

NEVER WORK!

HOUSING FOR THE YOUNG IN ALMIRANTE REIS

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*A kiscsaládnak.
To family. The literal and figurative one.
And to Sanja, for your beautiful mind and heart.*

RESUMO

Nunca trabalhe! Na rotina diária de dormir, trabalho e lazer, a sociedade moderna dependia demais do trabalho, tornando se escrava do mundo moderno. Celebrar o trabalho no tempo livre é um desenvolvimento recente, trabalho misturado com tempo para a família, religião, em outras palavras, civilização desdobrada em jogo. As crises e os desequilíbrios do trabalho são o legado da Revolução Industrial, em que a vida se dividiu em trabalho e não-trabalho.

Estamos à beira de uma revolução tecnológica e social que deixará milhões sem emprego. Automação, inteligência artificial e aprendizado profundo estão a ameaçar a sociedade que foi definida pelo capitalismo nos últimos 150 anos. Embora tenha produzido desenvolvimento e abundância sem precedentes no mundo, nos últimos 30 anos, com mercados desregulados, a riqueza se concentra em poucos, enquanto a desigualdade aumenta, a classe média está a desaparecer. O dogma de que a próxima geração viverá melhor do que a anterior já não existe.

As pessoas vão se afastar do trabalho, a questão é como compensar os milhões de pessoas irritadas. Se a maioria da sociedade não tiver acesso ao emprego, o trabalho não pode ser a única medida de sucesso que dá sentido a um indivíduo. A renda básica universal é uma ferramenta de equilíbrio, ao dar dinheiro para as pessoas gastarem, o conceito de oferta e demanda continua em execução. A longo prazo, com uma rede de segurança que cobre as necessidades básicas, a sociedade pode evoluir mesmo no seu tempo livre. Um mundo sem empregos definitivamente não será um mundo sem trabalho.

Numa economia compartilhada, o papel do arquiteto mudará. Peritos e profissões mudam, portanto, a arquitetura como disciplina também. Projetar para uma sociedade mais acelerada e mutável é um desafio, os prédios sobrevivem a suas funções, ocupar uma casa pode acontecer de muitas maneiras diferentes, estruturas familiares clássicas vão além daquelas que conhecemos agora. Construir para o futuro significa construir para durar, projetar para acomodar mudanças, preparar-se para reutilizar e adaptar-se à arquitetura atual, dando aos edifícios antigos uma nova vida.

ABSTRACT

Never work! In the daily routine of sleep, work and leisure modern society relied too much on work, making it the master of the modern world. Celebrating work over free time is a recent development, work blended with family time, religion, in other words, civilization unfolded in play. The crises and the imbalances of work are the legacy of the Industrial Revolution, in which life got compartmentalized in work and non-work.

We are on the verge of a technological and societal upheaval that will leave millions without jobs. Automation, artificial intelligence, and deep learning are threatening the society that was defined by capitalism for the last 150 years. While it has brought about unprecedented development and abundance in the world, in the last 30 years with deregulated markets that wealth concentrates in very few hands, while inequality rises, the middle-class is disappearing. The dogma that the next generation will be living better off than the previous is gone.

People will be turned away from work the question is how to compensate those angry millions. If the majority of society will not have access to employment, work cannot be the only measurement of success giving meaning to an individual. Universal basic income is a tool to level the field, and by giving free money to people to spend, the concept of supply and demand keeps running. In the long run, with a safety net covering one's basic needs, society can again unfold in play. A world without jobs will definitely not be a world without work.

In a shared economy, the role of the architect will change. Experts and professions change, therefore architecture as a discipline will too. Designing for a more accelerated, ever-changing society is a challenge, buildings outlive their functions, occupying a house can happen in a lot of different ways, family structures go beyond the classical that we know now. Building for the future means building to last, to design and prepare to accommodate change and adapt to current architecture by reuse, by giving old buildings new life.

PRODUCTIVITY - LABOUR - WORK - LEISURE - CRAFT

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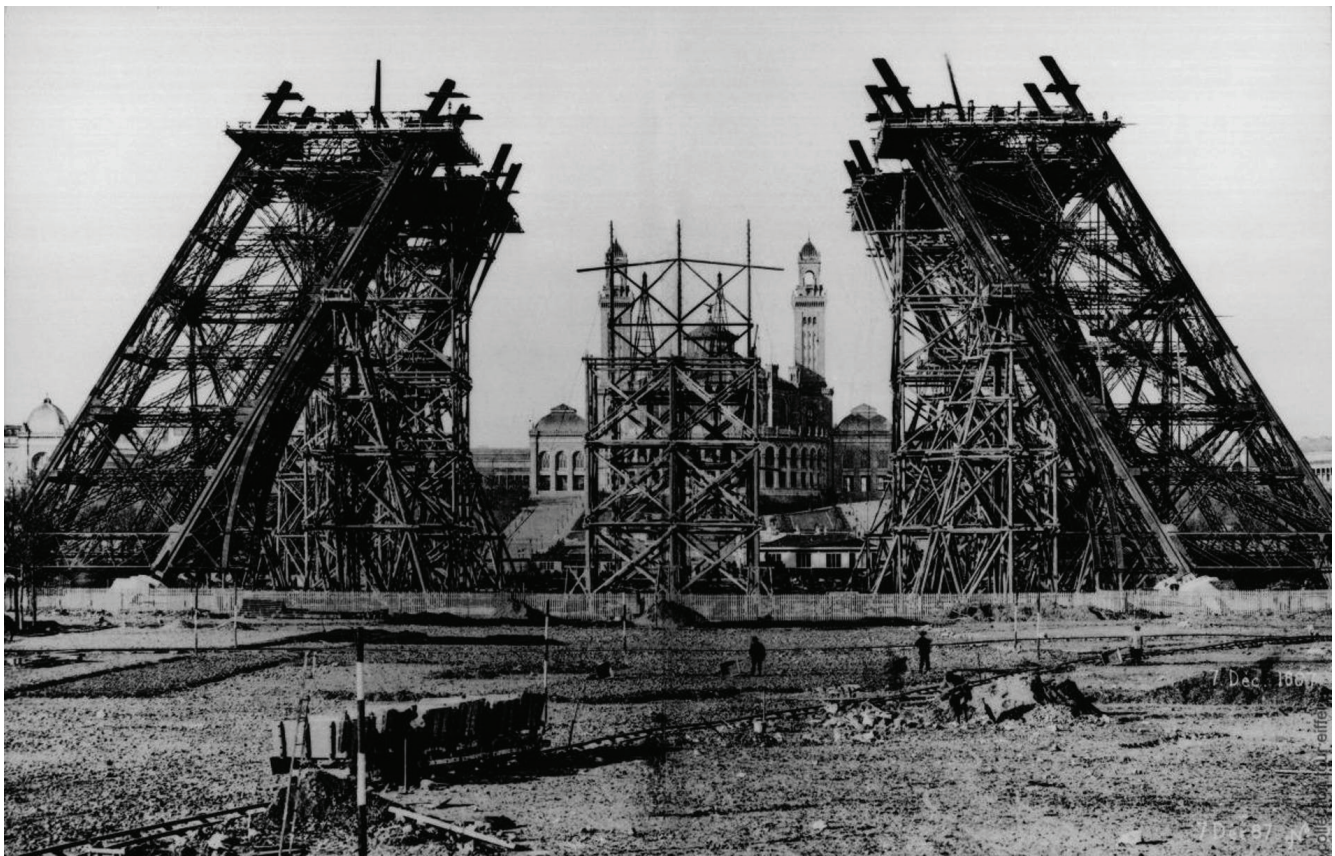
FIRST PART



Work is the modern English form of the noun *weorc* (Old English) and the verb *wyrcán* (Old English). As our most general word for doing something, and for something done, its range of applications has of course been enormous. What is now most interesting is its predominant specialization to regular paid employment. This is not exclusive; we speak naturally of **working** in the garden. But, to take one significant example, an active woman, running a house and bringing up children, is distinguished from a woman who works: that is to say, takes paid employment. Again: ‘early man did not work at all in the true sense ... real work, steady work, labour for one’s livelihood, came into being when agriculture was invented’ (New English Dictionary on Historical Principles – Oxford). The basic sense of the word, to indicate activity and effort or achievement, has thus been modified, though unevenly and incompletely, by a definition of its imposed conditions, such as ‘steady’ or timed work, or working for a wage or salary: being hired.

The specialization of **work** to paid employment is the result of the development of capitalist productive relations. To be **in work** or **out of work** was to be in a definite relationship with some other who had control of the means of productive effort. **Work** then partly shifted from the productive effort itself to the predominant social relationship. It is only in this sense that a woman running a house and bringing up children can be said to be **not working**. At the same time, because the general word is necessary, a person may be said to do his real work on his own, sometimes quite separately from his job. Time other than that spent in paid employment is significantly described as ‘your own time’, ‘free time’, or as ‘holiday’ (the old word for a day of religious festival), or as ‘leisure-time’. (Leisure came from a Latin word for permit (*Itcere*), and from C14 meant opportunity or free time; it is significant of the narrowing specialization of work that we now have ‘leisure-time activities’, often requiring considerable effort but not described as work, which belongs to our ‘paid time’.)¹

1. Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, Oxford University Press, 1985, p.335



2 | Eiffel Tower Under Construction, Paris, 15 May 1888, by Louis-Émile Durandelle

INTRODUCTION

Work was the master of the modern world. It was impossible to imagine a society without it. Its domination of everyday life was inevitable. However, let us imagine there is no more mastery, no invisible power that runs through generations, that idealises the hard-working families, that lobbies for round-the-clock work calling it play or freedom.² One, that appraises dysfunctional welfare and promises self-fulfilment and identity through work. Instead, work is an option, while production happens elsewhere. Currently, it sounds inconceivable, yet I will try to offer a description of a society beyond the one that we live in.

The idea of work has not always been the way we comprehend it throughout recent history. Of course, for basic survival one has to work some. In pre-industrial times work and leisure were blended. Family time, celebrations, rituals, cooking, harvesting, religion were all part of the same, community activities. As Huizinga wrote in *Homo Ludens* “civilization arises and unfolds in and as play.”³ What he meant that all the human activities, whether political, economic, or cultural, was originally conceived in play. Back in time, labour was something accompanied by play and festivities. For example, even wars were a sort of sporting activity. But at some point in history, humans became incapable of playing. The turning point came about with the advent of Industrial Revolution.

Giedion argues in *Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferroconcrete*, “Industry, big industry, is a result of the French Revolution.”⁴ In his understanding, modern societies originate in the French Revolution. Before it was only the guild system providing artefacts of all aspects for everyday use. Supply shaped the market; the guild membership was limited to a fairly small number of privileged people, the masters and their helpers and also limited to the kinds of products they could produce. The system was closed and conservative. The flow of knowledge was entirely vertical, from master to apprentice. The method was, de facto, if it was good for my master, it ought to be good for me as well.

“Guild membership was just as limited as the number of workers or helpers each member could take on and the kinds of product each could produce. That meant privilege in favor of a few and an extraordinary burden (gene onéreuse) on the consumer.”⁵

2. Andy Beckett, *Post-Work: the Radical Idea of a World without Jobs*, 19 Jan. 2018, Retrieved from www.theguardian.com (28.02.2019.)

3. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1971, ix

4. Sigfried Giedion, *Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferroconcrete*, The Getty Center for the History of Art, Los Angeles, 1995, p.88

5. *Ibid.*, p.88





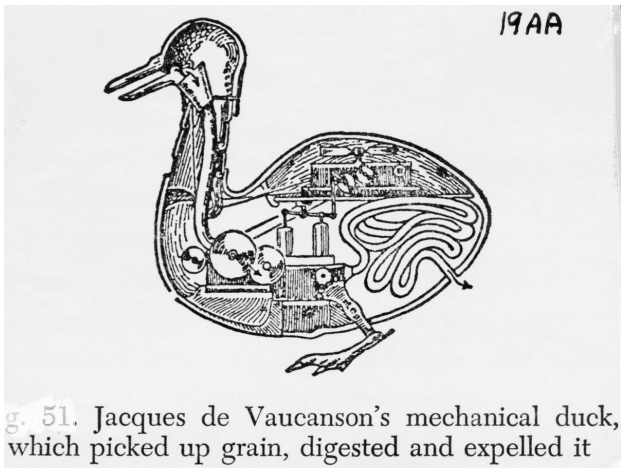
Abolishing the guilds, the workshops, the relation of master and apprentice gave way to free competition and free division of labour. Without liberating the labour market Industrial revolution would not have happened. The proclamation of the Liberty of Labour gave way to entrepreneurship, inventorship and to professions. Professions represent the freedom to learn, establishing a less vertical learning path. In other words, these were the conditions that let Industrial Revolution to happen.

Industrial capitalism was not the first capitalist establishment, though it is considered to be the root of modern capitalist system and society. In fact, it is a very broad term and while there is an ongoing debate with many disagreements, there have been certainly all kinds of varieties of capitalism. In other words, instead of stages, there are states of capitalism that can be unravelled.

For example, before the Industrial Revolution, there were transitional forms between feudalism and capitalism, such as agrarian capitalism, where feudal and market relations co-existed. Or, in the pre-modern period between 16th and 18th centuries' mercantilism or merchant capitalism that emerged in the Mediterranean and Atlantic Ocean. It was the establishment where national governments sought to trade with each other to maintain a positive balance, thus creating profit. Trading was not a new phenomenon, it is natural to human, evidences of trading can be found in early human societies and cultures. The difference lies in the appropriation of the profit.

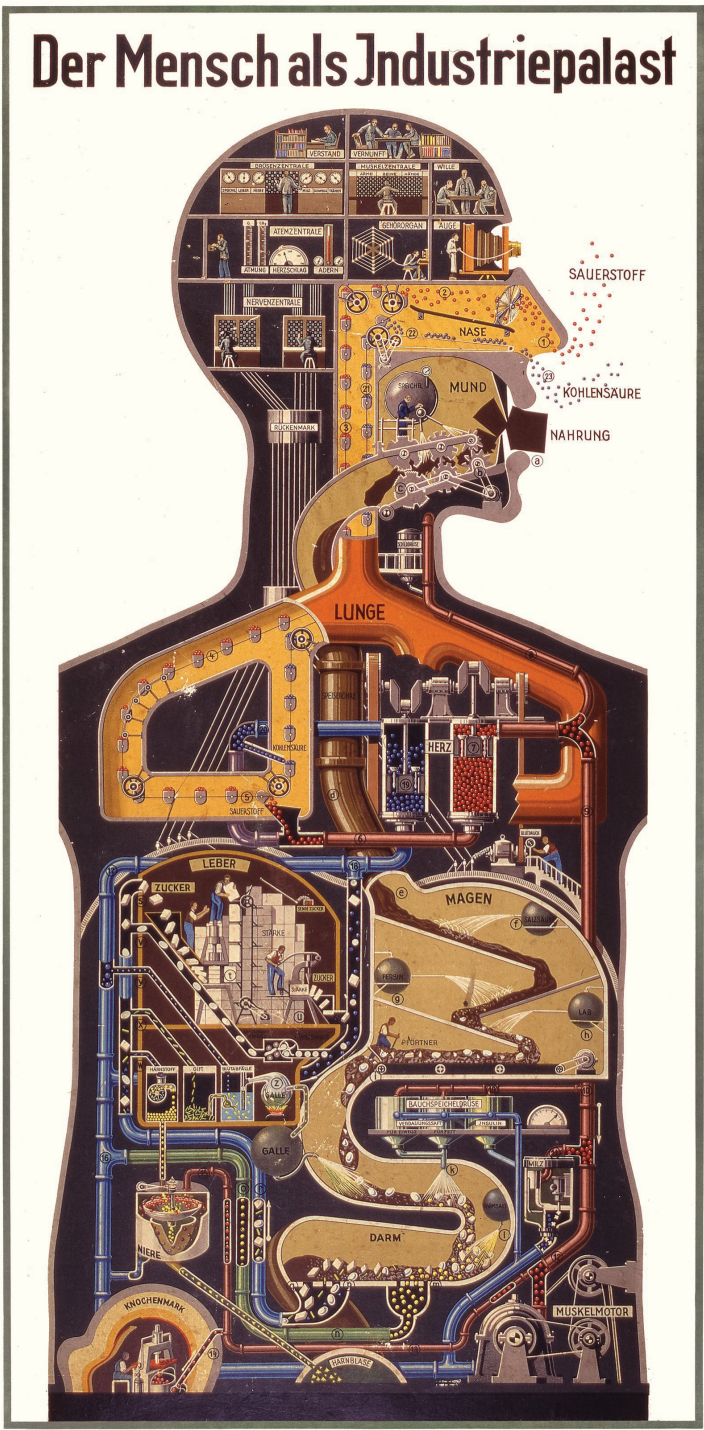
For centuries, economic growth was usually slow, often non-existent, sometimes negative. Previous ruling classes technically used almost all the seized surplus on their own consumption. At the same time, the widely accepted, fundamental canon was that the amount of the world's wealth was constant, and certain actors (a state at the mercantilist time) could only increase their wealth at the expense of another. In other words, the basic theory was that economy was a zero-sum game.

Where industrial capitalism took another path was identifying the faulty hypothesis. And that expansion, *growth* can be achieved through converting a part of surplus into technological advancement. This, in fact was revolutionary in terms of sciences, inventions, or industry. Increasing productivity via the use of technology meant investing in production, thus producing more goods at a lower cost.



g. 51. Jacques de Vaucanson's mechanical duck, which picked up grain, digested and expelled it

5.



6.

The role of the worker in the process of production had changed. With the rise of manufactural industries new type of workers and workplaces appeared. The factory worker was the result and example of Industrial Revolution. Anson Rabinbach in *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue and the Origins of Modernity*, studies that there is a universal energy “embracing nature, industry and human activity in a single, overarching concept – labor power.”⁶ The use of term *labour-power* was used by Marx in *Capital* as well, in which he argues it “is to be understood the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being”⁷. It is a potential, a capacity which is undetermined. What Rabinbach contributes is the argument of this potential’s determination. In 1847, German physicist Hermann von Helmholtz introduced the term after discovering the universal law of conservation energy. The universal energy eventually meant “an equally universal concept of work”⁸. Labour power was the measurement of the conversion of energy into motion – regardless nature, technology or the human body.

“The Promethean power of industry (cosmic, technical, and human) could be encompassed in a single productivist metaphysic in which concept of energy, united with matter, was the basis of all reality and the source of all productive power – a materialist idealism, or as I prefer to call it, transcendental materialism.”⁹

Following his theory of the body literally being a motor, “essentially identical with a thermodynamic machine”¹⁰, its potential can be measured, quantified and eventually harvested. The total abstraction of work left no attention to any social context, purpose, or goals. According to Helmholtz and later Marx, the discovery re-shaped society, establishing a binary, work and non-work dividend of life.

This, the loss of values, is what Hannah Arendt criticised in *The Human Condition*. Marx set the notion of labour at the centre of his philosophy, without hierarchy or graduality of human activities, letting alone labour-power the only measure. She argues labour, work, and action are the three constituent elements of life. In her reading, labour is a routine to survive which is the most basic, repetitive activity – *necessity* – initiated by the body as the main actor involving eating, digestion and general physical care. On the other hand, work is the production of an object, an activity that leaves behind artefacts. Obviously, this kind of craftsmanship offers a worthier life with lasting products that can perhaps outlive humans themselves.

5 | a postulated interior of Vaucanson's automata, the Digesting Duck by an American observer, 1738-1739

6 | Der Mensch als Industriepalast (Man as Industrial Palace), Stuttgart, 1926 | National Library of Medicine

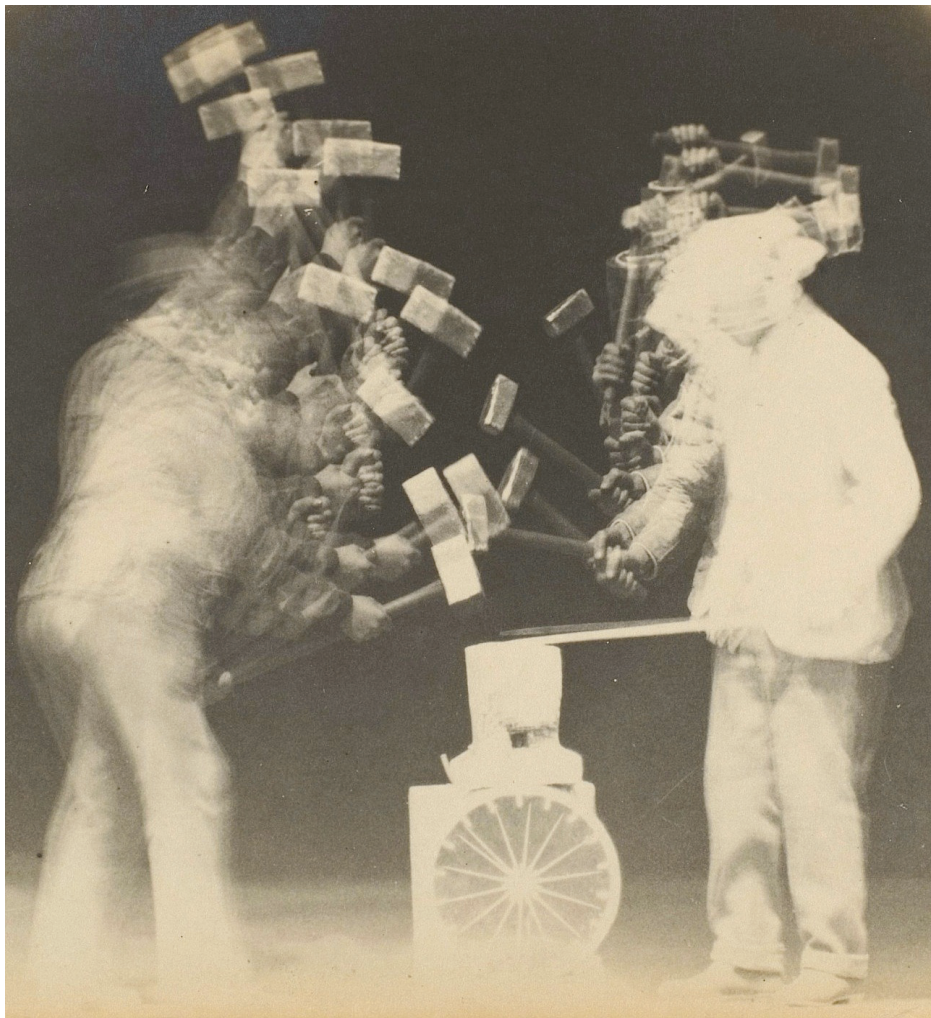
6. Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1992, p.1

7. Karl Marx, *Capital. A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production. Volume I* (in 2 volumes; trans. from 3rd German edn. by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling). Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., London, 1887, p.145

8. Robert Howard, *How We Got That Run-Down Feeling*, 16 Dec. 1990, Retrieved from www.nytimes.com (02.03.2019.)

9. Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1992, p.4

10. *Ibid.*, p.61



She borrows a line from Locke as a departure point for the distinction, “the labor of our body and the work of our hands.”¹¹ Work is what creates the environment for the third element of human life, action. Above all, it gives meaning to life, to existence. This is the field of politics, in the confrontational sense, the moment of otherness, uniqueness and plurality, the exchange of non-biological words and deeds – information.

Instead, 19th century society flipped the hierarchy, putting work and labour in the centre of life. The working body as machine promised a new societal thinking. An industrial society, in which “force or Kraft is converted into work by motors – whether human or human-made.” Rabinbach continues, “the metaphor of the motor is productivist because it rests on an industrial model of calculable channelling of energy, converted from nature to society.”¹² New sciences emerged investigating the human motor and the physiology of labour power. The pioneers were surprisingly mainly liberals or socialists; they saw “industrial physiology as the intersection of social policy and medicine”.⁶⁸ They argued, if they understand and identify the dynamics of human body and fatigue it would result in a greater productivity for society and justice to the individual worker. Scientists lobbied for shorter working days to avoid factory accidents due to fatigue; and for workplace reforms and social insurance.

So, it was less oppression from capitalist ruling class, but eventually working in favour of them. The scientific approaches of the “thermodynamics of society”, the worship of work as part of “social hygiene” were the bedrock upon which industrial production would develop. As French utopian Henri de Saint-Simon argued, “the whole of society rests upon industry.”⁶⁷ While scientists researched carefully under controlled conditions in the laboratory, the work science was a bit less promising on the field, in practice.

In the factory, work lost its playful attributes and a Cartesian rationalisation took place. The great productivity gains were covered by the technological developments, resulting in reduced costs and greater control over the workplace. Marx argued that there would be an opposition between labour and capital, ownership of the means of production, “that producers continually attempt to reduce labor costs and gain greater control over the means of production.”¹³ The worker’s exploitation was considered as given, but the origin of the individual’s alienation lies somewhere else.

11. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1998, p.79

12. Anson Rabinbach, *The Eclipse of the Utopias of Labor (Forms of Living)*, Fordham University Press, New York, 2018, vii.

68. Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1992, p.121

67. Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon, *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon & d'Enfantin*, Librairie de la Société, Paris, 1868, p.13

13. Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*, Putnam Publishing Group, New York, 1995, p.16



8 | Charlie Chaplin as a factory worker working on the giant machine, publicity photo of Charlie Chaplin for the film Modern Times, 1936

Assuming Arendt's categorization of work is less disenchanted and more considerate for people, it means the worker's actions are closer to labour than work. The transition from handicraft to machine production in the 19th century predicted an asymmetrical relationship between worker and the technical object. Gilbert Simondon, French philosopher pointed out *On the Mode of Existence of Technical Objects*:

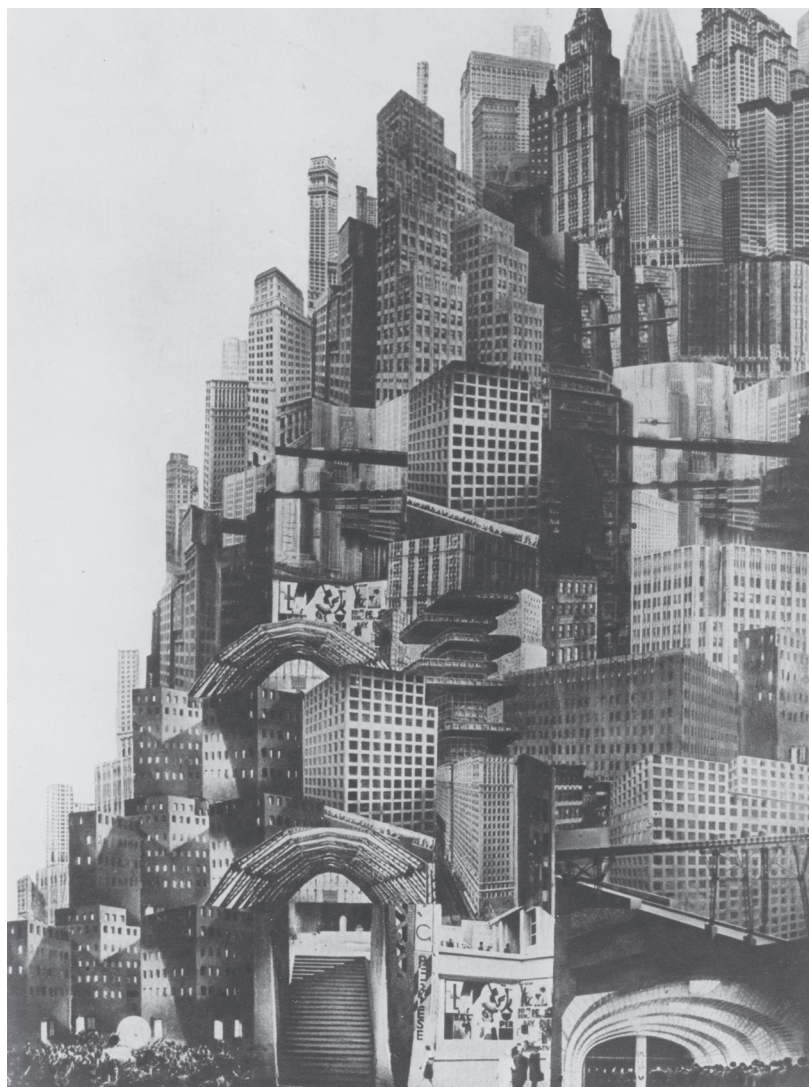
*"The alienation of man in relation to the machine does not only have a socio-economic sense; it also has a physio-psychological sense; the machine no longer prolongs the corporal schema, neither for workers, nor for those who possess the machines."*¹⁴

In other words, the mimetic era was over. Machines were not the tools of the worker anymore. The relationship between human body and machines was beyond craftsmanship, the individual was not in charge of the whole process of production, therefore could not relate to his work as a whole, but more of a toil, series of tasks. Machines became not tools by themselves but tool-movers, humans were left to either organize or assist the operations of machines. The rising popularity of efficiency is mainly thanks to Taylor's principles of "scientific management". He divided each worker's task into fragments, until the overall performance became optimal. The system relied on the aggregate time of production disregarding the worker's condition and rather emphasizing his performance. Taylorism offered nothing to literate, independent-minded or creative workers, distrusting autonomy and praising dull, repetitive tasks. Cutting down the production into the smallest and simplest elements left the worker with dissatisfaction – which Taylor understood as laziness, as a given, which cannot be eliminated.

All the same, the chase of efficiency was widely accepted in the era. New technologies offered different stories to the market entrepreneur and to the worker. This is what Jeremy Rifkin calls the two faces of technology. New technologies promised actors of the market increased production, greater profit and thus an accelerated cycle of advantage over competition. Meanwhile, society was entertained "that one day technology will replace human labor and free them for a life of increasing leisure."¹⁵

14. Gilbert Simondon, *On the Mode of Existence of Technical Objects*, Univocal Publishing, Minneapolis, 2017, p.133

15. Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*, Putnam Publishing Group, New York, 1995, p.41



THE METROPOLITAN CONDITION

On both societal and economic level, efficiency and acceleration were the fundamental driver of continual expansion. Though the competitive capitalist society is in essence insecure, there were no state bureaucracies or restrictions of competition, therefore uncontrolled acceleration was the main socially organising principle. Success and improvement in that context relied on, and meant continual growth.

Acceleration brought about changes in the environment on both the level of transforming the surface of Earth and design in human habitats. With the explosion of modern technologies and human population, a new coexistence emerged on certain, smaller parts of the world – a whole new system of infrastructure and articulation. A new, unprecedented phenomenon, the Metropolis. Uncontrolled, yet necessary “the metropolis itself accelerates economic production processes by drawing economic control ever faster and more consciously to itself.”⁷⁰ Hilberseimer lobbied for a more radical, scientifically managed and controlled everyday life. In *Großstadtarchitektur*, he criticises the lack of rationalized organization and production in every aspect of life, and his influence for this kind of urbanization was the American high-rise city.

Even though he was one of many European architects who claimed radical architecture for modern urbanization, the mythical archetype of the Metropolitan Condition – was Manhattan. Interestingly, Manhattan’s growth was not a consequence of any manifestos, it was a whole lot of doing and realisation on a playground constrained only by the grid.

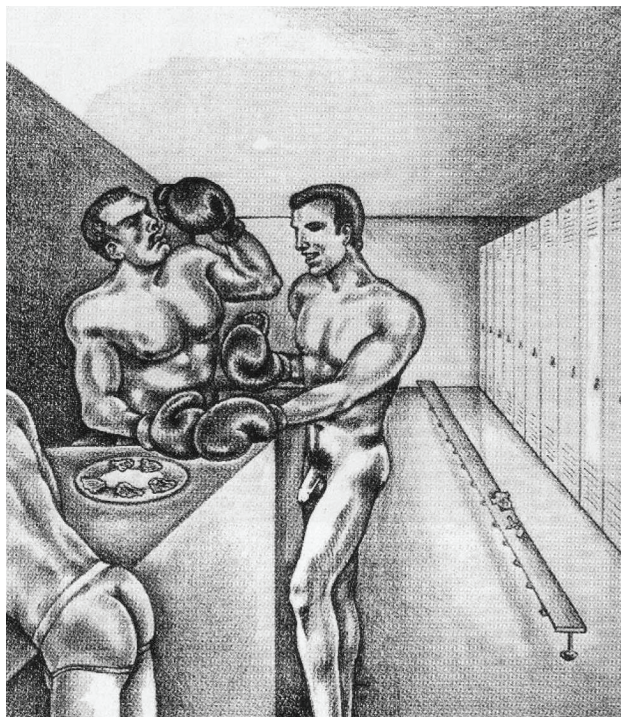
Rem Koolhaas in *Delirious New York* argues that its example shows the unconditional faith into humanity’s superiority of mental construction over reality.⁶⁹ Nature and topography were indifferences, problems to solve or to overcome. The rigorous grid of Manhattan supposes a clean, carefully measured city, but it shows in horizontality. The two-dimensional restrictions gave way to three-dimensional freedom. What really characterizes Manhattan the most, is total vertical freedom, irrational density, the *culture of congestion*¹⁶, in which population and infrastructure hand-in-hand promoted a whole new level of man-made urban condition.

This density could only be reached by the technical invention of the elevator by Otis. The floor plan could be multiplied, stacked on each other infinitely. The paradigm change, besides density was the social representation. The upper levels previously were meant for the lower class, since they were

70. Ludwig Hilberseimer, *Metropolisarchitecture*, Columbia Books on Architecture and the City, 2012, p.87

69. Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, Rotterdam, 010 Publishers, 1994, p.20

16. *Ibid.*, p.10



harder to reach via stairways. With the elevator quite the opposite: they became the most valued floors, leaving behind the street noise, achieving more light and better views.

With the technological preconditions given to rise buildings that we call *skyscrapers* nowadays, Manhattan’s architecture underwent a lobotomy, “less and less surface has to represent more and more interior activity.”²¹ By separating the internal from the external, the perception of everyday life became impossible. Entering a building in Manhattan, or even a separate floor, could mean an act of changing between worlds. The framework is given, the function itself can change from floor to floor. As Koolhaas recalls, the early 20th century theorem regarding the potential of using elevators, layering of the world’s surface was in fact realised and crystallized in the later built Downtown Athletic Club.

It is a skyscraper externally indistinguishable from other ones, yet the Club offered a random permutation and sequence of separate functions and activities on each floor. A gentlemen’s social club combining social status and comfort with physical exercise and relaxation. Also, the location is crucial, the building is within a five minutes’ walk of both Wall Street and Broadway to appeal to the successful and cultured businessman who also had a zealous interest in athletic activity.

“Eating oysters with boxing gloves, naked, on the nth floor – such is the “plot” of the ninth story, or, – the 20th century in action”¹⁸

Of course, this was not reality for many, yet the congestion affected all. While the Wall Street stockbroker had the opportunity to escape in given fantasies, the masses had quite different, but no less compelling and unique experience. If Manhattan represents the dense urbanity, Coney Island is the counterpart to escape the congestion and experiment in a surreal environment with alternative lifestyles. Ironically enough, the oasis – the virgin nature and both the beach became a victim of metropolitan explosion. The congestion one would escape from, became the same context. To keep things under control, as a compensation Coney Island offered a series of technology-enabled attractions and activities. The emphasis is on control and technology. Just as mentioned previously, technology and structured free time were put on a pedestal in society’s thinking. Again, if Manhattan represents the work-week, Coney Island is the weekend, roughly translated to work and free time. In this sense, leisure is the other side of work, not the end of it.

10 | Downtown Athletic Club, section, plan and illustration from the book
Delirious New York by Rem Koolhaas, 1977

17. Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, Rotterdam, 010 Publishers, 1994., p.100

18. *Ibid.*, p.155







13.



14.



15.

CONEY ISLAND

To enable millions to spend their free time on a clitoral appendage of the city, it needed fine-tuning, organization and structure. For example, anonymity in the city creates loneliness, thus *Barrels of Love* came as the saviour. People lined up to an entrance, on one side men, the other women. Randomly paired, the barrel persistently rotates and eventually throws people on each other creating a mechanically initiated intimacy. The mechanic assistance, if done successfully, proceeds in *Tunnels of Love*, in which the newly formed pairs would sit in a boat that disappears in dark tunnels, creating an intimate environment, visually per se, since probably dozens of other couples were rocking on the shallow water.

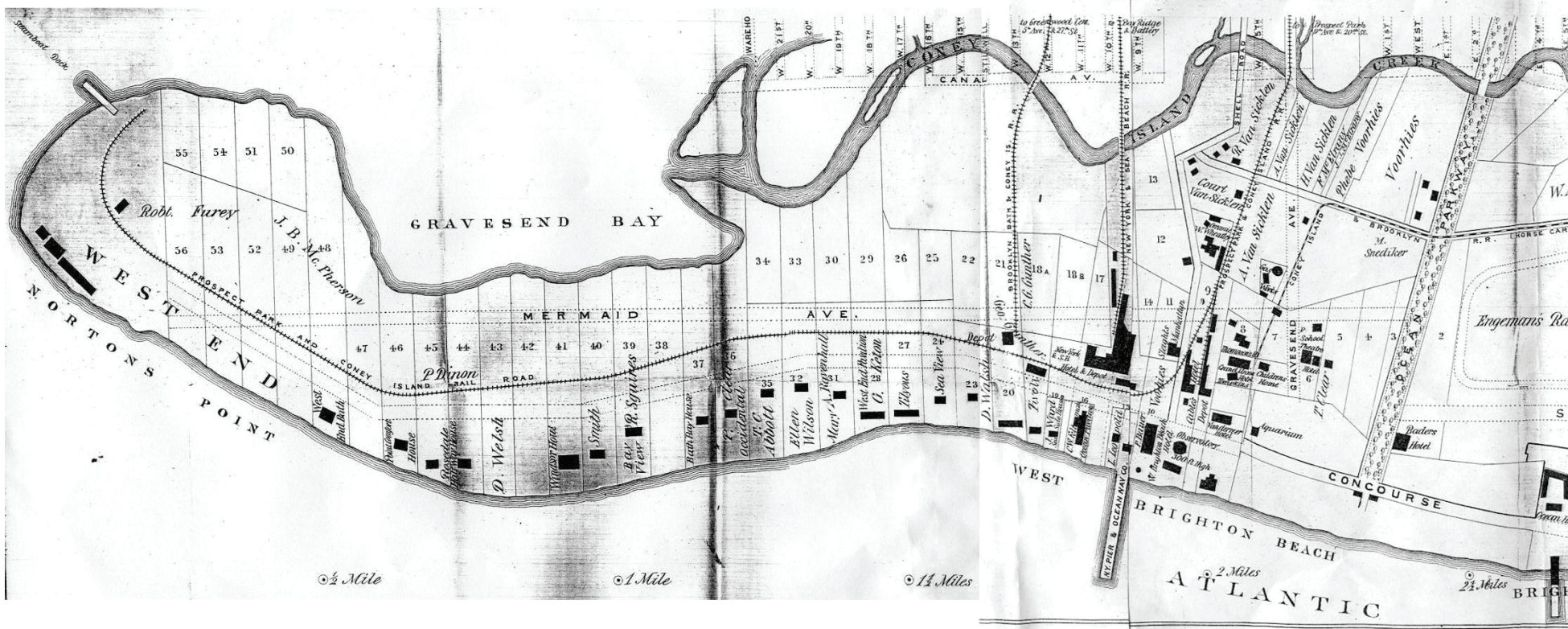
If one's schedule would not allow, Coney Island had an answer to enjoy bathing. Leisure was organized in shifts, *Electric Bathing* providing a second daytime, a 12-hour extension to enjoy the surf line.

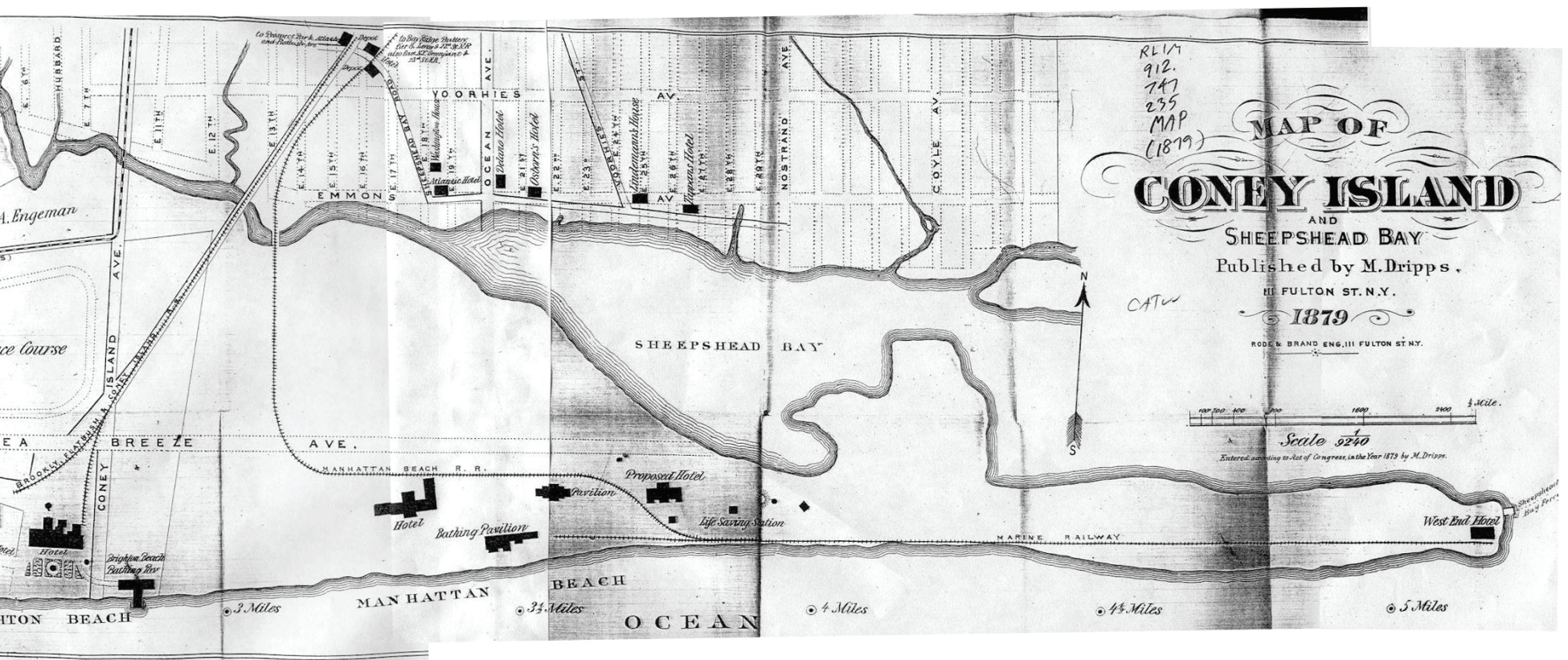
“What is unique in Coney Island-and this syndrome of the Irresistible Synthetic prefigures later events in Manhattan – is that this false daytime is not regarded as second-rate. Its very artificiality becomes an attraction: “Electric Bathing.”¹⁹

The substitutes for nature were considered to be superior, fitting and serving the dense metropolitan lifestyle. The promise of future with reduction of work due to technology was common talk, yet something changed. The pursue of acceleration and increased productivity came to a halt during the Great Depression. Ironically enough, when the stock market had collapsed, Downtown Athletic Club was erected, aided by loans. The downturn in economy lasted almost for a decade, the industrialized world was in shock, and free time became equated with unemployment. The new mantra became *full employment*, resulting in a transfer from free time to employment in establishing a new right as peoples. Unemployment was the default, understandably the answer would be opposite. In America, the New Deal shone the spotlight on recovery from recession, which would only be possible through full employment and additional leisure time would be a liability to economy. The other key value was full consumption that resonated well with full employment.

- 13 | Entrance to the Barrel of Love, illustration from the book *Delirious New York* by Rem Koolhaas, 1977
- 14 | Coney Island Tunnels of Love by Irving Underhill, 1922
- 15 | Illustration of Electric Bathing in *Scribner's Monthly*, July 1880

19. Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, Rotterdam, 010 Publishers, 1994, p.35





Leisure became a commodity to be consumed, to help economy and society to heal. Consumption meant disposing income in order to keep the wheels of economy rolling. Again, a leap of faith was necessary from society’s side for a better future. Leisure became the less civilized component of everyday life, like a memento of unemployment of the Depression. The recognition of leisure had fallen to give way to idolatry of work. Work more, to earn more, in order to consume more.

“Meaning, justification, purpose, and even salvation were now sought in work, without a necessary reference to any traditional philosophic or theological structure. Men and women were answering the old religious questions in new ways, and the answers were more and more in terms of work, career, occupation, and professions.”²⁰

With the advent of computerization technology and globalization, the current became stronger on numerous levels. As previously mentioned, earlier, in the mid and late 19th century the relationship between human and machine transformed into a transcendental one, in which the worker’s body was regarded as productive in the sense that it can convert energy into work. The body and the workplace were rationalized, and the latter became the project of creating a more perfect society through engineering.

This relationship led to fatigue, alienization, not just by exploitation, but because of the disconnection between worker and their production. As machines became more advanced, workers got de-motivated by getting reduced to assisting machines. This relationship changed once again, when industries depended less and less on physical effort, and “the disabilities of work shifted away from fatigue to new problems of stress, from physiology to psychology.”²¹

Digitalisation accelerated the pace and flow of activity at the workplace, creating an incompatibility between mechanic and bodily rhythm. “Today’s computer culture operates on a nanosecond time gradient-a unit of duration that is so small that it cannot even be experienced by the human senses. In a snap of the fingers more than 500 million nanoseconds have elapsed.”²² The pace is so increased that the emphasis of earlier industrial, mechanical rooted fatigue got replaced by the overload of information.

20. Benjamin Kline Hunnicutt, *Work Without End*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1988, pp. 313-14

21. Anson Rabinbach, *The Eclipse of the Utopias of Labor (Forms of Living)*, Fordham University Press, New York, 2018, p.167

22. Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*, Putnam Publishing Group, New York, 1995, p.187

The combination of accelerated work pace and the appreciation of work as production, and leisure time as consumption led to a generally unhealthy society of nowadays. Interestingly, the ideal society with structured free time became possible through work conquering free time. And consumption conquering sleep time. On the other hand, the promise of the 15-hour work-week is not nearly evident, on the contrary, the number of hours worked are longer and harder to meet the brutal competitive challenge.

“For the post-Fordist multitude every qualitative difference between labor time and non-labor time falls short.”²³

In the Fordist era production ended at the gates of the factory, intellect remained outside. But work lost its canonical representation, and both its temporal and physical boundaries. Never-ending work became a moral obligation, the picture of self-improvement or the feeling of belonging; and employment serves to seek answers. Leisure, on the other hand, became part of production: the production of knowledge. New media became elements connected to work, information that improves one’s knowledge. And the earlier mentioned labour power is getting less and less materialized but rather immaterial, an “invisible and indivisible commodity”. As the boundaries blur, work is not spatially reduced to one place. Work and workplace are getting more domestic, to spend more time in the office, whether or not it is productive. The structure of the workplace did not change over the years, the apparatus did to make it more comfortable.

The true revolutionary break must be the screen. The surface that flexibly represents both production and consumption. As well, in recent years representing the centre of progress with higher resolution, sharper, thinner, foldable, transparent screens with adapted augmented realities and such. Though, such technologies are “facilitating the perpetuation of the same banal exercise of non-stop consumption, social isolation, and political powerlessness, rather than representing some historically significant turning point.”²⁴ And by non-stop, Crary in *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* means non-stop consumption.

23. Paulo Virno, *A Grammar of the Multitude: For an Analysis of Contemporary Forms of Life*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 2004 p.102
24. Jonathan Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*, London, New York, Verso, 2013, pp. 38-40



“ Sleep is the last unleveraged form of human activity and it is violently threatened by a world in which the divisions between night and day, between rest and work, are disappearing due to mutations in the experience of time produced by unceasing digital networks, new metrics for productivity, and ever-expanding forms of control and surveillance.”²⁵

A dults slept an average eight hours per night, nowadays third of population has problems reaching even the recommended seven hours. Clearly, civilization changes faster than evolution could catch up. In evolutionary terms, in a blink of an eye, humanity have radically changed their sleep patterns without understanding the biological consequences.

“When you are asleep, it’s the most idiotic of all things: You’re not finding food, not finding a mate. Worse still, you’re vulnerable to predation. If there was a chance to shave even 10 per cent to 20 per cent of that time, Mother Nature would have weeded it out through the process of evolution millions of years ago.”²⁶

In the meantime, working more does not mean more disposable income. The faith in social establishment of the last 150 years seemed stable and durable until the promise of each following generation would be significantly better off than the previous one. At the moment, this is not the future seems to be the occurrent one. With an increased life expectancy, one cannot count on a long and linear career path, instead, more of a seemingly uncertain one. A number of factors are implicated: from current educational system that do not prepare for an ever-changing lifestyle, to radically developing automation technologies.

In strained times like this, without appealing prospects, without access to the city, housing crises in cities do not offer perspective to the next generation. With our current economic model, mass ownership seems impossible in the long run. It is not a crisis of housing, but a crisis of how we live. Without being definite, these include social relations, inequality, ageing population, gender roles, and family structures. Yes, the patterns of life have changed dearly; how, where and when we work or play have changed, and the question is how we design for this changing world.

17 | Joseph Wright, Arkwright’s Cotton Mills by Night, 1782

25. Megan Heuer, *Who Sleeps? Jonathan Crary’s „24/7“*, 17 Sep. 2013, Retrieved from www.rhizome.org (09.03.2019.)
26. Matthew Walker for Carolyn Y Johnson, *Public health crisis of poor sleep deserves as much attention as obesity epidemic, brain researchers warn*, 25 Jan. 2019, Retrieved from www.independent.co.uk (10.03.2019.)

FREE MONEY

TECHNOLOGY AND PRODUCTION

Work is no longer the beginning and end, nor the anticipation for 21st century of a more just society. So, what is beyond work that could take its place? And while doing so, cutting the Gordian knot of identifying and capturing all the earlier mentioned values, and distribute them fairly? There is a way. It is money for nothing. As Keynes might have been mistaken about a new era of leisure, he was definitely right about his predictions on living standards. He argued “that the standard of life in progressive countries one hundred years hence will be between four and eight times as high as it is to-day.”²⁷ Living standards in developed western economies did have rapidly grown, reaching almost eightfold by today.

We are at a brink of a new era, with an even faster computerization. Moore’s law says the raw processing power doubles every second year. This pace was steady and exponential and will not change. What will though, is the digitization of all information - the amount of input is already enormous - but eventually everything, all kinds of media, all that happened so far in the history of world is put into statistics, while all on-going processes are analysed real time. Well, the outcome is unpredictable. So far, technology has progressed at a more or less steady pace over the decades, assuming the past could be the indication of future. What humankind experienced as acceleration of technology development is in fact surprisingly faster than it was predicted. Ray Kurzweil famous thinker, inventor argues in *The Law of Accelerating Returns*, “we won’t experience 100 years of progress in the 21st century — it will be more like 20,000 years of progress (at today’s rate).”²⁸

Innovation is everything, nowadays the only way to improve living standards are through increasing productivity, in today’s terms the ability to raise output per worker, as well as per machine. While internal combustion machines are reaching their limits, Internet has a great potential that could be harnessed. Its significance with the Internet of Things, all connected devices and smart systems communicating have the possibility to leap in another era. Machines learn from each other, and unlike humankind, the same mistake is not going to go down again.

27. John Maynard Keynes, *Essays in Persuasion*, New York, London, W. W. Norton & Company, 1963, pp.364-365

28. Ray Kurzweil, *The Law of Accelerating Returns*, 7 March 2001, Retrieved from: www.kurzweilai.net (11.03.2019.)





In this regard, universal basic income would be a reward for the hard-work that humanity infused in its development. A new technology, a platform that brings the paradise after the hard work put into advancement. There is a problem with this narrative. As we can see from Keynes' predictions, the living standards did improve, but the increase of prosperity has not been evident everywhere in the world. And what is more worrying, nor it has happened evenly in society. The advancement of a Western country compared to one in Sub-Saharan Africa or Asia are incomparable, and the contrast of prosperity of the upper decile and the setback of modest middle-classes are self-explanatory. The trend in recent decades has been towards increasing income inequality.

Welfare policies are long gone, the post-war restrictions of capitalist market were abolished by the current even more market-centred society. Nation states are less powerful and are not competitors to globalized cities and their areas, their governments cannot cope with crises. Their earlier moral promises of welfare state are crippled by austerity. Meanwhile, the wealth of the richest continues to skyrocket, big data and tech companies set trends. And we willingly participate in producing profits for them, on the level of the individual by using their services, and on the level of governments that are at the mercy of markets, since those companies are the real ones with enormous power and capital.

Cities bid against each other and humiliate themselves to win over Amazon's next headquarter to be built in their areas. And while it brings inevitable benefits to given cities, Amazon is the biggest winner with offered tax-reductions, subsidization and other policies that make Amazon's life even easier. Cities, governments do not have the autonomy, legislatively speaking, that big companies have. That imbalance leaves capital with the latter, making it impossible for cities to bring forth or adapt welfare policies to align inequalities in society.

The data input mentioned above are gladly and willingly shared by everyone, giving up on our privacy and handing it over to private companies that reach and read billions of users. The overall developments are not shared, algorithms, artificial intelligence, machine learning, all the recent technologies are in their favour to fine-tune their databases and increase the pace of competition. Certain services reach a wider spectrum of audience, but the community value is incomparable to the value of the digital - and slowly actual lives of users. As the internet continues to evolve, our privacy

continues to be a matter of debate. As the common phrase says: If you are not paying for it, you're not the customer; you're the product being sold.

Apparently, companies rely rather on the patterns of our lives than on our potential. The far-reaching tension is caused by the fact that the world is still composed of nation states whose main interest is protecting their citizens. In contrast, multinational entities are manipulating these states for profit regardless the national interests. The contradiction lies in the interest of nation, trying to protect their people and corporations that wants them to compete and divide. As automation is stretching beyond just offering alternatives to human labour but replacing it – eventually it would change the labour market into an apathetic system, in which workers needing jobs have little options but to accept humiliating conditions.

This is the reality of today. If workers further lose security and their faith in the market – and as a result their income, they will lose their capability of being consumers. In other words, they simply fall out of the capitalist system. They will not appear as poor, since the logic of capitalism exists in a narrow and strict definition of monetary terms. The ones living under poverty line – 1.4 billion people at the moment – are not being capable of purchasing basic goods. But it is not much better for the many just above the line. Since the system does not appoint any other humane factors such as wellbeing, health, access to education, belonging or environment, the ones living just to make ends meet are not considered to be much better off, while being more dependent on the market.

These processes on one hand had benefits for everyone in the higher overall living standards, increased consumption, yet created an unparallel distribution of goods. For example, most of the food production happens in the Global South, while the very same regions have inadequate access to the food they produce. These emerging two dialectically opposed capitalist classes has been shaping the world since the neoliberal shift in the 1980s' economy, or in other words the neo-liberal globalizational processes.







THE USELESS CLASS

In the beginning, it was enough for wealth owning companies to exploit developing peripheral states to cut their costs. The interaction could be communicated to better both actors, since the peripherals got access to, entered the capitalist system with noticeable growth. In East Asia, especially in China extreme poverty has dropped from 80% to 18% since their affiliation in globalization. For developed West, the outsource meant appreciable drop in the prices of goods. As it seems to be a give-and-take situation, the inbuilt aim and nature of market is to produce profit. In this equation, jobs are no more than the greatest barrier to reach such desires, therefore companies will pursue anything they can to lessen their costs. The assembly line, Taylor's principles of scientific management, outsourcing, moving manufacture to developing countries are all attempts to lower the marginal cost of a production chain. As technology develops, more and more sectors of economy will be affected and eventually, the worker will be replaced by automation. In other words, more people will be turned away from work.

Of course, new jobs and whole industries will emerge that are not yet predictable, just as happened in the early 20th century of manufacturing sector being the absorber of surplus labour that previously had been created by mechanization of agriculture; or post-war economies, when the service sector had filled the vacuum left by workers being displaced by machines in the factory.²⁹ However, the re-employment of whole sectors has seemed to happen seamlessly, today the circumstances are different. Instead of one significant sector, every industry is involved in the transition to automation, and there is no new sector that has developed to provide jobs for the millions being displaced on a fast-growing pace. The ones emerging on the horizon demand high skill levels and education, and while the number of knowledge workers will grow as well, the workers displaced by automation are outnumbering them. In other words, the people most likely in need of re-employment are the very ones that might not having the necessary skills.

29. Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*, Putnam Publishing Group, New York, 1995, p.35



23 | World Chess Champion Gary Kasparov and IBM's computer named DeepBlue
Photograph: Stan Honda / AFP/Getty Images

With further advancement of technology, the inequality increases, and the chasms grow between those who benefit from automation and those who suffer from it. The political and economic changes are inevitable in order to keep societies functioning. Recent studies, namely OECD³⁰ (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) shows in *Automation, skills use and training*, that 14% of 50 industrialised and emerging-economy countries' jobs are considered "highly automatable". While according to Oxford University's 2013 study³¹ that analyses the future computerisation of the United States' labour market, 47% of employment in the country is at present risk of automation. Meanwhile, the technological change outpaces education, deepening the gap between the many lacking the skill sets to keep up, and the few having the necessary social and cognitive skills – after all being the main beneficiaries of the advancements.

Those, who reap the benefits are shining in a narrow field of intelligence. Howard Garner psychologist of Harvard University identified in his book *The Theory of Multiple Intelligences*, seven different types of strengths and intelligences in individuals: visual-spatial, bodily-kinaesthetic, musical, interpersonal, intrapersonal, linguistic and logical-mathematical.³² Current education system conditions students to a limited set of skills, assuming that everyone can learn the same materials in the same way, and that a universal measurement fits all students. Such system favours only logical-mathematical type of intelligence ensuring only the ones excelling in that succeed, everyone else fails.

The entire system constitutes an atmosphere of competition, pressure and scarcity of grades. Education in this sense fully represents *real world*. Life could be different, but it is beyond imagination, since it has never been taught any differently. Irresponsible behaviour is a consequence of competition, scarcity and the promise of wealth for the few who succeed. On the other hand, putting a restrain on applying technological advancement in order to save jobs that could be replaced is – no matter how noble the idea is – irrational.

30. Nedelkoska, L. and G. Quintini, *Automation, skills use and training*, OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers, No. 202, OECD Publishing, Paris, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1787/2e2f4eea-en>

31. Carl Benedikt Frey, and Michael A. Osborne, *The Future of Employment: How Susceptible Are Jobs to Computerisation?*, Oxford Martin. 114. 10.1016, Oxford, 2013

32. Howard Gardner, *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences*, Basic Books, New York, 1983

The potential of technology, however, is still not fully exploited, currently sustaining jobs and whole sectors that David Graeber anthropologist and activist in his recent book *Bullshit Jobs: A Theory* simply defines, well, as “*bullshit jobs*”. He argues it is “a form of paid employment that is so completely pointless, unnecessary, or pernicious that even the employee cannot justify its existence, even though as part of the conditions of employment, the employee feels obliged to pretend that this is not the case.”³³ In the fear of radical change, we keep the status quo alive. The madness that currently is common sense, dictates that work determines one’s self-worth, even if that work is found pointless. Only for keeping the employment rate high, to keep the statistics easy on the eye, neither benefits the individual nor society. This rate does not measure work, only represents who provides their potential to directly the system.

Continuing to concentrate on unemployment, from companies’ point of view we put a drag on efficiency by sustaining such pointless jobs, but from the individual’s it’s even worse, causing cognitive dissonance, while trying to justify its work’s meaning. This is where universal basic income cuts in. More than just an argument for compensation of the growing and angry “useless” class, but as long-term solution for a society and economy that is centuries old and in the need of paradigm shift to cope with the changes. Changing the status quo is difficult; building something positive is even more so, but it is the only option.

Adapting universal basic income into current society is the first step towards the overall transformation. In itself of course is not enough, but necessary. In the short term it could act as a quick fix. In many regards, it could help as a fiscal and monetary policy in an upcoming global financial crisis. A monetary easing process could simply be explained, as opposed to stimulating and securing economy through funding institutional investors, such as banks – channelling money directly to individuals as basic income would serve as disposable income to sustain consumer demand, thus keep the economy running.³⁴ In other words, give people money they can spend that otherwise they could not gain.

Subsequently, universal basic income has further potential for the long term, it is the example of the first step towards adapting to the vast changes undergoing in society. Current technological progress has two potential effects on the capitalist system: either can lead to more money concentrated in few hands or lead to reduce cost of production. The two are equally

33. David Graeber, *Bullshit Jobs: A Theory*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2018, pp.9-10

34. Teemu Muhonen translated by Petri Flander, *Can the ECB create money for a universal basic income?*, 15 Feb. 2016, Retrieved from: www.basicincome.org (18.03.2019.)

leading to the collapse of the system, one is because of the rising societal tension between the classes, the other reaching a point, where marginal cost approaches zero, making goods and services potentially free, eventually putting an end to market exchange economy. This narrative resonates well with Buckminster Fuller's optimistic term of "ephemeralization" in *Nine Chains to the Moon* (which would be around Thirty Chains now, given the population growth since 1930s), which describes the progress that eventually reaches the level to do "*more and more with less and less until eventually you can do everything with nothing*"³⁵ that point would be the ultimate accomplishment – and ironically the death of capitalism.

The outdated model of relationship between state and private capital sustains a society in which every actor agonizes. Individual workers cannot unionise and continue to work in conditions that dissatisfies them with the constant risk of their replacement by automation; states are powerless to act against companies' tax-avoidance, optimization, they cannot represent and guard their citizens. And companies are running towards the Catch-22 of capitalism.

To tackle these issues, universal basic income is the most realistic approach in levelling the playing field of beneficiaries and sufferers of automation and it could serve the two dialectically opposed classes as well. On the global political and economic level basic income works similarly to the crisis scenario. It redistributes wealth from corporations to citizens in order to encourage people to continue consuming and keep the economic house of cards standing, while bureaucratically speaking it helps downsizing governments' burdens, since it is universal, it is not targeted, every citizen will receive it regardless their societal situation.

As a breakthrough it could change the attention of common talk and politics. As the trust in public life and politics sinks due to recurring crises, and fragile and uncertain future as it happens nowadays, universal basic income would offer an alternative. As researches show,³⁶ the acceptance and support of it is above 60% in society. Politicians and key public figures, the ones who represent society, would regain their credibility through opening the discussion and implementing basic income.

35. R. Buckminster Fuller, *Nine Chains to the Moon*, Anchor Books, 1938, 1973, pp. 252–59.

36. Anisa Holmes, *31% of Europeans want basic income as soon as possible*, 3 May 2017, Retrieved from: www.daliaresearch.com, (18.03.2019.)



WHO OWNS THE LAND?

Amongst theorists, there is still a major question: housing and rent. The issue, as far back as 1942, Sir William Beveridge liberal economist in his governmental report on United Kingdom's founding welfare state struggled to resolve:

*“The attempt to fix rates of insurance benefit and pension on a scientific basis with regard to subsistence needs has brought to notice a serious difficulty in doing so in the conditions of modern Britain. This is the problem of rent. In this, as in other respects, the framing of a satisfactory scheme of social security depends on the solution of other problems of economic and social organisation.”*³⁷

Arguments against basic income point out the unsustainability of the idea due to its costs considering one's rent price. It is not the cost of housing that varies but the rent itself from place to place. With basic income on the table, in expensive areas one would lack the *money* to pay the rent or have a surplus elsewhere, in cheaper places. To tackle the issue of housing costs, one has to understand the nature of land owning and private property. Historically speaking, these are recent phenomena, yet developed in conjunction with the rise of capitalism.

Earlier, property belonged to the type of governance, the ruler, it could not be owned. Property that can be traded, bought and sold coincides with the rules of capitalist market. Except for certain welfare policies and the post-war reconstructions, land owning, and property speculation was always a secure investment for higher-class society.

Capitalism considers nature and environment infinite; the environmental costs of production are not accounted for in the market. Therefore, also land counts as infinite input of resources, yet paradoxically, scarcity and competition are the nature and basis of capitalism. The planet is finite, and fossil resources are as well. The causes of scarcity in the city derive not just from finiteness of land, like happened throughout vast urbanisation waves or degradation from wars; but from the pursuit of financial activity and personal gain. Property and land have become the safest and ultimate assets, especially since the 2008 financial crisis.

37. Sir William Beveridge, *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1942, p.15

Ironically, the financial crisis was evoked by the collapse of mortgage market, which in exchange made real estate speculation a more secure investment. Even so, that a digital data mapping industry – based on social media activity, government statistics, geotags and check-ins – has been established to predict and frame the best districts in which to buy and invest. Matthew Stewart in *The Real Estate Sector is Using Algorithms to Work Out the Best Places to Gentrify* describes the extractive growth of artificially intelligent real estate speculation in the residential sector:

“In Skyline’s own words, they want property investment to become less intuitive and more data-driven and scientific, so that it’s “more comparable with what we’re used to from the stock market, where robotic trading is currently responsible for about 70-80% of trading” ... Skyline AI use a Google Maps-based application to create an algorithmic ‘representation’ of a property in relation to its urban environment, including physical distances to ‘points of interest’ such as schools, parks, restaurants and general infrastructure.”³⁸

In global cities nowadays, mixed communities being pushed out from the centre to the peripherals due to urban restructuring, whole neighbourhoods being bought to replace them with private, large-scale developments of luxurious high-rise apartment buildings or offices. Global cities are successful, they are the financial centres of the world, every actor wants to buy in, since those are the cities with accumulation of wealth, with people that can afford the costs of developments, services. And, by the way, there are the heavily altered, often historic parts of the cities with their citizens who cannot afford the transformation. Eventually, the housing crises are sort of the symptom of success. Locals are pushed for other reasons as well; from touristic point of view, the centres are recently less and less habited by locals, taken over by new, short-term renting schemes.

The tension of housing nowadays led to extremities where, for example, properties in the UK are being rented on a daily basis, the modest middle classes are being priced out from whole ranges of areas. In central London, Qatar’s royal family has more properties than the English one.³⁹ Professionals, professors, workers are no longer able to afford living in the central of cities, while investors turning former residential buildings into exclusive shopping malls, services, office parks often just left empty, securing that buildings are not exposed to deterioration.

38. Matthew Stewart, *The Real Estate Sector is Using Algorithms to Work Out the Best Places to Gentrify*, 11 Feb. 2019, Retrieved from: www.failedarchitecture.com, (23.03.2019.)

39. Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, Oxford, 1991, 2001

But land is a unique asset, it differs from any other kind, since its value is socially created. Buying an empty field in the middle of nowhere would not worth very much, albeit if government invested in infrastructure, roads, railways or businesses appeared, mixture of industrial services and residential areas, values, skills and activities put in the urban mix, it would suddenly worth quite a bit. This locational value is socially created, largely by the local, surrounding community – which has nothing to do with ownership of land.

There are models and methods to level the imbalances, a good example is the Alaska Permanent Fund. The state's significant income comes from oil production, extracting vast oil resources. Alaska recognized that oil is a natural and public resource that everyone should benefit from. Citizens of Alaska receive yearly dividends from the oil revenues. In my opinion, land should be a public resource as well with access to the revenues from renting prices. Overall, owning valuable land ought not to be an issue. The occurring problem is that few people benefit at the expense of others. Upright changes in land prices increases the wealth of the owner while many other need to pay more.

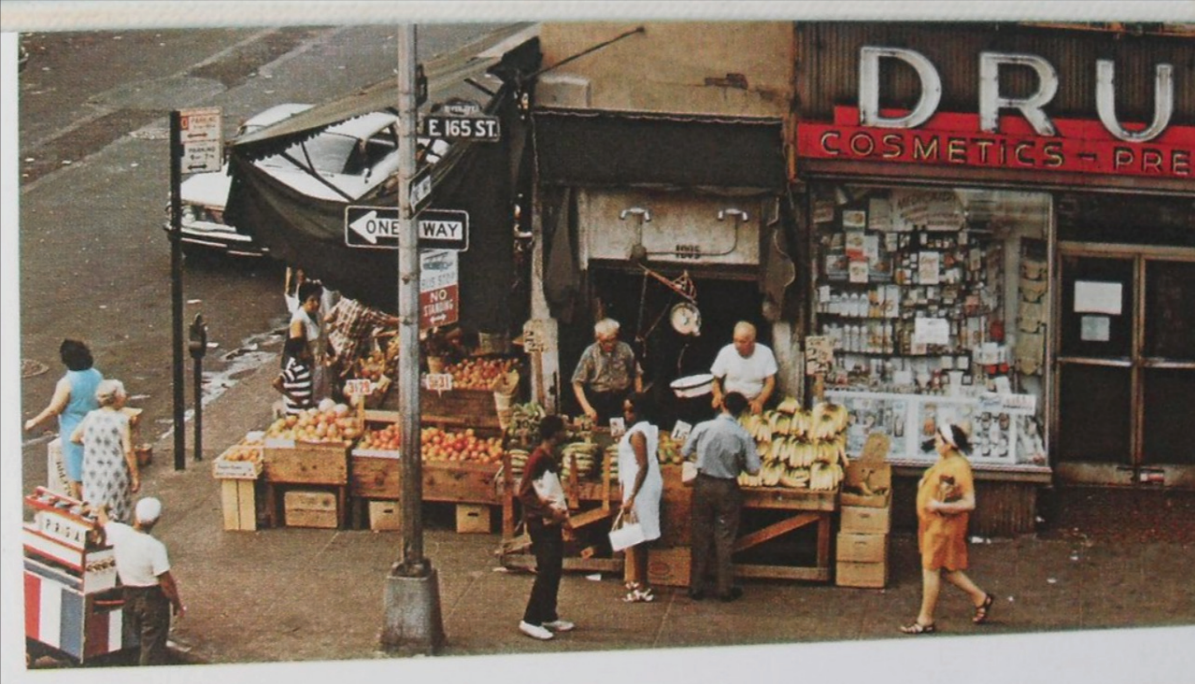
Jane Jacobs in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* suggests subsidization for dwellings to ones who are unable to cover their housing costs.⁴⁰ Tenants would pay lower, adjusted rent, while landowners would be guaranteed sufficient rent. Arguably, the scheme would have required a leap of faith, since funding a program like this with only long-term results was not enough for administrations. Applying Alaska Permanent Fund to land and ownership resonates well with Jacobs' ideas, financially demonstrating a sustainable system, in which imbalances could be eroded, housing would be more affordable, and cities would not be reduced and divided into housing projects and office districts.

A city should be an incomplete, complex system, in which the capacity of urban mixture would be stronger than the sum of its parts separately. The de-urbanising tendencies work against diversity. Privatised corporate buildings are tossed up, big companies in big buildings, dense areas with vast spaces in which lot of people can work, but cannot *make*, cannot curate urbanized life. Density, street life, mixture of uses are basic and essential elements that provide for dwellers a liveable city.

40. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Random House, New York, 1961 pp. 325-326







That is the social capital, the collaboration and efforts that make certain areas desirable for an investor, yet the ones being eradicated leave scars on the city's life. Jacobs illustrates the essence of diversity with the telephone directory, a rare occurrence these days, but nevertheless clear example:

*“Classified telephone directories tell us the greatest single fact about cities: the immense numbers of parts that make up a city, and the immense diversity of those parts. Diversity is natural to big cities.”*⁴¹

These policies can seem way too complex, and certainly should be thoroughly discussed, yet one should not be afraid of doing so, that notwithstanding, humanity faces a major change that is inevitable and must be dealt with, hopefully using the opportunity to lay down the general rules for a more just society. Surprisingly, with the crippling threats posed, change eases the conversation – nothing can be taken for granted. It requires open dialogue, not confrontation, to ask the right questions and perceive one's position in the continuity of historical happening. As Giedion points out in the first part of *Space, Time and Architecture*, “the historian cannot in actual fact detach himself from the life about him: he, too, stands in the stream. The ideal historian – out of the press of affairs, au-dessus de la mêlée, surveying all time and all existence from a lofty pedestal – is a fiction.”⁴²

Basic income can only be explained with reference to these complex social factors. An ideal policy would be universal, meaning it would abolish all means-tested benefits, leaving the individual with stable conditions for a calculable future; regardless race, position, family structure, or any other circumstances. Given the individual's fundamental needs covered, it has the potential to free up energies that could, in return, be invested in creative, artistic projects, politics, community work, entrepreneurship – anything that very few can now afford and was thought to be risky without the safety of basic income. If humanity could build an unprecedented global economy demanding exceptional coordination, one must not give up on incorporating exceptional cooperation.

*“Universal basic income is firstly universal, secondly about income and only thirdly basic. In short, the most radical thing about basic income is that it touches everyone. This marks a significant change in how we view society at large.”*⁴³

41. *Ibid.*, p.143

42. Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1954, p.6

43. Roope Mokka, *Basic Income and the new universalism*, 6 Feb. 2017, Retrieved from: www.sitra.fi (18.03.2019.)

FREE TIME

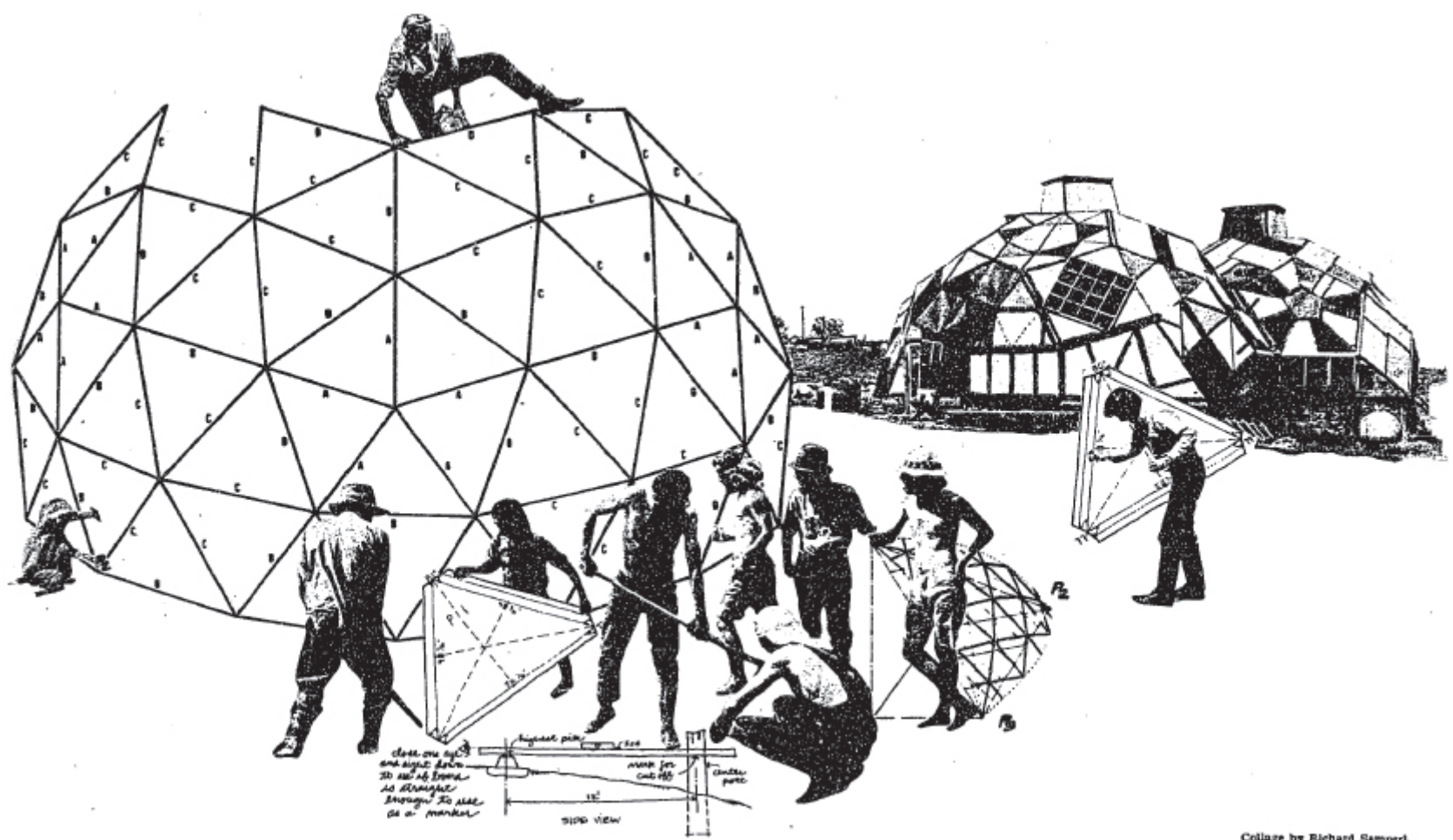


SENSELESS LEISURE?

Confusing work with jobs is the main cause of rejecting the idea of a world without jobs, but there is a difference. A post-job world is unlikely a post-work world. With the development of technology, such as advanced robotics, artificial intelligence, big-data analysis, advanced analytics and algorithms etc., the economic productive activities will increasingly be handed off to intelligent technologies, however, the desire to be productive will not be gone, but will be found in other ways, in other kind of work, in more meaningful activities. Most people want to be productive but being forced to do something less enriching leads to alienation from the job. In other words, laziness is alienation, a kind of resistance, a refusal to the status quo. According to Anna Dent in her article *Free money wouldn't make people lazy – but it could revolutionise work*, productivity only matters if it does not threaten the individuals' sense of purpose, and laziness is a symptom of the lack of it. Introducing policies such as basic income will not lead to laziness or senseless leisure, those are the consequences of dissatisfaction from the job.

“The pure idea of a UBI does not hold any inherent position when it comes to paid work but promises freedom and choice. As far back as the 1880s, in the work of Paul Lafargue, the right of workers (as opposed to the rich) to be lazy was framed as an explicit rejection of the dominant work ethic, and the route to true independence, free from the pressure to work. The refusal to participate in paid employment is still considered by some as an active strategy of resistance to neoliberalism.”⁴⁴

44. Anna Dent, *Free money wouldn't make people lazy – but it could revolutionise work*, 12 Feb. 2019, Retrieved from: www.theguardian.com (24.03.2019.)



Collage by Richard Samperi.

COUNTERCULTURE

Many people in the world do not fully participate in the capitalist economy; occasional jobs combined with barter and trade have never entirely disappeared. Refusing the repetitiveness of employment, in which everyday life only is a leftover, a “vague constellation of spaces and times *outside* what was organized and institutionalized around work, conformity, and consumerism.”⁴⁵ – is not necessarily irrational and without precedent. Crary brings an argument in *24/7*, that 1960s counterculture posed a significant threat to capitalism. The situationists in Europe rebelled against the intensive occupation of everyday life of consumption, organized leisure and spectacle. They critiqued the establishment, consumerism, the boredom and monotony of life, that appraises 9-5 jobs, producing something one does not necessarily like, and finding fulfilment only through consuming manipulatively advertised goods that they think they do.

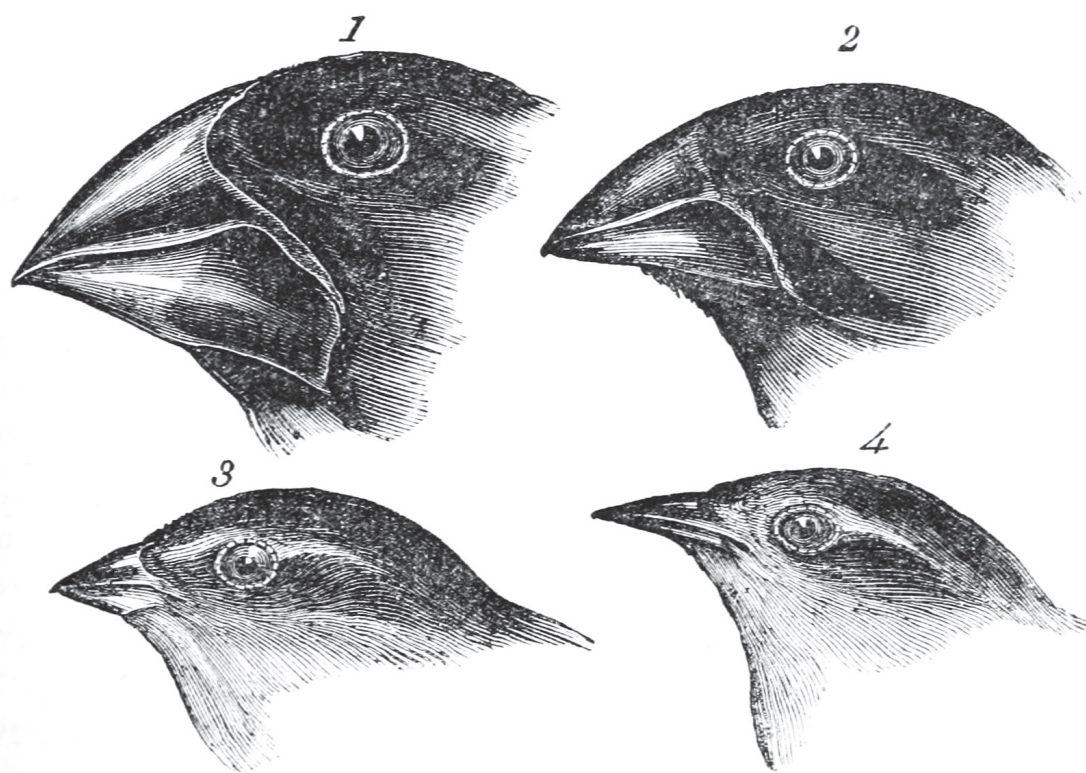
The hippie movement in the US also rejected the institutions of mainstream life. Drop City in Colorado represented the spirit of this revolutionary time. The group applied Buckminster Fuller’s concepts of design and philosophy by building, nailing together and inhabit eventually 11 geodesic domes, creating art, working together, for each other.

*“At the time, nobody had fully applied the concepts of Buckminster Fuller, the renowned architect who’d been preaching for years that geodesic domes could endure stress and harsh weather conditions more efficiently than old-fashioned rectangles with triangles on top... He thought Fuller’s domes would be a perfect fit for the encampment he’d been envisioning with his friends.”*⁴⁶

Living in such utopian artist community projects offered an alternative to the American lifestyle. Eventually, both movements subsided due to changes in politics and economics. The economic growth and renewed promise of abundance convinced society; neoliberalism successfully replaced the optimistic idealism of the counterculture.

45. Jonathan Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*, London, New York, Verso, 2013, p.70

46. Steve Knopper, *Colorado’s Famous Historic Artist Commune*, September 2015, Retrieved from: www.5280.com (24.03.2019.)



1. *Geospiza magnirostris*.
3. *Geospiza parvula*.

2. *Geospiza fortis*.
4. *Certhidea olivacea*.

FEAR OF FAILURE

It is common to say to find something you love to do, and you'll never have to work a day in your life. Why people tend not to find their way to do what they love? The education system that fails to prepare for a changing world with longer life expectancy, offering options for only the ones shining in one set of skills? The economic and political system that let down majority of society not showing perspective and opportunity to the poor, and the disappearing middle class – forcing people into an exploited and dependant situation to accept demeaning jobs? Of course, all these constitute a complex compound, yet one thing is likely to restrain the many from searching and trying – the fear of failure.

One can take the comparison of nature and market. They both environments that work without a central planner, and only the ones offering better surviving skills survive. Evolution in nature happens through trial and error, such as in market, if one creates something that people likes, it does well, if not, fails. If there is something that can be done better, the original disappears. This is the evolution of goods and services that are controlled by supply and demand.

“A new product or service introduced into the market can result in success or failure. The outcome is entirely unknown until it's tried. What succeeds can make someone rich and what fails can bankrupt someone. That's a big risk. We traditionally like to think of these risk-takers as a special kind of person, but really they're mostly just those who are economically secure enough to feel failure isn't scarier than the potential for success.”⁴⁷

In a society that income insecurity is present, people tend not to take risks. Risk is a luxury that only the ones with enough capital are willing to take. Losing a fragment of wealth due to a failed attempt will not crush them. But with the safety net of universal basic income, if living costs are covered and one's basic survival (the bottom two steps of Maslow's hierarchy of needs) is not threatened, many would thrive themselves into inventing, fulfilling their dreams or things that interest them. And of course, probably many would drive themselves into failing as well. How does this translate in society as productive? How does failure and that kind of freedom add up to the common development of the world?

47. Scott Santens, *Universal Basic Income Will Accelerate Innovation by Reducing Our Fear of Failure*, 1 Dec. 2016, Retrieved from: www.medium.com (22.03.2019.)

Let us take the example of venture capitals who take risks investing in start-ups and compare them to universal basic income. It would work as an investment in everyone. Investors can accept failure of certain ideas, in order to find the one that succeed big. With the same approach, basic income as a social investment widens the window to everyone and encourages individuals to try – and to fail. In *The New York Magazine Environmental Teach-In* by Elizabeth Barlow, an article from 1970 of then New York's hard financial situation, the issues of modern and accelerated lifestyle, Buckminster Fuller explained:

“We must do away with the absolutely specious notion that everybody has to earn a living. It is a fact today that one in ten thousand of us can make a technological breakthrough capable of supporting all the rest. The youth of today are absolutely right in recognizing this nonsense of earning a living. We keep inventing jobs because of this false idea that everybody has to be employed at some kind of drudgery because, according to Malthusian-Darwinian theory, he must justify his right to exist.”⁴⁸

Basic income therefore is a capacity to produce, to actively participate in society without the fear of falling out of the system, losing everything. Purpose matters to people but not to corporations. If the strongest incentive behind all actions is profit, it weakens one's sense of purpose. Basic income acts as the stimulus to chase better opportunities, seek fulfilling work instead of accepting working for someone else's profit.

“Viewed this way, the basic income combats the universally shared experience of the “spectre of uselessness” that haunts all parts of society, independent of social status or background. In doing this, it pushes us towards the “politics of what is shared”: the very process of getting basic income implemented is able to galvanise politics on a new level.”⁴⁹

The fear of uselessness is the legacy of crises that threatened societies with collapse, such as the Great Depression or the British depression in the 1950s after losing the markets of their colonies. If society would be able to prepare for such a change, that employment would be optional, and it would not arrive with the demise of the world, then the following generations could concentrate on learning the skills for exploiting their real potential.

48. Elizabeth Barlow, *The New York Magazine Environmental Teach-In*, New York Magazine 30 March 1970, p. 30

49. Roope Mokka, *Basic Income and the new universalism*, 6 Feb. 2017, Retrieved from: www.sitra.fi (25.03.2019.)

COMPETITION IN CLASSROOMS

It all starts with access to education. Shifting the energy from conditioning for competitive, survival and scarcity-based world to an abundance-based one, society's behaviour would change. Current education system is selective, the best schools, universities are private ones, narrowing down the access to education to very few, privileged people. Career is often described as a ladder on which one has to climb as high as possible to be considered successful. The preparation for the competition starts in the classrooms, and ones with more resources have more options to stand out, have access to a wide variety of options.

This vertical system with current technologies already can be shifted to a horizontal one. There is a need for it, the everchanging, possibly longer and accelerated life requires lifelong learning. Currently, education system prepares for one career, but people will need different, more than one set of skills, let alone career will mean something totally different from what is understood by it now. Free education to all is not anymore a techno-fantasy, there are massive open online courses happening, and Sebastian Thrun scientist and educator of Stanford University demonstrated in his experiment how democratising education works in motion. He taught for a semester an online class to 160.000 regular people and did the same to 200 students of Stanford. After reviewing and ranking the results of tests, he discovered that the best 412 students were from the online class. In his words, “for every great Stanford student, there's 412 amazingly great, even better students in the world.”⁵⁰

Education has a different role in society in the future, it will be the curator of individuals' everyday life. Rapid and constant changes in society are not followed by education, therefore as with design of goods, it becomes outdated quickly as well, resulting the individual struggling to assimilate to society. There is a name for this experience. The term of *future shock* was introduced by Alvin and Heidi Toffler in their identically named 1970 book. They explained the phenomena as “change was going to accelerate and that the speed of change could induce disorientation in lots of people. We coined the phrase ‘future shock’ as an analogy to the concept of culture shock. With future shock you stay in one place but your own culture changes so rapidly that it has the same disorienting effect as going to another culture.”⁵¹

50. William McKinney, *With MOOCs, Study Reveals you Could Beat Ivy League Students*, 17 Jan. 2017, Retrieved from: www.edgy.app (26.03.2019.)

51. “Alvin Toffler, *Still shocking after all these years: New Scientist meets the controversial futurologist*, New Scientist, 19 March 1994, pp. 22–25

FUN PALACE

Those effects can be alleviated and curated by lifelong learning that not just fulfils one's interests but adapts to sharp turns of society. Advanced technology is the threat, but in a life with a more flexible path, it helps to share knowledge and information horizontally, giving access to all. In other words, the question of free time should not be approached from the fear of senseless leisure or apathy of losing purpose. Quite the opposite, it should promote organizing knowledge distribution, to find the infrastructure of democratized education, in which an individual can frame their life and educate themselves.

Fun Palace by Joan Littlewood and Cedric Price tried to render those constant changes into architecture, putting the emphasis on the flexibility provided by mere infrastructure – with restricting architecture to minimal. He envisioned a counter movement to static built environment, representing a complex and dynamic society with constant economic and cultural changes. Joan Littlewood being the mastermind behind the concept of Fun Palace, describes the activities in the promotional brochure:

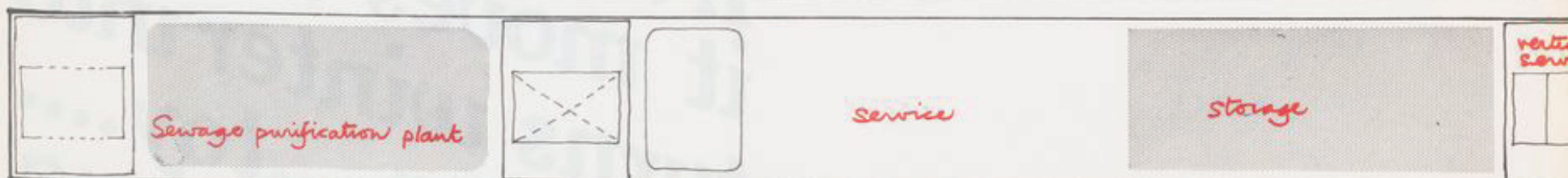
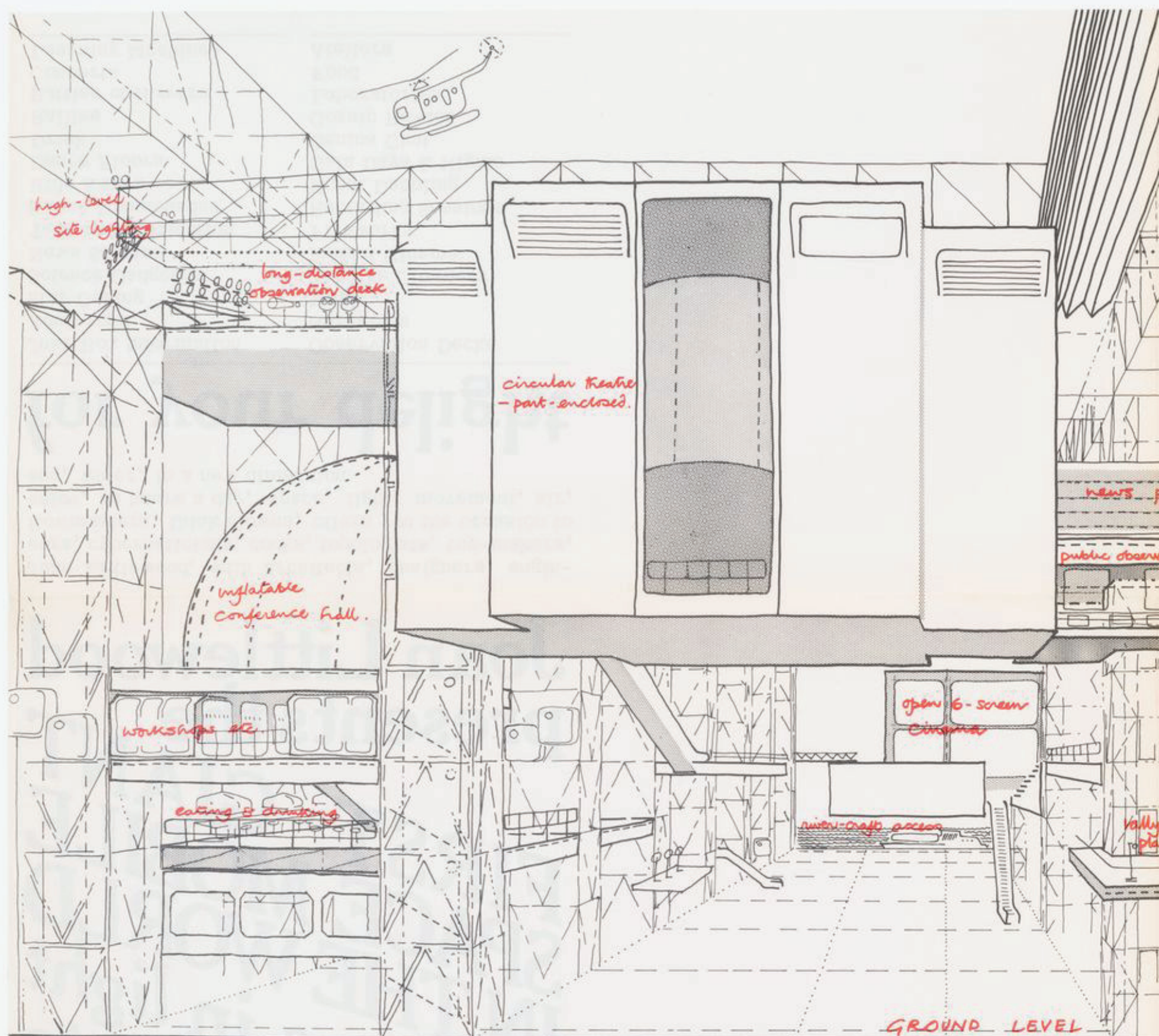
“Choose what you want to do – or watch someone else doing it. Learn how to handle tools, paint, babies, machinery, or just listen to your favourite tune. Dance, talk or be lifted up to where you can see how other people make things work. Sit out over space with a drink and tune in to what's happening elsewhere in the city. Try starting a riot or beginning a painting – or just lie back and stare at the sky.”⁵²

Fun Palace would never have been a cohesive structure but rather an unstable one, comprised of spaces that in time can be transformed, rearranged. The concept works as a point of departure for organizing free time and education, not promoting leisure. Constant self-education is essential not just to adapt to changes or new technologies, but to be able to free that mental capacity one can have with their basic needs covered. Learning does not mean necessarily academic education, but knowledge shared, distributed. It promotes open discussions, debates, politics and community work, creative and artistic projects that are risky or difficult to be dependent on financially – but nevertheless fulfilling.

Fun Palace has never been built; on its proposed site at Mill Meads in the Lea River Valley is now the Aquatics Centre of the 2012 London Olympic designed by Zaha Hadid. A different vision of how society imagines leisure and free time.

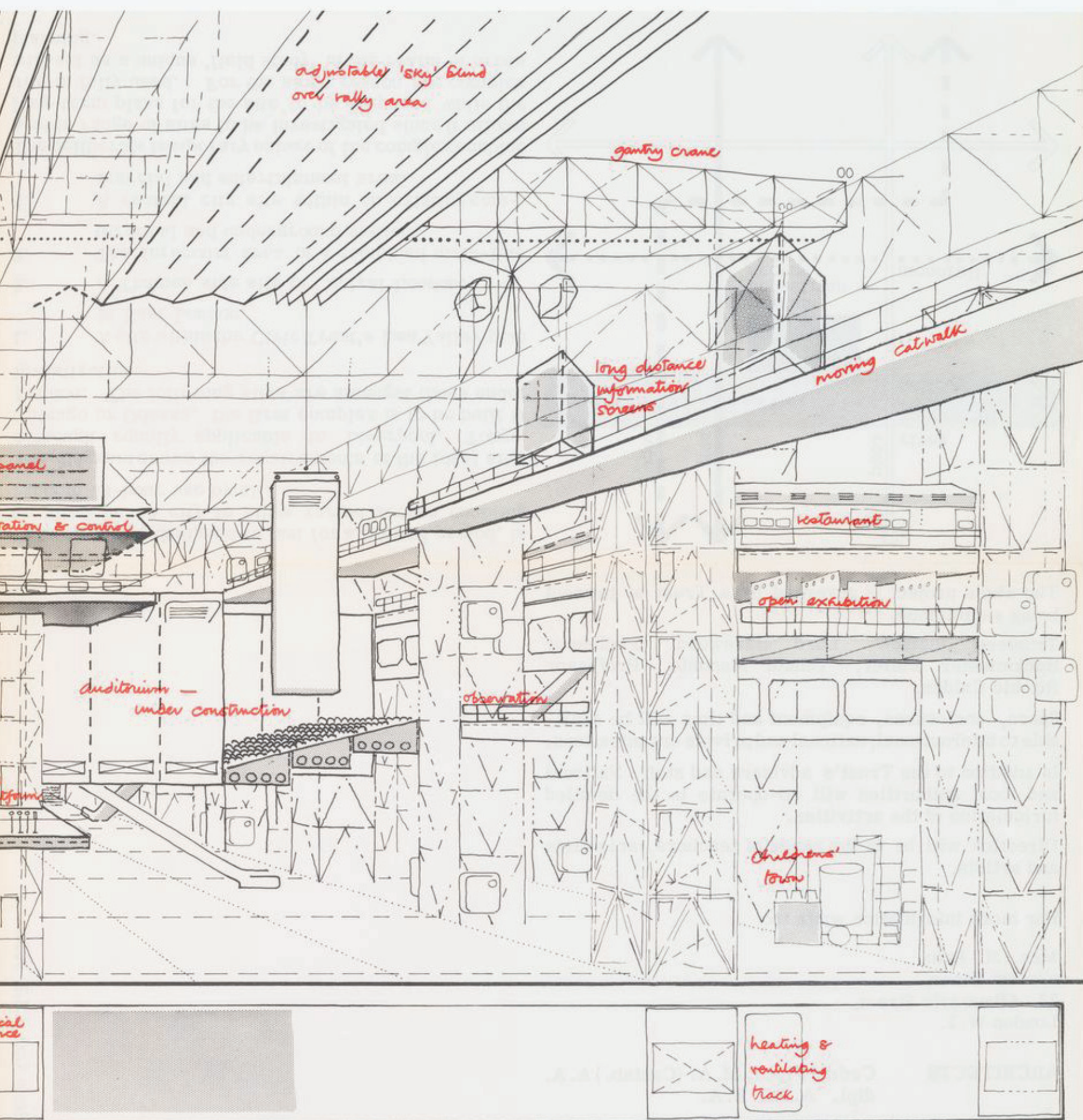
31 | Cedric Price and Joan Littlewood. Fun Palace promotional brochure, 1964. Courtesy of CCA

52. Cedric Price and Joan Littlewood, *Fund-raising brochure for Fun Palace*, London, 1964, Retrieved from: www.cca.qc.ca (28.03.2019.)



ARRIVE AND LEAVE by train, bus, monorail, hovercraft, car, tube or foot at any time YOU want to - or just have a look at it as you pass. The information screens will show you what's happening. No need to look for an entrance - just walk in anywhere. No doors, foyers, queues or commissionaires: it's up to you how you use it. Look around - take a lift, a ramp, an escalator to wherever or whatever looks interesting.

CHOOSE what you want to do - or watch someone else doing it. Learn how to handle tools, paint, babies, machinery, or just listen to your favourite tune. Dance, talk or be lifted up to where you can see how other people make things work. Sit out over space with a drink and tune in to what's happening elsewhere in the city. Try starting a riot or beginning a painting - or just lie back and stare at the sky.



WHAT TIME IS IT? Any time of day or night, winter or summer - it really doesn't matter. If it's too wet that roof will stop the rain but not the light. The artificial cloud will keep you cool or make rainbows for you. Your feet will be warm as you watch the stars - the atmosphere clear as you join in the chorus. Why not have your favourite meal high up where you can watch the thunderstorm?

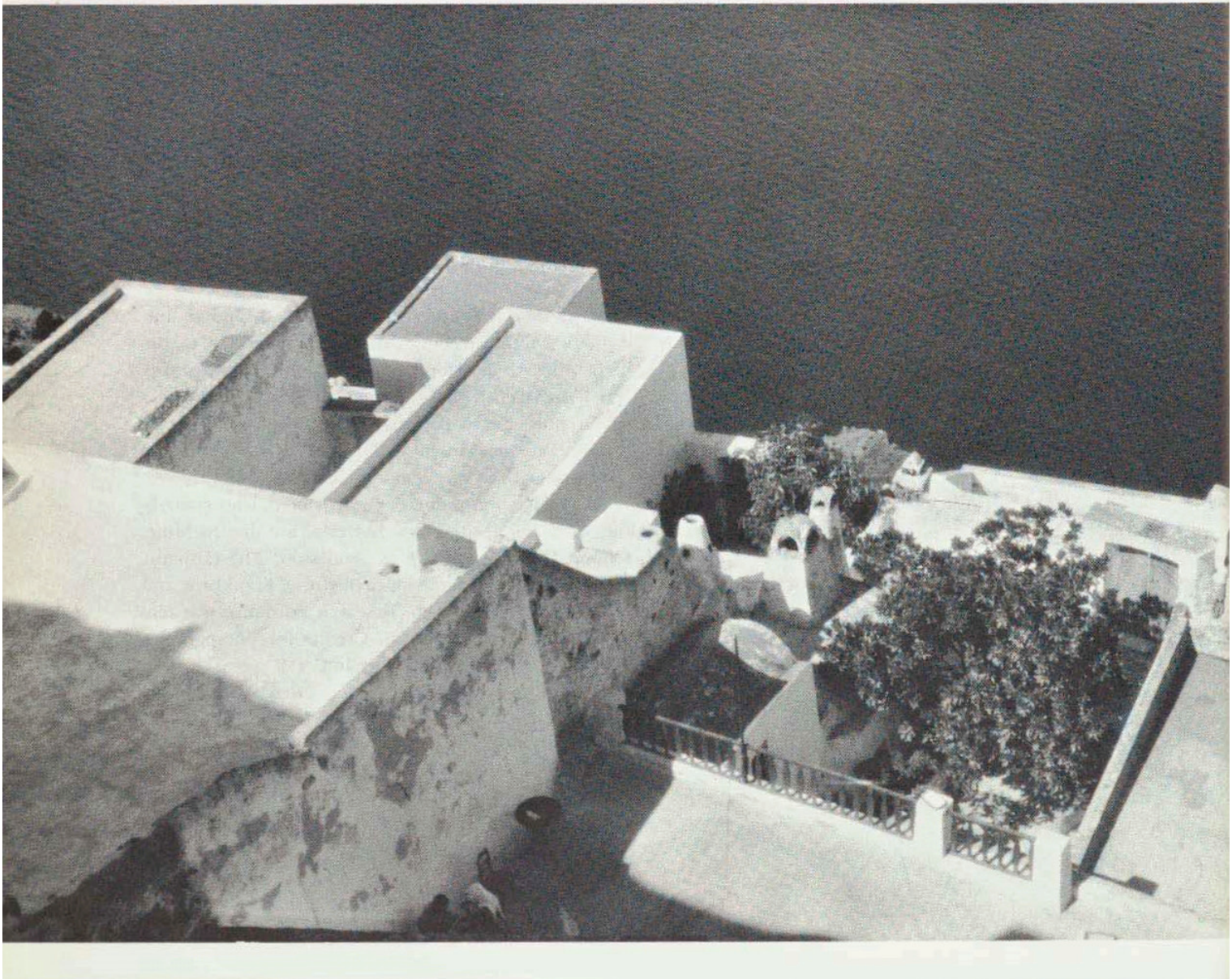
WHY ALL THIS LOT? "If any nation is to be lost or saved by the character of its great cities, our own is that nation".
- Robert Vaughan 1843

We are building a short-term plaything in which all of us can realise the possibilities and delights that a 20th Century city environment owes us. It must last no longer than we need it.

FREE OR SHARED

Vernacular architecture does not go through fashion cycles. It is nearly immutable, indeed, unimprovable, since it serves its purpose to perfection. As a rule, the origin of indigenous building forms and construction methods is lost in the distant past. Below, houses typical of the Mediterranean area.

1



SHIFTS IN THE ROLE OF THE ARCHITECT

The role of the architect has changed fundamentally over historical periods. In an extended span, based on M.S. Larson's 1983 book *Emblem and exception: The historical definition of the architect's professional role*⁵³, there were three major shifts in history: in medieval and the pre-renaissance the architect was an anonymous actor who had brought alive clients' visions, its role reduced to be only a master builder. With the advent of renaissance, the architect had become the genius, artist, a creative who set trends and styles, and only after the baroque the architect became the expert, the specialist we mean by more or less the architect nowadays. This shows the change of reputation of architects on a broad historical scale, overlapping and pinpointing two moments in history when the number of architects experienced significant growth. Certain periods of vast social change suggest major changes in the role of architect as well. Given that society is on the brink of possibly the biggest change in the history of humanity, it is hard to say architecture is currently in a period of stability.

As vernacular is not a style, its strength rests on its connection to the culture of a people and place, its genius loci. Bernard Rudofsky explains in the opening of *Architecture without Architects*, "vernacular architecture does not go through fashion cycles. It is nearly immutable, indeed unimprovable, since it serves its purpose to perfection."⁵⁴ Unlike the vernacular, architecture as profession and institution has always tended to rely on its history and periods. If not on previous ages, then on the renouncement of them. In any given time, architecture follows the zeitgeist, the spirit of the time – and less the place. Stylistic changes tend to follow new techniques, discovery of new materials, or in other artistic fields – changes in society and economy.

The correlation with technological advancements and its evoked societal changes are linked. As technology advancement accelerates, historical periods change faster as well. The peculiarity of architecture, as a result, that its periods are constantly shortening. Besides the exponential shortening of styles, -isms and periods, architecture's connection to place tend to fade at the same pace. The shorter stylistic trends bring about intensified ageing, the lapse of architectural works. Consequently, following trends and set of rules dictated by the given style, the universal and standardized concepts are less abiding.

32 | The first illustration in the book *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture* by Bernard Rudofsky

53. M. S. Larson, *Emblem and Exception: the historical definition of the architect's professional role*, "Professionals and Urban Form" (Blau, J. R., LaGory, M. and Pipkin, J. S., Eds.), State University of New York Press, New York, 1983

54. Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture*, Doubleday & Company, New York, 1964 p.1

ARCHITECTURE WITHOUT HUMANS

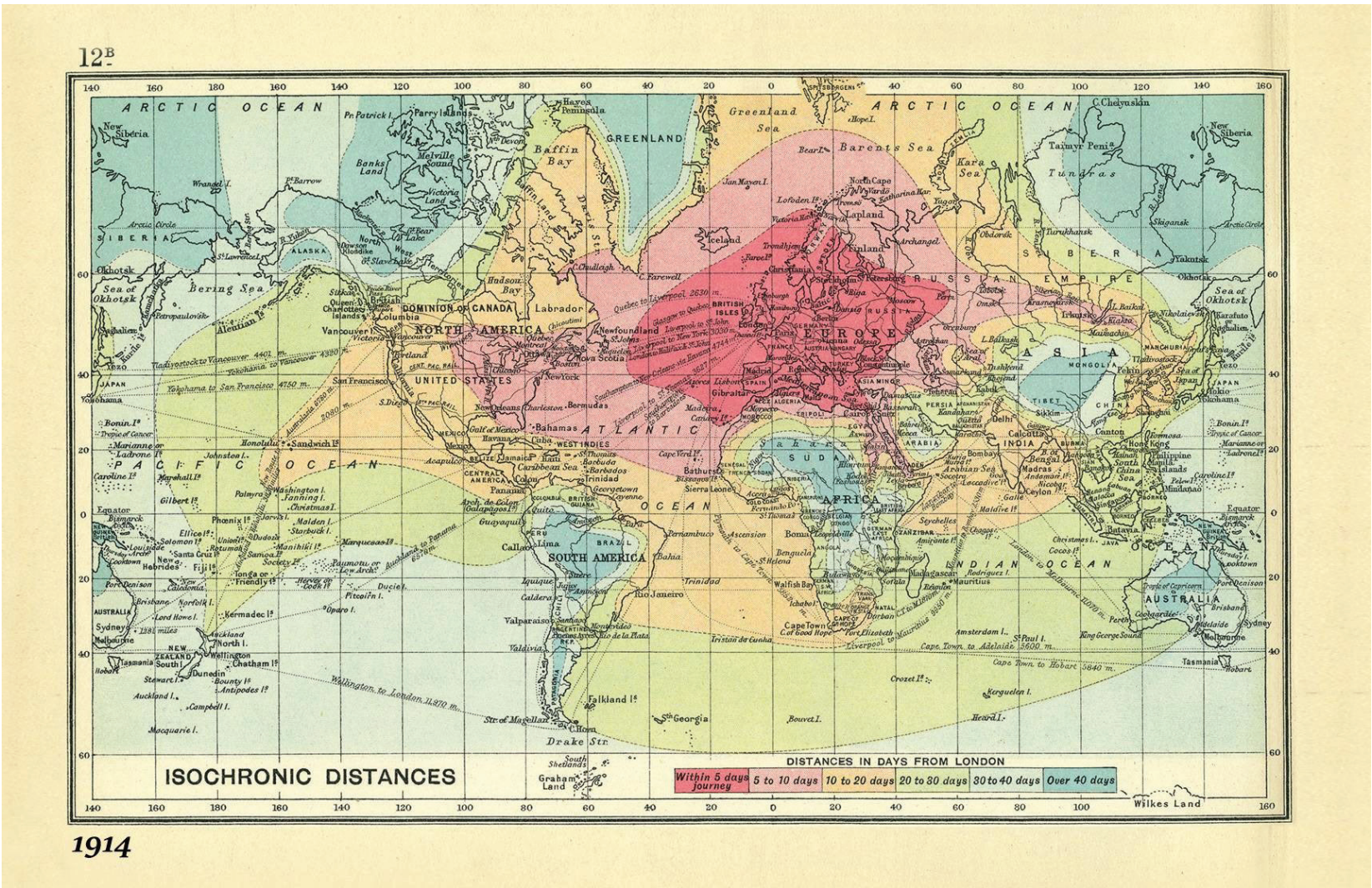
On the other hand, technological advancements had always brought about new infrastructural and architectural tasks. Sokratis Georgiadis describes Giedion's arguments on 19th century developments in the introduction of *Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferroconcrete*:

*“The new architectural tasks of the nineteenth century- railroad stations, department stores, exhibition halls- were central to his remarks, and they were discussed from the point of view of the aesthetic possibilities of using the new materials and structural methods.”*⁵⁵

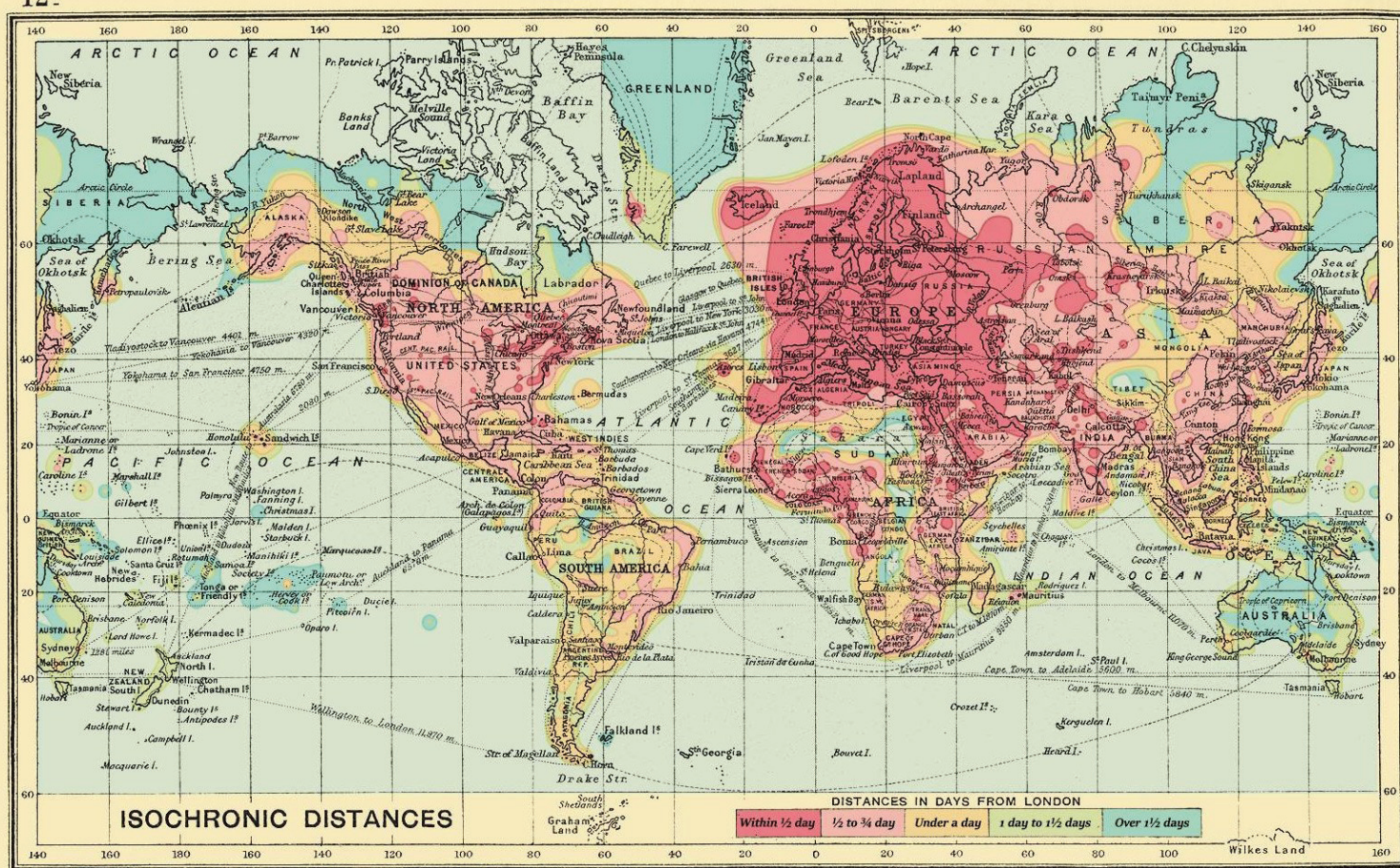
Those new tasks required new architectures due to new technologies appearing. With the advent of computerization and digitalization, the focus from physical world shifted to digital, leaving the main work to the infrastructure of internet. The architecture without humans. Data centres are the new factories of the computational economy, while factories need less and less human activity, therefore their designs do not need to take into consideration of human conditions, such as light, dimensions or overall well-being. They are to be harsher from human point of view, but it is irrelevant, the architecture of production happens and will happen even more by automation and robotization.

Building a new future for society, being the engineer of society might not be the incentive of the architect anymore. Without making promises for a new architecture, today could be the opportunity in which being the constant critic of the time would be just enough. Without new physical infrastructure, taking a new, ground-breaking direction, one could simply understand and reuse the current, already available ones. The potential lies in adaptation to and not creation of a new history, eradicating what was before. As it happened with commuting, instead of the advent of flying cars and other techno-fantasies, the new age of commuting is not happening by the advent of a new physical technology, but a digital one, organizing and distributing the current ones. Commuting time has drastically decreased throughout recent history. In the early 20th century, the quickest journeys could be completed within 5 days, whereas nowadays the *slowest* journeys take just over a bit of a day and half, including the most remote areas. Yet, the current transformation differs from the previous shifts in the development of commuting.

55. Sigfried Giedion, *Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferroconcrete*, The Getty Center for the History of Art, Los Angeles, 1995, p.47



33 | Isochronic map that illustrates how long it would take to travel from London to destinations across the globe. Published by John G. Bartholomew in 1914



The future of commuting does not necessary materialize in a new vehicle. The access to the most advanced technology and energy resources always determined commuting, represented with a certain dominant vehicle and its infrastructural works of the time. Before railways, rivers were the platforms of transportation, inducing the regulation and canalization of them. With the advent of steam-engine, fluvial transportation gave the rein to railways. By 20th century, the infrastructure of railways peaked. The current network of railways had been laid prevalently in that time. Road transport and its infrastructure (just think of Los Angeles' grandiose highway network) became predominant by mid-century, which, by the end of the century had been taken over by aviation. Neither kind of transportation has disappeared, all of them co-exist, develop together, but the tendency of introducing new technology stopped, there is no new paradigm in commute or a slowdown of current one. On the other hand, the digital infrastructure constantly develops, connecting all modes of commute together. Online routing helps passengers to find the best ways to travel, shared services and renting decreases the number of vehicles in traffic, efficiency and utilization develops at a strong pace. In the end, sharing can be a luxury, not a compromise. How to apply this to architecture?



PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF ARCHITECTURE

The architect was the genius, the engineer, the doctor and the shrink. Beatriz Colomina and Mark Wigley describe the role of architect in *Are we Human?* connected to afflictions of every age, inspired by Byung-Chul Han's term in *Burnout Society*. In their narrative, every age has its signature afflictions and each affliction has its architecture. The age of bacterial diseases gave birth to modern architecture, to white buildings detached from the "humid ground where disease breeds", as Le Corbusier put it. The discovery of antibiotics put an end to that age. In the post-war years, attention shifted to psychological problems. The architect was not seen just as a doctor but also as a psychoanalyst, the house not just as a medical device for the prevention of disease, but also as providing psychological comfort, *mental health*.⁵⁶

They keep on with the neurological disorders of 21st century, the humanity becoming allergic to itself. In my opinion, the next affliction will not be a neural or physical one, but a societal one. The hypersensitivity of today is the consequence of the alienation, ignorance towards each other, its causes lie not just in built environment, but the accelerated life, the lack of physical connection, detachment from each other. Not to mention *future shock*, the uncertainty and the fear of a world without work.

I daresay technology to a better future is already present and available and the new industrial revolution is happening today, yet society constantly fails to face new challenges. Digitization is a double-edged sword, while it can be the platform for connection and communication of physical things (the Internet of Things) and it can be the source of knowledge, the distribution of education to all, we tend to use it to heavily curate our digital self, to create our better image online. The whole universe now is concentrated on a screen, while we forgot the real one, the physical universe we actually live in.

The real challenge of architecture is not related to the digital, but to its role in the part of the process to re-evaluate our connection to our physical world. The questions raised here lead not towards a grandiose architecture, but a subtle one. The societal and economic upheavals are coming with enormous effects, the response of architecture does not need to be. Unlike immense changes happen in other parts of life; just as with commuting, architecture does not need a structural change, but *only* adaptability and certain re-evaluation, optimization and interventions where most needed. A change of approach and a little bit of ethics.

35 | Domestication Of A Pyramid By Magdalena Jetelová, Vienna, 1992
Photograph: Werner J. Hannappel

56. Beatriz Colomina & Mark Wigley, *Are We Human? Notes on an Archeology of Design*, Lars Müller Publishers, Zürich 2016, pp. 120-121







NON-INSTITUTIONAL LEARNING

A post-labour society is a society that has everything. Every resource and access to knowledge is available; to understand context and environment. To honour the values of otherwise valueless materials or places do not require tangible values, there are no price tags attached. The role of architect here is to provide a platform to experiment, to share knowledge, to support craft.

As a student, having been part of European Architecture Students' Assembly (EASA) I had the opportunity to experience the importance of these values, that sharing is not just a worn-out expression, quite the opposite, it is fresher than ever, it has enormous effect on one's perception of the world. EASA is a platform for exchange of ideas and knowledge for European students of architecture. This is achieved primarily by a two-week summer assembly and a week-long intermediate meeting to organize and discuss operational works of the community. It is not an established organisation, but a non-political and non-profit network aimed at bringing people together.

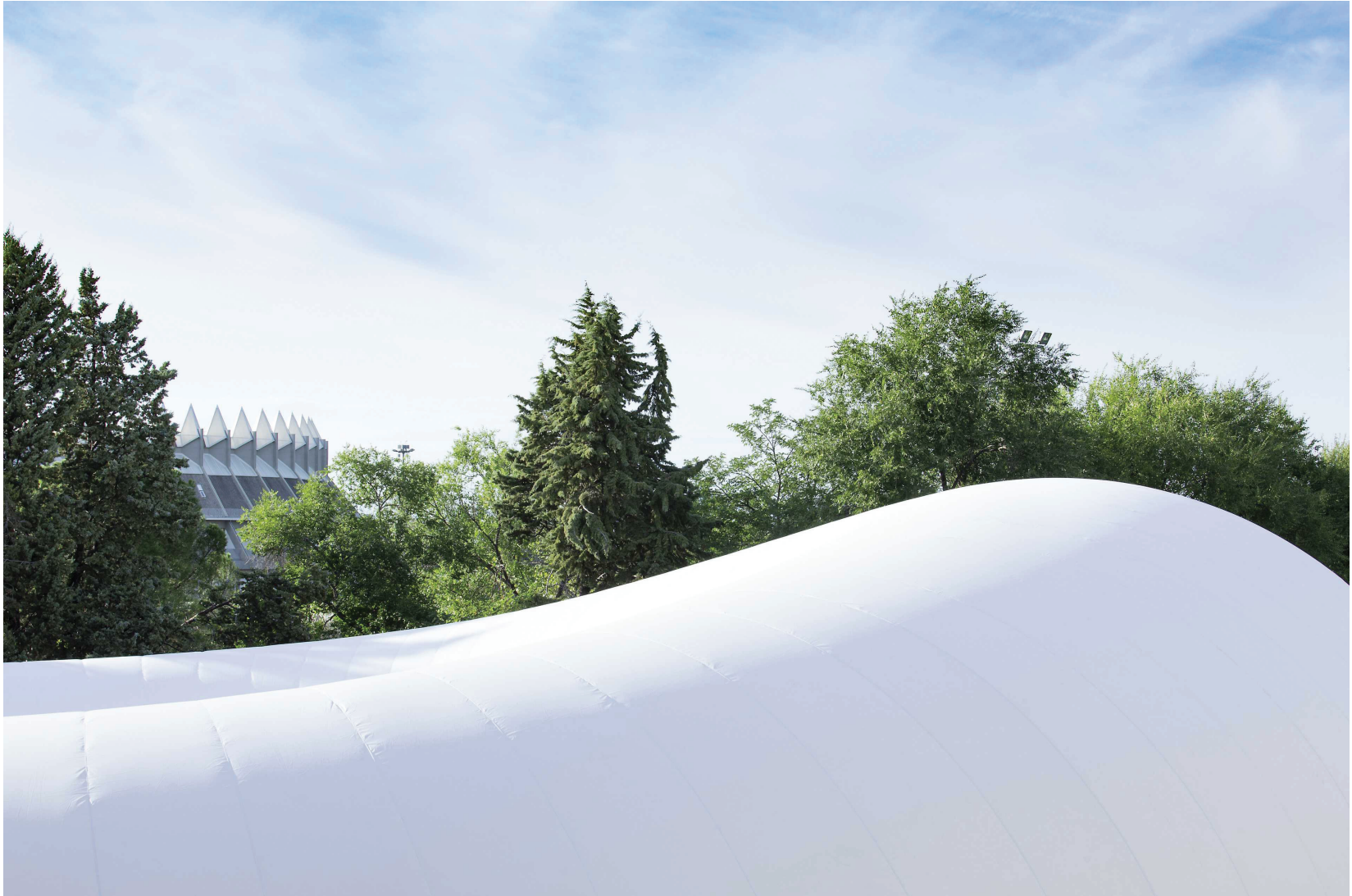
The organization of the gatherings led by volunteers of a given country's team to promote and curate the discussion of the future development of architecture – and EASA itself. It is a non-profit and decentralized associative structure. The impact, the work put into is immense, the network requires dedication to maintain, yet it successfully works since 1981. The real power of EASA lies in its knowledge distribution. It is a non-institutionalized form of teaching, learning and sharing. Each year, the discovery of new territories and cultures gives new meaning of learning, it happens through empirical alternative and radical pedagogies, variety of workshops in which one can acquire new knowledge and skills through the practice of creative, intellectual and manual activities. Taking part in, interacting with local contexts and communities whilst tackling their issues had made me realize the importance of collaboration, sharing and connection. On a more professional level, Assemble's rather radical collective in London is the closest to represent these values, and in my opinion, furthest from the norm and the issues of current unhealthy and inactive communities.



39 | Group photo, participants of the summer assembly, Valletta, Malta 2015.
Photograph: Alexandra Kononchenko













NON-INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICE

Assemble is a loose group of people, most of whom studied architecture, albeit a group that realized there is more to it than sitting in a corporate office, following rigid hierarchies and unthinking practice. They are pioneers of a new era. Pioneers to the extent to which they are part of the current system, yet they apply new depths and layers to the practice of architecture. In other words, their approach is far from conventional. Their method is less about the finished object than it is about the series of actions by which a space is designed, constructed and inhabited. With their early projects they built their reputation delivering enormous urban transformation with a few simple gestures, finding forgotten gaps in the city. Then, Assemble won the Turner Prize in 2015, a prestigious, but controversial prize for visual artists – with a housing project. A project for rescuing abandoned houses in a troubled neighbourhood, near Granby Street in Liverpool. In a portrait of Guardian feature on Assemble, they explained the project as “a reaction to a really bad situation, not a solution to a broader problem.”⁵⁷ Instead of a total demolition, Granby Street was done in collaboration with local people. Every house was done with the recognition of the locals’ individuality, while Assemble took the decay of existing structures as an opportunity instead of obstacle.

“We want to celebrate the idiosyncrasies of the existing derelict buildings. If a floor is missing, why not leave it out and have a double-height space? There isn’t the usual pressure to extract the maximum possible value from the site and put profit before people.”⁵⁸

Similarly, as a brave choice from Goldsmiths, Assemble has transformed a former Victorian public bath house to create a new art centre for Goldsmiths college in south London. The art gallery itself has been chopped, carved out from series of extraordinary spaces, opening up the labyrinthine complex of the building with strategic cuts here, insertions there. Walls have been left as raw record of the building, new spaces have been added as lightweight steel-framed boxes. While it sounds hectic, with careful touches and using certain finishes, paints, removals it feels whole, resulting both an excavated and carefully made feeling.

“Throughout, there are details that show the architects’ interest in how the building has been made and altered over time, and an awareness that their interventions are part of the ongoing life of the place, forming a richly layered canvas for artists to add to in turn.”⁵⁹

46,47 | After reconstruction, former bathhouse gives home to Goldsmiths Centre for Contemporary Art, London, 2018. Photograph: Assemble

57. Rowan Moore, *Assemble: the unfashionable art of making a difference*, 29 Nov. 2015, Retrieved from: www.theguardian.com (30.03.2019.)

58. Oliver Wainwright, *The street that might win the Turner prize: how Assemble are transforming Toxteth*, 15 May 2015, Retrieved from: www.theguardian.com (30.03.2019.)

59. Oliver Wainwright, *Goldsmiths Centre for Contemporary Art review – a glowing DIY labyrinth*, 30 Aug. 2018, Retrieved from: www.theguardian.com (31.03.2019.)





47.



The real magic here is once again not the finished project itself, but the operation of the collective. Their studio is a workshop space, the least office-looking studio that one could find. They lease their studio for almost nothing, which, by the way the members designed and built. They represent the antidote to the earlier mentioned lack of entrepreneurship, the fear of failure. Putting aside the paper and *make*, to build prototypes one on one. A little bit of madness, nevertheless a fresh approach with possible innovative outcomes.

*“Assemble Studio is the poster group for a generation of young architects and designers increasingly drawn to the idea of working collectively. It has maintained an ethos of community engagement and a commitment to social projects, and has none of the utopianism of the 1960s and ’70s collectives. Its members are not dreamers or manifesto writers; they are doers. They roll up their sleeves and build. And they work with and for local communities, not in spite of them. They are a necessary antidote to London’s addiction to building luxury apartments that no one will live in.”*⁶⁰

What Assemble expresses with their architecture is the resemblance to the form of *urban artifacts* described by Aldo Rossi in *The Architecture of the City*. The urban artifact is not only a building, but a fragment of the city.⁶¹ It is meant to survive the evolution or the obsolescence of its function. Since every physical structure in the city could potentially be an urban artifact, Rossi does not refuse new architecture inserted in the city. For him, the differentiating factor would have to be its individuality which comes from its quality, uniqueness and definition.⁶²

What artifacts have in common that they outlive their functions. The lifetime of a building houses different activities, the original function is rarely the only one. The shorter historical and stylistic periods leave not much room for adaptation for buildings with tightly-fitted programs. Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown examined the moral dimension of design as the building’s ability to be adapted to new functions without being demolished and reconstructed. If fashionable buildings grow out of date faster, they will be replaced faster. Just think of the ongoing debate with postmodernism and its aesthetic interlude. The stylistic attributes are simply outdated; thus, many denies its architecture altogether. Postmodernism “has the defect of being out of fashion while not being old enough to be re-evaluated.”⁶³

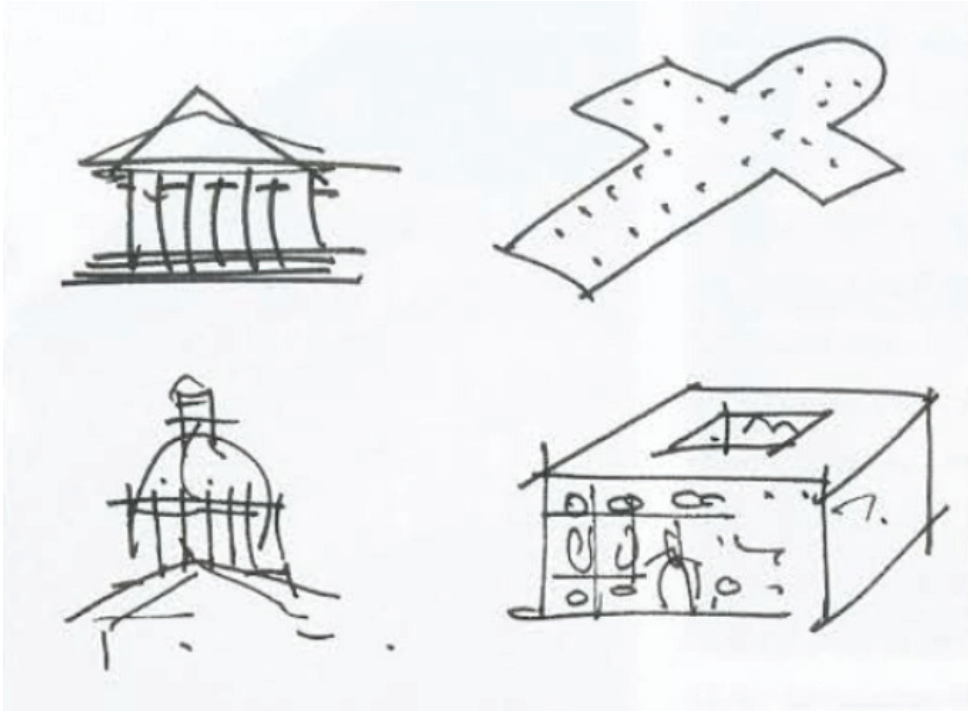
48,49 | Glove vs. Mitten. Sketch and examples of the spatial types with ‘wiggle room’, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, *Architecture as Signs and Systems*, Cambridge, 2004

60. Justin McGuirk for A.J.P. Artemel, *Assemble Studio Creates Architecture That is Ad Hoc, Handmade, and Community-Driven*, 27 Oct. 2015, Retrieved from: www.metropolismag.com (30.03.2019.)

61. Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. by Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1982, p. 22

62. *Ibid.*, p. 29

63. Denise Scott Brown for Manuel Orazi, *Should we demolish the Postmodern simply because “out of fashion”?*, 6 Aug 2018, Retrieved from: www.domusweb.it (30.03.2019.)



Given the circumstances, it might be beneficial to design flexibly for change over time, for numerous possible activities for the future generations. In parallel with the conventional architecture of the past, the basilica or the palazzo that was built as rich family residences, but eventually became museums, embassies, public and private institutions, government offices and apartments. Or perhaps take the generic architecture of loft buildings. Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown described the approach that rather than using the term form follows function, they proposed form should *accommodate* functions. They offered the analogy of gloves and mittens in *Architecture as Signs and Systems*:

*“The glove is shaped to hold each finger, and gloves are graded by size. The mitten limits hand movement to grasping, but it allows wiggle room on the inside and can fit a wide range of hand sizes. Should buildings be designed as mittens rather than gloves, to meet generic rather than specific definitions of function? In a mitten-building, some program elements of today may sit a little less well, but these are likely to change even before the building is constructed. In many projects, sacrificing some adherence to the specifics of present programs may be worthwhile for the flexibility this offers the future.”*⁶⁴

64. Denise Scott Brown, “The Redefinition of Functionalism,” *Architecture as Signs and Systems: For a Mannerist Time*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, p. 153

CONCLUSION

As it was often argued in this paper, our society is not following the patterns of recent history in just constantly changing but facing one unprecedented change – a society without jobs. On one hand, the promise of limitless growth with current tendencies lead to a disruption in society and in one way or another will come to a halt. On the other hand, with the rapid pace of technological advancement, the world will experience greater abundance than ever in history. What is worrying is the level of advancement reaches; automation, AI, and other technologies threat millions of jobs everywhere in the world. In the meanwhile, the payoff concentrates in few hands. In this case, rather than a utopia, universal basic income serves as a fix for society, a compensation for the *useless class*. There is another, positive and, above all, a forward-looking outcome. With good policies, there is an opportunity, the knowledge and wealth to apply and put in motion a reoccurring, age-old proposal.

Curiously enough, the response (or more like the preparation for given changes) of architecture is not a complex one. Using the current infrastructure with public engagement is key, understanding and addressing smaller problems already can has enormous effects on the city.

There is much more potential in cities, deteriorating areas that can be lifted, not with fashionable real estate projects promoting gentrification tossed up. Cities are starting to be look-a-likes, the local characteristics of cities have started disappearing by erecting office or luxury towers – many of which are standing empty as investments. The city will be accessible to all; the price of the rent is based on a contribution of everyone, property is a social asset and therefore land ownership should not be the object of speculation. By subsidization, redistributing the wealth from the beneficiaries to the ones not being able to afford their dwellings in their own neighbourhood will lead to the reappearing prosperity and mixture of uses. Without density and diversity there is no urban life, there is no life, actually.

Architecture should be the frame, not the picture. It should lay out the possibility to adapt to societal changes. The accelerating changes in technology and society wears away the importance of styles, fashions and trends. Flexibility is key to new constructions, since there are lot of ways of occupying a house.

SECOND PART



HOUSING FOR THE YOUNG IN ALMIRANTE REIS

Yes, there are a lot of ways of occupying a house. Therefore, predetermined programs are not an option. To design for the next generation does not mean designing for them, for their current needs, presuming that the young are more *flexible*, that they are capable of communal living without privacy. Saving on erecting walls and the cost of couple of bathrooms once again is not an option, even though it is fashionable in housing competitions nowadays. Putting irony aside, there is a history and discourse of privacy, and people in general desire it since they have access to it.

On the other hand, we do not know what we want exactly. Designing for that is a challenge but let us do the work ourselves. Give us a space, and we will inhabit it. The infrastructure is just enough. Really, let architecture be only the frame, not the picture.

*“Architecture, including all its techniques and aesthetics, has been called a “social art,” which implies that it should not be solely the self expression of the architect. It is not an easel painting. It is a part of the life of the client and all those who use and look at it. A test of the true architect is whether he is serving the best interests of the client, and not imposing whims of his own. This frame for living which we call architecture is not life itself, but encourages freedom for the growth of the occupants.”*⁶⁵

This is neither a project for the young nor the poor, therefore this is not social housing, especially shall not be a bad one. Irony apart, it is important to see the difference. As Slavoj Žižek rather radical philosopher put in an interview with Amy Goodman, don't get caught into a fake discourse of humanitarian emergency.⁶⁶ There is no need for simplifying complex problems, so my feel-good goals seem achievable.

Lisbon's rent prices are ridiculous, I mean, for the locals. The cosmopolitan wealthy Western-Europeans can afford. Referring to land ownership, some in Portugal are really happy, but many suffer and have to move out of the city. *“Tourism is terrorism”*, says the graffiti and I feel, even though I am privileged.

65. Marc Treib, *An everyday modernism: the houses of William Wurster*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1995, p.231

66. Amy Goodman interviews Slavoj Žižek, 12 May 2008, Retrieved from: www.democracynow.org (31.03.2019.)





FIG.01 | Lisbon municipality area
Scale: 1:10000





LISBON AND ALMIRANTE REIS

Looking at the map of Lisbon, one can immediately notice its duality. After the unfortunate events of the 1755 Lisbon earthquake and subsequent fires and tsunami, the city was in the need of total reconstruction. The organic and dense mixture of Alfama and Mouraria, Collina De Sant’Ana and Madragoa are the reminiscent of the medieval, spontaneously developing city. The current urban fabric is the legacy of that and the strict and solid reconstruction. These two, distinct realities co-exist even nowadays in Lisbon. What connects every part of the city though, is the dramatic changes in inclination. The challenging topography of the city leads to unique solutions in architecture, providing constant awe to the casual observer.

The reconstruction following the earthquake was led by Marques Pombal. The rational, anti-seismic, early use of prefabrication, clean and futureproof construction characterizing majority of the city is called Pombaline structure. The city needed sober urban planning, strong and rational gestures were applied to the functional needs. These areas, constructed by immediate needs, are now the most expensive areas of the city. Avenida Liberdade, Baixa Pombalina and Parque Eduardo VII have been historically the urbanized, central parts of the city.

Avenida Almirante Reis has a different story. Out of the two, diagonally leading avenues runs towards the peripherals of the city, Almirante Reis follows the valley as a strict line, though the development of its area was more organic. The relative closeness of the former Jewish and Moorish quarters and other historical areas, the urban mixed use was always more present in this area. The most emblematic landmark of the city, Castelo de São Jorge oversees the avenue as a reference point.

The area of Avenida Almirante Reis developed more organically, with its dramatic landscape, many of the now urbanized areas were agricultural fields up until 20th century. With vast urbanization, throughout the century, the hillsides have gotten inhabited. In my opinion, the peculiarity of this area is belonging neither to rich downtown nor to the ancient or medieval city, it is a mixture of the two.









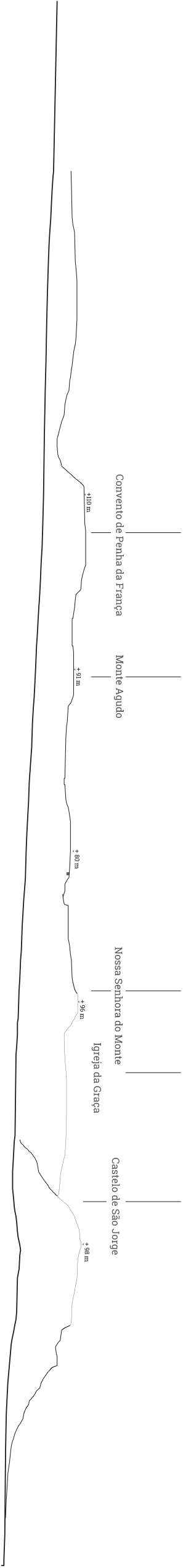


FIG.02 | Almirante Reis valley section
FIG.03 | Plan of Almirante Reis area



FIG.04 | Penha de França area
Scale: 1:2000







PENHA DE FRANÇA

Caracol da Penha and the church with the convent are connected. The former comprises the dramatically sloped hillside on which the latter sits. Historically, the area served as agricultural fields to the people of the convent. Even though, by the 20th century the expanding city gave home to English seasonal workers and middle class families, thus the surrounding street names of Rua Cidade de Cardiff, Manchester etc. With the fast expansion of the city and thanks to the challenging and dramatic topography, a huge green area is enclosed by a belt of construction, without public access to it. Since it is hard to inhabit, Caracol da Penha was left to derelict and neglect. Some of the lugadores started using as, it had happened before, as agricultural land, but of course on a much smaller scale. The size of the green area is close to 10000 square-meters, which is comparable to any parks in Lisbon, especially in the densely inhabited Almirante Reis area. The area did not stay unattended, recently, the municipality of Lisbon designed a parking building in this vast area, which have upset the local communities. They signed petitions and eventually with a referendum and proposals, Caracol da Penha will become a public park, reconnecting the secondary roads of Rua Cidade de Cardiff and Rua Marques da Silva. The territory is surrounded by these two, serpentine-like streets. With the dramatic change in topography and no access to the area, a walk around takes 20 minutes, starting from Av. Almirante Reis, climbing to Rua Penha de Franca on Rua Cidade de Cardiff, then following the upper road on the crest and start descending on Rua Marques da Silva, back to Almirante Reis.

To tackle the issues of inaccessability, in my proposal I accepted and implemented the current and undergoing works of the landscape designs of the movement of Caracol da Penha. My working site sits on the Acropolis-like level of Convento de Penha da Franca, and I try to give access to the public on the highest point of the Almirante Reis area. The view could be 360 degrees from there, yet the convent is currently used by police, the area restricted to only police. The park and the miradouro-like top are neglected and entirely closed off from public, so I put this challenge as my priority on the urban level.









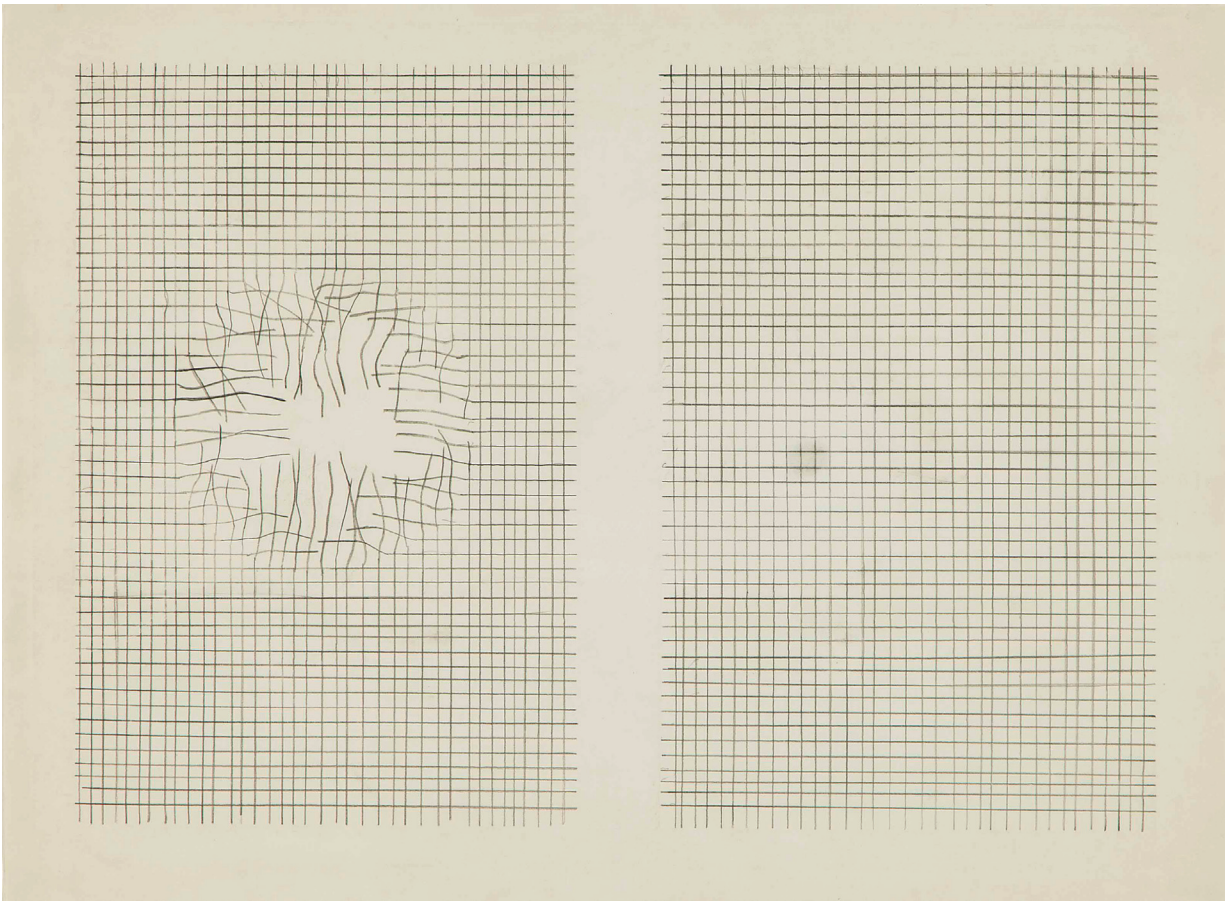




FIG.05 | Public access including my proposal
Scale: 1:2000







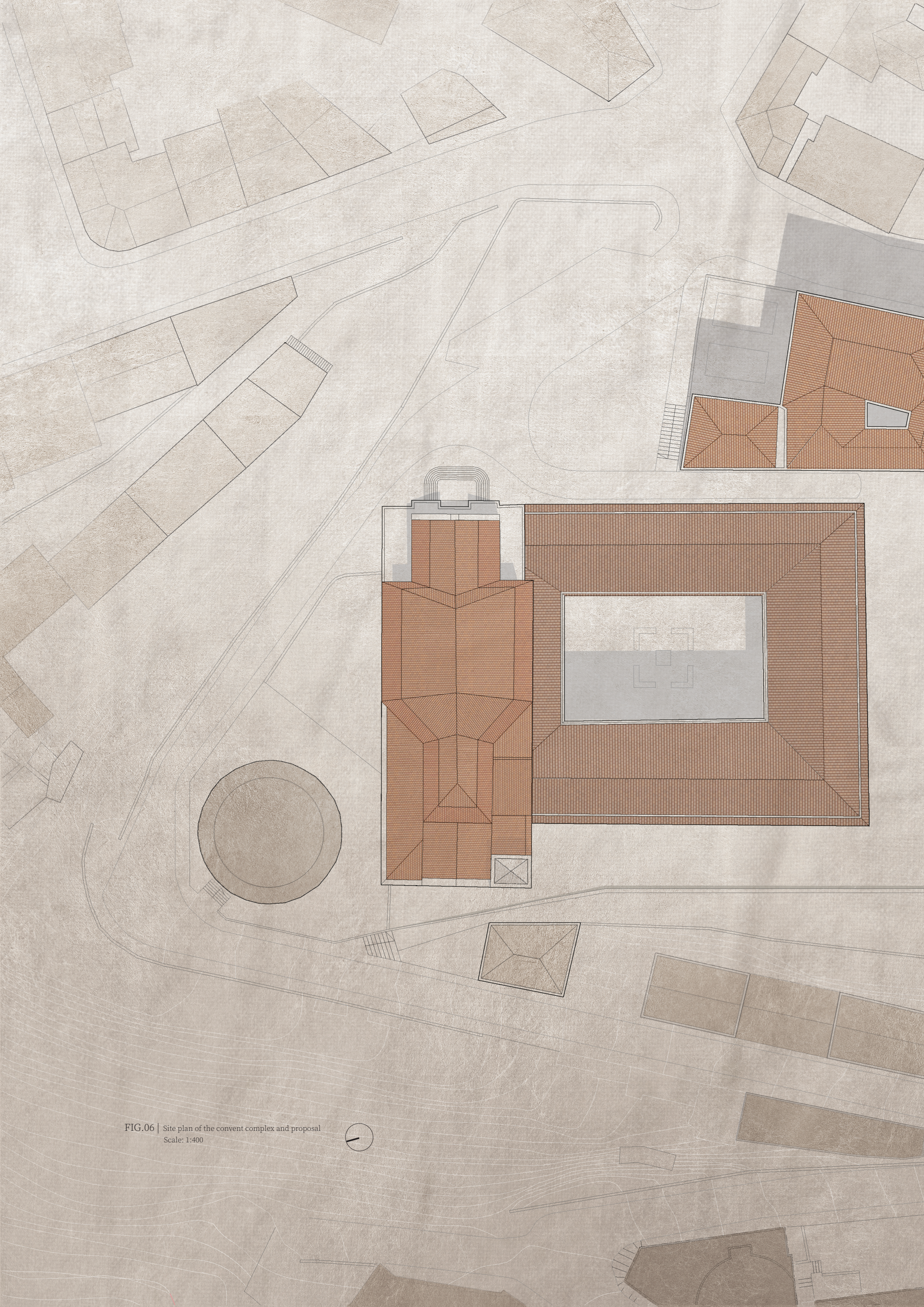


FIG.06 | Site plan of the convent complex and proposal
Scale: 1:400



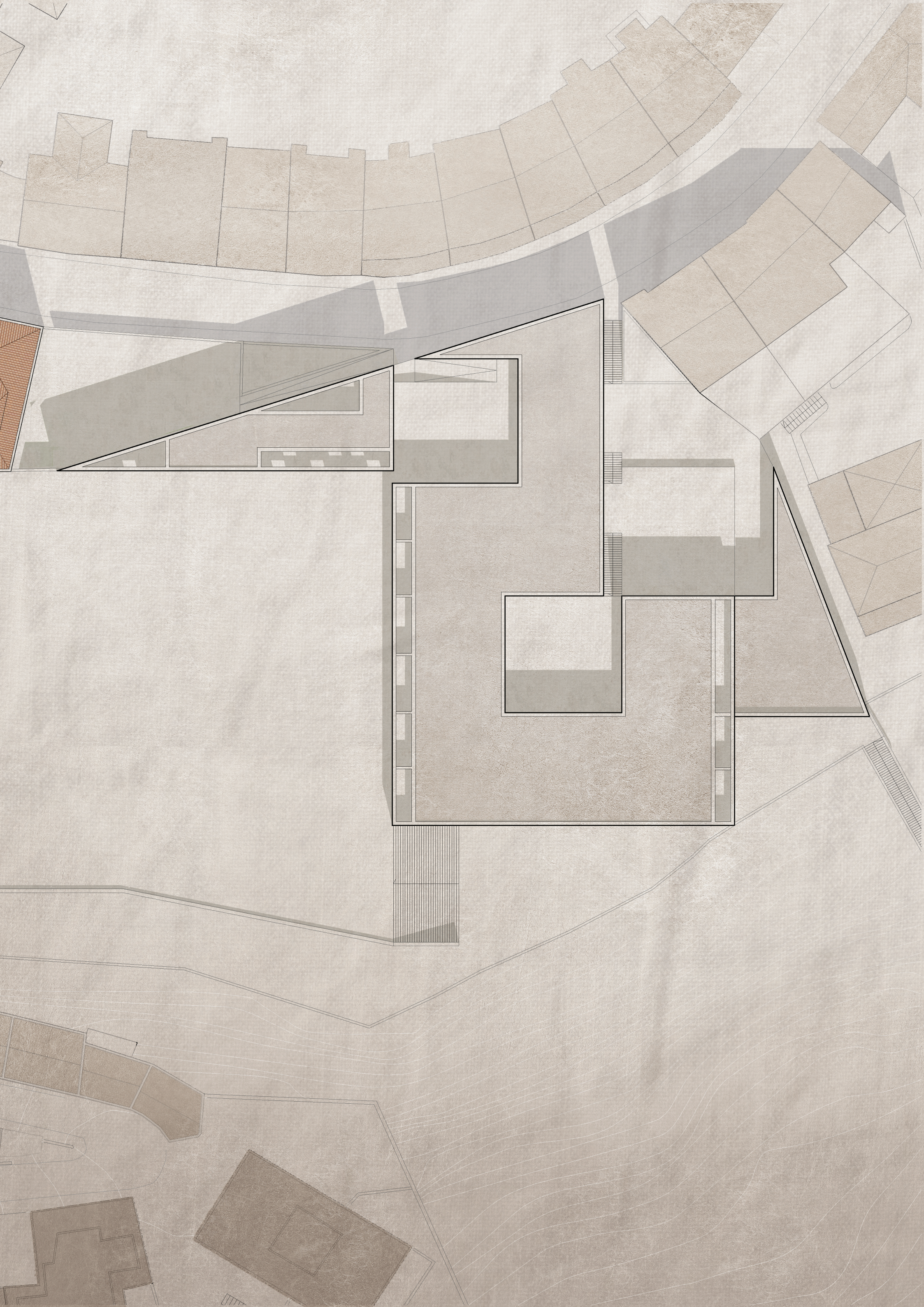


FIG.07 | Street level plan
level: +101 m
Scale: 1:400





FIG.08 | Floor plan of lower access
level: +105 m
Scale: 1:400



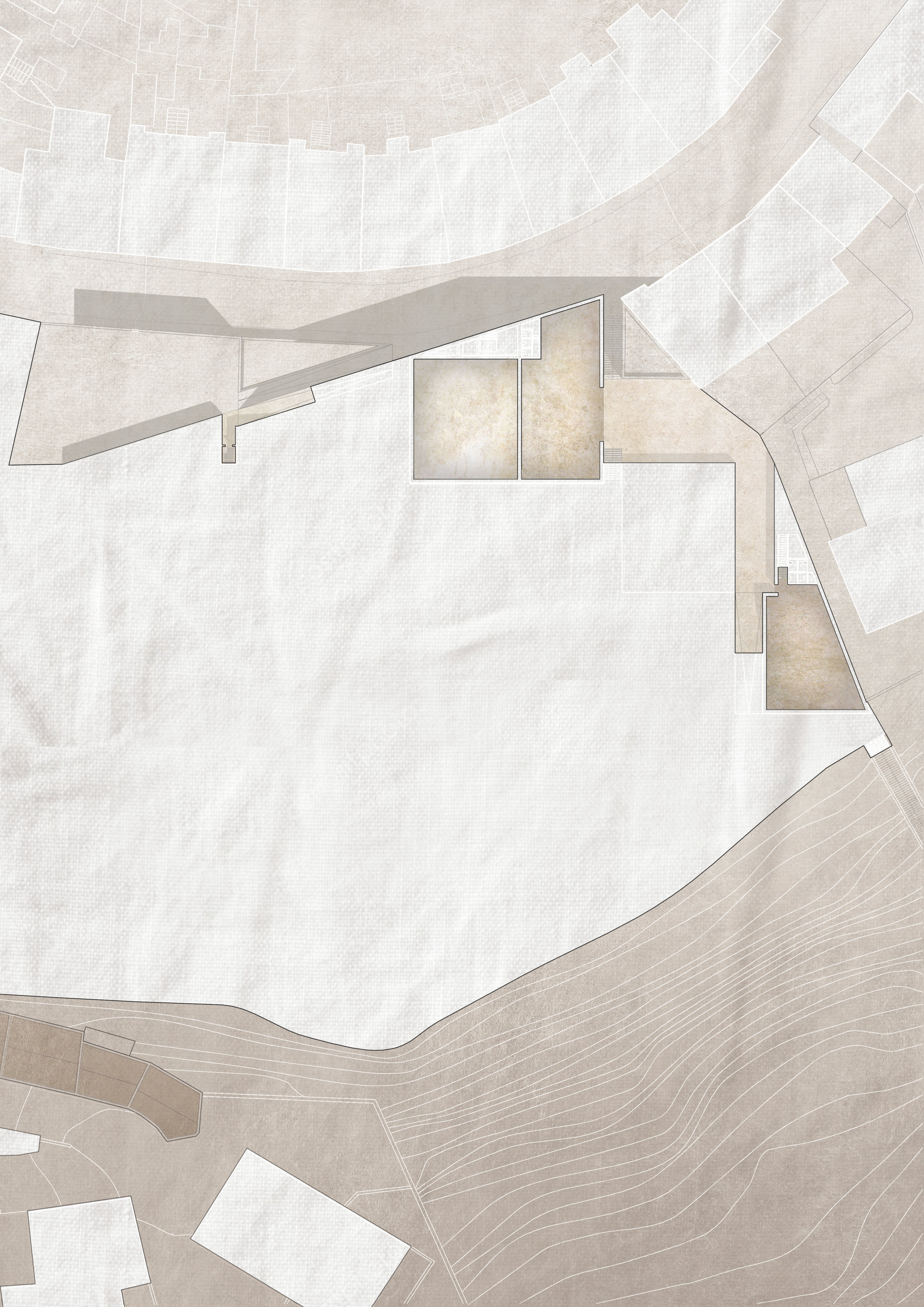


FIG.09 | Floor plan of lower access
level: +107 m
Scale: 1:400



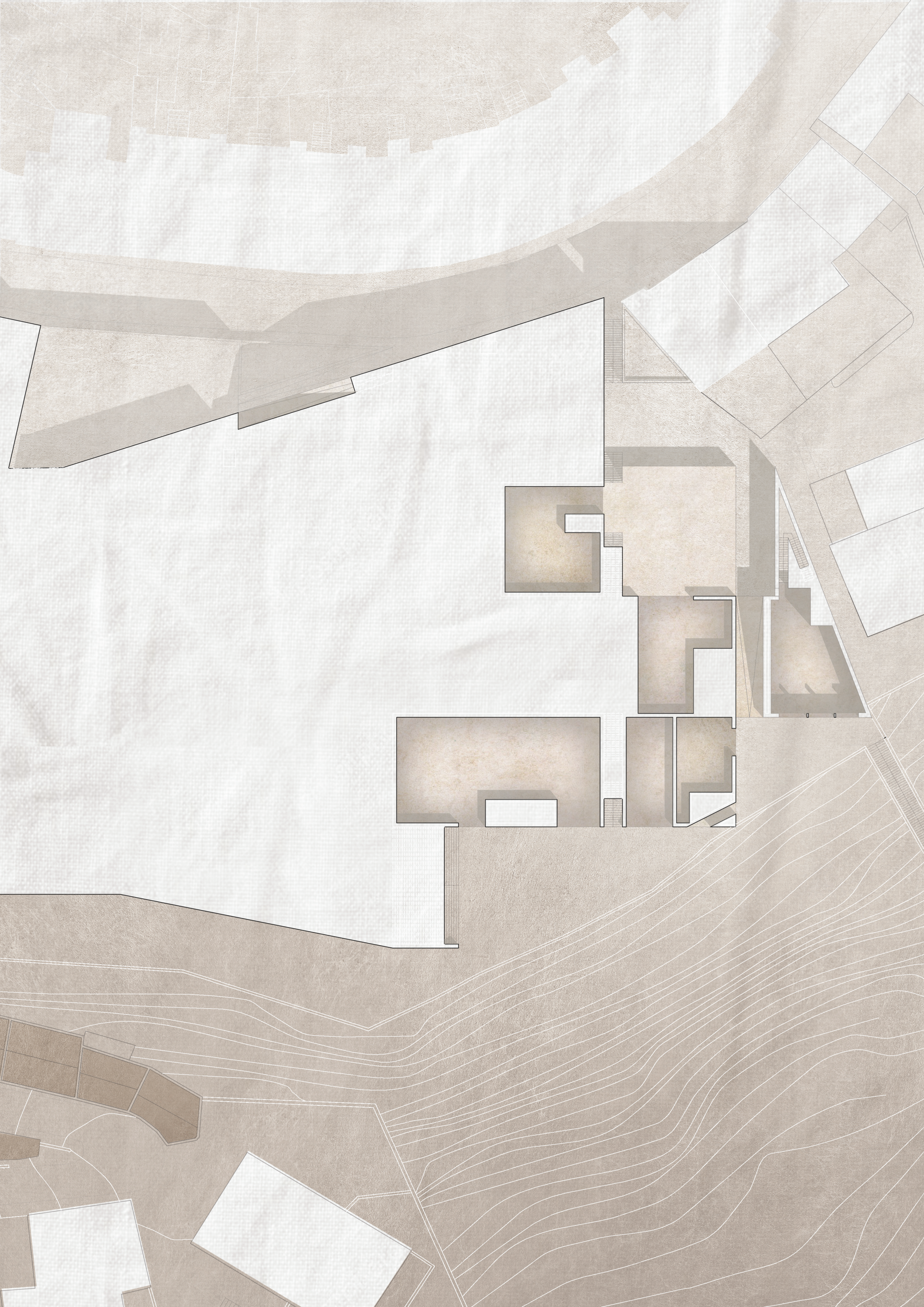


FIG.10 | Floor plan of ground level, level of convent
level: +111 m
Scale: 1:400





FIG.11 | Floor plan of first floor, level of housing units
level: +115 m
Scale: 1:400







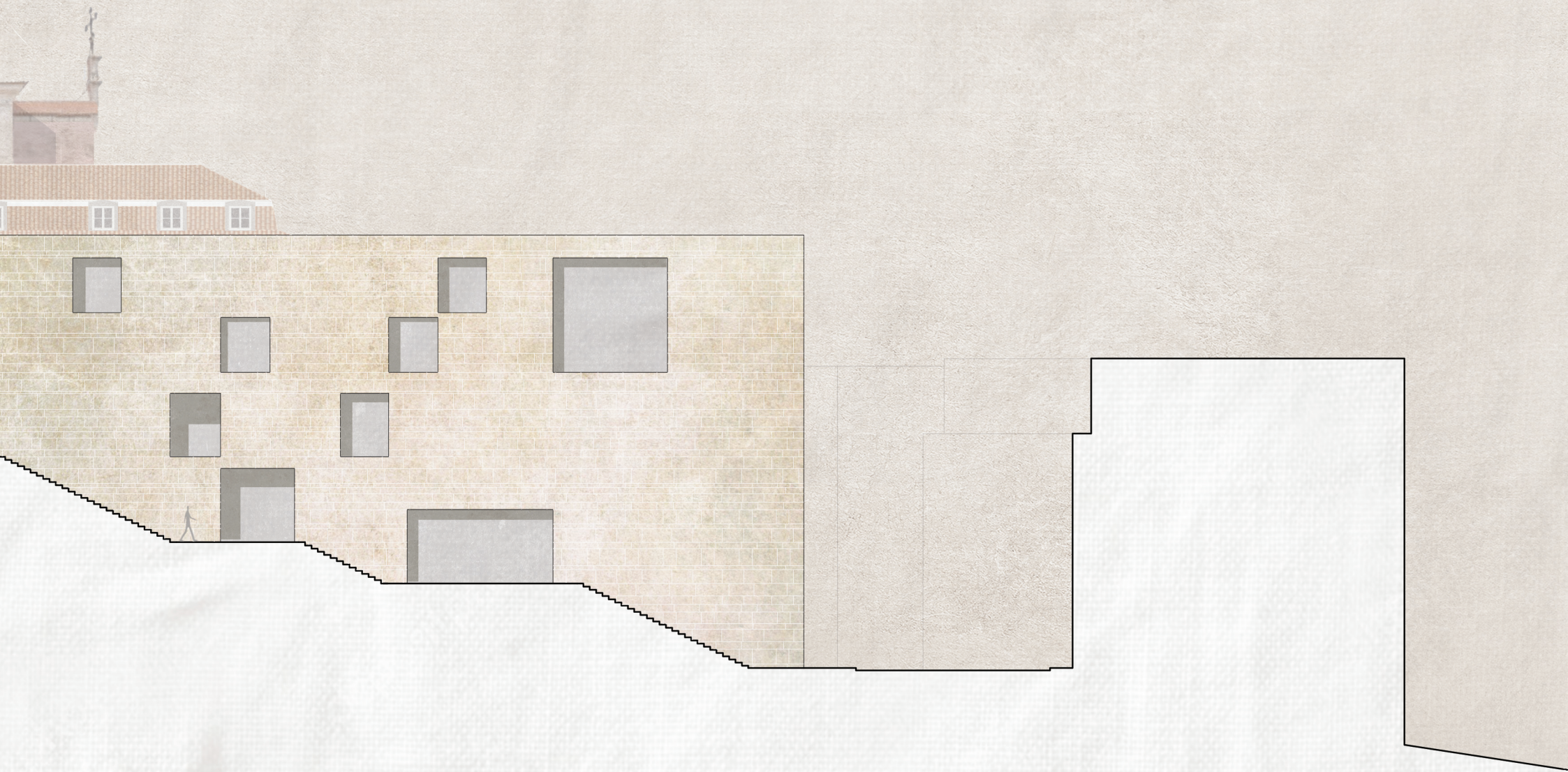
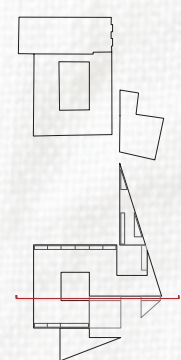


FIG.12 | Main section
Scale: 1:250



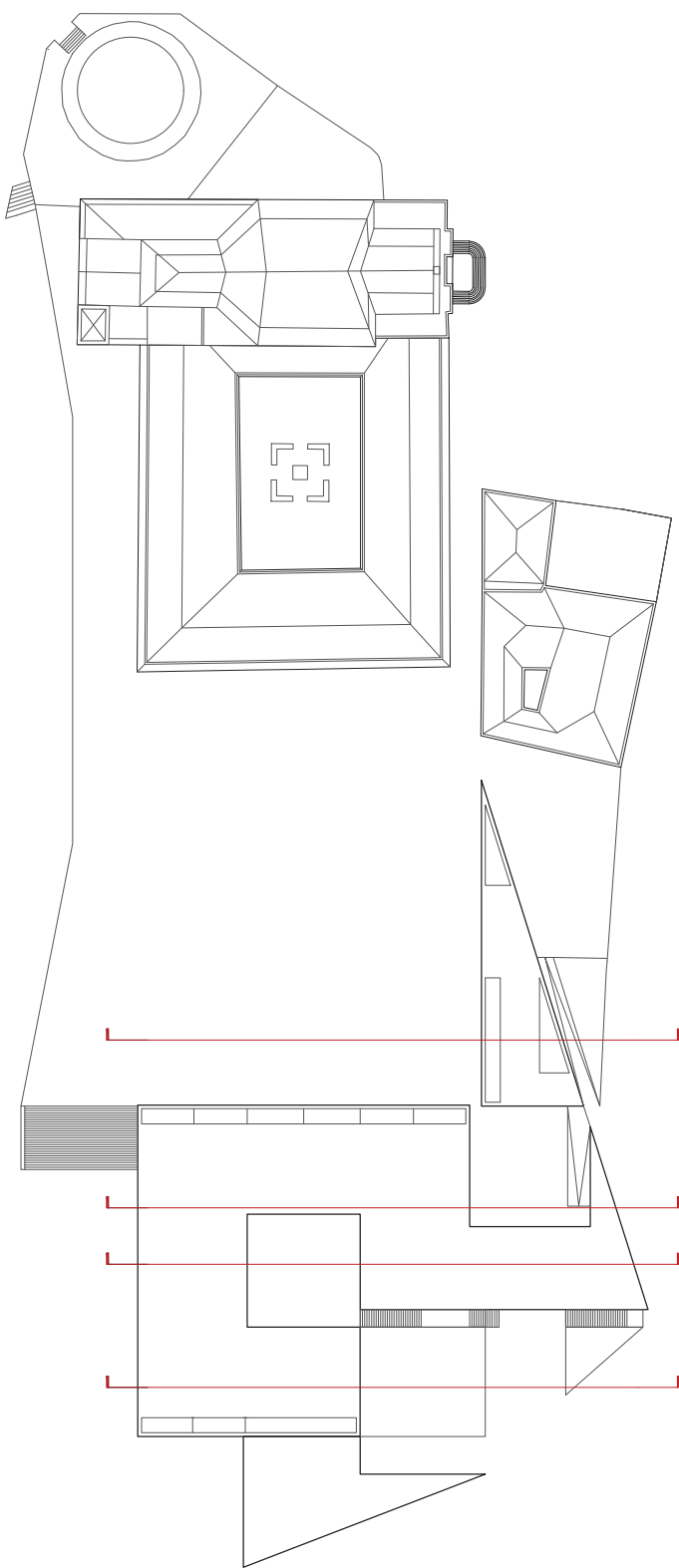
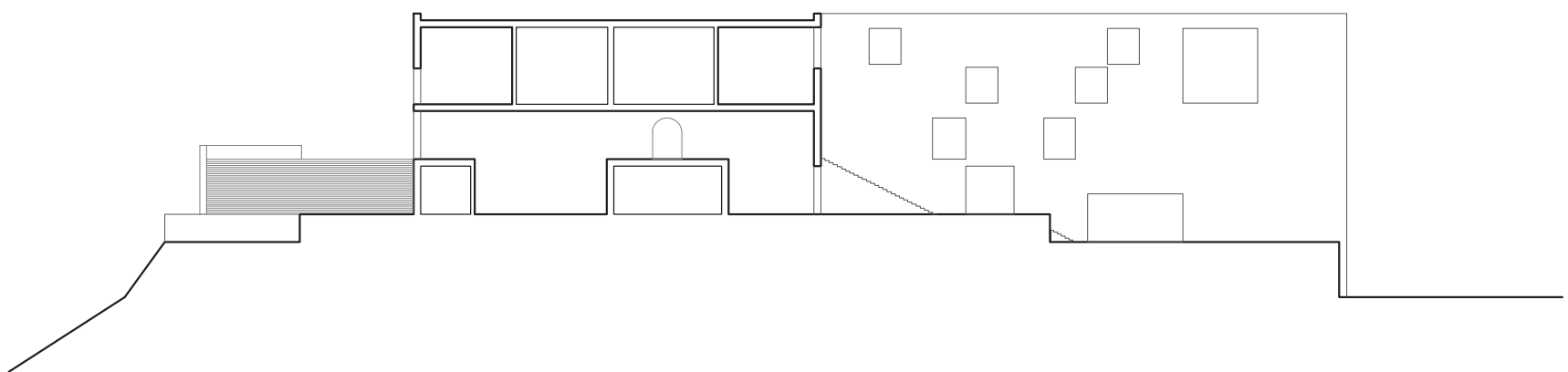
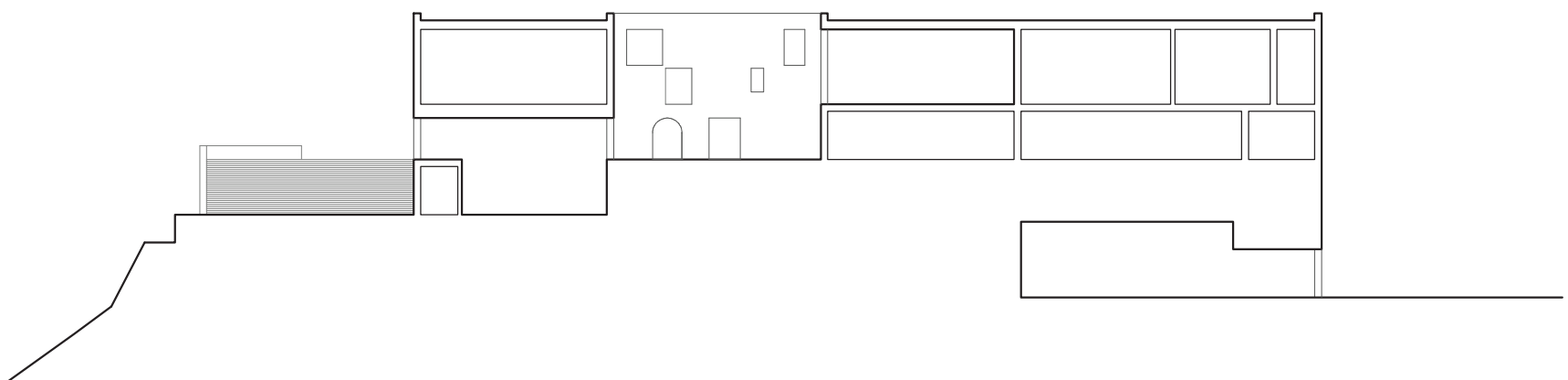
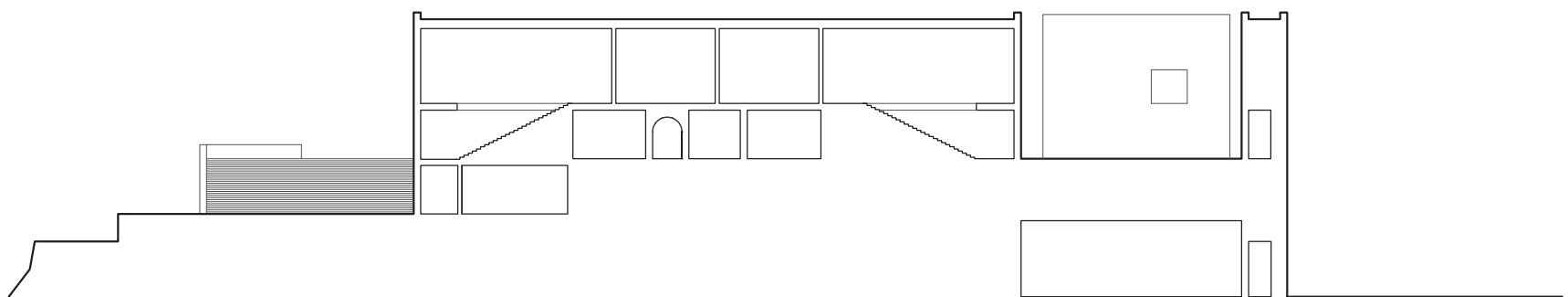


FIG.13 | Schematic sections
Scale: 1:500





VARIETY OF PLANS

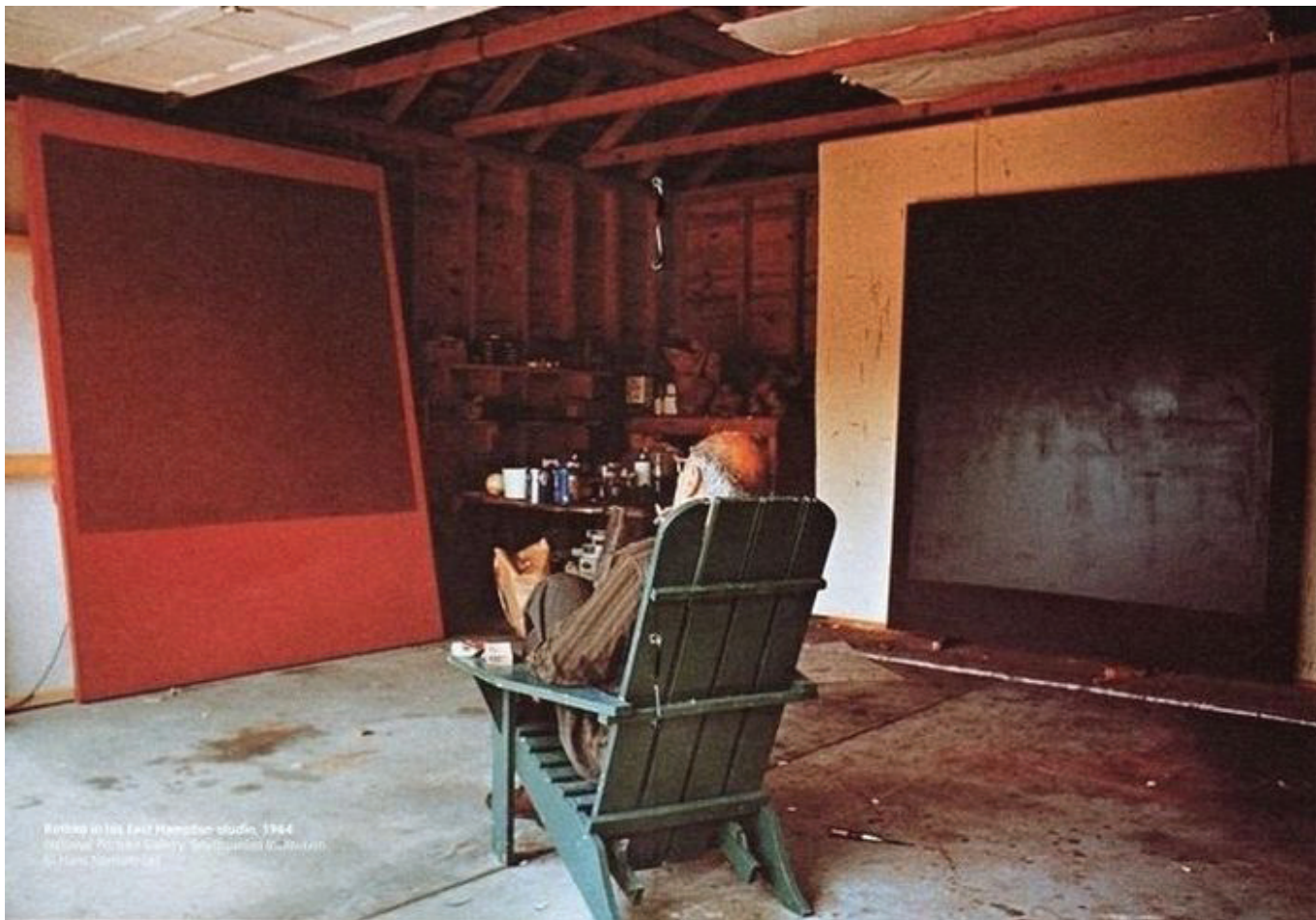
Even though the main program of the project is housing, it is only part of it. Since the thesis shed light on the issues of society to tackle, my proposal is not concentrating on the houses themselves, but possible opportunity for a flexible future. Since the future is uncertain, I cannot design for a future, I can design for flexibility. The family models change, people change, life expectancy grows etc. Just imagine the Nakagin Capsule tower: those landlines with cords are built-in, as well as the old TVs. God forbid you want to change anything. Now imagine the first email you've ever sent. How much the world changed since then? Is it worth designing for the 90's if Britney takes over in the 2000s? What Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown discusses, is the game changer between long living buildings and, on a historical scale, quite temporary ones. The generic design, one that does not follow fashion cycles - in this regard, there is a connection between the vernacular that Bernard Rudofsky explains.

Taken these points into consideration, I decided to provide housing units only a roof, a space with double height. From that point on, everything can happen. There is access to almost all units from two sides, making it possible to subdivide, or open walls, according to the current needs. I do not design for a specific client, I do design though for several ones. The first dwellers are not to be the last ones.

If one wants an entire double height space with only one bed in the space, let be it. If a whole family moves in wanting 3 rooms and a Sunday lunch patio? Why not? The structure is prepared for both. Being semi Do It Yourself, there is some guidance needed, but hey, everything is in place, the lower levels with their variety in size, height and orientation are fit for any kind of activity. They are not just cafés or gyms, even though probably would be pretty good ones, but it attracts workshops, events, and little craft spaces too. In this neighborhood you will find a hand to work with.

The facades are both screening and letting all the light in. Both providing privacy and framed views over the city. The patios can be part of both the inside and the outside. The restraint alone is the convent itself. Its rigorous facade does require certain limitations, therefore the stricter facades connecting to the convent, giving an homage to it. Instead of the rooftop garden of the apartment Le Corbusier designed for Charles de Beistegui, I do not want to isolate my clients from the outside, from the convent, from the city, from the *old world*. Quite the opposite, I provide just enough privacy, to be as open as possible at the same time.





Rothko in his East Hampton studio, 1964.
National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.
By Hans Namuth Ltd.

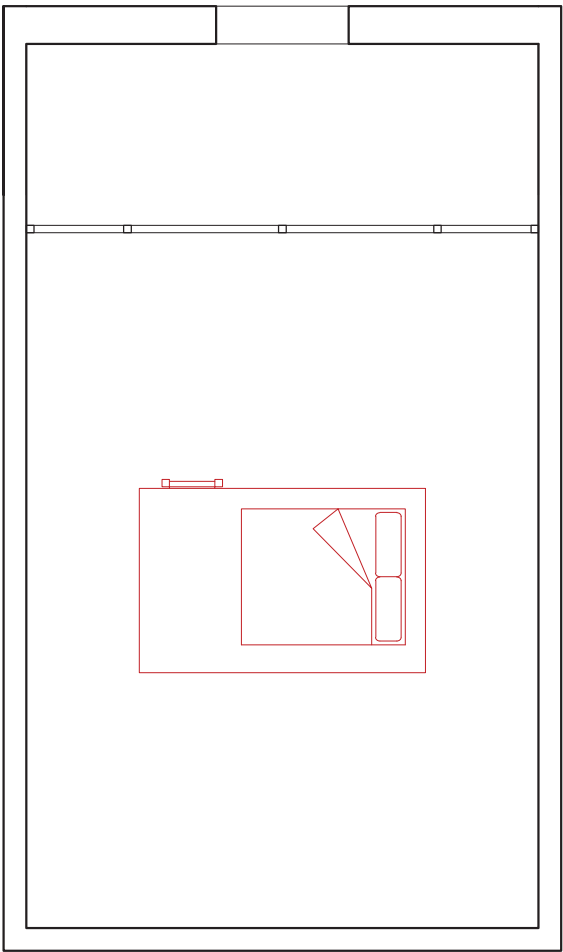
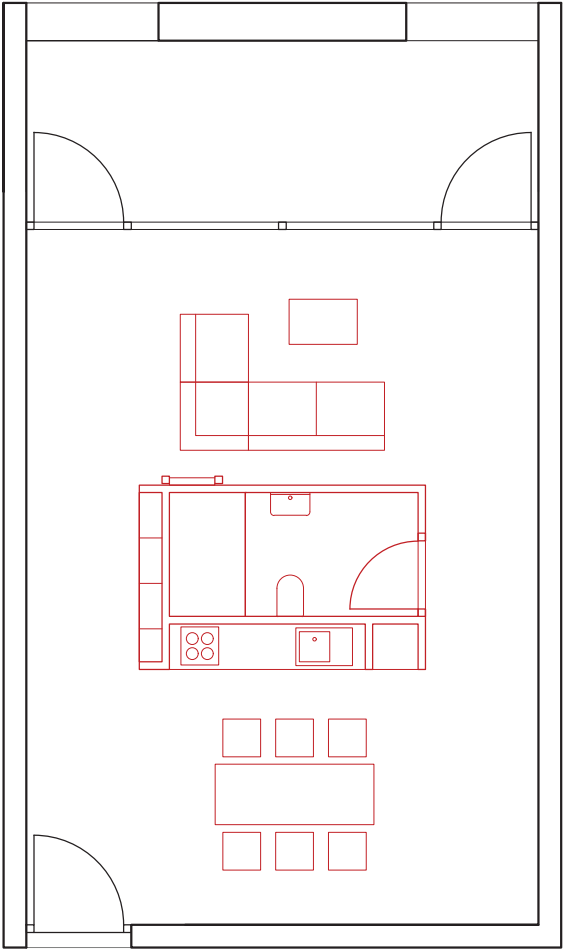


FIG.14 | Space variations
Scale: 1:100

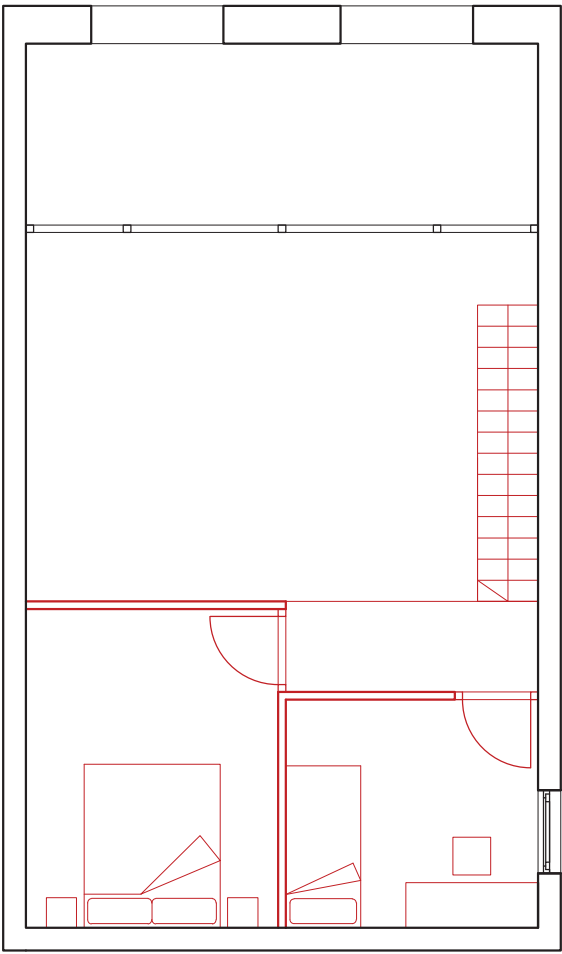
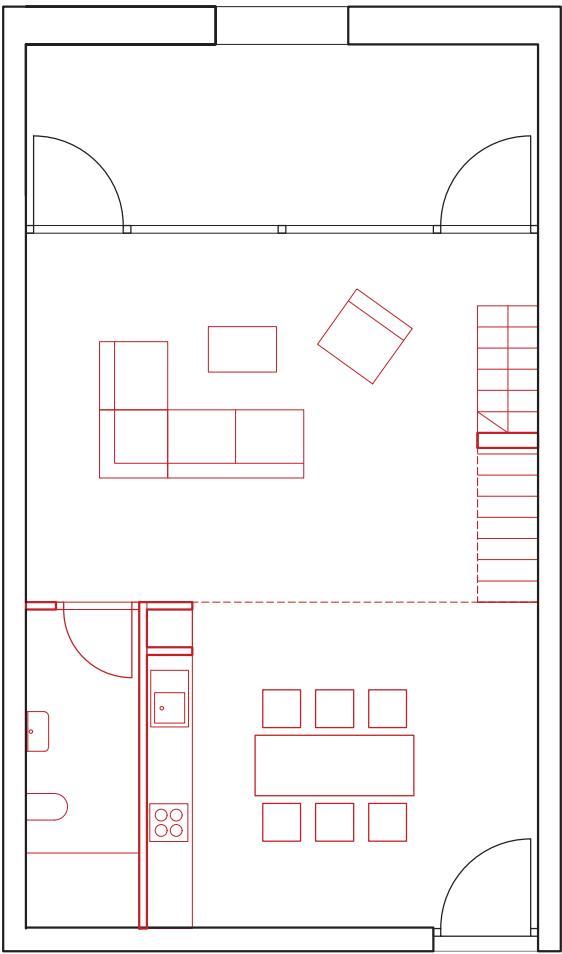
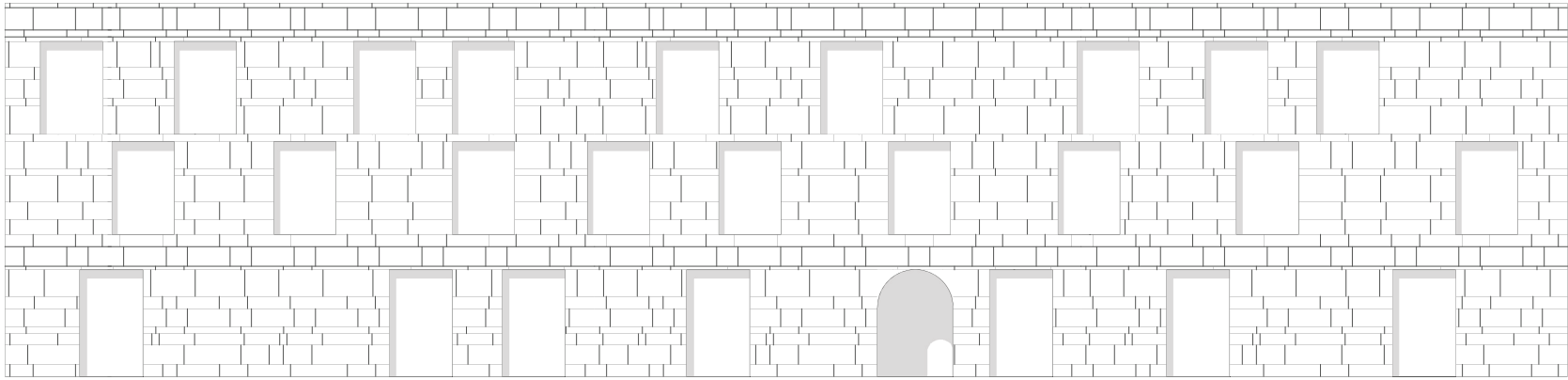


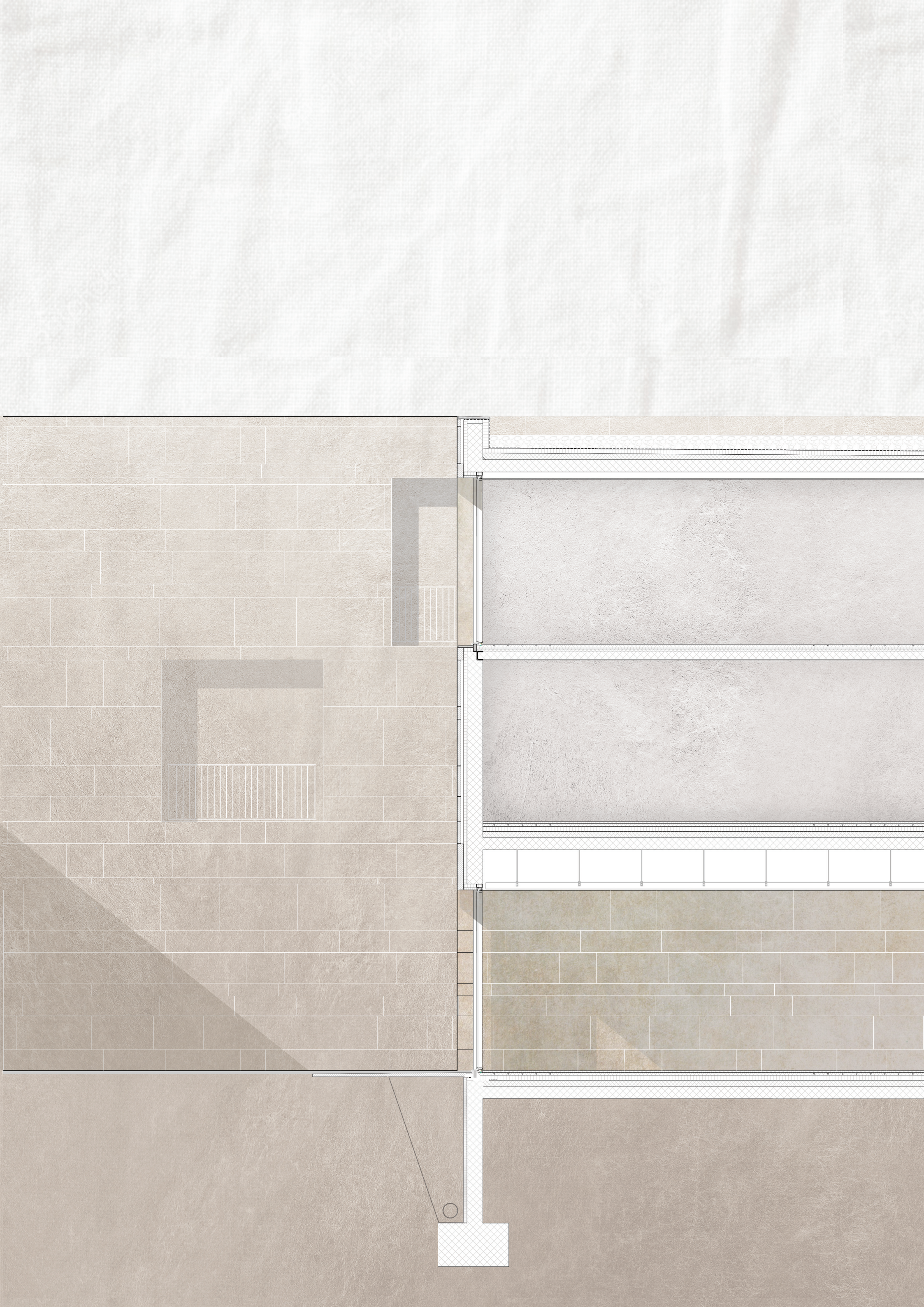






FIG.15 | Façade study, relation with the convent, as
the main façade of the program and piazza
Scale: 1:200





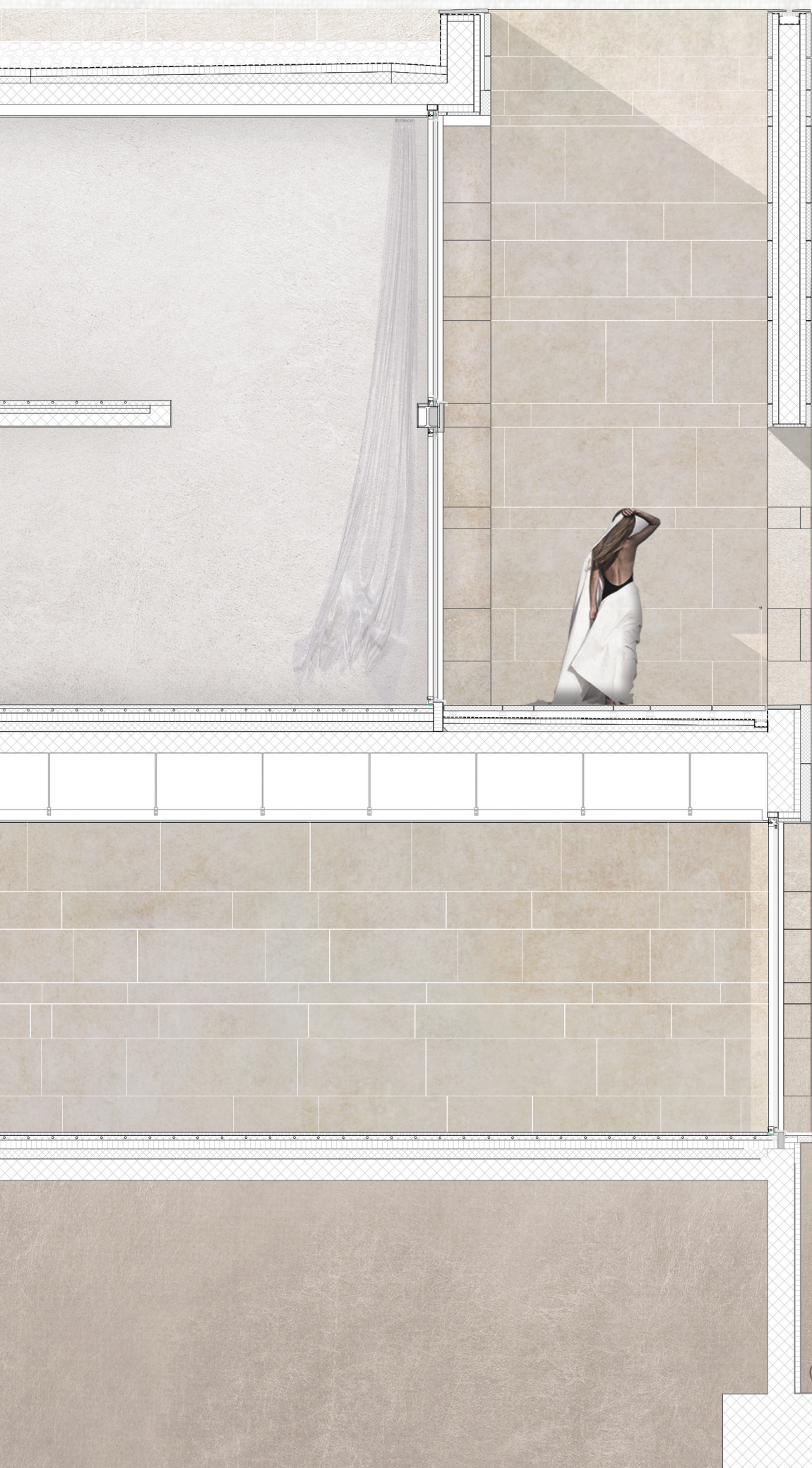
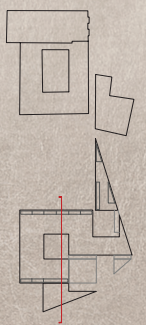


FIG.16 | Detailed section
Scale: 1:50



1. Gravel (light limestone) **2.** PVC waterproof membrane **3.** Faced insulation, 10cm **4.** Inclination layer in light-weight concrete, >7cm **5.** Reinforced concrete slab, 20cm **6.** False acoustic ceiling system **7.** Inclined stone closure element, 2% **8.** Reinforced concrete bearing wall, 25cm **9.** Thermal insulation coated black, 8cm with 4cm air gap **10.** Exterior limestone facade element, 4cm **10a.** Limestone, visible corner block, 10cm **10b.** Limestone facade element glued, 3cm **11.** Rectangular sectioned steel profile spacer, 50x100x4mm **12.** Shüco AOC 50.TI curtain wall system **12a.** Shüco AWS 75 BS.SI triple glazed window system with EPDM vapour- and airtight membrane **13.** Triple glazed glass **14.** Drip edge, window drainage and maintenance **15.** Foam insulation for sealing the thermal continuity **16.** I180 beam for possible slab extension **17.** Pre-cast "forehead" limestone facade element **18.** Plaster box covering for structural steel beam **19.** Rectangular steel profile spacer filled with foam thermal insulation, 280x100x4mm **20.** Spacer and leveling pads, 20x20mm **21.** Pigmented concrete slate slab **23.** PVC waterproof membrane **24.** Faced insulation, 7cm **25.** Inclination layer in light-weight concrete, >7cm **26.** Reinforced concrete slab, 20cm **27.** Interior thermal and acoustic insulation, 10cm **28.** Reinforced concrete beam, 26x20cm **29.** Stainless steel safety railing, with 12cm spacing **30.** L-profile steel element, fixing the railing to reinforced concrete beam, 150x80x4mm **31.** Exterior ACO Slabdrain system **31a.** ACO Powerdrain 200mm drainage system **32.** Hanged false ceiling system, fixed distance hangers, 42cm **33.** L profile steel runners to fix the plaster boards to **34.** Shüco AOC 50.TI curtain wall system **35.** Double plasterboard **36.** Polished concrete flooring finishing, 4cm **37.** Light-weight concrete layer with underfloor heating system **38.** Acoustic insulation, 65mm **39.** Light-weight concrete bedding for thermal insulation **40.** Reinforced concrete slab, 20cm





FIG.18.



FIG.19.

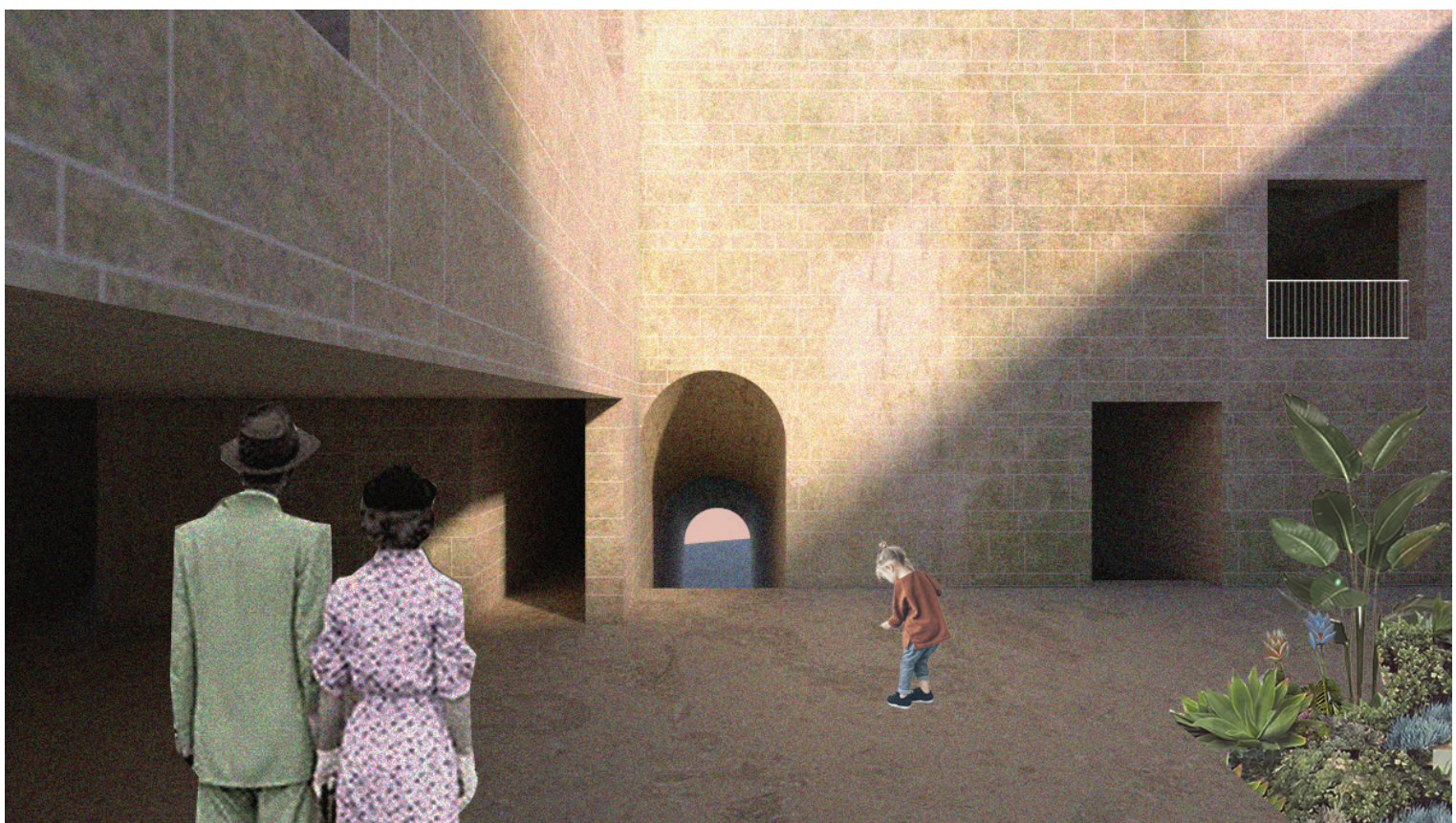


FIG.20.



FIG.21.



FIG.22.



FIG.23.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1 | Louis Buffier, Ne travaillez jamais (Les conseils superflus), ca. 1966 | Courtesy Arsenale Institute for Politics of Representation

2 | Eiffel Tower Under Construction, Paris, 15 May 1888, by Louis-Émile Durandelle

3 | Ernest F. Henderson, Symbol and satire in the French Revolution, New York, London, G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1912, p.84

4 | Ernest F. Henderson, Symbol and satire in the French Revolution, New York, London, G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1912, p.85

5 | a postulated interior of Vaucanson’s automata, the Digesting Duck by an American observer, 1738-1739

6 | Der Mensch als Industriepalast (Man as Industrial Palace), Stuttgart, 1926 | National Library of Medicine

7 | Etienne-Jules Marey, Charles Fremont, Chronophotograph (Blacksmith and striker), 1894.

8 | Charlie Chaplin as a factory worker working on the giant machine, publicity photo of Charlie Chaplin for the film Modern Times, 1936

9 | Production still - Sketch from Fritz Lang’s Metropolis by Otto Hunte, Erich Kettelhut, Karl Vollbrecht, 1927

10 | Rem Koolhaas, Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan, Rotterdam, 010 Publishers, 1994

11 | Coney Island Beach by Weegee, gelatin silver print, 1940

12 | People trying the Barrel of Fun ride during 4th of July celebrations at Coney Island by William Vandivert, 1942

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