the CITY

Mass Housing Estates of Multifamily Housing Complexes?

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FUTURE OF THE CITY
ECO-REHAB 3
International Student Workshops
on Mass Housing Estates – CRACOW
17th – 28th APRIL 2012
FUTURE of the CITY

Mass Housing Estates or Multifamily Housing Complexes?

FOREWORD

The publication you are holding in your hands is another issue from a series of scientific books devoted to research on the condition of the contemporary city as well as forecasts of its future development. They originated on the initiative of the Institute of Urban Design, Faculty of Architecture, Cracow University of Technology. Six previous editions of the results of research carried out by a wide international circle of specialists were published within the prestigious Technical Transactions from 2004 till 2012. The direct reasons for the creation of this year’s book were the beginning of international educational and research cooperation as well as the International Student Workshops on Mass Housing Estates – FUTURE OF THE CITY – Eco Rehab 3 organized in April 2012 by the Chair of Urban Composition and the Chair of Public Spaces for Movement at the Institute of Urban Design FA CUT in Cracow.

The twenty-first century is and will be the age of the cities. Their population is increasing at a pace unprecedented in history, while the spatial reserves of our planet are shrinking. The ideas of a compact city and economical management of urban space seem particularly important in this context. The amorphous areas of mass prefabricated housing estates, built in the second half of the twentieth century without legible compositional layouts, still occupy extensive stretches of European cities. These areas suffer galloping spatial and social degradation. The series of international student workshops Eco Rehab is devoted to the problems of their revitalization. The workshops were initiated in Bucharest in 2010, whereas the next editions took place in Barcelona (2011) and in Krakow (2012). The next workshops will be held in Milan in 2013. Each edition is summed up in a trade book which presents the students’ works as well as the latest scientific research concerning these problems.

This publication is divided into two parts: a theoretical survey of the results of research carried out by an international group of scientists involved in the organization and supervision of the workshops and a report of this event which includes a presentation of the designs. We want our book to reach the widest possible circle of recipients, including young apprentices of architecture who will be responsible for the shape of global urban spaces in the decades to come. I would like to thank all those engaged in the creation of this publication – the authors, the reviewers, the editorial staff as well as the students of seven European Faculties of Architecture who participated in the Eco Rehab 3 workshops.

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INTRODUCTION

An increase in the global population, observed within three previous centuries, accelerated violently in four last decades of the twentieth century and does not seem to be slowing down. Its approximate numerical profile is as follows: the population of our planet increased from about three billion in 1960 through more than six billion in 2000 to nearly seven billion in 2011. Apart from the development of civilization and technology which facilitated a significant improvement of the living conditions, changes in military techniques and the rising global community spirit (noticeable in the multitude of international organizations), the way was also cleared by a number of other factors beyond architecture.

These phenomena brought about an increase in urbanization processes because the second and third wave societies – in other words industrial and postindustrial societies – usually abandon the shrinking agricultural areas and move to the cities. It is currently estimated that seventy per cent of the Earth population will live in the cities by the year 2050. This number already exceeded fifty per cent of the global population in 2008. It is supposed that the total urban population increases by one million every week. Thus, the cities are becoming the natural housing environment for billions of people – the inhabitants of our planet which is getting more and more confined in this context.

Thus, satisfying the city dwellers’ rising housing needs is becoming an extremely important problem. The history of architecture and urbanism is full of visions of future cities which would offer better living conditions. Several implemented utopias (e.g. the socialist realist city exemplified by Nowa Huta presented in this book) stand out against this background, while new visions keep springing up. In spite of numerous shortcomings, it seems that the historical European city remains the unparalleled model of a compact city adjusted to the human scale which offers diverse, richly fitted public spaces.

As a matter of fact, however, the European cities are not ideal structures. Many of them grapple with various spatial problems caused by numerous factors of transport, structural, social or economic nature. Estates of prefabricated blocks of flats, built across the world after World War II, left their visible stamp on the urban structure of many cities, especially in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Rejecting the centuries-old tradition of city building for the sake of layouts loosely inspired by the international style and the guidelines of the Athens Charter of 1933 led to unimaginable spatial chaos in extensive areas of European towns and cities. In spite of this, the idealized, unequalled model of a European city or small town underlies most reformatory movements in 20th-century urbanism as well as significant theoretical works concerning the development of urbanized areas. Not accidentally, the New Athens Charter is a document which restores trust in a new, cohesive and compact city.

Within three previous decades, burdensome heavy industry and mass production have moved from the European cities to other regions of the world. The European society, which is not homogenous by nature, is being intensely transformed by the rising wave of immigrants. Despite the phenomenon of shrinking cities observed in certain places, the housing needs in the European countries must be still satisfied. More and more frequently, it is not only about the number of flats (as in the postwar period) but first and foremost about the quality of a housing environment. More sophisticated social needs and requirements with reference to urban spaces related to functions which accompany residential buildings than in the other historical periods make one of the features of a contemporary European city.

1 From Ebenezer Howard and his Garden City in the beginning of last century, to American New Urbanism (Leon Krier’s term) in the late 20th century. The most important and influential books on urbanism also referred to the idealized image of a pedestrian-friendly European city with a compact structure and characteristic compositional elements. The elementary titles include: Cullen G., The Concise Townscape; Gehl J., Life between buildings; Jacobs J., The Death and Life of Great American Cities; Lynch K., The Image of the city; Ishikawa S., Silverstein M., Jacobson M., Fiksdahl-King I., Angel S., Alexander Ch., A Pattern Language. All these books were first published in the 1960s and 1970s. The ideas they presented found a number of followers and continuators among the theoreticians and practitioners of architecture all around the world.

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In Europe, whose urban culture has been developing for several millennia, there are less and less undeveloped areas, whereas a lot of intact lands have been devastated irreversibly. Those which remain are usually protected by the law or act as the agricultural hinterland. That is why – for the sake of sustainable development and rational management of the resources of our planet – a return to the concept of a compact city, which can be also called an economical city, seems more and more significant. It particularly concerns our continent which faces threats resulting from such negative phenomena as urban sprawl. Thus, the problems of revitalizing or rehabilitating already urbanized areas, including residential grounds, as well as protecting the architectural and urban heritage are getting increasingly important.

A substantial part of this publication is devoted to the problems of revitalizing multifamily housing complexes dating back to the previous decades, creating appropriate spatial and compositional relations in the existing complexes as well as preventing the intensification of spatial chaos in dwelling environments. It seems that multifamily housing complexes make a model of residence which will dominate the cities, not only in Europe, in the face of the foregoing global processes. This paper is divided into two parts: a theoretical presentation and a report of the International Student Workshops on Mass Housing Estates – FUTURE OF THE CITY – Eco Rehab 3 organized in Cracow in April 2012. They were devoted to the revitalization of three selected housing estates in this Polish city.

Mateusz Gyurkovich, Ph.D. Arch.
Research Editor

3 The phenomenon of urban sprawl (the uncontrolled growth of urban, mainly residential buildings beyond the administrative city borders and the creation of less intensively urbanized areas along the backbone of a transport layout) was born in North America in the 1920s. A report from the European Commission of 2006 shows that this phenomenon, even though ignored, is still dangerous in many European cities. At that time, 75% of the population of United Europe lived in urbanized areas. However, an alarming fact was that the amount of a developed area per capita increased twice within the previous fifty years. It proves a disturbing tendency, related to rising wealth and social expectations, realized by numerous Europeans: an escape from the city in search of a suburban lifestyle. In certain regions of Europe (mostly northern England, northern France, western Germany, Ireland and Belgium), almost 95% of residential buildings dating from the years 1960-1990 are low intensive objects consuming vast patches of land together with their necessary infrastructure. The authors of the report warn us that a similar state of affairs could be observed at the beginning of the 21st century. – cf.: URBAN SPRAWL IN EUROPE, The ignored challenge, European Commission, Directorate-General, Joint Research Centre, European Environment Agency, EEA REPORT no. 10/2006.
PART 1
Mass Housing Estates or Multifamily Housing Complexes?

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From ground to sky, or how to lose contact with the site

Adolf Sotoca, Xavier Matilla Ayala

After more than fifty years most of the Spanish Mass Housing Estates (MHE) built during the post-war period reached the end of its service life. The so-called “Remodellation Plans” undertaken in recent years substantially improved the living conditions of the housing stock in these estates. This improvement has often been related, at the architectural scale, to the use of high-rise building typologies that remarkably increased the surface standards of the housing units. At the urban scale, however, these unprecedented residential typologies meant a drastic reduction in land occupancy and, consequently, the loss of social control of urban space.
PART 1

REMODELATION: IMPROVEMENT BY REPLACEMENT

As in most European cities, the outskirts of Barcelona were the scene of the construction of Mass Housing Estates (“Polígons” in local terms) during mid-twentieth century. Between 1929 and 1955 the Polígons of Barcelona were very rapidly developed as response to the extremely high demand of housing. But they were built in a context where the available resources were extremely scarce. The result of these unfavourable conditions was an important number of deprived neighbourhoods with many precarious conditions. These estates were not, in most of the cases, intended to last over the years. But they did.

After forty years of service, the living conditions in some of these districts were so out-dated that urgent and clear actions were necessary on the obsolete housing stock. The first experiences of urban renewal undertaken by the public administration during the 80’s pointed the way to go: firsts technical diagnosis conclude that demolition and replacement was much more convenient than rehabilitation. At first, costs’ balancing was the main reason behind this policy. But in 1990 unexpected events definitively justified demolition.

Barcelona 1990: beyond rehabilitation

On 11 November 1990 an unexpected event marked a turning point in policy of interventions in the Polígons. The death of a resident was the tragic result of building breakdown in Turó de la Peira, a housing estate built by private promoters between 1952 and 1956. The collapse was the consequence of the aluminous cement with which the neighbourhood was built and, which after thirty years, was dramatically deteriorated. Subsequent studies showed that this particular adulterated cement lost resistance over time and, therefore, meant a serious risk to the structural stability of buildings where it had been used. The “aluminosis”, as this building pathology has been known since then, was present in thirty housing estates of Barcelona. After detailed studies on this housing stock were done, the demolition of a total amount of 2380 dwellings was decided.

Thus, the process of demolition and replacement, which until that moment had only occasionally been justified in economic terms, became considered as the most appropriate policy for health and public safety reasons. And a new term, “Remodellation”, was adopted.

Remodelling is a neologism that is still to be defined. The responsible agents for the Urban Remodellations Program (URP) gloss it as “total renewal of a neighbourhood under a previously agreed model” (fig. 1–2). This renewal will necessarily means, in every single case, the radical improvement of both public and private space. The URP has, therefore, in this double aim its guiding principle: improving the living conditions of the housing units on dignifying the public spaces of these residential environments. Today, once the Program is almost finished, there is no doubt that both goals have been widely achieved. It can be objectively said that the living conditions and public space have been enormously improved, thanks, firstly, to the increase of living standards resulting from the new housing types and, secondly, due to the contribution of a considerable amount of new public space in the estates where remodelling was implemented during the last twenty years.

The benefits for residents resulting from the improvement of living conditions are measurable and noticeable in a very short time. However, the impact that on the community has the new configuration of public space is only evaluated in terms of...
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of social use in the long term. Perhaps today is still too early to make a rigorous reading of this social use, as claimed by the Amador Ferrer⁴. However, it is possible to describe the main morphological features of the new public space resulting from remodellation assuming that, if not uniquely, form and social use of public space are closely linked. The morphological configuration of every single remodellation process was clearly influenced by the need to meet the quantitative standards of building bulk and public space standards, according to the Catalan planning and legal framework. So, an increase of bulk and more public space are the main goals behind these processes (fig. 3).

Increasing bulk

The main and urgent reason that justifies most of the processes of urban remodellation is the replacement of a housing stock unable to meet the contemporary basic requirements of habitability. This obsolescence is due, on one hand, to the scarcity with which the Polígons were built, resulting in very common and serious constructive pathologies: structural stability, thermal insulation or basic services provision were, in some cases, seriously compromised. The housing type is, on the other hand, obsolete in terms of its size and functional program. The homes built in many post-war estates were remarkably small in most of the estates. The common surface of 40 m² is able to host no more than three very small rooms, a kitchen and a hygienic chamber that do not meet basic requirements of contemporary living⁵. The new housing types, on the contrary,
usually have a surface area over 70m². The most common functional program includes a living room, three bedrooms, one kitchen and one or two bathrooms (fig. 4).

The direct result of the improvement in terms of surface standards has been the increase of total built roof and, consequently, the increase of bulk. Although the number of housing units should be equal before and after every single transformation process, the individual surface increase of every single housing unit means, automatically, higher bulk for the whole urban layout. This consequence appears to be even more evident when new roof area addressed to business and commercial uses is built on the ground floor. Thus, in most of the remodellation processes the original built area is, at least, doubled at the end of the process. And this implies a change in the basic building type which the new urban settlement is built with.

More public space

We should also consider the attention that remodellation processes pay to the quality of public space. The URP was not initially linked to the increase of surface addressed to open spaces, since the main goal was improvement of private space habitability. Nevertheless the urban layout resulting after the transformation provides in all cases a remarkable increase of public spaces standards. The very deprived original conditions on one hand and the Catalan legal framework on the other are the main reasons behind this new provisions:

Regarding original urban layout, and according to the speculative approach with which these housing estates were promoted, there is a common over-densification in many Polígons where even minimum distances between buildings to ensure health and sunlight conditions were not considered. Since proper public space didn’t exist in these neighbourhoods we depart from an original situation in which, even with very little provisions, the increase of public space standards is quite noticeable.

On the other hand, the Catalan legal framework assures an increase of public spaces in all urban renewal interventions: according to the article 100 of the 4 According to the catalan legal framework, the final proposal in remodellation processes are obliged to provide, in the very same renewed area, a home to each one of the former residents. Since the URP was promoted by public administration and never profit orientated, once this condition is accomplished, density increase is never considered.

Fig. 4. Building and housing typologies in Bon Pastor. Above, existing ground-floor house of 40 m² typology. Below, proposed 80 m² apartment. Drawings by Sotoca A.
Catalan Planning Act, any urban intervention that means an increase of built roof or housing density automatically implies an additional provision of green areas up to 20–22.5 m² of land for every 100 m² of newly built roof area. This condition necessarily affects the resulting layout of the remodelling process since the surface of the plots where the new roof could be placed are significantly reduced in relation to the previous urban layout.

TOWARDS NEW RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENTS

More roof area, less space where to build it: more bulk and less land occupancy. These are the basic conditions to be accomplished by all new neighbourhoods produced by the URP. It’s more than obvious that the change of urban parameters leads to a new configuration in the urban layout of the new settlements. A very simple comparison between previous urban fabric and new settlement clearly points out the main differences. The first one has to do with the built space, since new building types have tended to increase significantly their height. The second one is related to the space in-between buildings: the urban pattern of these new districts have increased the percentage of surface addressed to public space but have also significantly reduced the amount of ground floor surface. And, since this is the level of architecture that is able to establish relations of social control and exchange with public space, urbanity could be somehow compromised by remodellation.

Ground: From streets and squares to in-between parks

The decreasing land occupancy of the buildings, common to all processes of urban redevelopment, is particularly explicit in the transformation of Via Trajana, one of the recently concluded operations of the URP. Figure 5 clearly shows the contrast between public spaces’ morphology in previous and final stages. The comparison between the existing built fabric and the final planning proposal shows an explicit change in the layout criteria of public space. The original fragmented system of small squares, which are interspersed between the buildings, was replaced by a large linear park that is spatially segregated from the area where the residential buildings are placed. Only three high-rise buildings and a small local facility are sited on the “green carpet” of the park, following the principles of the “Towers in the Park”.

The main reason for this change of designing criteria is related to the scale the new settlement is facing to. The original layout was so focused on the self-sufficiency of the neighbourhood, that it did not consider any strategy of relationship with the environment (fig. 1). The recently implemented proposal, however, takes into consideration the future metropolitan axis that, at a city scale, will run tangentially to the site. The linear park that crosses north to south the site is the large-scale response that the new layout gives to that axis. Moreover, once the transformation is finished, the high material quality appears to be the capital improvement of public space in Via Trajana. Large-scale continuity and material quality are, therefore, evident and objective indicators of public space improvement.

There is, however, something that the new urban layout does not consider. The intimate relationship between public space and dwelling, which was very strong in the previously existing fabric, was lost in the new proposal. The system of local squares that once were used as spaces for meeting, proximity and social exchange, have been replaced by a large

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7 The Catalan Planning Law has remarkably evolved in the last ten years. Since 2002 the legal framework for planning has suffered up to five very important amendments. In 2002 a first regulation of urban renewal interventions was established but in a very generic terms. Since 2004 the Law establishes the provision of additional surface for public spaces in all interventions where density or roof area is increased.

8 See “Un futur a l’entorn metropolità”, a “Via Trajana, més enllà de la frontera”, pp. 284–299.
metropolitan public space, alien to local architecture and social control (fig. 6). The new proposal shifted from a system of public spaces, which were conceived as a natural extension of the homes, to a contemplative space, oblivious to the urban layout the former buildings were displayed according to. The reasons for alienation between architecture and public space could be found, firstly, in the lack of roof area capable to provide enough activity on the ground floor and, in second term, in the extremely simple geometry of the relationship between buildings and public spaces. This relationship, previously structured by a complex set of diverse spaces linked by porticoed thresholds, was dramatically simplified into a single line that splits public space and residential buildings. The complex relation between architecture and public space was lost in the transformation.

**Sky: From house to apartment**

A rich and complex urban ground floor proves that architecture is intimately related to a place, but the building types that constitute the urban fabric are also important. The scale, the proportion between public space and architecture and the visual relation from dwelling to outer space are key elements that define the identity of every single residential environment. Thus, in most of the estates built in Barcelona between 1929 and 1955, a certain culture of the place was created through the relationship between architecture and public space. The main qualities of this unique relationship were funded in four very simple rules. The first one was the predominance of local scale public space that, in the forms of traditional streets or little squares, was the stage for daily community encounter. The second was the predominant buildings typology of no more than three floors that allowed the social control of public space from within the homes. Third rule had to be with the presence of intermediate spaces, communal or private, that functioned as interface between the public realm and the housing unit. And finally, fourth rule was the appropriation of a first strip of space that, intimately related to

![Fig. 5. Evolution of the urban layout for the remodellation of Via Trajana. First above, existing urban fabric. Below, several versions drafted during the planning process. Last below, finally approved proposal. Drawings by Massuet, M.](image)
the buildings, was used for private or communal purposes. All these virtues did not compensate all the deficiencies that threatened the housing stock of these estates from the very beginning. But they provide the necessary conditions to promote certain social uses of urban space. This particular uses made possible the sense of community and strengthened the social fabric in these neighbourhoods.

It must be also added that a common criteria to all remodelling processes is that ground floor shouldn’t host residential uses. Assuming that commercial activity would be able to provide urbanity to the new settlements, all ground floors were systematic and uncritically reserved for tertiary uses. What at first was intended to be a strategy for urbanity promotion turned to be, after some time, a serious problem for urban life in these new residential environments, since most of the spaces addressed for businesses have not been occupied. The urbanscape of many new neighbourhoods is built, even today, by ubiquitous metal shutters that witness unoccupied shopping spaces.

Remodellation, as said before, means a very substantial change in terms of building types. The increase of housing surface standard housing and the consequent increase of building types requires the option for high-rise buildings. Therefore, from existing neighbourhoods where the average height was no more than three storeys a new high-rise pattern is adopted, shifting to new developments where the dominant building type is the linear block of six/seven storeys combined with isolated buildings of ten storeys or more. This new typology breaks the relation between residents and street level and, to some extent, means a loss

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Fig. 6. Social uses of public space in La Verneda. Above, historical images of inhabitants in former neighbourhood. Below, resulting public space, where high standard quality can be appreciated. The new linear park lacks of activity, as proved by all closed metal shutters. Images taken from PRADAS, R.: “Via Trajana, més enllà de la Frontera”
of social control of public space. Moreover, large volumetries mean a new scale and an unprecedented relationship between architecture and anthropomorphic module. From local grain of the neighbourhood the new proposals evolve to the dimensions of metropolitan residential architecture. From the very modest detached house with private patios, from modest blocks of flats with communal courtyard, a new culture of high-rise multi-storey buildings is established, closer to sky than to the ground (fig. 7).

FROM GROUND TO SKY

The improvements that the remodelling processes brought to the inhabitants of ancient estates, new neighbourhoods today, are extraordinary. From the architectural and urban point of view huge contributions are particularly notable in the private sphere, that of the housing units. Better housing, more safe, more comfortable. These are added values resulting from remodellation. We can also state that more public space was obtained, that a higher material quality was achieved thought reurbanization. And this is certainly also an extraordinary contribution, the basis for a social use of public space. But, is there anything left?

The social uses of public space: process as a test

Remodellation is a term that still needs to be properly defined (footnote 4). In the definition of the concept made by the REURSA a special interest on maintaining the social fabric of existing neighbourhoods is emphasized. Since public space is conceived as the stage where social fabric is set a relevant question arises: Are residential settlements resulting from the URP able to maintain the essence of the existing social fabric of previous neighbourhoods? Could the drastic change of morphology compromise the social use of public space? (fig. 8–9). The currently on-going transformation of Cases Barates del Bon Pastor constitutes a field where balance between transformation and continuity is settled.
Bon Pastor’s Neighbourhood is in Sant Andreu’s district, in the north limit of Barcelona, just in the shore of the river Besòs. The group of Cases Barates consists of 784 subsidized rented houses that were built in 1929 by the Municipal Institute of Housing, now “Patronat Municipal de l’Habitatge”. Built with very low cost materials and technology, this housing estate suffered an unstoppable process of degradation from the very beginning. Despite that, renewal was never in the agenda during the post-war period, since this neighbourhood was traditionally the origin of political opposition and riots against the dictatorial regime. With the upcoming of democracy the urban improvement of this estate was for the first time faced. From late 70’ to first 90’ the groups of Baró de Viver and Eduard Aunós, very similar to Bon Pastor, were transformed. Heritage preservation criteria were set apart and both housing estates were demolished and replaced with an urban tissue far from being related with the historical background of their respective sites.

Bon Pastor is a neighbourhood that is suffering nowadays the transformation derived from the “Plan of Remodellation” approved in the year 2003. It is foreseen the integral demolition of 784 Cases Barates constructed in the year 1929, and the location of all the tenants to new multi-storey buildings without having considered the possibility of conservation and rehabilitation of the existing built fabric. The urban development project has generated confronted opinions between those who support the Plan, those who reject it energetically, and those who accept it because the lack of alternatives. In this context, the Inhabitants’ International Alliance (AIH) summons a contest of ideas for the neighbourhood’s renewal. As a popular response to the Municipal Plan this International Competition has been worldwide known as a paradigmatic case study of local engagement and civic participation. The intention is to explore new possibilities for Bon Pastor’s transformation, and by this, to open discussion to other approaches for urban regeneration.

Visit the site: http://repensarbonpastor.wordpress.com/
The competition proceedings literally set the most important guidelines for participants: “Through both rehabilitation or renovation the architectural, historical and ethnological values of the social, working class neighbourhood, should be preserved. The recognition of the particular way of life of the inhabitants will be specially appreciated by the jury, as well as the social uses of space, the way of relations among neighbours and the signs of collective identities and their special consideration in the final design”. All proposals submitted to the competition explored diverse strategies, based on the preservation of the existing morphology and social uses of public space associated to it and establishing the basis for a comprehensive regeneration of the neighbourhood. All proposals explicitly stated the assessment of existing public space as the stage of the social capital that exists today in the El Bon Pastor (Fig. 10).

Re_modellation, Re_side

“Re_Model, Re_novate, Re_construct, Re_form, Re_make, Re_habilitate, Re_Vitalize, Re_live, in short, to live again, in and for the housing estates: housing estates that never should have lost the basic conditions of dignity that life requires”

(Literally taken from the book: “Re_live the neighborhoods. Substitute housing plans for improvement of Urban Areas in Catalonia”

This set of terms sharply defines the goals pursued by the URP. We shall add, however, another one: Re_side. This very basic term calls for the idea of “taking possession of a place repeatedly” (from the latin voices “re” and “se-dere”). And this is what all the action of residing in a place is about: taking possession of a site until it becomes a place. There was a time when all existing communities in the Polígons were, even not in the best conditions, residing in them. And they were doing that by the everyday social use of public space. Once the public space pattern is changed, the site changes with it. And so the action of residing is somehow interrupted.

A very good friend, who is also architect-urbanist, uses to say that the best facility in the city relies in a decent, good home; that the first good public space is the house itself. That is, we believe, an undeniable truth. As it is also true that we need the community to build our iden-
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...tity, our essence as social beings. And once good life is assured, once decent housing is guaranteed, it is necessary to consider conditions that allow the fabric of community meanings. The right sitting of architecture in place, the configuration of a complex network of relations at the ground level, in short the relationship between building and public space, is the essential basis on which the individual ties its identity with the community. In remodellated areas the community is hopefully still there. And social fabric will be in motion, since public space was. Let’s give some more time, so that we will see where to.

BIBLIOGRAPHY