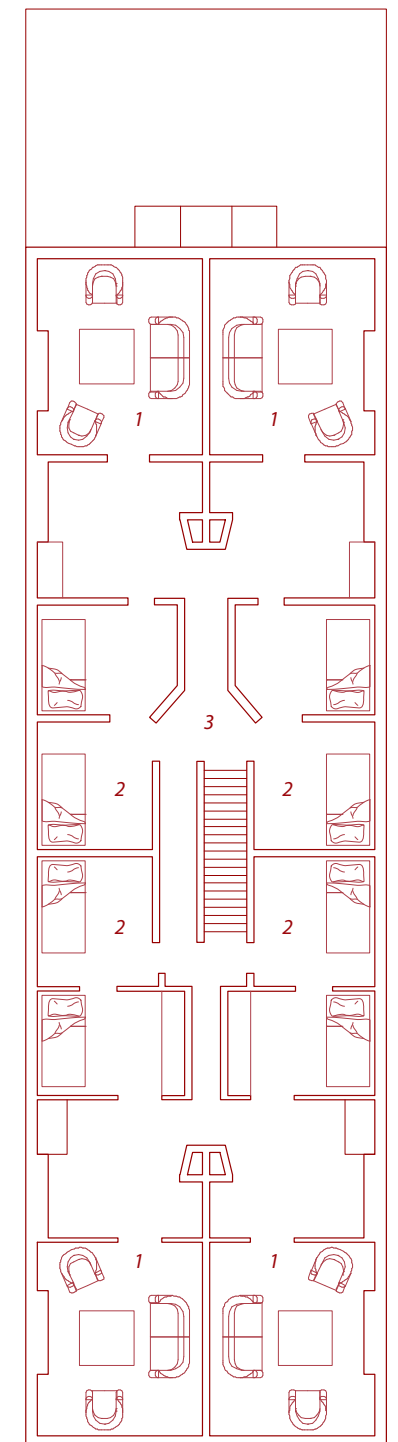
Over time, the Alberghi facilities proved to be highly problematic because they were very similar conceptually to prisons, where free labor was the basis for the functioning of the entire organization. Indeed, it is no coincidence that many of these buildings were, during the XIX th century, converted into places of detention.

The first architects to take a formal interest in the subject of housing for the less wealthy classes were mainly to be found in England, where the issue of homelessness was becoming increasingly challenging. Among the best-known publications is one compiled by architect John Wood the Younger entitled “*A Series of Plans for Cottages or Habitations of the Labourer*” published in 1781. In this writing seven important principles were theorized that would later serve as the basis for the social houses developed in the centuries to follow. Among the various criteria are the assurance of healthy air and exposure to the sun in dwellings, features often not found in many of the cheaper dwellings of the time. It is interesting to point out how John Wood the Younger had identified the small size of private space, the mass construction of dwellings, and inexpensive building materials as the key elements in building houses for the so-called laborer class. The architect considered it necessary to have what he calls “provision of an allotment for each unit,” that is, a small plot of land so that the residents could grow some food, such as potatoes, but not in sufficient quantities for subsistence.⁴

With the advent of the First and later the Second Industrial Revolution, the phenomenon of “*slumification*,” which had already begun to develop earlier, had its greatest expansion. Living conditions in the city, particularly in so-called tenements, deteriorated further. Tenements were complexes consisting of several one or two-room apartments, sharing only the entrance stairs. Whole families often resided in the tenements, but the high cost of rents, however, forced tenants to sublet every available corner of their accommodation.

Within these tenements therefore, people were not living together by voluntary choice, but rather imposed by very complex

Image 2 : Tenements building, UK (1850)



1 : Parlor, communal area
2 : One person room
3 : Circulation spaces

1.5 m

Image 2

economic and social situations. Nevertheless, community life within the tenements was very much present: from large actions, such as sharing the entire apartment with other families, to small moments of everyday life, such as trying to help neighbors by caring for children or simply sharing a piece of bread.

On the other hand, the excellent income that the rents provided to their owners and the low construction and maintenance costs led to the proliferation of this kind of building at the expense of any green areas in the cities, resulting in the exacerbation of the already well-known problems of sanitation, promiscuity, degradation and delinquency.

Actually, under similar conditions, infectious diseases such as cholera could freely spread, causing the community and the more or less imposed decision of living together to be questioned. Cholera had an unprecedented impact on society, with many identifying its cause in divine wrath, others looking for scapegoats against people on the fringes of society, and still others talking about government-mandated poisonings to punish the exponentially increasing masses.

Cholera, being an urban disease, linked to dirty places, polluted water, and lack of sanitation, highlighted the inequalities, poverty, and especially the poor quality of life of the less affluent.

Following the cholera epidemic in the late XIX th century, the first urban sanitation conferences were introduced. The importance of hygiene, both collective in communal spaces and individual in domestic spaces, positively stimulated the enhancement of environmental factors such as air, water and soil quality, the elimination of bacteria and microorganisms, the disinfection of housing, and the fight against contagious diseases and social plagues. Above all, the lower classes' way of living together was challenged; the sharing of intimate domestic spaces began to be seen as something extremely problematic.⁵

At the same time as the advent of the industrial revolution and capitalism, the separation of public and private space was also established within the household to differentiate the work performed by the male family head from the domestic work performed by the wife. If factory work was remunerated, house work was not and was viewed as a labor of love, performed by the woman for the wellbeing of the entire family.

It is important to realise that when one refers to domestic work, one is not simply alluding to a job like any other. One speaks of the most disturbing manipulation that capitalism has ever committed against any part of any social class. In a capitalist system, every worker, albeit manipulated and exploited, through the wage has

the impression of being part of a fair deal between worker and master. However, the wage hides behind its mystical value, a series of exploitations linked to unpaid labour that ends in profit for the ruling class. Nevertheless, the wage recognises that as a worker you can negotiate and fight against the quality and quantity of the work you do. Having a wage therefore means being part of a social agreement that connects ruling class and working class, allowing the latter to live.

But in the case of housework the situation from this period onward becomes significantly different.

Housework was violently imposed on women and was transformed into a natural attribute of being a woman and of the female personality itself.⁶ The domestic space solely intended for reproduction then became a real prison for the female gender, sharply separated from the productive and social space located outside.

In this complex and delicate historical period, many architects and sociologists then began to understand the effect of capitalism and the Industrial Revolution on domestic spaces and especially their importance on society. Among the first to understand these nefarious changes was Engels, with his essay published in 1845 titled "*Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse*" (*The Situation of the Working Class in England*) in England, where he took a very critical stance towards this process, stating that the only solution to the hardships of the working class was the abolition of capitalism itself.⁷

Therefore, all the negative consequences arising from the, so far idealized process of industrialization began to be felt, and so the first proposals to try to curb and find interesting answers for a domestic space with an inherent relationship between collectivism and individualism also began to develop.

3.2 Early feminist Movements

With the advent of capitalism and consequently the accentuation of home-workplace separation, the role of women was further aggravated. The public space was where work was done in exchange for wages, while in the private space, identified in the home, there were no collective relations, and it was also where the work done by women was seen as “*labor of love*”. In this period, therefore, a process begins that German sociologist Maria Mies, defines as the process of the “housewification” of women. That is, a process whereby women became extremely active in housework, but were not paid at all for the work they did.⁸

In this context the institutionalization of marriage played a key role. Indeed, until the XIXth century, particularly in the lower classes, marriage often consisted solely of a priest’s blessing, as there was little to regulate concerning property. From the XVIIth to XVIIIth centuries, marriage became a real institution through two acts: the *Marriage Act of 1753*, which introduced stricter rules for marriage and abolished common-law marriage, and the *Marriage Act of 1836*, which regarded civil marriage as a real contract.⁹

In light of the very sudden and violent nature of this process there were many lines of thought that tried to propose interesting solutions for women’s liberation. Extremely influential was Charles Fourier’s Phalanstère, which proposed this housing solution as part of a larger project: the total replacement of the family home with a more egalitarian housing condition.

The structure could accommodate up to 1,600 individuals, with different social classes, and was intended to free women from the slavery of domestic labor. In fact, in Phalanstère, housekeeping was centralized in a very professional manner in order to free residents, particularly women from the burden of domestic labor. All living spaces were to be organized collectively with different shared uses and spaces for cultural, social and sports facilities. Fourier argued that the family home was an oppressive place for women and conceived the Phalanstère structure as a possible emancipation of the sexes.

The ground floor was for the elderly, the mezzanine for children, and the other floors for the residents who worked there. Fourier paid special attention to collective access areas, creating courtyard galleries, the so-called *rues-galleries*, to connect the various parts of the building. These covered court galleries were intended to create spatial proximity and provide an area for communication and recreation.

Interestingly, this was not a project that was immediately successful, and few considered it seriously when Fourier first proposed it. Surprisingly, however, it had a great effect in the

Image 3 : Model of Phalanstère developed by Charles Fourier, France (1850)

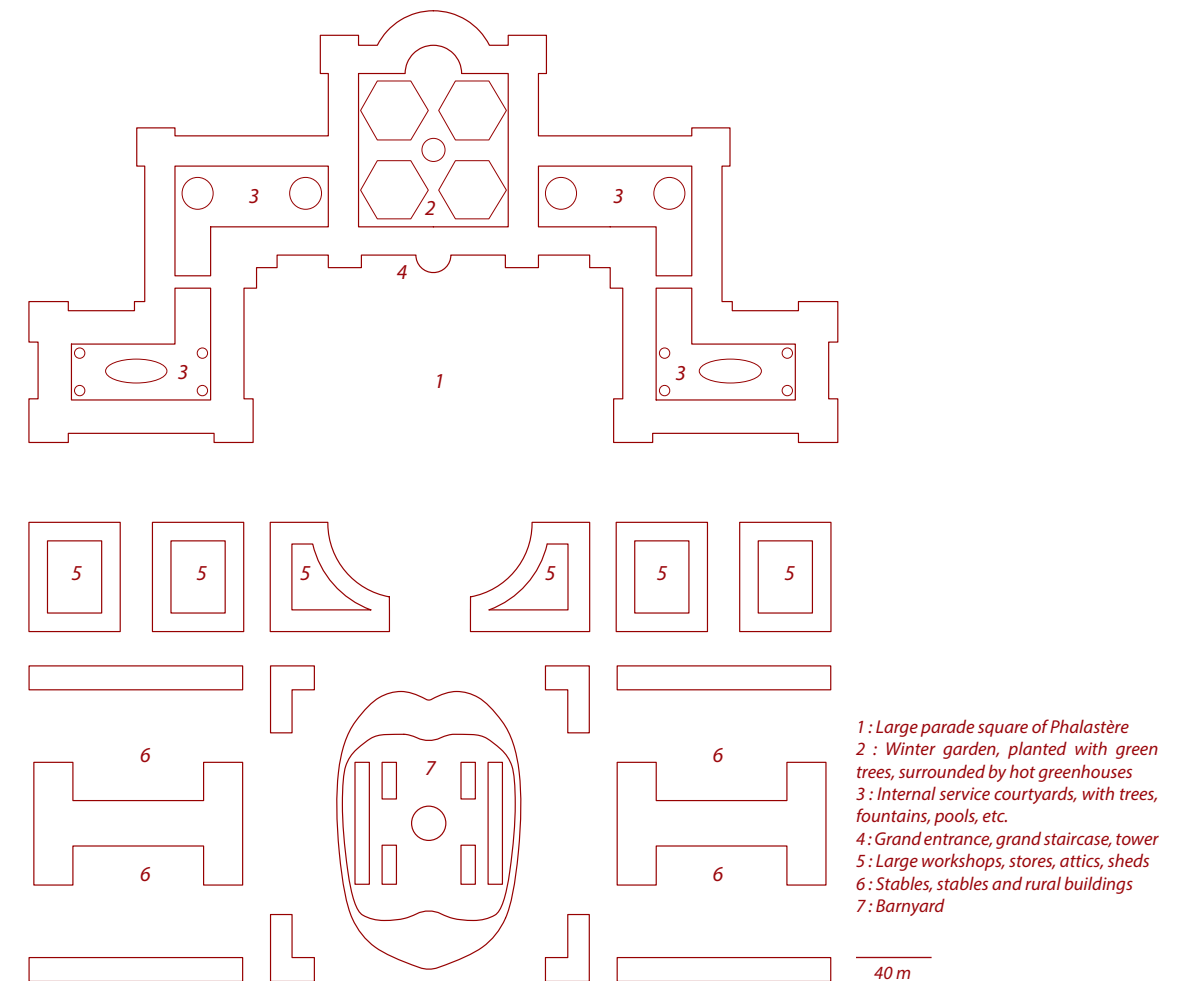


Image 3

United States: here, in fact, a real movement called “Fourierism” developed, where many of the supporters of the movement were actually women. The women in the movement understood how the pooling of services that historically belonged to the Labor of love, thus to unpaid labor, and the spaces dedicated to it, such as the kitchen, would imply that women would no longer be solely devoted to it.

One of the most important female figures in favor of the Fourier-inspired movement, The Grand Domestic revolution, was certainly Marie Stevens Case Howland, who much influenced by his ideas, even managed to partly put them into practice.

Howland’s experience of living inside Familistère, a housing complex inspired by Fourierist principles and built in 1845 in Guise, France, by Jean-Baptiste André Godin for his workers, led her to determine that the cooperative logic of the Phalanstère was a key part of her project to liberate women from the oppression of domestic labor on a city scale.

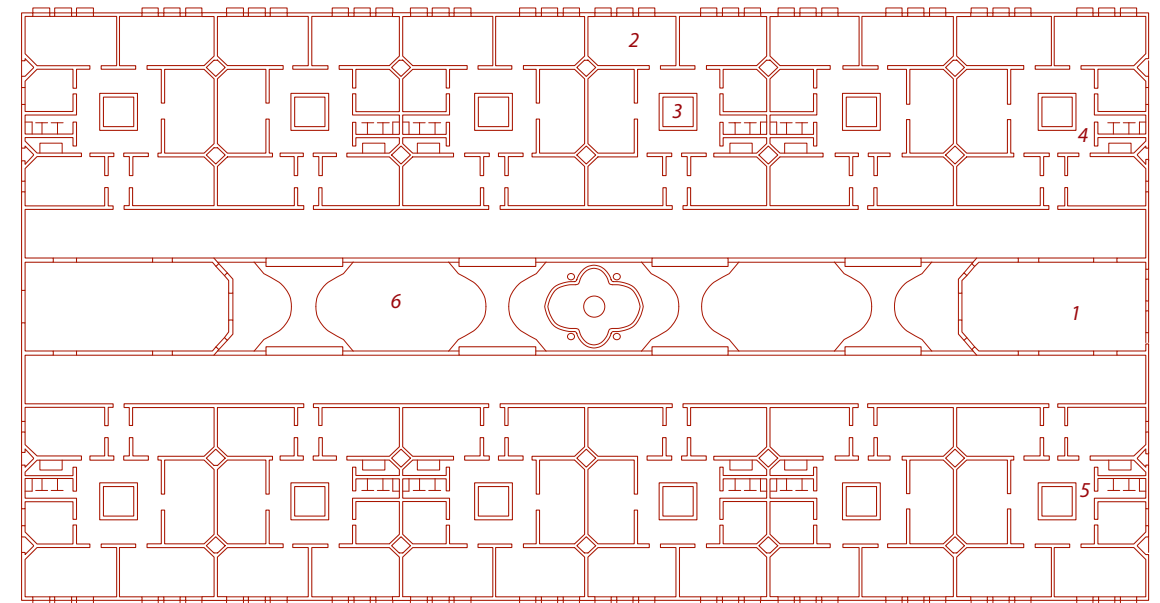
In 1884, in collaboration with Albert Kimsey Owen and John J. Deery, Howland expanded on the principles of Fourierism by theorizing the Topolobampo socialist colony, which was, however, never realized. The colony consisted of a grid of blocks cut diagonally by roads and included three types of housing: residential hotels, houses with communal patios, and detached cottages that shared communal kitchens. This mix of typologies was intended to articulate different gradations of collective living, with conventional ways of living represented by the cottages and more radical forms of living represented by the hotels. Yet all dwellings were to be supported by centralizing housekeeping and other forms of cooperative infrastructure such as child and elderly care, promoting the total liberation of women from domestic labor throughout the community.

Even though Topolobampo was never realized, it is interesting to see how the ideas of the Grand Domestic Revolution, were not only applied to large utopian projects, but also on a smaller scale. Fourier’s radical proposal was then taken as the basis for many communities that in later years tried to develop places to live independently and self-sufficiently, aiming for equality between different social classes and sexes. But the real implementation of these ideas would actually be put into practice a few decades later with the development of boarding houses.¹⁰

Actually beginning in the late XIX th century, the concept of travel and long-distance travel also began to spread in mass culture for the working classes. People therefore began to move more frequently for different reasons, the most important of which was

Image 4

Image 4 : Ground floor plan of Communal Patio House, Socialist colony of Topolobampo, Sinaloa, Mexico (1885)
Marie Stevens Case Howland, Albert Kimsey Owen and John J. Deery.



1 : Kitchen 2 : Room 3 : Patio 4 : Bathing area 5 : Toilets 6 : Garden

certainly work. This phenomenon was particularly evident in the United States, where many people, particularly single workers, traveled across large cities for work-related reasons. Here, in fact, so-called boarding houses were developed, existing houses whose owners, often women, rented rooms to travelers for short periods of time.

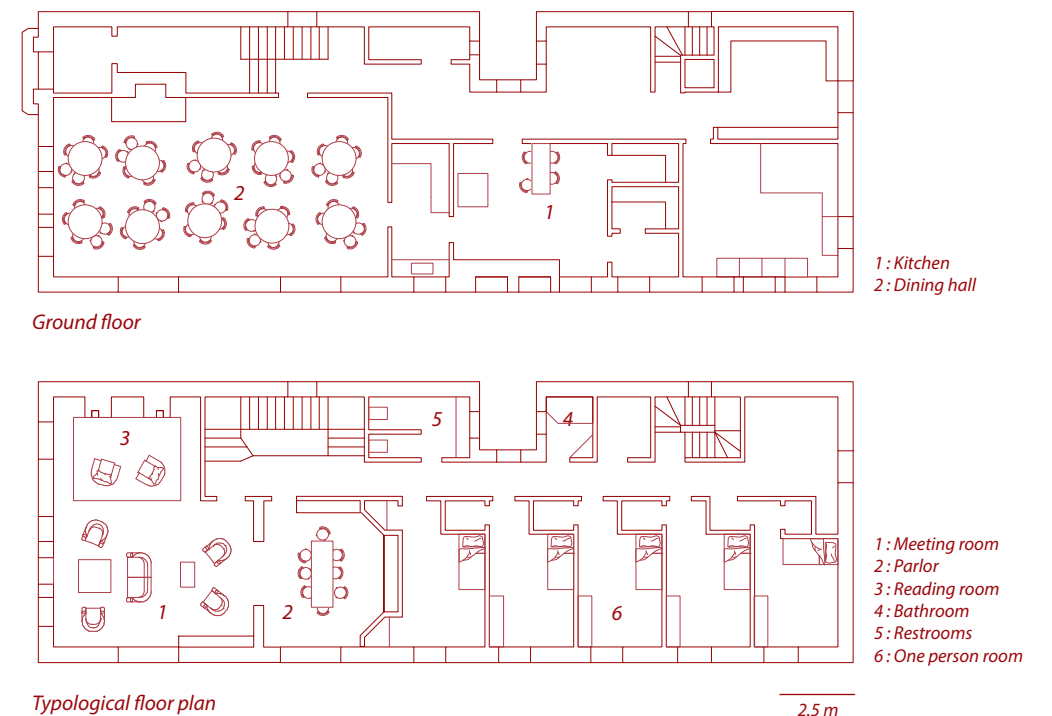
Often these establishments were run by women, so-called *landladies*, and it can be argued that this was a major revolution for women's domestic work, which finally saw remuneration for services hitherto never paid for.¹¹

An interesting example of these buildings was certainly the Hull House, located on Near west side near Chicago, run by Miss Jane Adams and Ellen Gates Starr in 1889. The Hull House served as housing for all female workers and students, who would stay and work in Chicago and enjoy decent accommodations. The building was developed by the architectural firm Pond and Pond and included 4 separate floors, with collective facilities such as dining hall and the library located on the first two floors, while individual "cells" were developed on the remaining floors. The second floor was developed according to a strip system: the first strip contained a number of common facilities such as shared bathrooms for all rooms, the second strip provided for the development of circulation, both horizontally and vertically, and finally the third strip, which was also the largest, contained the bedrooms. Each room was organized in a very simple way: in fact, it provided only a single bed and a closet, as it was thought in relation to the large collective spaces located on the first two floors. Interestingly, the entire building relied on the services of salaried staff, such as cook, butler and cleaners, who took care of the entire facility. As a result of the club's excellent operation, Hull House became a popular model of a residential hotel for women workers.¹²

But the XIX th-century home, particularly in the USA, had been idealized almost as if it were a temple for the family, distinctly separate from work and social life. And it was precisely on this that the main criticism of boarding houses was based: they required payment for "labor of love", or domestic labor that was not to be paid. For this reason, boarding houses were considered a form of women's insubordination, seen as a threat to the sacred covenant of marriage. In marriage the woman was required to work at home and in return she obtained protection and economic stability from her husband. It is important to remember that in the United States during this same period the first utopian socialist and feminist movements began to spread, seriously questioning the domestic exploitation of women and at the same time proposing a new form of living that aspired to gender equality.¹³

Image 5

Image 5 : One person room for female workers by Pond and Pond, Chicago USA (1889)
Boarding club at Hull House.



It was precisely this radical orientation that alarmed conservative critics of the time, who worried that the emancipation of wives from unpaid domestic work would somehow make husbands no longer have an incentive to work, already having income from their wives.

For this reason, in the late XIXth century, boarding houses were gradually replaced with residential hotels. The latter drew a clear division between traditional family life and hotel life, therefore for work.

The first residential hotels, as described by Paul Groth in his well-known book *“Living downtown”* published in 1994, were not thought of as inexpensive forms of lodging; on the contrary they were built by big businessmen and sponsored as expensive *“hotel palazzo”*. These buildings closely resembled grand Renaissance palaces and were equipped with a variety of amenities such as centralized maid service, bars, and restaurants. These lodgings were particularly designed for traveling professionals who needed temporary and comfortable accommodation, as well as for wealthy men, who chose this lifestyle to free themselves from the duties of home. For example, in the Plaza Hotel, in New York built by Henry Jane in 1907, resided in addition to the 70 bachelors, a number of wealthy families, who found it more convenient and comfortable to reside in these structures, where they did not have to deal with the domestic maintenance typical of ordinary dwellings.

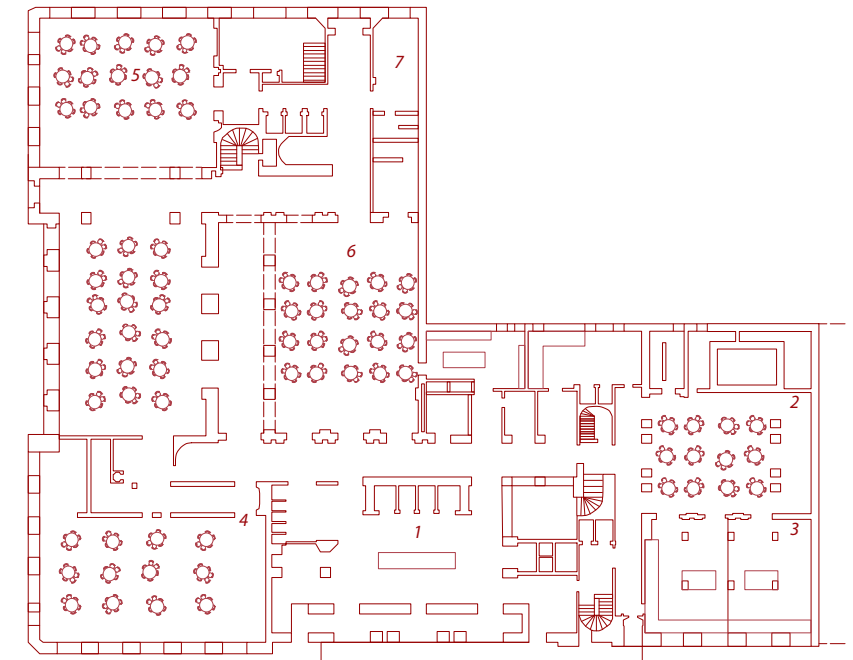
The typology of palace hotels demonstrated the possibility of a life free from household chores, which in this case were delegated to specific professionals.¹⁴

As soon as the typology of hotel palazzo began to spread, a cheaper version was made for the less affluent classes: the mid-priced hotel. If in the case of hotel palazzo, residents chose that dwelling to be able to free themselves from household chores, mid-priced hotel residents, on the other hand, turned to that type of lodging out of necessity. With the rise of the tertiary industry in the USA, cities found themselves having to provide affordable housing for lone workers. This gave a further boost to the spread of mid-priced hotel lodging, making hotels an extremely popular cultural phenomenon in the United States until the 60's of XXth century.

While mid-priced hotels such as the Ogden Hotel in Minneapolis were more cheaply mimicked hotel palazzo other hotels such as Charles H. Israel's The Century Bachelor Apartment in New York offered one- or two-room 64 lodging to permanent residents, hotels such as the Delta Hotel in San Francisco and the National Hotel provided a much more basic form of lodging. The room was single and equipped only with a bed and a washbasin. There were also simpler accommodations, called *“cubicles”* or *“flopouses,”* which were affordable to the less affluent because

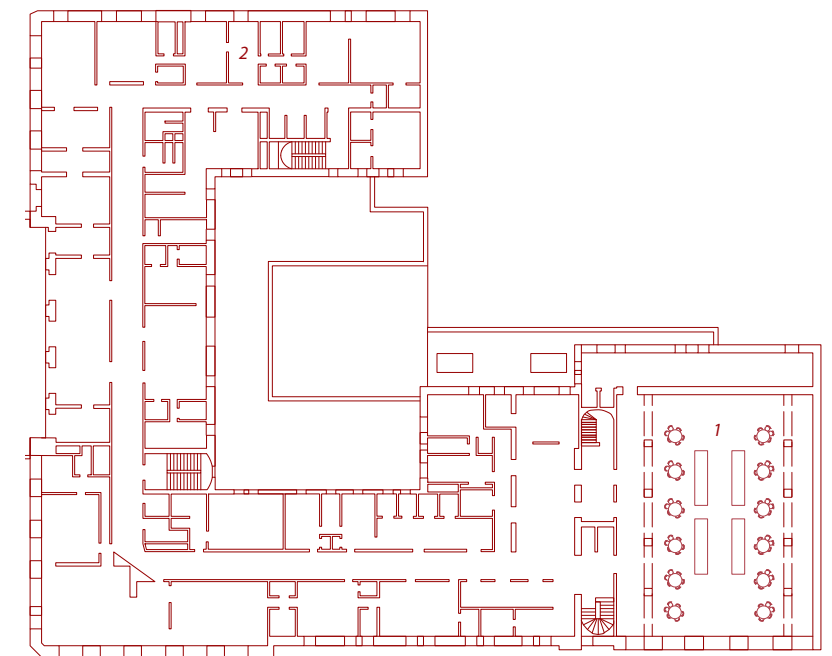
Image 6

Image 6 : Plaza Hotel by Henry Jane Hardenbergh, New York City USA (1906)



Ground floor - 1 : Foyer 2 : Bar room 3 : Kitchen 4 : Cafe club 5 : Restaurant 6 : Tea room 7 : Ladies' reception

Image 7



Typical floor plan - 1 : Ballroom 2 : Apartment

of the low price of about 10 cents a day. These structures became particularly popular in New York and San Francisco, to the point that entire districts in these cities were made up of these lodgings for transient tenants.¹⁵

Although they were very efficient and inexpensive, these facilities lacked kitchens, which required tenants to feed themselves in local restaurants. It was precisely for this reason that an array of stores, bars, and restaurants were located around these neighborhoods composed mainly of the hotels to meet the basic needs of the residents.

The hotels allowed affordable housing for many workers, offering an attractive alternative to the typical domestic family life of the time. It has been shown by a variety of sociologists how the rise of these facilities subsequently facilitated the development of countercultural liberalist movements. Nevertheless, it is important to remember how these places were often highly discriminatory places with regard to social class and especially race.¹⁶

3.3 First laws on the practice of living

In Europe, at the end of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth century, there was the need to go beyond these first experiences of housing projects, and therefore it was the time to set the first legislative directions regarding the practice of dwelling. As a result, the first laws were drafted regarding domestic spaces for workers, who after a long period where they had been forced to live in inhumane conditions, now glimpsed an anchor of salvation. In the different European nations, very different concepts were theorized and housing models adopted, especially in relation to the economic-political period that the nation in question was experiencing. It is very interesting to analyze the different types of models that were proposed. Some nations such as in particular the Netherlands, Austria, and Russia favored household solutions based on sharing and collectivity, while others, such as France and Germany had a tendency toward the development of the individual model, based mainly on the single-family household.

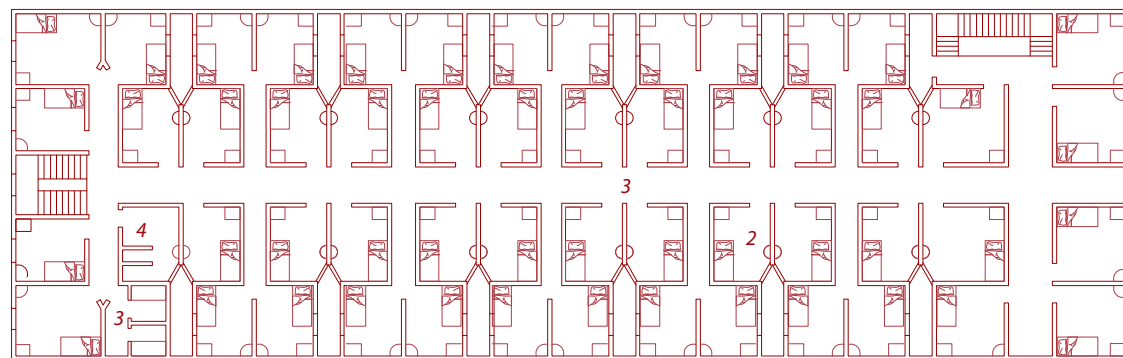
Netherlands:

In the Netherlands, as in the rest of Europe, the problems of overpopulated houses and lack of affordable housing were the order of the day.

In the year 1855, following a drastic deterioration in housing conditions in the country, the Royal Netherlands Society of Engineers published the *“Report to the King About the requirements and Furnishing of workers’ housing”* a document commissioned by King William III (1817-1890). This report, conducted in particular by three architects, a physicist and a civil engineer, contained in part a careful analysis of the conditions of housing in major Dutch cities and also a number of different suggestions with a view to improving the housing conditions of their citizens. Indeed, in 1850 it was estimated that about 14 percent of the Dutch population was unable to provide for their living conditions and therefore had to rely on charitable or public welfare societies. The report clearly showed a remarkably dire situation with small, cramped, overpopulated spaces and lack of light and ventilation. This was the condition of about 21-42 percent of the housing in Holland, which corresponded to about 620,000 homes at the time. Also introduced in the report were numerous illustrations, technical drawings for new apartment buildings in which families could have adequate space for their needs.¹⁷

Beginning in the 1850s, the first low-profit *“Housing Associations”* began to be formed, such as the *“Association for the Interest of the Working Class”* founded in Amsterdam in 1852. Generally these associations were founded by unions of workers who sought to

Image 7 : Typical floor plan of room for one person, National Hotel in San Francisco, CA - USA (1906)



1 : Shaft 2 : One person lodging 3 : Bathroom 4 : Restroom

3.4 m

improve the position of their members and primarily targeted the better-off workers. Other housing aggregations were founded by employers themselves to prevent labor unrest among workers, promote employee loyalty, and improve workforce productivity.¹⁸ Eventually others were run by philanthropists, members of the urban upper class, who felt the need to contribute to the improvement of the new working-class homes. Within a few years, architects working for these associations began to produce very innovative architectural plans, keeping the cost of construction low without compromising the quality of materials and safety.

Architect J. H. Leliman (1828-1920), who took part in the construction of some of the new housing buildings for the working class in 1872, argued that the role of a designer in those years was not an easy profession. In fact, very often architects did not want to be part of the construction of working-class housing and preferred to be dedicated to public projects or to building houses for more affluent families. Other architects, on the other hand, were involved in the construction of workers' houses, but very often they were designed with cheap poor materials in order to generate profit quickly and without regard for the quality of life within the construction itself.¹⁹

Image 8, 9

With the encouragement of the Ministry of Housing new methods such as prefabrication and standardization made their way into Dutch construction during the postwar period. In the 50's and 60's, many municipal building associations and societies developed social housing directly financed by the state.

In the late 60's, people's dissatisfaction caused by the standardization of postwar housing gave rise to initiatives that aimed for a higher architectural quality of the living environment. In the 1968 national program "*Experimental Housing*", projects that developed new housing criteria that emphasized participation were subsidized. In the Netherlands, the real concept of shared living spaces appeared in the early 70s' through projects named "*centraal wonen*", (*central living*) a set of houses divided into groups with common facilities such as kitchens and gardens. These houses were designed to create a sense of community beyond the traditional family, with meals, parties and other gatherings organized for the residents.²¹

A tangible example of this is the Hilversumse Meent project in Wandelmeent, Netherlands designed by the architectural firm L. de Jonge and architect P.D. Weeda between 1972-1977 for the Stichting Centraal Wonen company. The project was developed against a private initiative to develop a community composed of people who no longer wanted to isolate themselves in the fortress of their homes and escape social inequality. The architect De Jonge, working for free, developed a project in the middle of an ordinary residential area. A total of 50 housing units are grouped into 10 clusters: 4 or 5 houses with common spaces. In addition, 4 independent houses and 2 small 3-bedroom apartments were built for young singles. Each cluster shares a large collective space with a shared kitchen, the roof of which is a common terrace, and a shared laundry room. The houses vary in size and are intended for different types of families: the houses are composed of 2 modules to 5 modules so that future residents could determine the location of the living spaces themselves. Between the different clusters, collective functions such as a meeting hall with a garden, a youth club, and hobby and sports areas are developed in the spaces surrounded by greenery.

Although during the 70's the various "*woongroepen*" (*residential collectives*) began to develop, it was only with the 1984 memorandum "*wonen in groepsverband*" (*living in groups*) that government policies responded to this need. Later, in the 80's legal, financial, and organizational models were developed regarding the relationship between residents, association, and housing corporation, for example, regarding participation, maintenance, and management, and laid the foundation for the co-living spaces of the XXI st century.²²

³⁶ After a series of experiments in the late XIX th century, the Housing Act (Woningwet), a real milestone in Dutch social housing, was introduced in 1901. The main purpose of the act was to end the poor unsanitary conditions of housing and to promote the construction of good housing. In addition, the law stipulated that the state was required to provide subsidies and low-cost loans to housing associations in order to ensure a boost for social housing at that time. In terms of types and living spaces, the law stipulated that dwellings should have separate areas for cooking, washing, toilet use, and sleeping. Many Dutch cities built garden districts for the "*less wealthy*," for example, in Rotterdam the Tuindorp Vreewijk designed by H.P. Berlage and M.J. Granpré Molière was built. Following the Woningwet, the concept of social housing was introduced by the "*Dutch Housing Institute*" Foundation. However, it was not until the 20's of XX th century that municipalities or large companies such as Shell and Philips built social housing on a relatively large scale.

During the 1920s, the single townhouse model was considered the most common housing for the less fortunate, but construction was temporarily interrupted by the long economic crisis of the 30s in which garden neighborhoods were still built, but they were intended only for the middle class.²⁰ Otherwise, social housing was hit hard by government cutbacks and only after W. W. II did the construction of "*social*" townhouses resume.



Image 8: Communal courtyard, Hilversumse Meent, NL (1977)

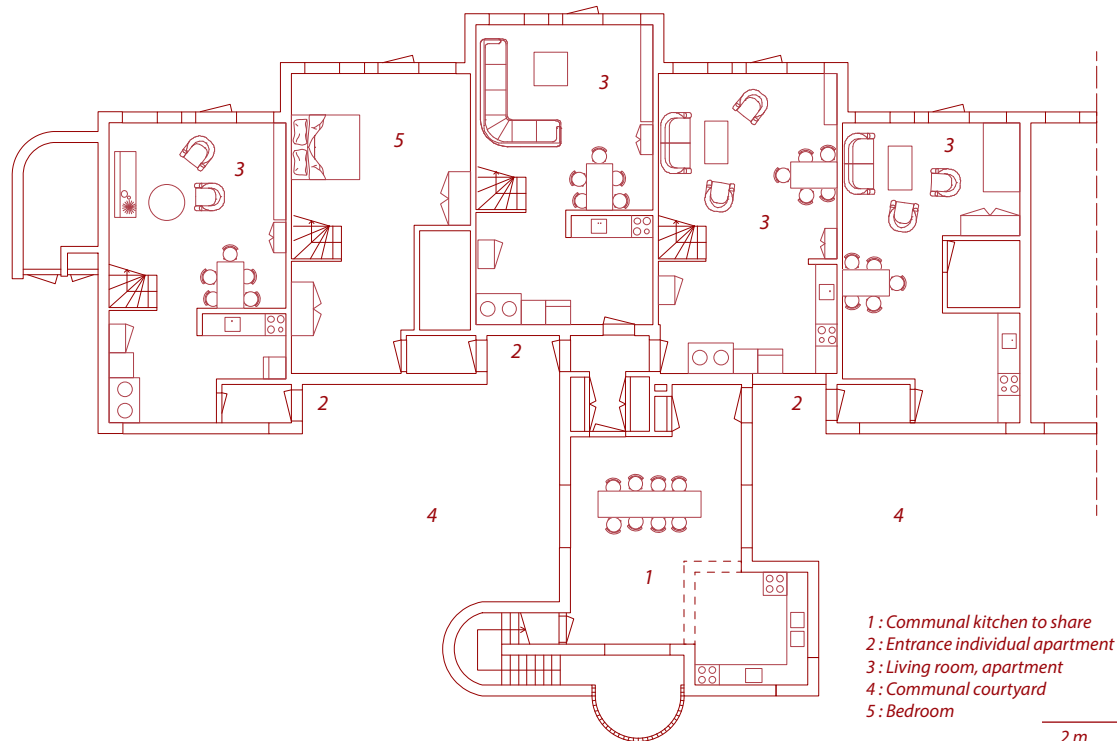
France:

In the case of France, in a very similar way, with the outbreak of the Industrial Revolution starting in the first half of the XIXth century, many scholars began to be very concerned about people's housing conditions and the impact of these situations on people's physical health. The French scholar Louis-René Villermé, a member of the Paris Academy of Medicine, provided a general theoretical overview of the very precarious situation in which many people found themselves, drafting several texts on the subject such as *"De la mortalité dans les divers quartiers de la ville de Paris"* (1830) and *"Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvriers"* (1840).²³

Undoubtedly in the history of France, the Bonaparte family played a very important role both economically, politically and especially socially. The first president of France Napoleon III (1808-1873) was a figure who was very sensitive to the issue of workers' living conditions. At the beginning of the year 1832, Napoleon III made a trip to England, specifically to visit the workers in the Midlands, who worked in the mines and factories of Birmingham. Napoleon III during that period had the opportunity to read many newspapers and to become sensitized to the writings of the Saint-Simoniens socialists, which gave him the opportunity to publish the text *"De l'extinction du paupérisme"* in 1840. In the presidential campaign of November 1848, he devoted much attention to the new needs of the rising French working class, taking a special interest in the insalubrious conditions of housing and was actively dedicated to the creation of new working-class towns. Upon his return from England Napoleon then began work on a housing project for the working-class in Paris at 58 Rue Rochecouart, on the corner of Rue Pétrelle.²⁴

The project took the name *"Cité Napoléon"* and was built between 1849 and 1853. Its architect, Marie-Gabriel Veugny, was inspired by British pioneer Henry Roberts and the model of philosopher Charles Fourier. Through the development of this housing project with collective spaces, the city intended to provide healthy and ventilated housing for about 250 tenants who worked in the nearby gas works on Rue Condorcet. The building had a plain door and an unoriginal facade with no cornices or decorations. The interior was just the opposite: long walkways with skylights in the ceiling let in plenty of light and air. The program included 84 private one- and two-room apartments, with shared rooms like toilets, located at the end of each walkway on each floor. The building in addition to individual apartments and toilets had a communal washroom, abundant circulation spaces, an early example of a nursery, and a doctor's practice were available to families on the ground floor.²⁵

Image 9: Hilversumse Meent project by L. de Jonge & P.D. Weeda (1972-1977)



At the same time as these early models of workers' housing, between 1852 and 1870 under the Republic of Napoleon III France saw a period of profound urban and building transformations, especially in the capital city of Paris. The protagonist of these changes was Baron Haussmann, who developed a network of wide boulevards that crisscrossed the entire city. There were heavy demolition works and later a substantial development of large squares, green spaces, commercial activities and residential buildings. Haussmann's rigid plan of transformation was eased from the years 1884-1893, a time when it was possible to introduce new rules for construction such as the introduction of new materials like brick and types, not purely standardized, like domes. In the early 20th century, the rules changed and experimentation with new architectural styles such as the Neo-Gothic style, Art Nouveau, and Art Deco was becoming possible. The desire to revolutionize ways of living, which seized architects in the early 20th century, not only affected individual housing patterns of the wealthy classes, as evidenced by the explosion of Habitations à Bon Marché (HBM) projects between 1910 and 1920.²⁶

Things began to change in the 1920s, when the first expressions of the Modern Movement made their appearance, in the wake of the avant-garde revolutionizing various artistic fields such as painting and sculpture. The design interest in the villa stimulated the disciplinary efforts of Modern Movement exponents especially in the capital city of Paris. The modern idea of the single-family house was seen above all as a symbol of wealth and avant-garde, a real break with traditions and an invitation to live in a box in harmony with industrialization; as Le Corbusier said, "*the house is a machine for living*". The Modern Movement in Paris began to spread in the city through the construction of individual houses commissioned by wealthy bourgeois families and built by architects such as Pierre Chareau (Maison de Verre), Adolf Loos (Maison Tristan Tzara) and Le Corbusier (Maison La Roche, Villa Savoye, Atelier Ozenfant ...). Villa Savoye is an iconic example of individual housing in the 20th century. The house is sized on the size of the man, the machine, but certainly not on the collective. A model of housing for a very affluent family with very large spaces in which each member of the family had their own space and privacy.²⁷

From this moment on, at the height of Architectural Modernism, the single-family core model began to be the predominant one, and the house thus became a true symbol. As the years went by, the models that were developed were more focused on the private sphere and privatization rather than the collective. More recent times in the XXI st century have seen a return to housing development with a greater degree of participation.

Image 11 : Floor plans of Villa Savoye, Poissy, FR (1931)

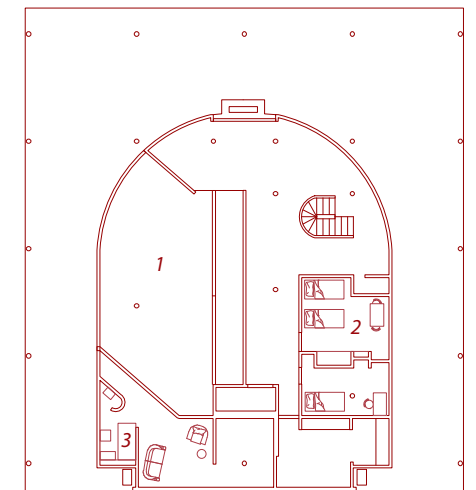
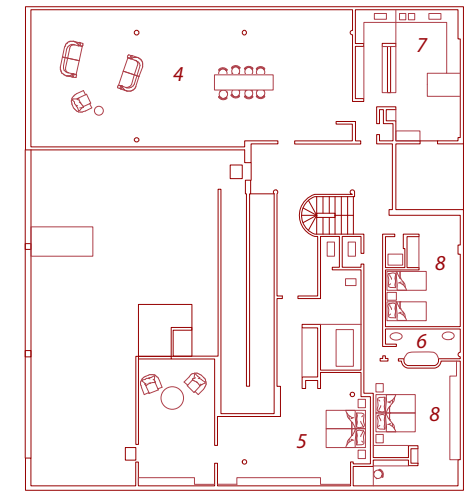
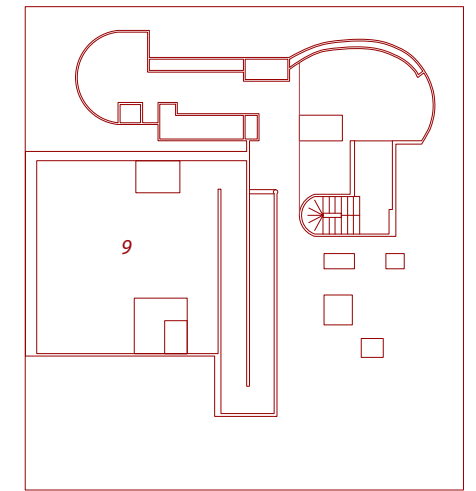


Image 10,11



Image 10 : Family living room of Villa Savoye, Poissy, France (1931)

1 : Garage 2 : Service room 3 : Wc 4 : Family living room 5 : Master bedroom 6 : Wc 7 : Kitchen 8 : Bedrooms 9 : Gallery 3.5 m

Austria:

Austria can be compared in part to the profound transformation of Paris, under Baron Haussmann. In fact, in the capital Vienna, a real building transformation took place within a few years. One person worth mentioning is certainly Franz Schumeier, Austrian politician and trade union leader, who at the party conference of the Social Democratic Workers' Party in Graz 1900, presented a motion on "Principles for the Work of Social Democracy in the Community" from which the Social Democratic municipal program was then developed. As a member of parliament, he dealt with various issues including the quality and theorizing of new housing.

In those years, due to exponential population growth and the very precarious living conditions, the so-called "Bettgeher" started to spread throughout the city. They were people who, unable to afford an apartment, had to sublet small rooms for a few hours a day.²⁸ In 1919, large masses of people moved to the city suburbs and to the forests to cultivate land and build occasional shelters. What had begun as "subsistence gardening" during World War I, to ensure basic food supplies for families, evolved into gatherings of urban settlers who occupied public land by turning sheds-orchards into living spaces. Families lived on the outskirts of Vienna in partly illegal "wild settlements", such as the *Rosenhugel Housing Estate*, developed between 1919 and 1921. This spontaneous effort of mutual aid among people initiated what is now known as the Great Red Vienna Housing Project, a radical program of municipal reforms aimed at reshaping the city's infrastructure.

Although at that time a large proportion of Austrians were deeply conservative, rural and Catholic, Vienna was home to an extremely diverse population of professionals, intellectuals and working-class families linked to industrial and trade unions.²⁹ Since the city enjoyed relative political autonomy, this provided the impetus for it to become a real laboratory of municipal socialism in planning. Between 1920 and 1934, in the period properly called "Rotes Wien" or Red Vienna, an exemplary integrated model of social democratic paradise was developed. This period began at the end of World War I and lasted until the end of the First Austrian Republic.

At that time life was very hard, especially for the working class, the unemployment rate was high, and people were forced to live in very poor hygienic conditions. In view of these serious problems, the Socialist Party in Vienna decided to take power and make a very important reform project. More than 60,000 new houses were built in the city, 25 public baths used for all the construction-work 40% of the city's taxes raised on luxury goods. In a period



Image 12 : Rosenhugel Housing Estate, Wien countryside (1919 - 1921)

Image 12



Image 13 : "Wiener Gemeindebau programme", Siedlung Rosenhügel Settlement, photo from Wien Museum (1921)

Image 13

of advanced liberal, mono-capitalist and Russo-fascist economics, the workers of the Austrian Social Democratic Party managed to achieve a kind of "island" of true socialism in Vienna. It was a true utopian experiment that changed the shape and appearance of the city under the direct gaze of its citizens. Buildings were regarded as palaces, but not the Renaissance palaces of the wealthy, but of the less wealthy classes. Buildings constructed during the Red Vienna period were developed with the "court" typology, that is, a central courtyard often used as a green park or square surrounded by dwellings on its perimeter. The city's social-democratic authorities formulated urban planning based precisely on this typology, which later took the name Hof.³⁰

One of the most important housing projects developed in the city at that time was the Karl-Marx-Hof. Built between 1926 and 1930 by city planner Karl Ehn, a student of the famous architect Otto Wagner. The colossal-sized building, with its 1,382 apartments, was designed to accommodate thousands of Viennese in the XIXth district on the Ringstrasse des Proletariats. The building was built to accommodate 5,000 to 6,000 people and boasted a length of about 1,000 meters. Designed as a city within a city, this housing model focused on participation and community, was an exemplary model for the variety of premises and services that were made available to their residents. Tenants were offered numerous modern and well-equipped facilities. Although each apartment was equipped with its own toilet, two large public bathrooms with steam rooms were developed in order to promote socialization among people. The collective spaces were very large and included two central laundries, collective baths, two neighborhood kindergartens, a dentist, a workers' library, a youth center, a tuberculosis clinic, post office, pharmacy, and more.³¹

The Red Vienna housing program was of unprecedented importance to the nation and gave workers the opportunity to educate themselves to base their daily lives on collectivity and sharing practices. The Karl-Marx Hof, built on the edge of one of the neighborhoods that until then was considered one of the most bourgeois areas of Vienna, indelibly marked the importance of workers in the city and of domestic sharing practices in daily life.

Image 14



Image 15 : Exterior courtyard, Karl Marx Hof, Wien (1930)

Image 15



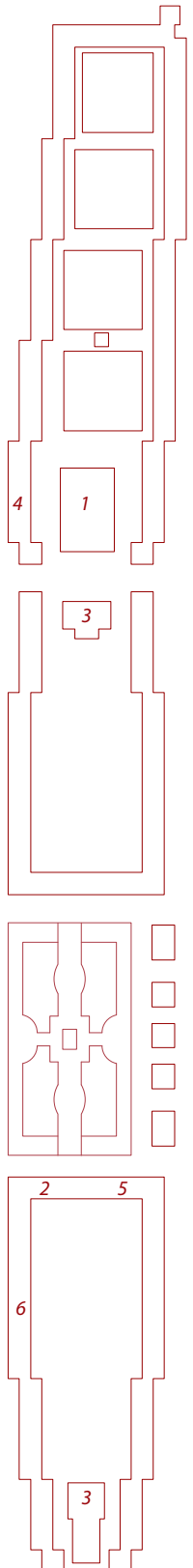
Image 16 : Collective kindergarden, City of Wien (1926)

Image 16, 17



Image 17 : Collective public baths, Amalienbad, City of Wien (1926)

Image 14 : Karl-Marx-Hof by Karl Ehn, Wien (1926 - 1930)



- 1 : Collective baths
- 2 : Shared laundry room
- 3 : Kindergarden
- 4 : Guest House
- 5 : Dentist for residents
- 6 : Post office

57 m

Germany:

In contrast to the Viennese housing model, which promoted community spaces and participation in daily life, a mainly individualist housing model called Existenzminimum was theorized in Germany during the Weimar Republic.

In the mid-XIX th century Germany also underwent many changes due to the industrial revolution. The city of Berlin saw a significant increase in population during that period, rapidly rising from 170,000 to 1,950,000, boasting the title of one of the most densely populated cities at that time. The increase in population and overcrowded housing led to the enactment of several laws respectively in the years 1853, 1887 and 1897. This led to the introduction of the "Polizeiverordnung" (Police Regulation) which proposed an initial draft of hygienic regulations for new buildings to ensure proper ventilation of rooms and a restriction on the use of basements as living spaces.³² Nevertheless, housing rents of the the working-class of German cities were very high. With the arrival of World War I, the situation became even worse, leading to a severe slow down in the construction of new housing. By the early postwar period, society had acquired the means and methods of standardization in mass production, and these were extended not only to the manufacturing industry but also to the construction industry. In the 1920s, designers and scholars began to carry out various researches to fully understand the problem of housing shortage and tried to come up with answers regarding new housing standards so as to ensure the minimum requirements of living both spatially, socially and economically.³³

The concept of rationality in building design developed particularly in Europe between the 1920s and 1930s: an attempt was made to define through an objective and rational scientific method the biological and social needs of people. Immediately after the end of the world war, the lack of housing for the lower classes became a serious problem. In 1918 the Weimar Republic, in particular the Social Democratic government, decided to address the problem of the housing situation, and after many transitional arrangements in 1924 the government began to promote large-scale interventions.

The revival of construction and state subsidies for popular housing enabled the creation of numerous cooperative societies, which carried out most of the construction in those years. There was a realization that the problem of affordable housing was not a problem confined only to Germany, Austria and Russia which were in serious economic difficulties due to the post-war period, but to all civilized countries of the world, and therefore a solution had to be found with international cooperation.

Image 18



Image 18 : Housing misery in Berlin during urbanization, Wedding neighborhood visited by journalist Albert Südekum (1890)

A decisive event that saw 23 professionals from 8 different countries interacting with each other was the 2nd CIAM meeting held in Frankfurt between October 24 and 27, 1929. The CIAM program "International Congresses of Modern Architecture" was established in 1928 at La Sarraz Castle in Switzerland. The architects involved used these collective moments as a platform to work out common goals and strategies as a means of propagating the new modern architecture of the new century. Over the years, the focus of the congresses shifted from social housing and the standardization of individual housing "Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum" to the economic planning of large settlements "Rationelle Bebauungsweisen". The 1929 CIAM was hosted in Germany in Frankfurt am Main, a city where planner Ernst May between 1925 and 1939 had implemented a very effective plan for new housing construction: the "Das Neues Frankfurt".³⁴

At the 1929 Congress, the Existenzminimum theory was expounded: a program for rationalizing domestic space in terms of size, distribution, function, and organization capable of meeting the biological and social needs of the individual. The ultimate goal was the staging of an exhibition in which architects were tasked with presenting in a clear and concise manner the material relating to minimal housing intended for working-class families. The housing issue was approached from two perspectives: the first was normative with the creation of livability standards and the second was design-oriented, reexamining the physical elements of a dwelling such as interior distribution and space planning based on daily activities.

Almost all of the designs, accompanied by specific dimensions and living areas, were of single-family dwellings in which the practice of living was primarily individualistic without any degree of collectivity. The most proposed typology of the single-family house, for which a maximum size of 70 m² was set, was the terraced house, that is, a repetition of long and narrow rectangular plan houses arranged side by side. As shown by the models proposed for the cities of Rotterdam and Frankfurt generally two stories were provided to the family, with the living quarters on the ground floor and the sleeping quarters on the second floor. Otherwise, some architects, such as H. Racz for the city of Budapest, proposed a horizontal, single-story rectangular orientation with cabin-type sleeping quarters aligned in a comb pattern and a large living area.³⁵ Although the main focus was on the development of the family-scale home early drafts were proposed for models of collective houses, American and Swedish house-hotels, and residential complexes with collective facilities such as those in Moscow.

Image 19, 20

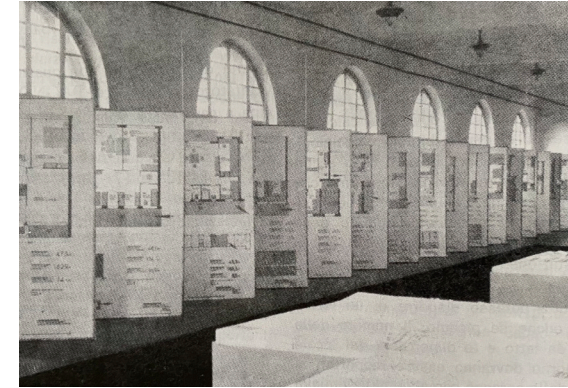
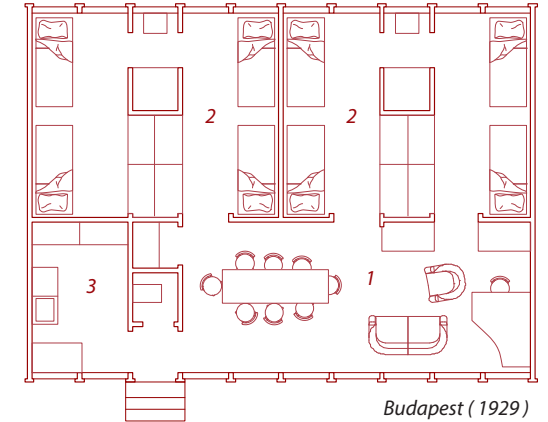


Image 19: Main hall of the Existenzminimum exhibition (1929)

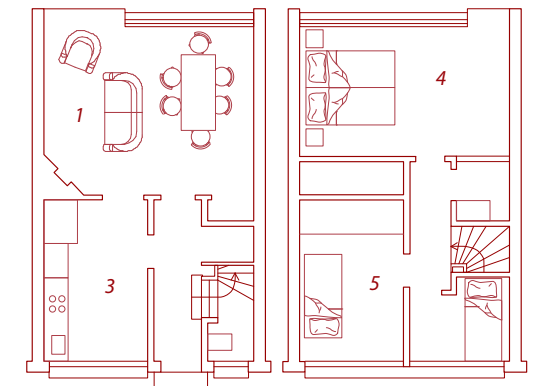


Image 20: Exhibition with boards elaborated by CIAM II (1929)

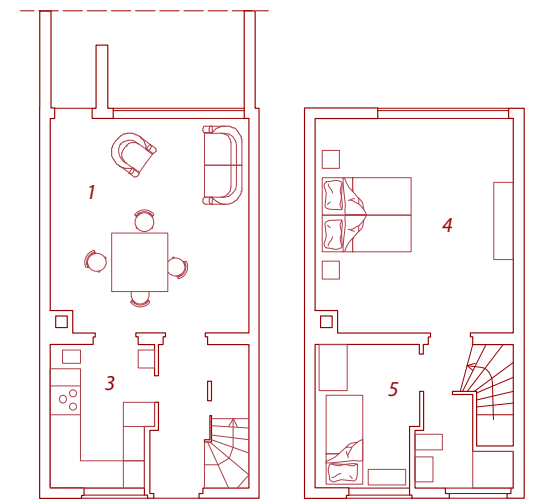
Image 21: Models of a single-family house elaborated by CIAM II and exhibited at the Existenzminimum exhibition, Frankfurt, GE (1929)



Budapest (1929)



Frankfurt am Main (1929)



Rotterdam (1929)

1: Family living room 2: Shared bedroom 3: Kitchen
4: Master bedroom, parents 5: One single bedroom, child

1.6 m

Image 21

The topic gave the architects the opportunity to reflect and experiment a great deal, especially in relation to their different personal experiences on an artistic and professional level. For example, the Jeanneret brothers, Le Corbusier and his brother Pierre, argued that the construction method of housing was very expensive and it was therefore necessary to formulate and establish a new method of construction that was fast and inexpensive. They thought that the new organization of domestic spaces should be based on the phenomenon of circulation, since the domestic life of the family consisted of the succession of activities carried out in different parts of the dwelling.³⁶

Walter Gropius, unlike the Jeannerets, focused much on the sociological situation rather than the technical aspects of building. Providing numerous data and demographic statistics, he argued that the family in terms of number and type of members saw a radical change as a result of industrialization.³⁷ Congress delegate Ernst May, supported by the likes of H. Schmidt and M. Stam, was in favor of an architectural program based on economic feasibility over artistic values. May argued that housing, even if small, should be healthy and above all accessible to all economic strata of society. He also asserted that it was the state's duty to provide housing for its citizens by investing part of the community's money directly in public or utility housing and only in emergencies to the construction of private housing.

In 1929, Dutch architect Mart Stam proposed the graphic "Goedkope Arbeiderswoning" in which the daily routine of a working-class Dutch family in the early XXth century was depicted. This graphic shows that the real protagonists of these housing patterns were working-class families. The day is graphically scanned hour by hour, carefully reflecting the different activities that are carried out during the day and especially the time when the different members of the family are at home and how often they are all together. From the diagram it is evident that only at brief times of the day is the family gathered under one roof, this then leads to reflection and assumption that the household floor area will consequently be different from the traditional house plan. For example, there is no strict need to have a dining room in the dwelling, since during both lunch and dinner the family is not assumed to be eating together. These and a number of very similar sociologically based studies make us understand how the activities, the everyday life of people was very important for the identification of a housing pattern. In addition to the official theory of Existenzminimum further investigations of minimal dwelling were elaborated by two important figures : Alexander Klein and Karel Teige. Both of them elaborated autonomous lines of design and research to realize an alternative housing unit design to that proposed by CIAM.

Image 22

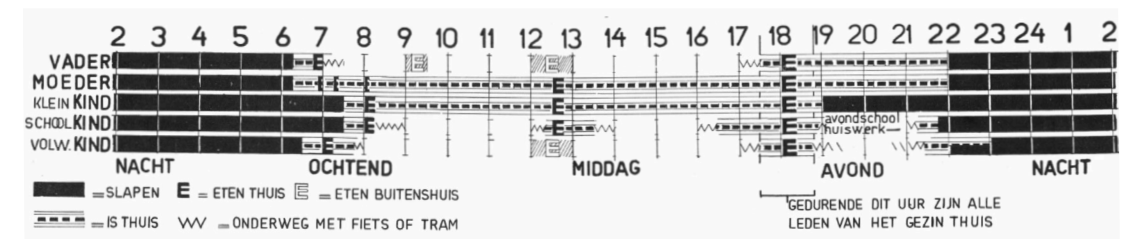


Image 22 : Working-class family routine, Netherlands, Goedkope Arbeiderswoning by Mart Stam (1929)

Alexander Klein, a rationalist architect of Ukrainian origin who moved to Germany at a young age to develop his architectural studies, is known for his extraordinarily innovative and mathematically rigorous design methodology. Starting with the influence of living conditions and the human mind on domestic spaces, Klein meticulously addressed the subject of dwellings. The guidelines that made up his analysis were not the minimum health requirements, but the needs of the individual.³⁸

The process that led to the determination of the Existenzminimum theory began with the downsizing of the housing cell, on the basis of need to meet the requirements of the individual. This concept was new and in opposition to a socialist view, developed for example in neighboring Austria, in which housing was to be equal and guaranteed to all people without any differentiation based on their social status. Klein played a very important role in the study of this new domestic model and in fact analyzed the problem of dwelling, providing in its analyses parameters to assess the mental effects on people. He did not refer to the surfaces of the rooms, but to the size of the dwelling and thus to the number of beds per family member contained in the dwelling. The number of people became the basis for dimensioning living spaces, thus determining the amount of space needed for everyday activities.

According to Klein, it was useless to propose fixed and unchanging examples, as had been done in the 1929 exhibition; his method explicitly proposed a plan-efficiency comparison as an objective method, based on mathematical parametric criteria, to achieve an adapted living space.

Another figure worth mentioning is Karel Teige, who published the book *The minimum dwelling* in 1932. After CIAM II, Teige presented his strong position towards Existenzminimum. He argued that the theorized model was simply a scaled version of the bourgeois single-family house readjusted to the lifestyle of the proletariat. Otherwise according to him, minimum housing was to be a completely new model dedicated to the working class. The models proposed at the congress inadequately reflected the new lifestyles of the working class, as the practical division of the home into bedrooms, living room and was theorized to be based on the division of labor among different members of the family.³⁹ In particular, he was critical of the kitchen an emblem of what was starting to be seen as the only sphere of women's activity

His approach, very objective and methodical, allows him to analyze different models of housing. For example, the traditional house type in which everyone lives and works within the same household, the Taylorist house model in which the wife is still at home all day, and finally the proletarian house model in which

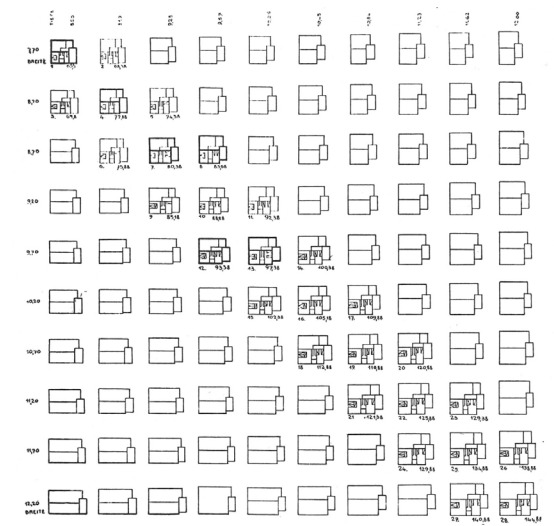


Image 23 : Plan-efficiency comparison, A. Klein (1928)

		morning	afternoon	night
Home used as workshop and family household. (3-4 generations) (medieval type)				
male (grandfather)		at home	at home	at home
female (grandmother)		at home	at home	at home
children		at home	at home	at home
townspeople and middle classes				
husband		at work, office, or factory	at home	at home
wife		at home	at home	at home
children		in school	at home	at home
in proletarian conditions (dwelling reduced to lodging—ceases to be dwelling)				
husband		at home	at work	at home
wife		at home	at work	at home
children		at home	school or work	at home

Image 24 : Dwelling use and frequency of occupancy, Teige (1932)

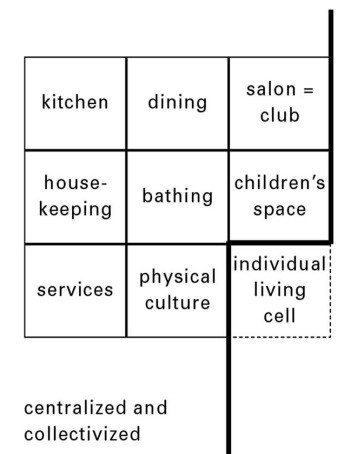


Image 25 : Collectivization of activities and individual living cell graph from "the minimum dwelling", K. Teige (1932)

Image 23

Image 24

the adults in the family work equally and the house is no longer a real household, but only a shelter for the night.⁴⁰ In his book several diagrams and graphs were used to show the general conditions in history of the dwelling issue in the European continent. Unlike A. Klein, his diagrams became a means to make a clear political statement and shape the analysis of qualitative data and concepts. K. Teige, through the production of numerous diagrams, developed a radical solution to the problem of minimal housing. He proposes the centralization and collectivization of all aspects of domestic work (housekeeping, cooking and childcare) and the decrease of private space into a small living cell, called the universal room. For Teige, Taylorism and standardization was not a mechanism to achieve a functional rationalization of living condition in the domestic spaces of the single-family household, but a very powerful new tool to provide every person, without distinction, with the right to a room within the communal homes.

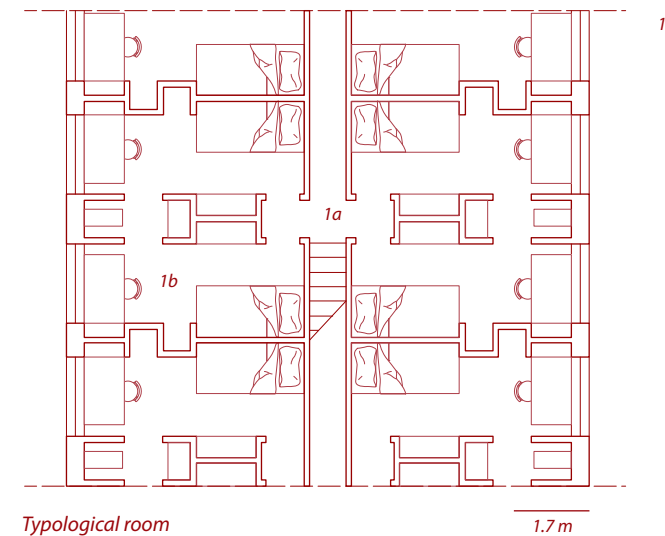
Russia:

Also Russia implemented particular strategies with regard to the housing solutions proposed in the early XX th century. It was precisely the efficiency and rationality of the standardized American hotel of the early 1920s that inspired some Soviet architects, who decided to incorporate hotel design in their search for new housing models for the proletariat. Indeed, the evolution of the hotel from the boarding house, bachelor apartment, dormitory, and workers' hostel served as the basis for the development of a model called the "dom-kommuna". The dom-kommuna allowed for equal individual housing conditions for each tenant and at the same time offered centralized collective cleaning services, children's nurseries, and other shared facilities.

Dom-kommunas did not consist of small miniature apartments as American hotels did. On the contrary, Soviet architects conceived of minimal housing as a series of small individual cells. The size of the small cells, which were to be used primarily for sleeping but at the same time did not exclude other specific uses, was reduced to an absolute minimum. A well-known example of dom-kommuna is that proposed by Barshch and Vyacheslav Vladimirov in 1929 in which the cubicle for the person was reduced to a minimum with a size of only six square meters.⁴¹ Soviet architects spent a great deal of time understanding the right cell size, concluding that an 8 - 9 m² cell organized around a larger communal structure could offer a significantly higher quality of life than that provided by many traditional apartments, such as the infamous kommunalka, or former bourgeois apartment shared by several families.

Image 25

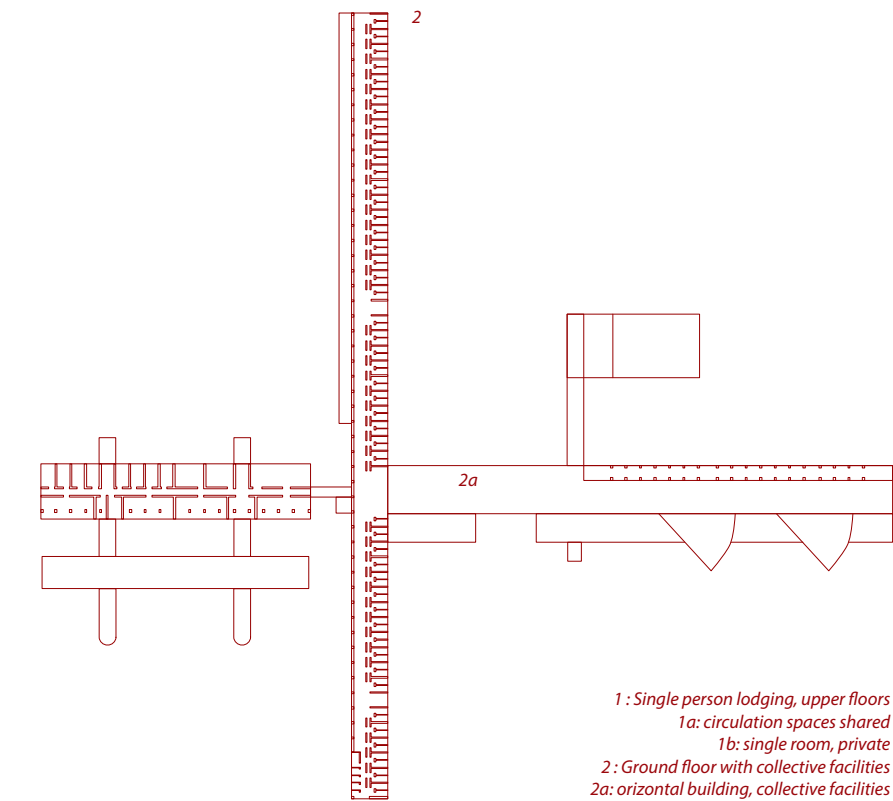
Image 26 : Barshch and Vladimirov, Dom-kommuna, Moscow, USSR (1929)



Typological room

1.7 m

Image 26



Ground floor

10 m

1 : Single person lodging, upper floors
 1a: circulation spaces shared
 1b: single room, private
 2 : Ground floor with collective facilities
 2a: horizontal building, collective facilities

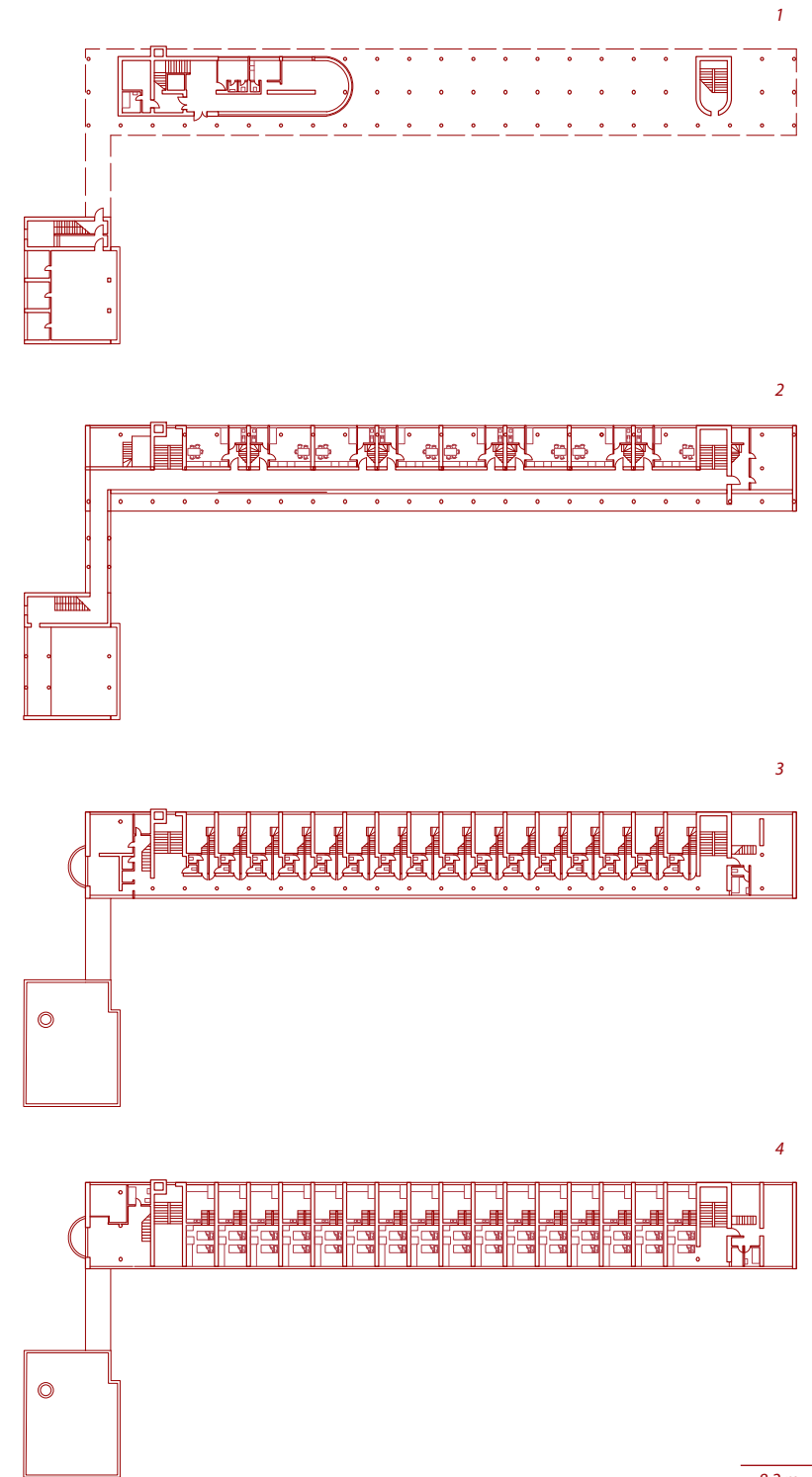
Barshch and Vladimirov's 1929 dom-kommuna was organized by sectors that were dedicated to a specific age group so that the lives of adults were separated from those of pre-school or school-age children, with the aim of dissolving the social role of the family. The sector for adults developed into two distinct areas: the first was dedicated to communal facilities such as kitchens, dining rooms, reading rooms or laundry rooms, while the second contained the more private areas, namely the residents' bed cabins. The cabins with beds were organized in such a way that they could be joined together to create a larger bedroom in case a couple decided to reside there, while the toilets and washrooms were shared with other tenants.⁴²

Although this innovative concept of community living was considered by Soviet architects and authorities, it fell into disuse with the Russian Revolution of 1917 and was only rediscovered during the 1920s thanks to the new economic policy or NEP that sought a solution to the housing shortage in the Soviet Union. The Soviet architects of the OSA (*Organization of Contemporary Architects*) group, influenced by the Zenothdel Union of Clara Zetkin and Alexandra Kollantai, based their design method on a scientific approach that resulted in the development of the first single cells that were conceived as transit spaces, which would allow a gradual transition to the total collectivization of space.⁴³

As it was written by artist, designer and architect El Lissitzky in the first issue of *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* "such dwellings must free the worker's time and energy from the upkeep of his dwelling to the maximum, so that he can engage in social and cultural work. It must guarantee him the possibility of cultural recreation and facilitate the transition from individual housing to its more collective form."⁴⁴

The most notable projects that fit into this trajectory are certainly the typological experiments by Moisei Ginzburg and Ignaty Milinis for the Strojkom (*State Housing Commission*) of the USSR with their proposals for the F-cell type and the E-cell type. In this complex one can see a gradual transition from the more classical apartment plan, the K-cell type, to a more reduced and radical plan, namely the F-cell type. In both cases there was a small kitchen, but one that was purposely small in size so that the inhabitants were incentivized to use the common kitchen, which was larger. These types of housing did not impose a radical lifestyle on residents, but responded "to the social process of differentiation of the family" and "stimulated the use of collective facilities".⁴⁵ In the late 1920s, the Soviet Union saw a major deterioration in living conditions in cities, which prompted architects and planners to think about "super-collective" housing solutions. The proposal to think about "super collective" construction came from

Image 27 : Moisei Ginzburg and Ignaty F. Milinis, Narkomfin Building, or second House of Sovnarkom, Moscow, USSR, (1928 - 1930)



1 : Plan of the ground floor collective 2 : First floor with K-type apartments 3 : Fourth floor with F-type and 2-F-type apartments 4 : Fifth floor with F-type and 2-F-type apartments

Image 27

8.2 m

economist and urban planner Leonid M. Sabsovich in his 1929 text *The USSR in 15 Year's time*. In the book the author talks about a hypothetical scenario where the space of personal dwelling was minimized in favor of collectivized spaces for all other functions of domesticity. Thus a series of large-scale projects were developed throughout the Soviet Union that could accommodate between 1,000 and 2,000 inhabitants each. These projects were veritable cities, where ordinary dwellings became dormitories, such as the never-realized Avtostrj project, an entire urban complex of single cells proposed by the OSA in 1930.⁴⁶

Later between 1929 and 1931 Ginzburg and sociologist Mikhail Okhitovich developed one of the most important critiques related to the then ongoing super collectivization policy with the study of prototypes. The prototypes were made for the Gosplan, or state planning committee of the Soviet Union, which wanted to diversify 106 communal dwellings by calling into question the existing boundary between collective and private space. architects favored smaller houses made of standardized parts from local materials and built by the inhabitants themselves, rather than large communal houses. A clear example of these structures are the Pod units of 1929, which consisted of a series of individual pods that could later be organized so that there were a maximum of eight units together. These units were to be served by a system of structures parallel to the housing units in such a way that different forms of social organization such as large group houses or individual Pods could be organized there. These projects, as also pointed out by historian Hugh H. Hudson, were intended to allow for the development of social relationships among tenants, who could choose to live in a more traditional or communal manner.⁴⁷

None of these proposals were implemented, however, particularly because the Soviet Union was characterized by a severe housing shortage and consequent overcrowding, which would not have allowed singles or couples to occupy a unit without having to share it with others. The abandonment of these structures, the *dom-kommuna*, should also be read in relation to the political context of the time; in fact, in 1930 Lazar Kaganovich, a Politburo member and associate of Stalin, declared that the communist city had already existed since 1917 when the Bolsheviks took power. This implied that it was not necessary to build new housing to achieve the ideal communist way of life.

This declaration marked the end of experiments in shared housing in the USSR and the final abandonment of *dom-kommunas*.⁴⁸

3.4 Experiments of the 1960s

Many projects that envisaged collective ways of living, such as the hotels described earlier, were strongly criticised at the time by the main government organisations in charge of dwellings, for example the US social reformers of the "*progressive era*". For the latter, living in such places, and thus embracing a model of collective domesticity, represented a major threat to what at the time were traditional family values and the concept of home ownership. It was then the emergence of the first public and affordable houses that reduced co-operative living spaces to an unimportant phenomenon.

However, an exception to this phenomenon occurred particularly in Sweden at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s. Here, in fact, several co-operative housing initiatives, driven by the numerous social democratic feminist movements of the time, dealt with the question of housework's mitigation for females. According to Alison Woodward, it is in the activity of the BIG collective, an only designers, journalists and architects women group, that the Swedish women's movement has found its most powerful architectural manifestation. Indeed, BIG developed a very interesting idea of collective housing characterised by three fundamental concepts: compact communities, housing without speculation and a tenant population diversified by age and profession.

This interesting concept of revolutionising the traditional family through a more collaborative system consisting of the collectivisation of housework was not just implemented in individual housing, but also in state construction.

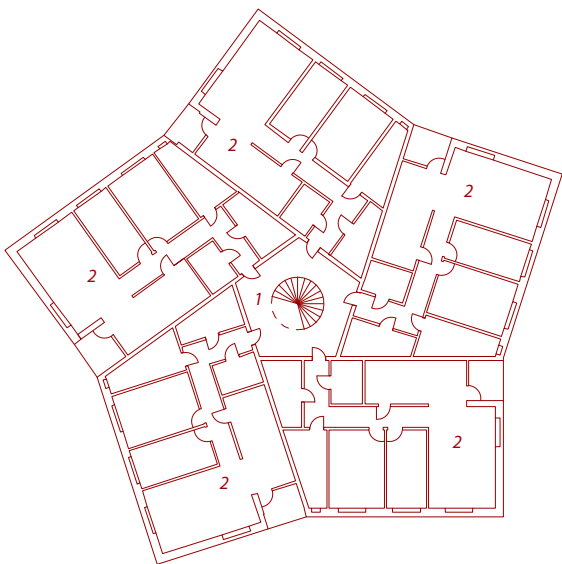
A well-known example of such a state application was a housing complex known as *Stacken*, a cohousing project resulting from the renovation of a tower building built in 1969 in Bergsjön, Göteborg. The tower was organised in the form of five individual flats, accessible through a central core without any collective services. After several years of use, however, the individual flats were redesigned in such a way as to reduce the size of the private spaces in favour of several collective services, as a restaurant and a collective kitchen.⁴⁹

In Switzerland the conditions, although different from those in Sweden, still lent themselves to the first experiments in communal living. Specifically after World War II, between the 1950s and 1960s, there was a long period called the "*economic miracle*" at the Swiss level, but more generally in Europe.

In 1970 it was estimated that about 58% of the population in Western countries was under the age of 34, and many of them

Image 28,29

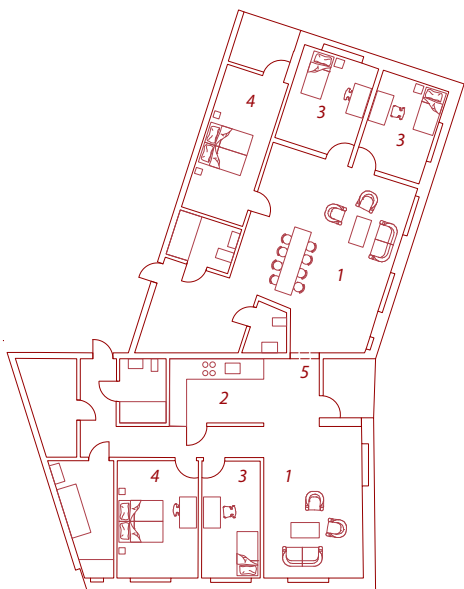
Image 28 : Tower building Stacken, Gothenburg (1969)



1 : Communal staircase to access each apartment
2 : Individual apartments

5 m

Image 29 : Apartments' transformation into cohousing project (1975)



1 : Communal living room 2 : Kitchen shared 3 : One single bedroom 4 : Master bedroom 5 : Demolition of division wall for joining two traditional apartments

3.3 m

were undertaking a college education.⁵⁰ It was in these very places that young people began to organize protests and share their personal political thinking, which was often radical and anti-conformist for the time. This revolutionary climate took a turn in May 1968, initiating a series of movements that changed the economic and political destiny of Europe and Switzerland. Young people began to occupy public spaces in the city to spend time together during the days but mostly to discuss together their common agenda of what their goals were to achieve.

In the early 1970s, specifically in 1973, Switzerland, like the whole of Europe, found itself in a very difficult moment. Indeed, an embargo was put in place against the West for oil causing many chain events. The price of oil began to rise exponentially because of its rarity, and many were the factories that had to close forcing their workers to return to their countries, causing the population to decrease significantly. This upheaval in the population curve mainly affected the workers who were in the cities to work, who therefore had to emigrate to look for work again. Thus all housing, which had previously been occupied by workers, now became available.

The landlords, desperate to find new tenants willing to pay rent, then decided to allow the young revolutionaries, often university students, to legally stay inside the rented housing. Here they could finally experience a new kind of community life. With the development of these new collective domestic spaces, the desire to experiment with even more radical manners also increased, thus beginning to illegally invade old abandoned buildings, or buildings that were supposed to be destroyed and rebuilt becoming part of larger plans with a speculative footprint. The phenomenon of squatting, or illegal occupation of buildings, then began to take shape in many Swiss cities. These early squatting movements were against the transformation of old neighborhoods, now uninhabited due to the crisis, into new, "modern" speculative neighborhoods, with the sole purpose of bringing people from the upper classes back to the city.⁵¹

Of key importance to the early occupy movements was the publication in 1983 of a treatise, the author of which is known under the pseudonym "P.M.": Bolo Bolo. The book tells of a possible alternative to capitalism and a life dominated by economics, presenting a series of projects to transform existing housing types. The name of the publication Bolo Bolo refers to the tribe of the bolo, an ancient community, which countered about 300 to 500 individuals, imagined as the basic social unit of an ecologically sustainable society. The book details a plan for the transformation of the world as we know it through the reconfiguration of social organization into micro-units, each characterized by its own

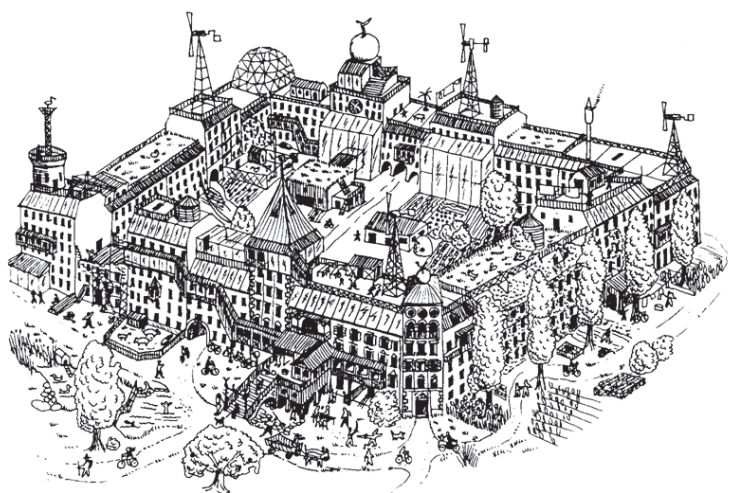


Image 30 : Representation of community development based on bolo bolo (1983)

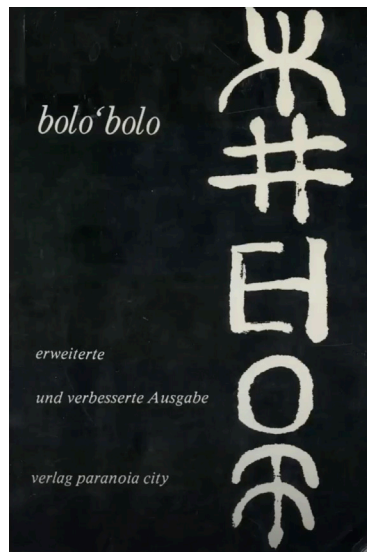


Image 31 : Book bolo' bolo by P.M. (1983)

Image 30, 31

distinctive culture. The author also proposes extremely innovative designs for the function of these hypothetical micro-structures. In his diagrams one can read a strong desire to start from an extremely static and rigid existing situation and evolve toward a freer and less strict framework based on agriculture and barter. P.M. thought he could fit the Bolo structures within Aussersihl in particular, where a major renewal plan was planned at the time. The author envisioned that the "Perimeter Block" would take on a totally different conformation, due to the inner courtyard playing a central role for the bolo, as this was where agriculture and bartering were practised, by which the entire community was sustained.⁵²

In Zurich the influence of the book was impressive and many associations were inspired by it to create autonomous societies living in collectives. The liberating experience of self-management in squatted houses experienced earlier and emphasized in P.M.'s essay led to radical experiments, such as the Karthago project, an association formed by early squatters, in 1997, in which individual households were dissolved into a form in which members lived communally within a larger home community, where they cooked and ate in a large-scale shared kitchen.

Each evening, dinner was held communally with all 55 residents of the house, who often stayed well past dinner time to converse and discuss with other residents. Karthago consisted of eight shared apartments, housing people of all ages. Each shared apartment was organized like a real small family. There was a cleaning schedule, a communal living room, and everything was surrounded by a set of social "rules" put into practice by the residents such as bringing mail to the other residents in case you were the first one home.⁵³

Image 32,33

Image 34

Image 35

Image 36

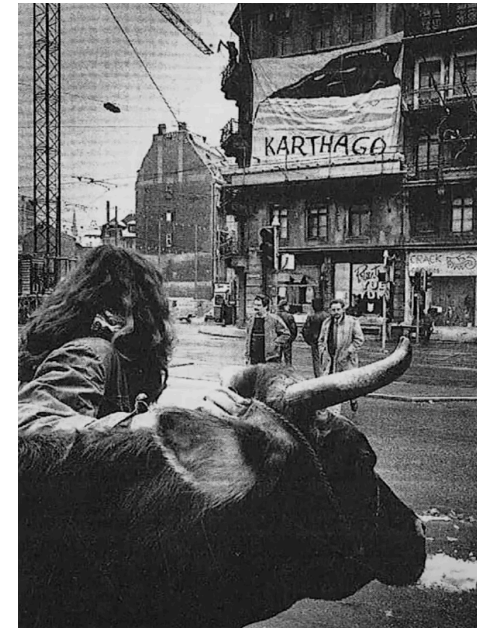


Image 34 : Squatting movement Stauffacher, ZH (1987)



Image 35 : Manifesto of Karthago Association (1987)

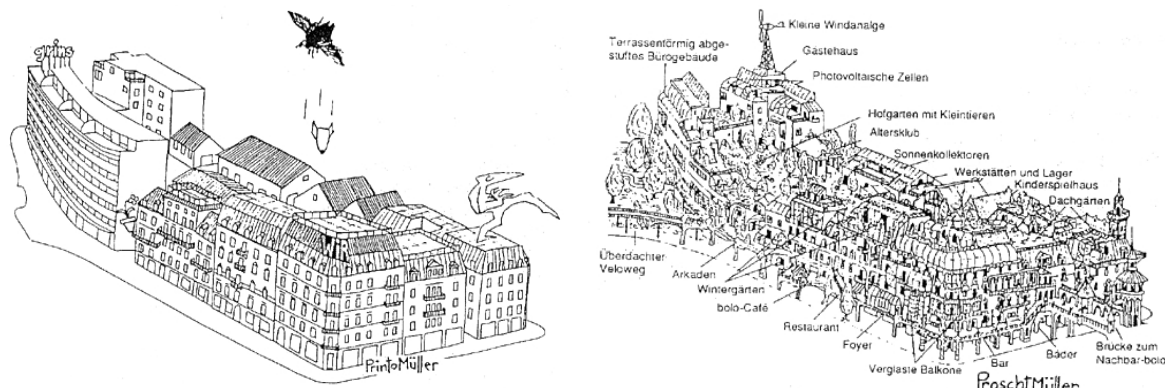
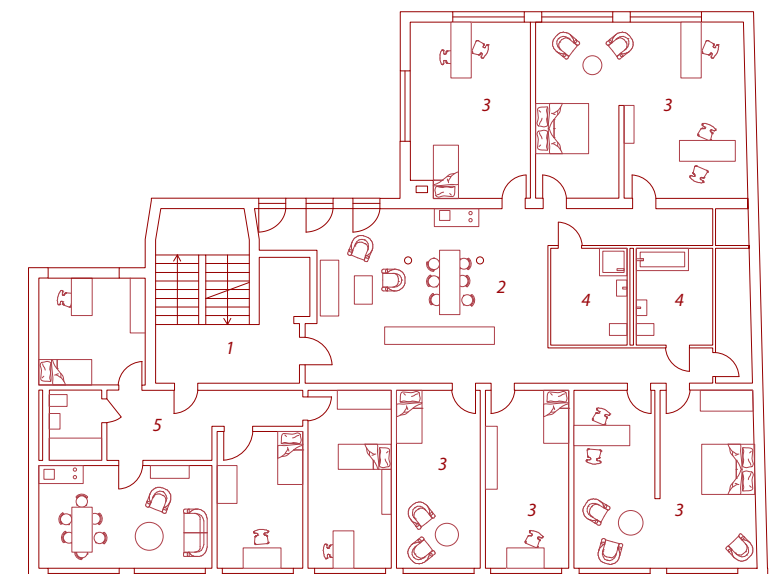


Image 32,33 : Conversion of an existing building complex: conditions before (left) and after (right) by Steiner (1995), modified by P.M. (1990)



- 1 : Communal circulation, stairs/elevators
- 2 : Collective living spaces with kitchen/sofas
- 3 : Private rooms accessible from shared living spaces between residents
- 4 : Collective bathroom to share
- 5 : Traditional apartment model with private living/sleeping

2.5 m

Image 36 : Karthago Cooperative housing, Zurich, Switzerland (1997)

3.5 Return to individualism in XXIst. century

At the beginning of the XXI st century, the family unit was at the center of neoliberalism's many arguments, used repeatedly as a key element against public investment. Over the years it thus became a strategy for neo-liberal proposals to achieve a new financial situation fueled by private fundings. However, the surge of stringent measures introduced by governments after the great recession of 2007-2008 has put family formation among the younger generation at serious risk. This condition has led builders and urban authorities in many European towns to radically downsize flats in order to host not only the traditional household, but also singles, couples and small families. Despite these major economic events with effects on society, the heritage of the family unit remained very strong. Each dwelling, however modest, needed to be self-sufficient and was therefore considered a private house. For this reason, many builders began to push for the promotion of "tiny" apartments, smaller houses in response to demographic and speculative changes.⁵⁴

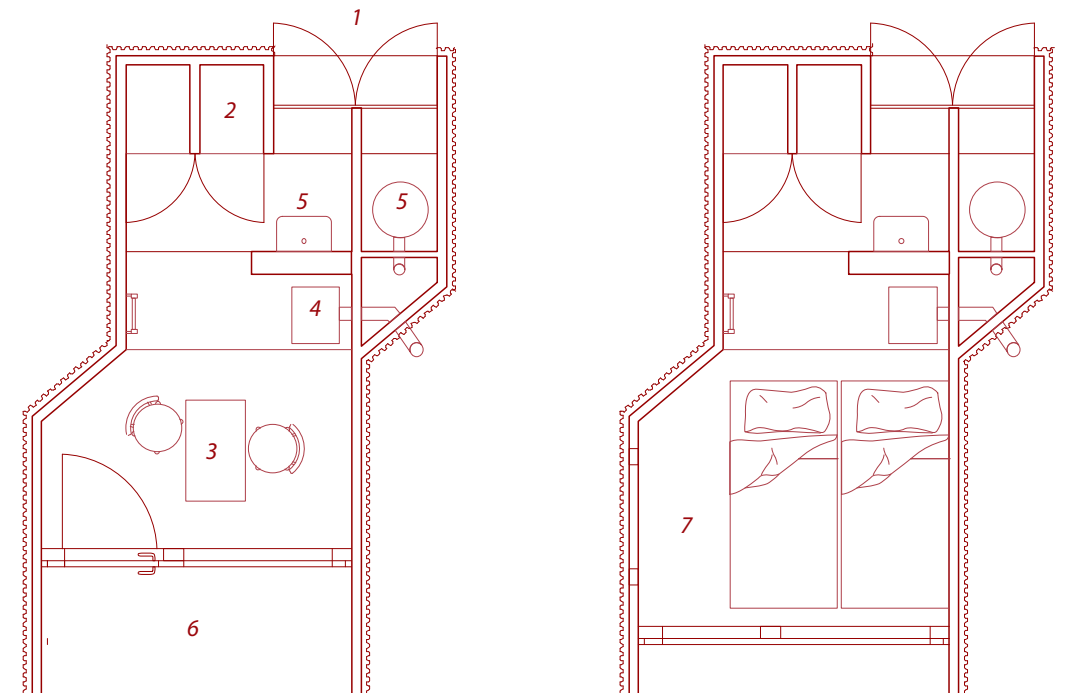
The technical report "International Residential Code - Appendix Q. Tiny Houses" developed by the IRC in the U.S. in 2018 defines the term Tiny house, interchangeable with Micro house, as a "dwelling unit with a maximum of 37 square meters of floor area, excluding lofts."⁵⁵ The movement related to Tiny houses comes from the American continent, specifically the United States following the financial and housing crisis of 2008. Many people left without housing to live in opted for mobile homes few cheaper, more energy efficient and allowed people to move periodically in search of work. Later around the 2000s, the movement spread across Europe for several reasons: either to conform to the concept of minimalism that was in fashion or also as a lifestyle aimed at savings and sustainability. Homes with reduced living space are generally self-sufficient and environmentally and climate friendly compared to traditional houses. Among the biggest challenges of living in these small areas are undoubtedly the organization of daily activities and finding a fixed place to place the structure. For examples in countries like Switzerland, it is very difficult to find a legal place to park these mini houses⁵⁶ but nevertheless, interesting patterns have developed even at high altitudes.

An exemplary model of this housing typology is the creation developed by Swiss shoemaker "On" in 2019 named "On Mountain Hut". Located atop the stunning Piz Lunghin peak in the Engadine Valley, the hut is a tribute to the brand's origins and the natural landscape of the Alps. Designed in a minimalist style, the hut is

Image 37 : Shelter On Mountain Hut, Piz Lunghin, Engadina CH (2019)



Image 38 : Floorplans On Mountain Hut - ground and elevated (2019)



0.6 m

1 : Entrance to the tiny house 2 : Storage 3 : Reduced living space, multipurpose room 4 : Stove/kitchen 5 : Sink/Bathroom 6 : Exterior terrace 7 : Bedroom

Image 37, 38

accessible only on foot and can accommodate a maximum of two people—a true individualist niche. It was conceived as a reduced, totally private sphere where hikers can enjoy the high-altitude panorama. The elementary structure, measuring only 19 square meters, features a living area with a wood stove, a table and wooden seating. In addition, the sleeping area with a double bed is developed over a loft and located above the main room. The dwelling is clad in reflective corrugated metal material so as to have minimal visual impact on the alps and is designed to be as sustainable as possible, with zero impact on the mountain when dismantled.⁵⁷

Small-scale dwellings can be classified on the one hand into models that are often transportable and self-sufficient such as Tiny House and Nano House, and on the other hand examples of co-living in which the apartment takes on a very small size and everyday living spaces are pooled. In some cases small living many times is associated with a reduced private sphere and shared secondary spaces.

Some recent projects such as Sato's "*StudioHome*," aim to provide people with affordable rent by providing them with the minimum living space to carry out daily activities. This model was developed in Helsinki in 2010 and it is advertised as a traditional but smaller housing model. In reality, this strategy only enables investors to raise the price per m² of all their projects and achieve higher profits in the real estate market. Sato's "*StudioHome*" advocates compensating for the absence of private space by providing a 'communal and inclusive condominium' with shared services. The approximately 15 m² houses are studio apartments and possess extreme functionality in both typology and furnishings. Mezzanines have been developed, solutions that are not so much functional for the users, but useful for the project developers to reduce the living area and be able to put it on the market at a higher price.

Very comparable approaches have already been implemented by private companies such as 'WeLive' and 'The Collective,' which provide accommodation of a similar type to the old residential hotel, but unlike the latter they promote spaces made available to the community. "*WeLive*" is thought to be a market effort to solve the digital-age loneliness in young people's lives. The company has positioned itself as a "*physical social network*" an antidote to the dislocation caused by socializing a lot online instead of in person.⁵⁸

3.6 Swiss Housing Cooperative

Cooperatives are a very recent typological model of contemporary housing, which can be defined in different ways depending on which of the many characteristics it possesses we wish to emphasize. First, if we want to refer to the actual protagonists, the tenants of the cooperatives, we could say that they are not traditional tenants but are members endowed with special rights and duties. If we analyze the economic part, we can say that cooperatives are organizations with no real profit: the monetary contribution that tenants provide periodically for their housing remains within the society itself and in this way collective expenses or those for maintenance can be provided. In terms of organization, cooperatives are self-managed; they are more specifically partnerships sometimes of individuals or multiple associations that share a community-oriented philosophy of daily living. In terms of the relationship between people, we could say that cooperatives are memberships, a collection of people who meet periodically to talk or simply share daily life together.⁵⁹

The development of new typologies by cooperatives stems from people's current need for flexibility and anti-conventional typologies for contemporary households. Very often owned or rented homes are based on the traditional floor plan model, with a very defined separation of domestic space. Recent studies show that people, within their homes, seek flexibility and in the wake of events such as the pandemic seek a return to community and dialogue. Cooperatives, with the development of new typologies allow families not only to have private areas but also the opportunity to share indoor and outdoor spaces collectively in daily life. Precisely in Switzerland, which has a long history based on collaboration at cantonal and federal levels, such cooperative models have begun to develop since the XXI st century. Some recently examples are in Zurich: the Kalkbreite Genossenschaft and the Mehr als Wohnen Genossenschaft.

Undoubtedly one of the most important examples of cooperatives in the Zurich urban landscape is Kalkbreite. This building is in a very special location in the city: it is located in the Aussersihl neighborhood not far from the squatting site of Stauffacher in the 1970s and in the vicinity of the newly built Dreieck cooperative.⁶⁰ This site was formerly a streetcar depot and one of the most famous squatting sites of the XXI st century. In 2006, thanks to a grassroots initiative by a group of residents, supported by design experts, a vision of a sustainable project in the heart of the city could be concretely realized. This site underwent two competitions: the first was the one in which the cooperative had to fight for the

right to build on the parcel. The second, on the other hand, was the architectural one to implement the project. The Kalkbreite Cooperative, founded only a year after the project began, was awarded the right to build on a 6,350 m² triangular parcel between Seebahngraben, Badenerstrasse and Kalkbreitestrasse. In the contemporary housing scene in which people feel the need for privacy and also for spaces to share during the day, Kalkbreite's example best summarizes this juxtaposition of the private and collective spheres.

One of the concepts for which the project won the competition is the complex program of services open to the public and the community. Another priority of the project was to maintain the streetcar passage, in fact a covered parking lot was developed in the project. A 2,500 sq. m. terrace above the streetcar tracks is one of the many collective spaces that have been created for the Kalkbreite community and its residents. Stores, communal laundries, bicycle rooms, bookstores and multipurpose rooms are all places that residents can access in their daily lives. Among the strengths of this project is undoubtedly its internal organization: there is a strong variety of housing types. The internal types and square footage are intended to adapt to new social patterns in society: for example, to single-parent families, large families, and so-called singletons, people who make living alone a way of life. Thus, the following have been developed: firstly, wild card rooms, which are small independent living units that can be temporarily aggregated with existing apartments to enlarge them in case of need; secondly, clusters, which are groups of studio apartments of about 30 square meters with a large common kitchen-living space; and finally, shared apartments where several households live. For example to cite some percentages 29.% of the dwellings are for families, 25.1% are shared apartments, 13% for shared apartments with children and only 12.4% for singles.⁶¹ From the very beginning, the idea was to create widely varied housing with different square footage and types so as to provide people with the opportunity to choose the best solution for their needs.

The construction of the building undoubtedly contributed to the affirmation and demarcation of the ancient concept of cooperation that distinguishes the history of Switzerland. With its 55 apartments for 97 families, developed through numerous housing types, Kalkbreite marks the clear predominance of the collective over the individual.⁶² The spatial design of the building is very interesting, as it reflects the idea of collectivity not only on a theoretical basis, but especially on an architectural-spatial level. At the basis of the design is the social idea of directly connecting the members of the cooperative and making the organization of space versatile. To do this, the "rue interieure", a large interior

Image 39,40

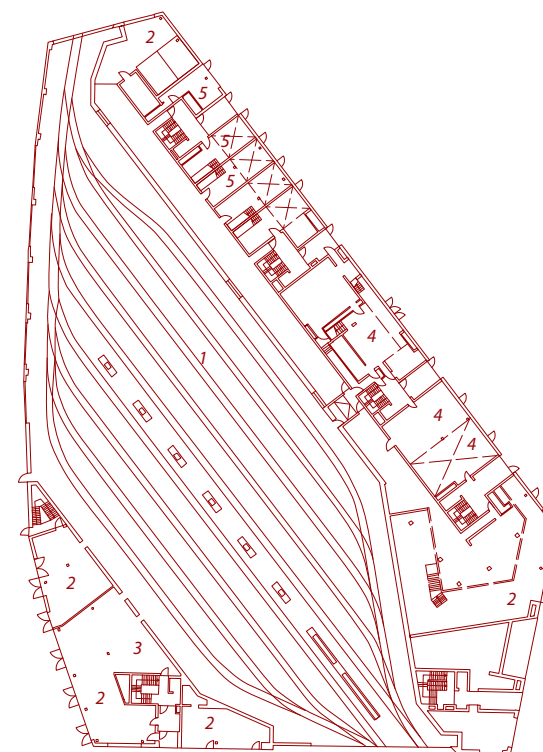
Image 41

Image 42,43,44

Image 45

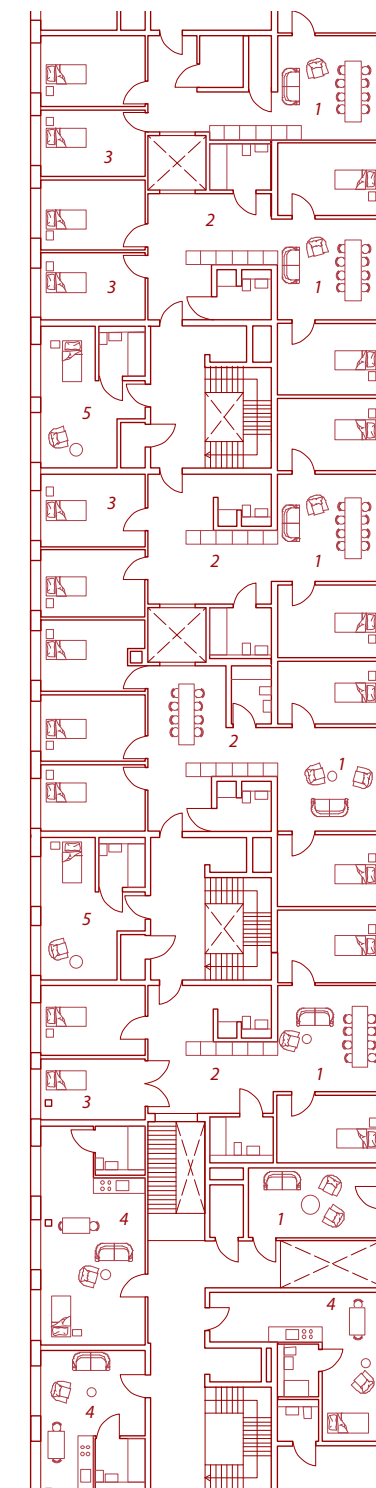
Image 40 : Typological plan Kalkbreite, Zurich (2014)

Image 39 : Ground floor Kalkbreite Cooperative, Zurich (2014)



1 : Tram deposit, city ground level 2 : Public and collective bars 3 : Kitchens
4 : Communal areas 5 : Commercial spaces

12.5 m



1 : Shared living room 2 : Communal area kitchen/dining
3 : Single bedroom 4 : Studio apartment 5 : Joker room

3.4 m

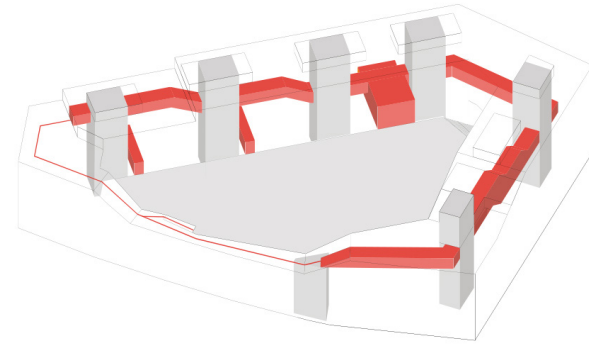


Image 45 : Rue interieur Kalkbreite Cooperative, Zurich (2014)



Image 42 : Communal living room, Kalkbreite, ZH (2014)



Image 43 : Shared kitchen with circulation, Kalkbreite, ZH (2014)



Image 44 : Shared kitchen equipments, Kalkbreite, ZH (2014)



Image 41 : Kalkbreite Cooperative, Exterior courtyard open to the collectivity, Zurich (2014)

corridor connecting different parts of the building is developed. A series of common staircases and atriums connect the common multipurpose rooms and lead cooperative members to the roof gardens and terraces. A building that from the outside may look like a medieval fortress is on the inside a concrete example of a cutting-edge contemporary housing model where collective practices and participation are the order of the day.

The Mehr als Wohnen Housing Cooperative, literally “More than living,” is being developed on Hunzikerareal and is a real piece of the city, as the planning architects of Zurich-based Duplex Architekten describe it. It is one of the largest and most radical cooperative housing programs in Europe, the result of a collaboration between 50 different cooperatives. Developed between 2009 and 2015, the project is a conglomerate of 13 buildings with a total of 450 apartments for 1,200 residents, five times the size of Kalkbreite, and 150 work spaces.⁶³ The various buildings that make up the cooperative can be read as a network of different Bolos, described above, that form the urban fabric. The highly accessible ground floor accommodates stores, restaurants and, above all, numerous open spaces that can be used by the community as work studios, common areas, daycare centers and a guesthouse. An alternation of indoor and outdoor spaces and public facilities on the ground floor that join together without a real distinction between collective and public.

The main goal of the project is to create a dynamic and active neighborhood where people enjoy living, working and spending their free time. The project is conceived for people from all social classes and of different age groups. Looking at the living needs of the future, the spaces are offered to all types of families: from single units, to family flats, to large clusters with up to 15 rooms. The uniqueness of the project translates precisely into a numerous variety of types, for example: 39% are dedicated to apartments for families, 10% for Single Parent families, 16% for couples, 14% for singles, and 17% for Flat-sharing.⁶⁴ The typology developed par excellence is the cluster typology: a model that brings together very large collective spaces as living rooms and wide kitchen where it is possible to cook together and small housing units that can accommodate 1 to 2 rooms to accommodate different numbers of people and are considered as independent apartments. According to statistics published directly by Baugenossenschaft Mehr als Wohnen about 65% of the residents had never lived in a cooperative before, so its residents were helped to learn and participate in the democratic structures of the cooperative.⁶⁵ Living in a community promotes not only social and cultural integration, but also the ability to manage any conflicts that may develop from sharing and using shared spaces.

Image 46

Image 47 : Collective kitchen, Mehr als Wohnen Housing Cooperative, Zurich (2015)



Image 46 : Cluster floorplan, Mehr als Wohnen Housing Cooperative, Zurich (2015)



Image 47

**SOCIALMAXIMUM : A NEW
HOUSING STRATEGY**

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4.1 What is a home in the XXI st. century?

The definition of home and its meaning has evolved considerably throughout history and it is therefore essential to understand what it means and what it represents today.

While in the past the home was defined by the large hearth that heated the only room in the house where people cooked food, in the contemporary world heating strategies and different types of ovens and hotplates have been developed to make the air inside the home cleaner and healthier. The wood and earth used for housing construction has been replaced by stone, then stone by bricks, after that bricks by concrete, then steel and finally the most innovative plastic materials. Car garages replaced old stables, locks replaced latches, and refrigerators replaced village iceboxes. Although some devices have remained unchanged for thousands of years such as chairs or tables, these have become over time more and more comfortable and suited to the taste of the moment, yet always remaining recognizable.

Humans have not made the home a simple response to the need for survival, and a profound relationship can be identified between living and human nature, particularly with its emotional, psychological, and social parts. The phrase that best exemplifies the importance that home has held and still holds for humankind was written in 1957 by philosopher Gaston Bachelard:

“Home is our heavenly corner of the world.”

(translation from Gaston Bachelard, La Poétique de l'espace, 1957)

Nowadays, especially as a result of the many global changes such as the pandemic, the term home has taken on a very special meaning.

Undoubtedly it remains the place for excellence where one feels protected, private, wanting to quote Italian literature we could define it as Pascoli's *“familiar nest”* where one can find salvation and peace.

It is essential that these characteristics of privacy and intimacy are guaranteed in the domestic space, which then becomes a place of expression of the personality that lives there. Otherwise, a feeling of oppression and restlessness develops, as it also happens to the character in George Orwell's novel 1984, Winston, who is constantly observed by Big Brother.

"On every landing, in front of the elevator shaft, the poster with that huge face watched from the wall. [...] Big brother is watching you, said the writing at the bottom.

Inside the apartment, a mellow voice read a list of figures that had something to do with the production of pig iron. The voice came from an oblong, mirror-like obscured metal plate embedded in the right-hand wall. [...] The volume of the device (it was called a telescreen) could be turned down, but there was no way to turn it off. [...]

If Winston made a sound, even barely louder than a whisper, the telescreen would pick it up; moreover, as long as he remained in the field of vision controlled by the metal plate, he could be both seen and heard."

(George Orwell, 1984, London, 1949)

It is clear how Winston, the protagonist, is subject to perpetual anxiety and he is the real victim of a sense of oppression, directly related to the impossibility of having his own freedom and privacy within the domestic walls. What in fact the protagonist will do throughout the course of the story is to seek a new refuge that he can call "*home*", where he can cultivate his secret love and above all maintain his freedom.

The space we call home therefore is a place where we can be with ourselves, but at the same time spend time in the company of other people. Since the origins of the identification of the housing model, the different rooms in the home were specific and each corresponded to a certain activity. For example, as described by Bill Bryson in his book "*At Home: A Brief History of Home Life in rural Northwold England*", the kitchen was the place dedicated to food preparation, the dining room for eating meals, and the bedroom for spending the night hours.

Today, however, the division of domestic activities described by Bryson is turned upside down, and what we get is a set of activities like a harmony of notes that blend into the musical score of the day. Indeed, the kitchen, especially in the days of pandemic crisis, is the place where we prepare our meals, where we eat them, our office where we attend work or school conferences, and even the place where we virtually shop or interface with the outside world. Thus, the home today has reached a maximum level of multifunctionality and flexibility that allows us to perform many different daily activities in the same space. Domestic space,

however, having been sized and organized on past patterns of living very often does not fully meet our needs.

Just think of habitable kitchens or living rooms that have often become the places where we spend, especially during long lockdown periods, a large part of our leisure time for example playing or doing sports activities. Undoubtedly, the rooms in today's homes are not perfectly suited for carrying out such varied types of activities.

Some spaces that until recently have not had much of our attention as a result of the pandemic have taken on great importance: balconies, terraces, and gardens. Being accustomed to having no limits and being able to go anywhere, the moment man was forced to spend daily time indoors these open-air spaces helped us not to lose our connection with nature and the outside world.

Today's home is the result of Western thinking about the universality of life forms in the post-industrial era and derives from spatial patterns developed in the early XX th century from architectural experiments, social justice movements and regulations that responded to housing crises of the time.

Today, the home is going and will go through a radical change, which is why experts need to dedicate time to finding solutions that can facilitate this change keeping today's many issues into consideration. The home as a traditional experience is now strongly challenged, and the spatial organization of environments as described by Bill Bryson is now increasingly rare and antiquated for a constantly changing world and society.

4.2 Current conditions of the Swiss housing context

In this thesis, it has been decided to specifically analyze the current housing pattern embedded in the Swiss housing market.

Nowadays, in fact, the Swiss housing landscape is mainly defined by a tripartition of housing models. The first is that of the private sector of home ownership, the second that of rental housing, and the third that of the recent model of housing cooperatives.

Specifically, cooperatives account for less than 10% of the housing in Helvetic territory, thus ranking third after rental housing and owner-occupied housing, the main players on the scene.

Individual housing, whether owned or rented, thus ranks overwhelmingly among the housing types most present on Swiss territory. To understand the situation in more detail, it is necessary to provide some specific data. There are 1.8 million buildings and 4.5 million dwellings in Switzerland, of which 3.5 million are used exclusively for residential purposes; nearly one million (23%) are single-family houses and 2.5 million (77%) are apartments in multi-family houses. The majority of buildings in the most rural areas of Switzerland are single-family houses, accounting for nearly 57% of total housing.⁶⁶

The situation in larger cities such as Zurich or Geneva, however, is different: single-family houses tend to be scarce and the apartment type is favored instead.

The most prevalent size seems to be the apartment consisting of 2 or 3 rooms, or the so-called 3 ½ or 4 ½.⁶⁷ In addition to this figure, it should be added that the size of dwellings has increased steadily during the past few years. The average surface of the housing unit is 99 m² and tends to increase relatively steadily even today. The average surface of rental units is 83 m² while for owner-occupied units it is 134 m². In addition, nearly one-third of dwellings have a living area of more than 120 m². Interestingly, in general, rental dwellings are significantly smaller, almost 40% smaller than owner-occupied dwellings.

It is significant to point out that in general mainly couples live in dwellings with 3 or 4 rooms and not families as one might think. This is mainly due to an aging process of the Swiss population, whose average age now hovers around 41.8 years.⁶⁸

Those who used to be large families, with the growth and subsequent relocation of children, now find themselves alone as a couple in a house that is far too large for them. In fact, people

often decide not to change their home, moving to a smaller house, mainly because of the feeling of stability that the home in which they have long resided gives. Of course, relationships with neighbors, which have now become relatively deep, also have a not insignificant influence on the decision to stay in that particular place.

Indeed, the average number of people per dwelling in Switzerland is 2.2, and all large cantons follow the same pattern, with peaks in Appenzell Innerrhoden (2.4), Fribourg (2.34) and Geneva (2.34).

In large cities such as Zurich, Lausanne, and Bern, there is an almost opposite trend: the number of people per household is significantly lower than previously seen, hovering around 2.0 in fact. Most Swiss households, however, remain small households, consisting of only one or two people.

At the beginning of the XXth century, households of six or more persons accounted for the clear majority of households compared to households with only one or two persons. Beginning in 1960, however, the number of small households, i.e., consisting of only one or two persons, began to increase significantly, becoming the dominant family size category by the end of the century. The number of this family type continues to this day to increase steadily, thus remaining the predominant type in Switzerland.⁶⁹

The trend of few people living within single-person households appears to be increasing, with estimates showing an increase from 35% in 2017 to nearly 38% in 2045. The same trend also seems to be evident with the proportion of households with three or more people expected to decline from 32% to 29% by 2045.

Until 2045, the percentage of couples with children in private households is expected to decrease. This will consequently lead to an increase not only in the number of elderly childless couples, but also in the number of young couples who have no children. This trend implies that the number of childless couples will increase significantly.⁷⁰

This complex context, has an important effect on domestic places, particularly in spaces where fewer and fewer people carry out all the activities of daily routine within extremely individual and solitary spaces.

Graph n.1, here below, refers to a standard swiss dwelling where all actions related to the performance of everyday life are carried out in total independence from the community. In this type of spatial system the individual refers primarily to themselves and their entire day revolves around individualism.

4.3 Recent desire of collectivity

However due to the COVID-19 pandemic and working from home, more and more people have had the need to seek larger apartments. This has already led currently to an increasing demand for larger dwellings (3 to 4.5 rooms) and at the same time a desire to share more space to create social bonds even within one's home dwelling.⁷¹ The pandemic as a real social crisis has created an environment suitable for exploring the resilience and fragility of urban, community and domestic spaces.

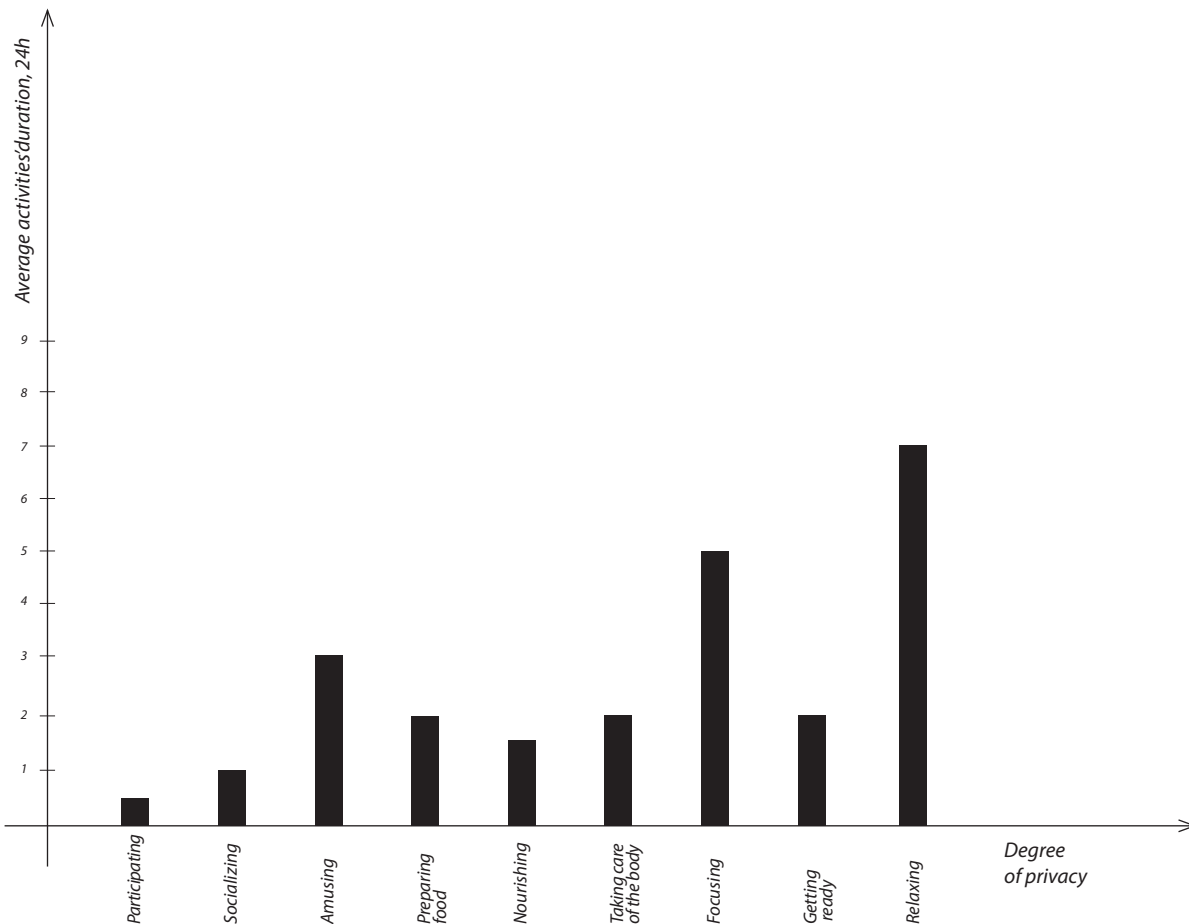
In the aftermath of the pandemic, there are many investigations that have shown the negative effects of isolation on cognitive abilities, mental and physical well-being, and even longevity. It is clear that *"the chronic experience of social isolation increases the risk of depression and dementia, as well as of cardiovascular disease and of some cancers."*^{72,73}

As amply demonstrated after a traumatic shared experience, such for example a global pandemic, social distance from members of one's group is forced in the other direction, that is, after people have greatly diminished time spent with others, there is a consequent resurgence of a sense of social bonding to the community. The effort and commitment used to combat the Covid-19 pandemic has therefore increased cooperation among people and the values they share, creating a perception of a community that is markedly more united and cohesive than before.⁷⁴

This major change has been reflected first and foremost in domestic spaces: people are now looking for more sharing in their home environments, in an effort to maximize the social relationships they entertain on a daily basis. However, the current home spaces offered in the Swiss housing market, as highlighted earlier, are completely unable to meet these new needs, forcing people to inhabit traditional spaces that no longer represent the contemporary needs of collectivity.

However, in recent years one can identify an increase in housing cooperative projects, a type developed especially in Switzerland, which has a long history based on cooperation, promoting collective housing. It seems to be increasing sharply for two reasons in particular: the first reason is pragmatic in nature to offer solutions at an affordable cost and to meet people's spatial needs and the second more important reason is ideological. People are beginning to realize that communal living is a lifestyle in which they collectively participate in daily life.

This type of housing seems to have spaces that are much more in



Graph 1 : In the traditional housing model all daily activities are carried out in the individual sphere(represented in black)

line with people's contemporary needs than the traditional house model.

The new generation of housing cooperatives developed particularly in cities such as Zurich apply strategies such as innovative apartment typologies, functional mix, and social mix as tools for cohesive urban densification.

The use and spread of these innovative typologies has led to optimal use of residential space, functional resilience, hybridization and temporality of living spaces, social cohesion of residents, and sustainable transition of resources and space on a larger scale.⁷⁵

It is fair to say that as a result of radical changes, such as the pandemic, identified in society, there is a need for reflection, rethinking and reorganization of domestic spaces today. In today's dwellings, it is essential to question the concept of individual and collective space, rethinking what activities and actions we can and want to perform in a purely individual manner and those that we now enjoy performing collectively.

Spaces that still maintain a high degree of intimacy and privacy are to be identified primarily in bedrooms. These are rooms dedicated to oneself, accessible only to the people closest to us and where we can find our space. The bedroom has a definite origin to be dated around the XVII th century, where rooms entirely dedicated to beds began to emerge. Initially the only space that was truly private was the bed, enclosed in special cases by a curtain. Even in the society of ancient Rome, bedrooms, also called *cubiculum*, were nothing more than small individual cells. In the Middle Ages, even whole households slept together on sacks of hay in the same space where they lived and ate. Only the very wealthy could then afford a bed for themselves, but the room in which it was housed was also used for socializing, so it remained a space with a broad public value. It was not until around the 17th century that the pioneering of the bedroom began to spread, namely the French concept of the "*closet*," a small room adjacent to the public bedroom. The idea of privacy within the bedroom began, from this time, to spread even among the growing middle classes.

However, the concept of the bedroom as understood today can only be seen from the 1930s onward, when the addition of armchairs and desks also meant its gradual evolution into a place to read and relax privately, until it became the essential private space we know today. Today, more than ever, the bedroom is conceived as a refuge from the chaos of the outside world. It is also the place where one spends time in solitude and where one needs to be more focused, for example to attend a lecture, a university course or even a job interview.

In general the room, with the bed, undoubtedly remains the place

of intimacy for excellence and is indispensable for the personal and emotional sphere. A place where everyone is free to appropriate the space as they see fit, putting their personal belongings, decorating according to their own taste and sensibility to feel good. Clearly, if this character of intimacy has not been altered by a revolutionary event such as the pandemic perhaps, it would have to be said that it is therefore essential to protect such space as a place of intimacy, even in our contemporary homes.

However, the advent of the pandemic has shown us the spatial limitations imposed by this extremely intimate environment. Remaining constrained within the four walls of the bedroom has shown us how these places are nowhere near sufficient to meet our social needs. The bedroom today can be rethought with this in mind, remaining always a place of privacy and intimacy, but solely relegated to this. One should then not disperse too much space in creating a bedroom, but equip it with what is sufficient to create a safe and intimate environment, dedicating the rest of our space and time elsewhere, in areas shared with other people.

In contrast to this first category of spaces, linked to the individual and privacy, there is a second type of space: domestic spaces reflect a greater degree of collectivity. Here where we are more likely to be open to sharing and dialogue with other acquaintances or friends. These places can be, for example, spaces where we prepare our food, eat our meals, watch a movie, but above all where we have the opportunity to exchange ideas and have conversations in company.

One element that is not often associated with this social sphere but nevertheless lends itself well to sharing and community is the space designated for body care. Although it may seem somewhat unusual today, in the past the sharing of such places was very common. The bathroom also understood more generally as a system of pipes needed to collect, transport and convey water to human settlements and private dwellings originated as a sharing space, rather than the private connotation given to it today.

One of the earliest baths ever found is from the Indus Valley, present-day Pakistan, where a highly evolved civilization resided around 3000 B.C.. At that time, water was an element that had a connotation extremely linked to religious value and was associated with the purification of the soul and the body. Indeed, it was not unusual for people to check themselves with water before entering an area considered sacred. Baths were an integral part of village or "town" life at the time, and there were different types of baths such as steam baths in Europe and America, or Asian cold baths. However, it was customary to build the baths in a distant

and separate area from the village quarters, thus preventing evil spirits from entering the dwellings.

The main development of the bathhouse structure was definitely attributable to the Romans and the Greeks. Both recognized the bath as an integral value of their daily life. In ancient Romans in particular, several examples of shared baths have been found, such as those at the Baths of Caracalla, which could accommodate up to 1'600 people.

The body was washed in the baths, which were considered a meeting place rather than a place for hygiene and body care. This was equally true for the latrines, which consisted of several seats next to each other equipped with a hole, here one could have one's physical needs met and at the same time discuss with the community. A system of canals allowed water to pass under the seats for the immediate discharge of feces, while hygiene was ensured by basins of water at the foot of the latrines.

However, the Romans made a distinction between public and private baths; wealthier families could in fact afford their own personal thermal baths at home. But they also chose to use public baths, which further demonstrates the power of the bath as a true social institution.

⁸⁶ Although this custom was perpetuated for a time during the Middle Ages, it has definitely been lost in contemporary times, where privacy and modesty have taken over. Bathing has become a site of exclusion and discrimination as early as the 20th century, one need only think of the baths implemented until the second half of the 1990s in the United States based on racial segregation. Although racial discrimination officially ended in 1964, with the approval of the Civil Rights Act by the U.S. Senate, the bathroom continues to be a site of gender-related injustice and discrimination to this day.

Sharing a dedicated body care service not based on race, sex, or gender could bring back an egalitarian culture and a dedication to our being now lost.

Talking about sharing some sensitive spaces, such as the one previously discussed, certainly calls into question a fundamental concept, namely that of privacy. The idea of privacy traditionally derives from the differentiation between public and private, a distinction that stems from man's need to distinguish between what is the individual and what is the outside world. Although the concept of privacy has only become part of the common consciousness since the XIX th - XX th centuries, privacy has much older origins.

Already in ancient societies this notion was well known, although interpreted differently. Even in the Bible the violation of privacy is mentioned in some passages where shame and anger are the consequence of intrusion into someone's private sphere.

A good example is the passage about Adam and Eve, who began to cover their bodies with leaves to preserve their privacy. In ancient societies, however, people had no opportunity for self-determination, as their private lives were greatly influenced by the state. Philosopher Plato recounts this phenomenon in "The Laws", where he exemplifies how the life of the individual was determined by the presence of the state and its goals and there was no room for the freedom and autonomy of the individual. In the book, Plato describes how the extreme state strongly influenced the life of the individual with its public interests.

The emergence of privacy as a concept more akin to what we know is related to the development of cities during the XIX th century, with the change in the economy and society. With this it also developed a different way of life that had an impact on the concept of privacy. Indeed, due to urbanization, the population of the cities began to grow significantly, leading to the loss of physical privacy, given the much more crowded living conditions than before.

On the other hand, citizens were able to enjoy a new kind of privacy that they were not entitled to before: living in a large city they could now be free from the prying eyes of their village neighbors, who were a constant moral check.

The advent in the XXI st century of social media has now further changed the concept of privacy, which is now more than ever challenged, forever changing people's conception of it. Privacy no longer covers the archaic concept of protecting one's being, but more of maintaining one's personality, which can be guaranteed today even in spaces of a much smaller and smaller size than in the past.

A lot of actions can therefore be carried out in a shared manner, without harming the privacy of the individual.

Graph n.2, here below, refers to an idyllic situation, conceived following the major changes listed earlier. Here most activities would be carried out collectively, at the expense of the space consecrated to individuality, where instead a very small fraction of all the actions that make up the day will be carried out.

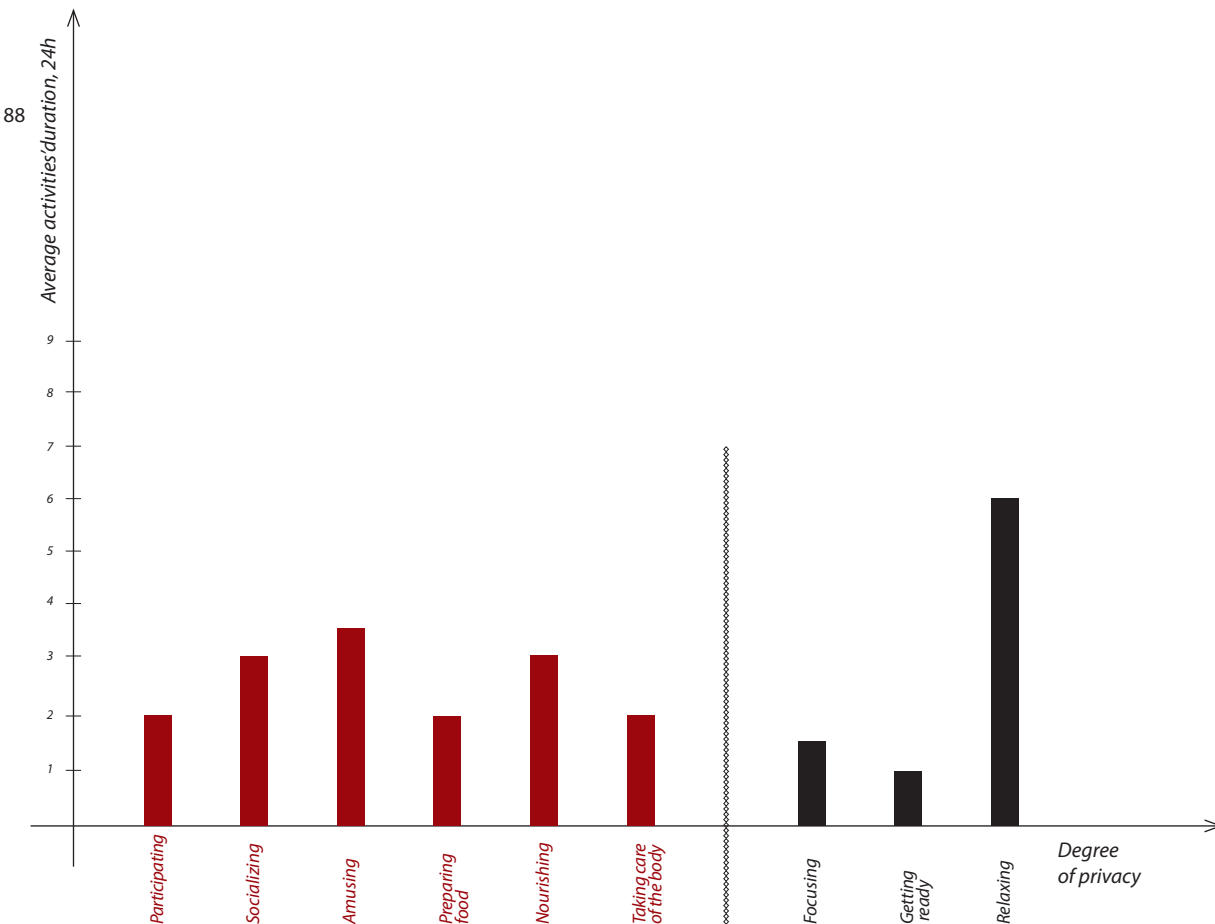
4.4 The theorization of Socialmaximum

It is clear how the difference between the graph made for the current situation (graph n.1) and the one for the ideal situation (graph n.2) are positioned in extremely different spatial situations. Starting with graph n.2, indicating spaces that actually meet people's needs for collectivity nowadays, the new proposal of the Socialmaximum theory is developed. This new spatial theory aims to respond to the high demand for spaces intended for socializing and sharing.

The desire to develop this theory stems mainly from the intention to propose a domestic spatiality that can fully meet the needs of the XXI st century. In a state that bases the supply of the housing market almost exclusively on single-family houses or apartments designed, and thus built, for households of at most two people, the introduction of an alternative spatial model becomes essential. In Switzerland, there has been an increasing demand for shared collective spaces, and a growing demand for the construction of housing cooperatives.

Socialmaximum is then based on the development of collective and shared spaces designed and developed according to the new post-pandemic needs. It is thus organized around a broad sphere of collective spaces and the reduction of personal and individual ones. This has the clear aim of creating a Socialmaximum space, capable of promoting and fostering connections of interdependence and reciprocity among those who will benefit from it.

Socialmaximum spatial theory thus seeks to propose a high degree of participation within these spaces. Sharing spaces always implies condition and participation with others, and knowing how to respect them. We will now focus on analyzing specifically what the Socialmaximum theory consists of. This theory is developed through several guidelines so as to avoid the formulation of a fixed and immutable model but rather, as K. Teige in his critique of Existenzminimum, the elaboration of a set of parameters to achieve skillful design. The potentialities of the guidelines thus enable us to obtain a flexible, fluid program, adaptable to needs and contemporaneity and at the same time a very good program since it is based on solid concepts. The selected guidelines are of different types: typological, social, qualitative and participatory, and an overview of them is provided in the following pages.



Graph 2: According to Socialmaximum a larg number of daily activities are collective (red) and only a few of them are individual (black)

4.5 Typological parameter

According to the Treccani dictionary definition, the word “*typology*” means a subdivision, distribution or classification of a multiplicity of individuals, objects or spaces. Through the Socialmaximum theory it is possible to classify domestic spaces, places where people carry out their activities on a daily basis. The question that arises is: *what is a possible equal division of the spaces in which we live?*

This division is related to people’s current need to achieve a greater degree of collectivity, which translates spatially into the need for spacious and communal places. These spaces, at the same time, are complementary to reduce individual ones, so as to ensure a balance between private and collective. Socialmaximum theory thus lays its foundation on a clear typological and spatial demarcation between a private space, reduced to a minimum space dedicated solely to the activities of the individual, and a collective space, much larger and extended for activities carried out on a community scale.

Private sphere:

The private sphere is dedicated primarily to the individual, in some cases to the couple, and is an isolated place away from the public and collective sphere. In this space, everyone has the opportunity to feel protected and can dedicate themselves to carrying out activities that they do not feel comfortable doing in contact with other people. This sphere is a place of physical and spiritual “retreat,” where people can spend time alone or in the company of their closest loved ones in complete privacy. The totality of activities that are carried out in the private sphere are restricted to the individual or at most the couple, and for this reason the space will also be sized accordingly.

Generally, over the course of the week for several hours, private spaces are totally empty: skeletons devoid of the performance of activities within them. It is disconcerting to think about how much energy and effort is spent on decorating our apartments, the amount of responsibility we take on to undertake mortgages for spaces that in the end we use solely as a refuge for sleeping for a small number of hours per day. To refer back to the previous chapters, it is interesting to recall how this tendency to leave the private sphere on a daily basis has its roots in the great change of the industrial revolution in which workers had to travel to the workplace for most of the hours of their day.

For these reasons, the Socialmaximum theory provides a dedicated space in the private sphere, small in size, to carry out activities exclusively related to the individual such as: *the activity of relaxation (with the related actions of sleeping, having intimate relations, looking at the cell phone...), get ready (with the actions of dressing, undressing, mirroring...) and focus (with actions of reading, writing, listening...).*

Socialmaximum theory predicts that each private sphere, developed at the scale of the individual, has certain elements that are provided as a basis for people to perform specific activities. Relaxating, generally carried out in bed, is associated with some of the most intimate actions belonging to the personal sphere.

Sleeping for example has not always been a private practice, In fact in the past members of less affluent families used to gather to sleep in a single mattress in the same room. With the passing of time and the improvement in the quality of life, there has been a tendency to carry out activities such as sleeping and intimate relationships with respect to privacy in personal intimacy. For this activity, the Socialmaximum provides for the installation of a standard size bed for one person, which can be adapted or replaced. It is, of course, at the discretion of each person to appropriate the space and elements in the room as they please and according to their needs.

The activity of getting ready, predicted by Socialmaximum theory within the private sphere, allows people to practise actions such as dressing, undressing, and seeing themselves in the mirror. The practice of dressing up is part of human nature. Since ancient times, clothing has been worn by people not only as a mere shelter of their bodies, but as a symbol of gender identification in order to promote their social status, age, religion, and membership in a social or political group. Socialmaximum theory requires, for this activity to be carried out well, the presence of a standard-sized closet in which everyone has the opportunity to store their clothing.

Another activity that is carried out in the private sphere is that of concentrating. This activity, generally carried out while sitting at a desk, consists of several actions such as reading, writing and listening. Since ancient times, the word “*desk*,” from the Latin “*desca*,” means “*table on which to write*,” and from its origins it has been linked to the concept of work, production and concentration. The recent pandemic has undoubtedly changed the spaces and objects in our home, including even the symbol of the desk, which has changed from a simple place of work to a multifunctional space.

Although it may seem that with the practice of smart-working, work has returned to our homes, this is not the case, because it is not a relocation of work but a simple connection to the real place. In Socialmaximum theory, the activity of focusing and working from home, carried out through the use of a standard-sized desk, does not make the room a place of work, and for this reason this space does not require additional space and resources.

No doubt in the private sphere there is no degree of collectivity, precisely because by nature this space is dedicated to the individual. In this individualistic environment, in which we are all separated from relationships, we become weak since the only capacity we have is that which exists within the context of the individual or the couple, without any support from our surroundings. Both adults and young people are weakened because everything depends on their individual capacity since there is no community participation. The private sphere is therefore a relatively small place both in terms of surface, activities performed and social interactions, and for these very reasons it must be complemented by another space, the collective space, in which maximum levels can be reached in all these respects.

Collective sphere:

The word Socialmaximum takes its roots from the union between the words social and maximum. In the view in which the private sphere is minimized, the collective sphere in which social interactions take place reaches the maximum degree of area and amount of possible activities carried out in groups. The theory envisions the entire collectivization of the various domestic areas of traditional homes such as the kitchen, living room, dining room and bathroom. This daily collectivity provides new dynamics between people and changes the performance of activities, which are currently all carried out in the private sphere. In the large collective space, the people living there can carry out various activities such as: Preparing food, Nourishing, Amusing, Participating, Taking care of our body and Socializing. The collective sphere thus becomes an interesting field of study to provide reflections on the dynamics of collective life.

How do activities take place in the collective, which until now we are used to doing in our traditional homes?

What movements do people make?

What are their dynamics?

4.6 Social parameter

In order to answer the questions proposed in the previous sub-chapter it is appropriate to consider the real protagonists of this theory: the people.

“Trust is to a collaboration-based social order what fear is to an authority-based social order. Trust, then, is the glue that binds everyone together in a large-scale society or organization.”⁷⁶

As defined by the author Miki Kashtan, collaboration allows us to achieve that mutual trust between people, sometimes all too ephemeral, which many times in today's society is almost entirely lost.

Very often people think of collaboration and collectivity as a practice that takes place in adulthood, when they have gained the proper awareness of their own thoughts and ideals. Some concrete examples, however, show that collectivity can be put into practice from birth. In Israel there developed an interesting movement, which was very active especially during a few decades from the beginning of the XX th century and now almost nonexistent, called Kibbutz. This model was based on the collectivization of daily life: houses, jobs, resources, every part of daily life. This sense of collectivity was also extended to child care. Parents' responsibility exercised a sense of ownership over their children, so Kibbutz society developed children's homes. Even children, despite their young age, within a few days of birth, were taken to collective homes where they were cared for by women whose role was to take care of them. Over time, as the children grew and reached adulthood, a real children's society was created based on the concept of freedom without relationships. The Kibbutz society gave children the opportunity to grow up with a strong focus on educational and cultural values.

Who are the real protagonists of the Socialmaximum theory?

The tenants who inhabit the spaces, defined by the theory of Socialmaximum theory will be the real protagonists of the community. In daily life, sharing has the potential to unite and bring together as many as five generations, young people, adults, and the elderly, who possess very different personal, social, and professional backgrounds. It is important to remember that collectivity truly allows everyone to interact without any distinction of social class, gender or race.

The Socialmaximum will accommodate different forms of family units. Undoubtedly the individual and couple will have the opportunity to spend their time in privacy in the private sphere and will be able to collaborate and interact in the public sphere, but families will also be able to do this. Private spheres, although small in size, will be able to accommodate small families with older or younger children.

Precisely according to the age of the children, interesting dynamics can be developed on the division of the different components in the private spheres and their participation in everyday life together in the large collective space of the Socialmaximum.

In such large spaces shared with so many different people, attention must be paid to people's sensitivities. In some cases, shared spaces will have a lesser degree of collectivity, so they will be more private as in the case of having a romantic dinner or a chat among close friends. In other cases, however, spaces with a greater degree of collectivity will need to be provided such as the practice of food preparation or table eating all together.

Without a doubt, collective spaces will go a long way toward changing social interactions with people who live near us even if they are not strictly part of our family circle. Just think, for example, of the social interactions that one can have in a traditional condominium housing type. The stairs and common spaces such as the entrance hall, laundry room, and basement are the only places where these interactions are possible, although they are obviously not spatially adequate to be developed.

Through the Socialmaximum typologies, simple spaces of everyday life, such as the place for food preparation or the place for body care, will be strategic points within the collective sphere, allowing increased interpersonal exchanges between people.

The activities carried out in the collective sphere:

It is very interesting to go and analyze the activities that are carried out by the community in the spaces envisioned by the Socialmaximum theory. This analysis will allow us to understand what are the dynamics and added value of performing such actions no longer limited to the private sphere, but sharing them with other residents of the dwellings.

The illustration "Für ein gottloses kloster," published in the brochure of the Karthago Cooperative in 1989, offers a clear example of how a prima facie traditional building can develop fluid, multifunctional spaces with platforms on different levels for usable by the community.

Image 48

Socialmaximum theory in fact aims to develop places conceptually very similar to this illustration, mainly defined spaces where certain functions can be performed, but at the same time interconnected where people can carry out different activities together on a daily basis.

Below is a description of how the activities will be carried out by the tenants, what their characteristics will be, but most importantly the surplus value of community practice.

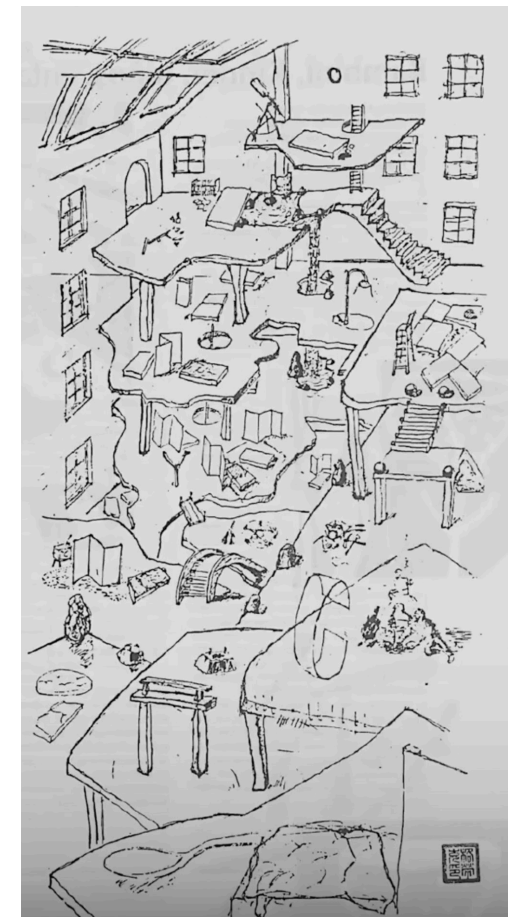


Image 48 : "Für ein gottloses kloster," published in the brochure of the Karthago Cooperative (1989)

PARTICIPATING

The activity of participation in Socialmaximum theory, carried out in groups and in generally large spaces, is composed of the actions of creating, modifying and maintaining. An activity that we all share in our daily lives is that of working, performing an activity of different kinds, in different spheres to provide a service to other people in exchange for something.

The term “work” has a very ancient history rooted in the Middle Ages when practical, manual effort came from St. Benedict’s Rule of “*Ora et Labora*”. But the term obviously takes on a key role with the rise of capitalism, in which the master through the work done by his worker or laborer achieved a surplus in order to enrich himself. In the XIX th century Karl Marx dedicated many of his writings on the labor question.

According to Marx, there is a difference between knowledge and labor due to the progressive parcelization of labor. He therefore argued that knowledge is autonomous and self-sufficient and untethered from labor, which uses knowledge only for profit.

Picking up on his words, he argues that this difference “*It is completed in a big industry which separates science, making it a productive power independent of labor and forcing it into the service of capital.*” Moreover, K. Marx often speaks of the liberation of labor, witness this quote from Capital:

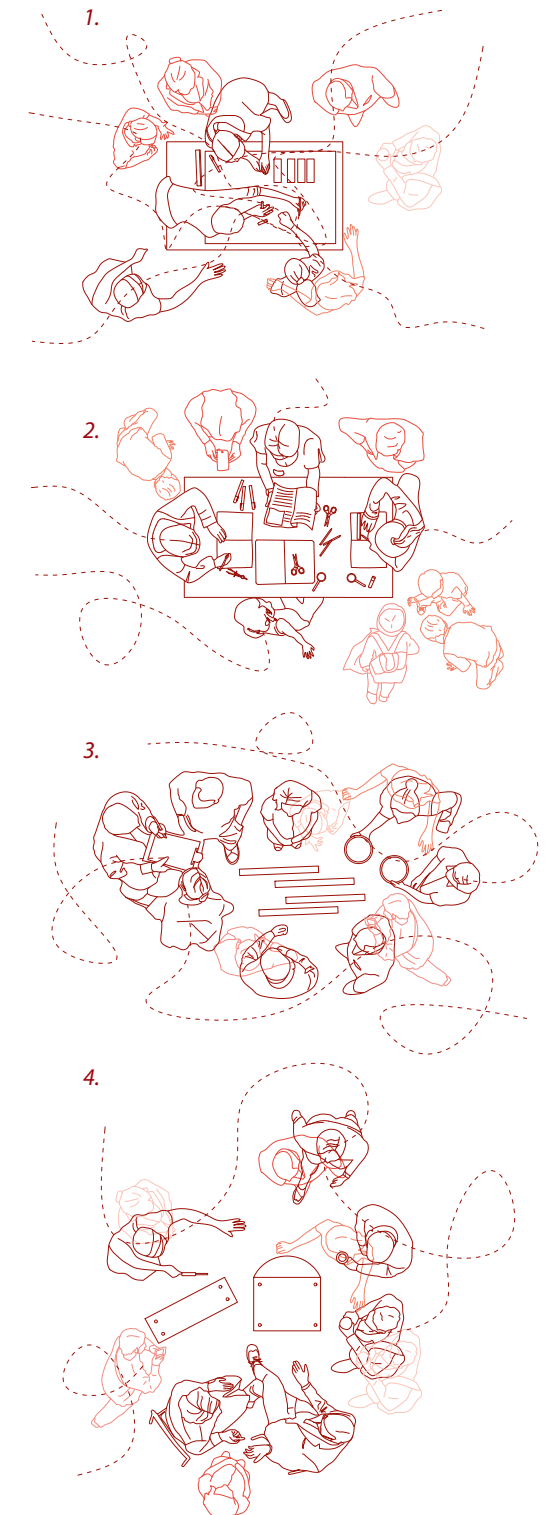
“As a matter of fact, the realm of freedom begins only where labor determined by external necessity and purpose ceases; it is therefore by its very nature beyond the sphere of material production proper.”

In a view where labor is not conceived as an activity for which the purpose is to enrich oneself or earn a wage, in the Socialmaximum labor is replaced by participation. In everyday life, residents can be dedicated to collective creative activities such as making objects, tools that will then be pooled among people. In addition to creation they will have ways to transform these objects that will be damaged or change their form over time.

Therefore, residents will take care of their modification and maintenance. Carrying out this activity as a group enables different members to learn from other people and share their knowledge. If the creation of these items were done by the individual in their individuality, there would be nothing but the making of an object based on their own knowledge and skills and would consequently be useful only to themselves.

Image 49

Image 49 : Participatory Activities, Theory of Socialmaximum (2023)



- 1 : Organize meetings and coordinate activities among residents
- 2 : Creating creative objects in company and with mutual help
- 3 : Constructing objects for communal utilization with each resident's skills
- 4 : Periodic maintenance of objects and items used daily by residents

SOCIALIZING

The activity of socializing in Socialmaximum theory, generally carried out in large, collective spaces, consists of several actions: discussing and watching movies. One of the features that clearly identifies the collective from the private space is the possibility of socializing with other people. In everyday life we all engage in the activity of conversation, whether it is for a brief moment in an elevator or long discussions in a bar.

In the collective sphere, therefore, it is clear that there will be spaces in which this activity can best be carried out.

This activity would be impossible to carry out in the private sphere of traditional homes. With the Socialmaximum theory it is possible to incorporate this activity that is often carried out in public spaces within the domestic sphere. In this case, socialization can be done at different stages of the day.

Moments of discussion or more playful moments such as watching a common projection, stimulates in people the curiosity to know how others have interpreted the story or concepts shown. Socialization allows for exchange, meant as a moment of personal and cultural enrichment among the different tenants who inhabit the Socialmaximum.

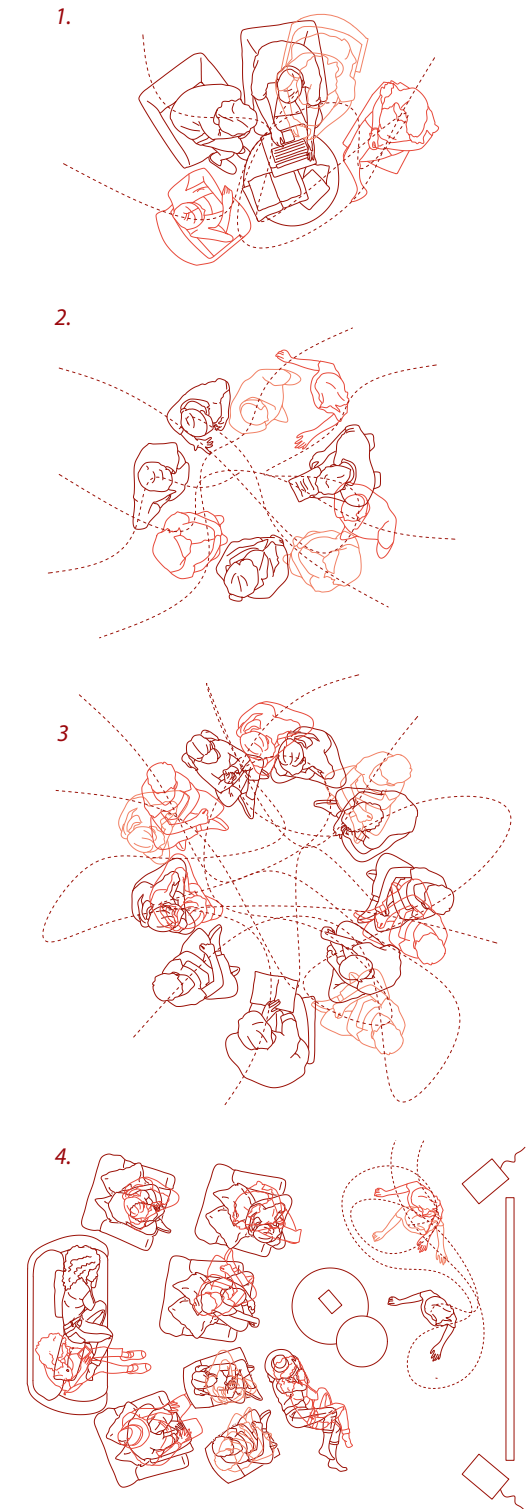
The moment of socialization has the potential to bring together people with both the same ideas, but especially also people with different thoughts and ideals. By uniting these people with different views through socializing and holding discussions, it is possible to find a solution or path that works for both.

These solutions to problems come directly from collective wisdom, and only they can resolve these frictions of different ideologies coexisting. There is thus a mutual influence between people: the deeper layer of collective wisdom. People in this way will be able to expound what they personally think, and even if at first the other person does not agree, from this time onward as a result of socialization people will take care to process the concept on a personal level.

In fact, to carry out most daily activities does not require a major mental effort, but the thing of extreme importance is to solve any problems that arise from the debates brought to light by interaction with other people.

Image 50

Image 50 : SocIALIZING Activities, Theory of Socialmaximum (2023)



- 1 : Discussing current news or books, texts together, planning events together
- 2 : Exchange opinions on collective activities and on resident's private life
- 3 : Conversation circles for youth and adults to improve socialization skills
- 4 : Watching movies together and discussing its meaning, sharing impressions

PREPARING FOOD

In Socialmaximum theory, the activity of food preparation, generally carried out within a medium-sized kitchen, consists of several actions: preparing food and cleaning. The kitchen, no less significantly than in the past, remains the center of domesticity and in modernity has begun to take on the characteristics of a "living kitchen," that is, a configuration in which the custom of performing only the activity of cooking ceased to be.

When it is in the view of having the pleasure of sharing, the preparation of dishes becomes a culinary experience in which there is a synergy of people.

The movement of people in food preparation is very interesting. Compared to activities that are done in a more sedentary way, this activity takes on the appearance of a rhythmic dance of people moving from one side to the other with perfect timing without colliding.

Just think of a restaurant kitchen in which all the people, each with their role, perform an activity while respecting each other's movements and spaces. From the stove, to the sink, to the pantry, to the countertop a true harmonious movement in daily life.

This practice varies greatly in relation to the number of people taking part in the "dance."

In traditional homes this activity generally involves a few people, obviously limited to the household and sometimes guests. Food preparation in homes very often becomes an unpleasant time that most of the times does not motivate us to perform. In fact, often to get out of this monotony in our individuality by practising this action we are used to put on some music to have more company or call some friends or relatives to exchange some thoughts about our day.

Differently through the Socialmaximum theory the area dedicated to food preparation represents the stage for these rhythmic dances between room mates, movements and group dynamics that occur at different times of the day.

Image 51,52: Activities related to the practice of preparing food, Theory of Socialmaximum (2023)

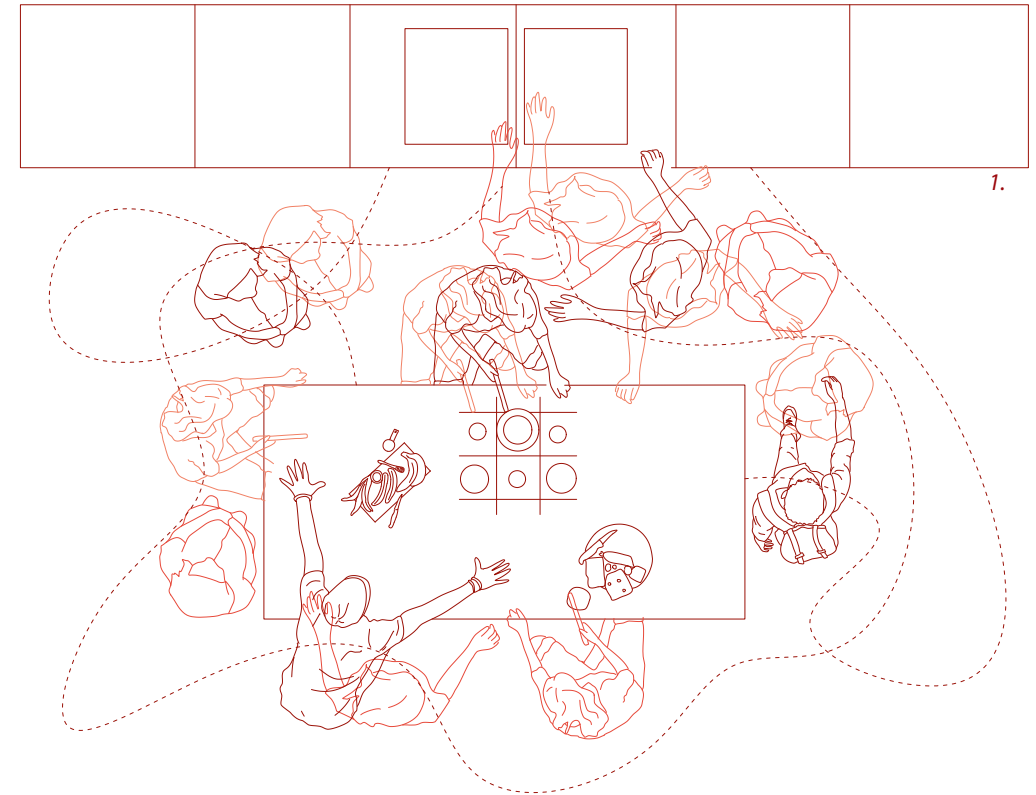


Image 51

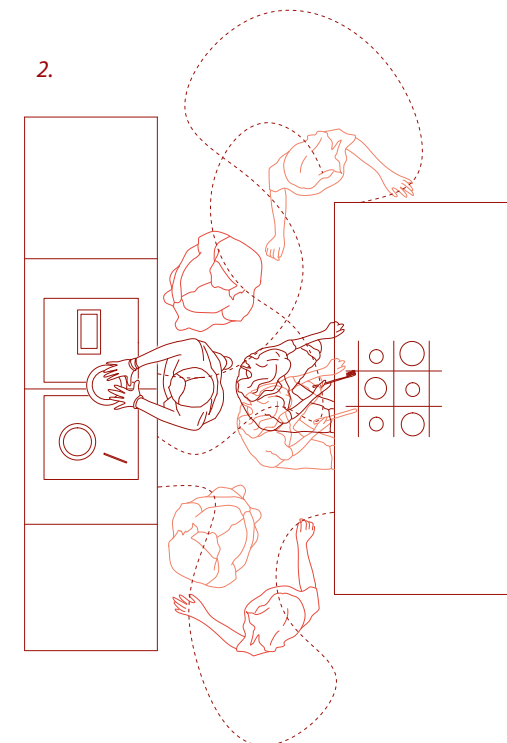


Image 52

1 : Cook dishes together, share recipes, organize the task of each of the residents
2 : Tidying up the kitchen after use, mutual help in washing and rearranging items used in company

NOURISHING

The activity of nourishing in Socialmaximum theory, carried out generally while sitting at a table, consists of several actions: eating and drinking. In relationships between people, "synchrony" is the regulatory mode of relationships, which, because of this, reduces the possibility of conflicting manifestations. In everyday life it occurs in numerous ways, often not very obvious to simple observation. This is the case, for example, with the activity of meal consumption. A moment when places have been assigned, the ritual of food distribution, the almost simultaneous holding of cutlery, become regulative of social relations. Generally, the meal is a real ceremony that begins as soon as everyone is seated in their seats, sometimes introduced by an act of auspiciousness or thanksgiving.

As Bulgarian-born writer Elias Canetti argues in his 1960 book "Crowds and Power": "People sit together, bare their teeth and eat and, even in this critical moment, feel no desire to eat each other. They respect themselves for this, and respect their companions for an abstemiousness equal to their own."⁷⁷ This shows us that mealtime in community reminds us that we are different from other species. Humans are by nature capable of and need many confrontations even when performing biological physiological activities such as feeding themselves.

Socialmaximum theory, however, wants to develop a space that has its basis in this idea of conviviality around a table, but with some flexibility. Spaces dedicated to feeding are not dedicated to schematic, scheduled moments for all tenants, rather as a free space open to anything and everything at any time of the day. It is precisely because of this unpredictability and non-scheduling that different events can occur. The different actions that take place at the table such as eating and drinking can be carried out with varying degrees of collectivity. The meal can be shared with groups of several people or even small groups of small numbers. The moment of feeding thus becomes both a physical need but also a need for sociability, which as explained earlier, is essential in everyone's daily life.

In this way the image of the old, formal dining room of middle-class homes in the 21st century is destined to appear only in furniture catalogs, since in reality through Socialmaximum this convivial place takes on a whole new meaning.

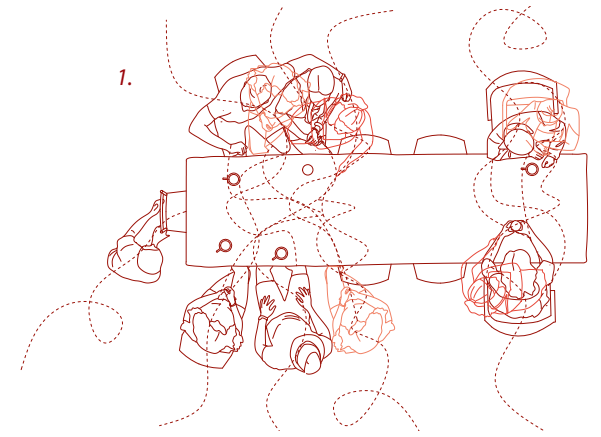


Image 53

Image 53,54: Activities related to the practice of nourishing around the table, Theory of Socialmaximum (2023)

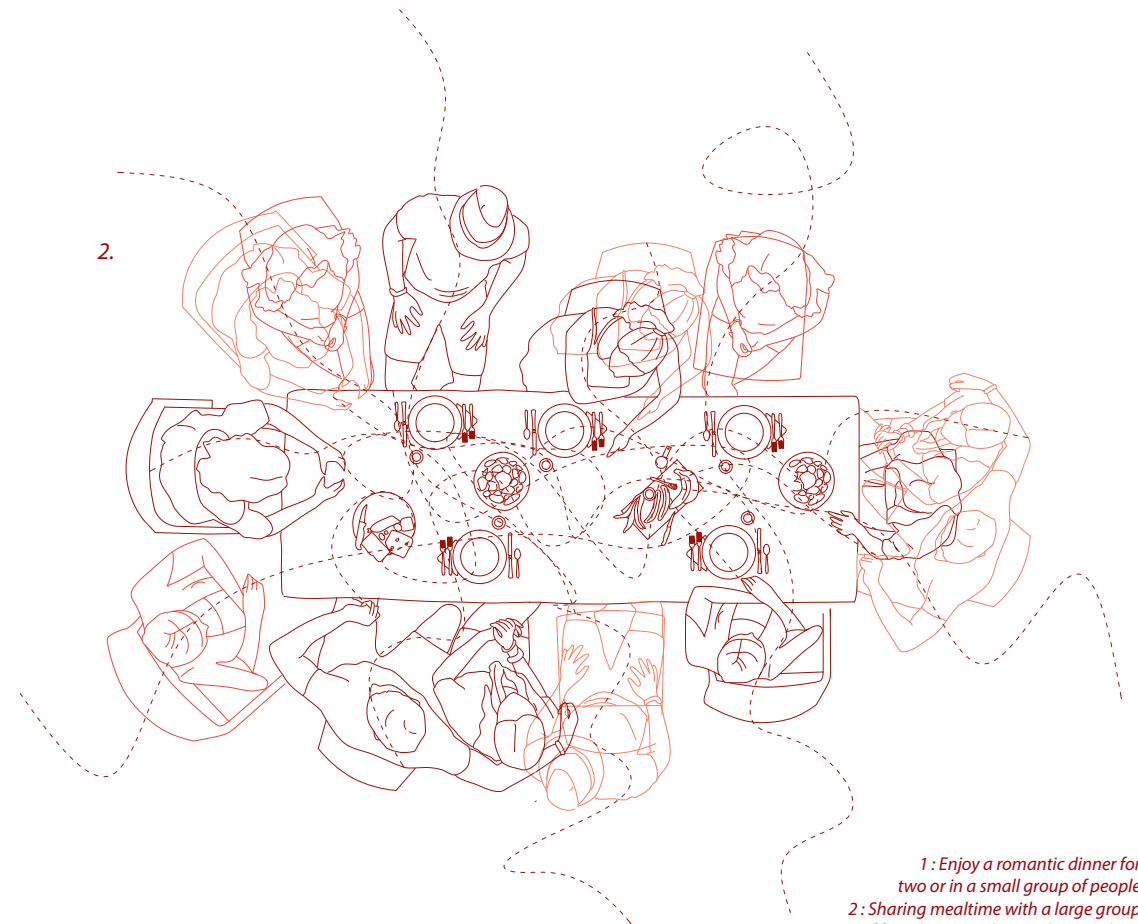


Image 54

1: Enjoy a romantic dinner for two or in a small group of people
2: Sharing mealtime with a large group of friends to socialize, exchange ideas, share food, social interactions

AMUSING

There are many ways to enjoy leisure time, and this very aspect makes the activity of having fun very subjective, changing from person to person.

For some people, having fun may be seen as a relaxing, leisurely activity to be enjoyed in peace, while for other people it may be an opportunity for exercise or a more dynamic activity.

So it is clear that everyone has very different hobbies or does very different activities, related precisely to their personal sensibilities.

For this very reason, one might think that hobbies should be done individually and for this reason in one's own private sphere. However, it is interesting to reflect that if each of us engaged in these activities that we love and have passion for with other people this could be a valuable resource for the community.

Socialmaximum theory in fact envisions the development of large and flexible spaces in which people can carry out different kinds of actions without too many fixed constraints that could compromise proper performance.

According to the theory, this activity consists of two actions: practising hobbies and playing sports.

Therefore, the main goal is to bring people together so that they can collectively share their passions. The dynamics created by performing all these actions of different types simultaneously are completely different from those observed in individuality.

For example, very often playing sports in company is seen as a distraction, but the truth is that playing sports collectively can be very motivational.

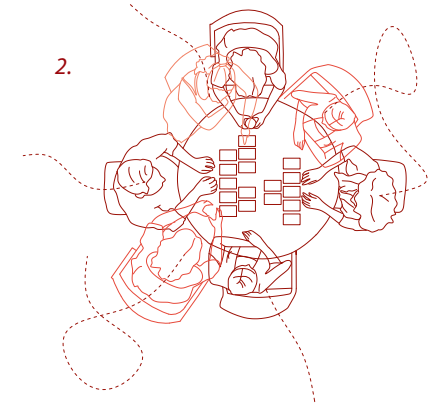
The same goes for hobbies, which practised in the collective sphere can become a real tool for bringing people together.

Image 55: Amusing in collectivity, Theory of Socialmaximum (2023)

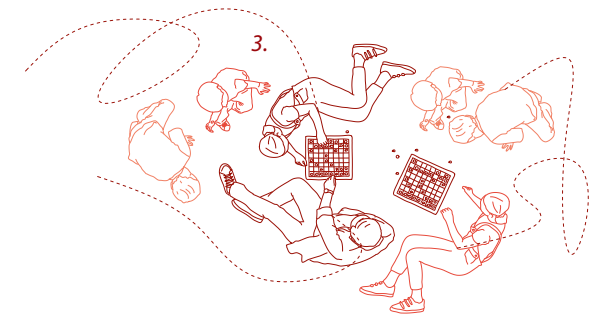
1.



2.



3.



4.

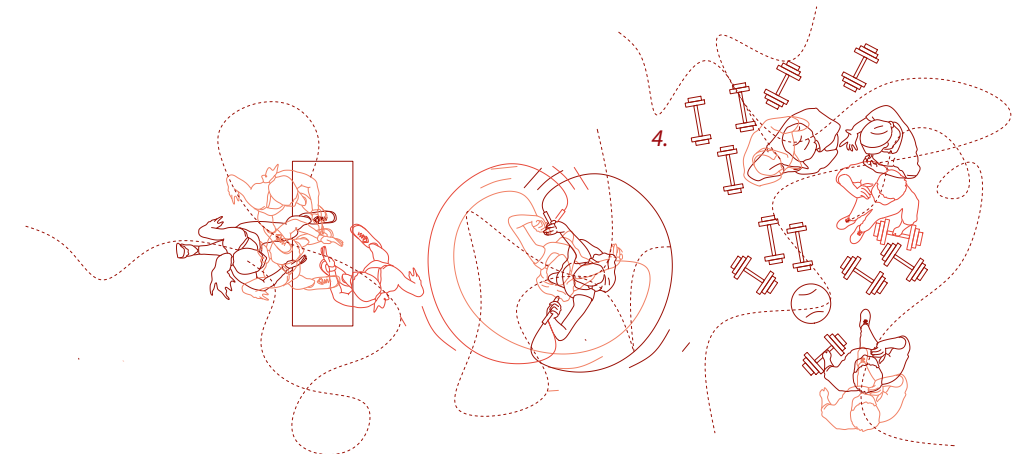


Image 55

1: Playing videogames in company
2: Playing cards, poker in circle with friends
3: Playing table games (Chess, checkers..)
4: Practice sport with friends to motivate each other

TAKING CARE OF THE BODY

The bathroom is the place of greatest separation between the individual and the group and exacerbation of the boundary between pure and impure. The bathroom normally is a place where the greatest emphasis is placed on hygiene.

It is generally the space in the dwelling where what is impure must be removed through the use of soaps and perfumes, but especially with water, the general symbol of purification. Rotation for access to this room becomes the regulative practice against the monopolization of individuals while simultaneously excluding its collective use. In Socialmaximum theory, however, the traditional bath is replaced by the place for body care, a shared space that at the same time provides proper privacy.

The activity of taking care of one's body in everyday life is carried out within shared spaces, but mostly in protected spaces and away from prying eyes; it consists of several actions: going to the bathroom, taking a shower and making oneself beautiful.

As anticipated in previous chapters, although the custom of sharing this place with other people may seem strange nowadays, in the past it was considered largely normal. Generally, the spaces dedicated to this practice, being a place of intimacy, are divided between men and women.

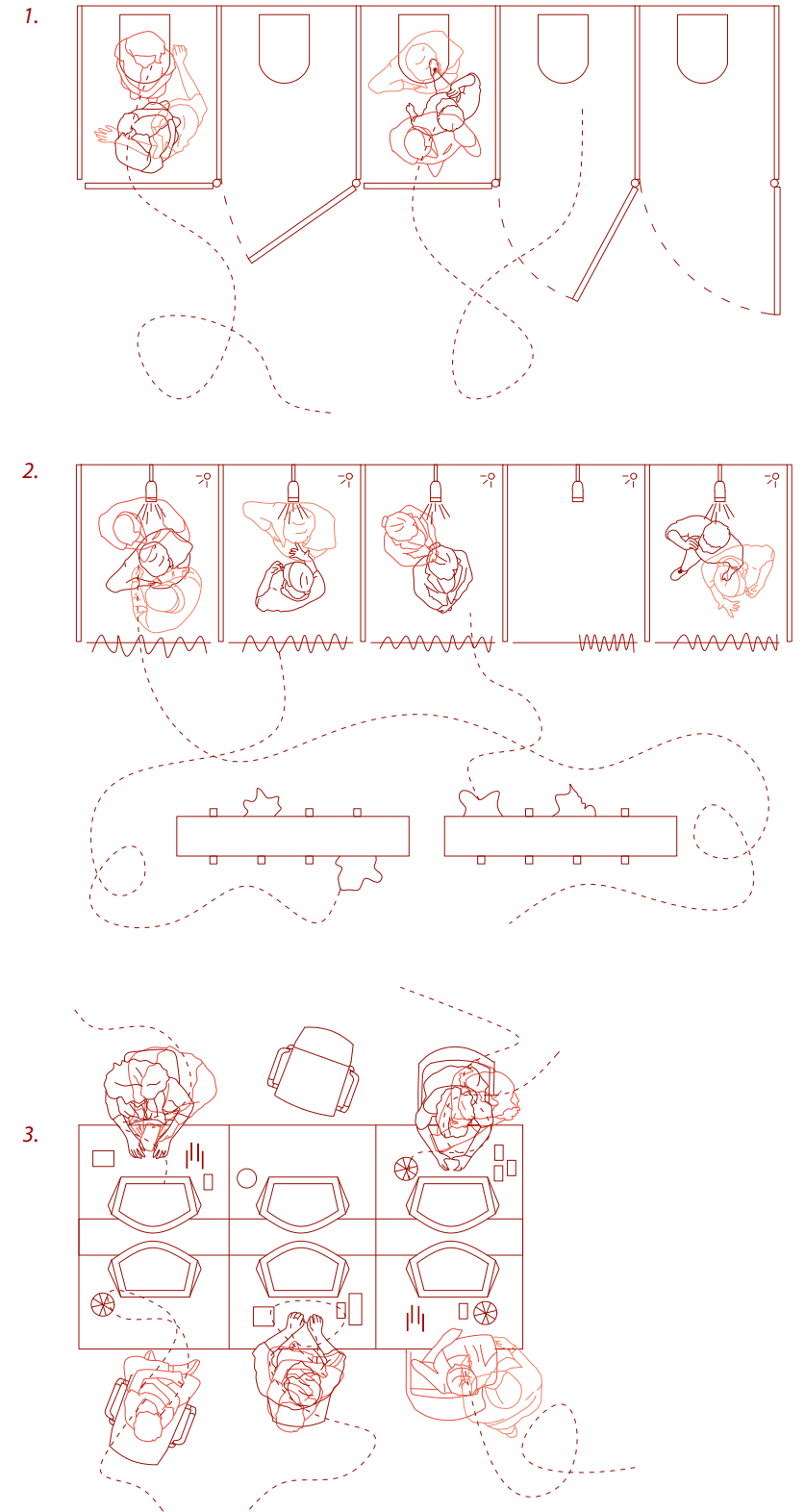
Socialmaximum theory, however, aims to ensure equality and inclusion, which is why these places are designed without a clear division between the two genders, but rather as a single neutral space entirely shared.

As it used to be the case in the baths of ancient Rome, these places are perfect times of the day to converse with other people. As the concept of privacy has evolved, society has now almost entirely lost this custom of sharing spaces and moments of extreme intimacy such as caring for one's body.

The practice of sharing spaces dedicated to body care would first and foremost give the opportunity to increase the degree of socialization in daily life and also allow for the optimization, both in terms of space and cost, of the interior of the home.

Image 56

Image 56: Activities of taking care of our body, Theory of Socialmaximum (2023)



1 : Using the private toilet in shared collective room
2 : Using private showers in shared collective room
3 : Putting on some make-up, combing one's hair, preparing to go out while helping each other.

4.7 Qualitative parameter

Undoubtedly, the collective space envisaged by Socialmaximum theory possesses numerous qualities, including those defined so far. At the same time, it is necessary to investigate the qualities of the private sphere more specifically given its small size. The quality allows the space to be comfortable though small in size.

First, the private sphere must meet quality standards of light, heat, air, and ventilation. Therefore, a certain level of comfort must be respected allowing people who live there on a daily basis to have a certain amount of light to carry out simple activities such as getting dressed, studying, working, and practising their hobbies. Sun exposure is also very important at the level of natural heat that is transmitted to the dwelling. Natural ventilation in order to achieve good air circulation is also very important. In fact, with a view to saving energy, thought should be given to how to position openings aligned on two different sides so as to create a natural and non-mechanical area flow.

According to the Ordinance concerning the net living area and its division into rooms as well as the provision of kitchen and toilet facilities defined by the Swiss Confederation on May 12th 1989 and updated in 2013, dwellings in Switzerland must ensure specific characteristics in terms of the spatiality of domestic rooms. In this regard, some minimum dimensions, set directly by the federal government, should be provided. In particular, in Art. 2, regarding the minimum net living area enunciates that the net living area of an individual room for one person shall not be less than 10 m², smaller rooms are allowed when these can be combined with other rooms. The individual net habitable area for two persons shall not be less than 14 m². Article 4 concerns the "Minimum provision of sanitary facilities," and states that a room with a wheelchair-accessible shower at floor level, a wash basin for cleaning the body, and a toilet must be guaranteed in a dwelling. This demonstrates the fact that quality concerns comfort first and foremost, but more importantly, the inclusiveness of everyone without distinction.

In addition to basic qualities such as light and air, which are the basis for a housing model to be called such, there is the personalization of space. This quality is not a very obvious feature, just think of hotel rooms. In these places people are often bound to spend periods here for personal or professional reasons, and the personalization of space is totally absent. Appropriation of space, especially in the private sphere, is essential to make people feel that they are in a comfortable and familiar place. The degree

of personalization in the private sphere obviously has to be far greater than in the collective sphere where spaces are shared daily with other people.

Personalization translates not only through the presence of one's own objects within the room, but also to more special techniques such as the studied use of color on walls and furniture elements, the use of decorative plants and flowers of different shapes, sizes and colors. Among the most important qualities for ensuring a certain level of space comfort is undoubtedly flexibility. This characteristic allows the elements in the room to be adapted to the respective needs of their users.

Flexibility also lies in their lightness and ease of transporting them in space, so as to create compositions of objects of different size, shape and organization in relation to the activities to be carried out.

4.8 Co-participation parameter

The collectivity proposed in the theory of Socialmaximum, experienced in the everyday life of users, is translated into the different aspects such as social, spatial and co-participation. Users of the collective spaces developed through the Socialmaximum theory have the opportunity to obtain rights and duties over them, a very important aspect that makes them collectively free. The community model has the potential to achieve autonomy based on common resources and mutual help. One of the activities presented is precisely participation. Through this activity, maintenance of the private and collective spheres can be carried out.

However, this will not be carried out by third parties, but by the users themselves, who will have to maintain and take care of the proper functioning of these spaces. The participation and sense of responsibility of the community will be essential to provide for these small household chores: an excellent opportunity to socialize and at the same time avoid having to financially burden other bodies such as state or private ones.

110 It is essential to specify the role of the Swiss Federal Government in this complex system of participation. In the current real estate market, construction development in Swiss cities is very often sponsored by large corporations or private companies.

This many times leads to a conflict of interest between those who finance projects and those who are the users of such construction. Otherwise, in the Socialmaximum theory, the state, in the Helvetic Confederation, is identified as the essential body for sponsoring this project. In this way, the state would have the opportunity to meet the needs of its citizens by providing them with the basic financial tools.

This consequently allows for the questioning of the notion of ownership and possession within these collective and shared spaces with third parties.

The thought of collective shared ownership then applies: a space that fundamentally does not belong to any state body but neither does it belong to an individual private citizen, but rather to a group of people who together collectively own a place or object.

This concept, although little used today, is already present at least in part in some specific contexts such as the Swiss cooperative. In fact, the cooperative is a type of housing option in which owners do not own their units directly, but are more like shareholders in a hypothetical cooperative "stock company."

In practical terms, each resident in order to purchase "shares" in a cooperative does not have to take out a traditional mortgage, but rather an "equity loan," thus becoming a co-shareholder in a corporation, which owns the actual ownership of the unit.⁷⁸

In this context then all tenants become owners and as such must fulfill the duties that come with that, such as maintaining and committing to the proper functioning of such places.

A complex mix of rights and duties is mixed in the context of spaces designed in accordance with Socialmaximum theory.

**IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE THEORY**

5. Implementation of the theory

In light of the proposed arguments, it is appropriate to wonder: *will the theory of Socialmaximum transform the current traditional way of dwelling, developed so far? The answer is yes!*

The main goal of developing this theory is precisely to show people what are the many benefits and dynamics that can be created in everyday life when the private sphere is complemented by a maximal collective sphere. Consequently, providing these explanations would enable people to make choices and begin this transformation of the way of life. At the same time, however, the Socialmaximum theory is in no way meant to be an obligation, that is, a compulsion for people to leave their domestic spaces they are used to inhabiting and be catapulted without half measures into the world of the collective. It is appropriate that this change, from solely the private sphere to the private sphere-collective sphere pair, is a process that takes time and must be carried out gradually.

As we learned in the previous chapters introducing Socialmaximum, the kind of housing that is offered to citizens today in Switzerland do not meet their needs, but more importantly, many times it is not in line with the economic possibilities of families and individuals. It is therefore argued that one possible strategy to encourage people to head towards this community-based philosophy of living is through the support of the Swiss Confederation, an institutional entity that could play a very important role. In this sense, the Socialmaximum theory could, on the one hand, provide the appropriate spaces to meet people's current needs in domestic spaces and, on the other hand, involve the Swiss Confederation to promote the spread of this new housing model throughout Switzerland among its citizens.

The participation of the state, invoked directly through the Socialmaximum theory, aims to involve the Federal Government especially in the area of funding to promote the development of collective spaces of varying degrees among people. This proposal will be submitted to citizens through the powerful tool of popular vote, which has the potential to indelibly change the contemporary way of dwelling. On this topic, the *Constitutional book (annex 2)* provides in more detail all the arguments and thoughts regarding this vote.

If we wanted to make a counterfactual history, if in contemporary times there were not this quest for a greater degree of community, of collectivism, and each of us would be able to provide our own housing and livelihood without help from the community then

most likely a trend in the opposite direction would emerge, that is, toward the development and crystallization of increasingly individualistic domestic spaces. This tendency, however, would have numerous negative consequences that could cause humans to become closed in on themselves in their own private, autonomous sphere devoid of social contact. As history has shown these events over the centuries have not had positive results since this way of living and dwelling are against the nature of man. Man is a social animal who must interact, socialize, share, and thanks to all these activities they will have a chance to achieve personal and social well-being in the XXI st century.

To conclude, a quote from the radical thinker Karl Marx is presented. In his famous 1858 book K. Marx refers to society, which although formed by individuals is not primarily expressed by that.

*"Society does not consist of individuals, but expresses the sum of interrelations, the relations within which these individuals stand."*⁷⁹

Karl Marx, Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (1858)

Marx argues that society takes shape through the sum of the interrelationships that occur between different individuals. Each individual enables the creation of various relationships, and within them these individuals find themselves and enable the creation of a good society. Similarly, based on this reflection of Marx, the Socialmaximum theory fits right into this philosophy. In the theory, which is extensively analyzed throughout the thesis, it is argued that the practice of dwelling of our future is not understood as a set of traditional individualist houses or apartments, but is the sum of the daily dynamics that individuals carry out in a shared, collective space.

In Socialmaximum, this wise relationship between individualism and collectivism can be read in a very definite way. The reduced private spheres symbolize the individuality that distinguishes each of us, with our characteristics and personalities, but it is only through the precious wide, extended to the maximum, of the collective sphere that it is possible to achieve, as Marx suggests, the "sum of interrelationships" and thanks to these build our society.

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56. Drawings made by the candidates (December 2022)

Graph 1: Material made by the candidates (January 2023)

Graph 2: Material made by the candidates (January 2023)

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