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ABSTRACT

In the last decade, the stability of Western capitalism as the foundation of the American political economy has been called into question. What Francis Fukuyama projected at the end of the Cold War as “the end of history” - Western liberal democracy as the epitome of humanity’s social evolution and mode of governance - has resulted in the present predicament of a borderless global exchange of resources directed by capital gain at the expense of sociocultural stability. Our democratic institutions seem impotent to resolve the adverse consequences of capitalism that have led to new apartheids directed by structural inequality between those who are able to manipulate the free market to their advantage, and the majority who exist to support the failing system through over-consumption.

Perhaps it is time to reexamine the politicization of the built environment as a construct that either promotes, rejects, or remains indifferent towards the negative social consequences of global capitalism. While acting as a passive agent of market forces, architecture has been exiled from a realm of critical social influence that democracy has rejected in the name of the unlimited freedom of the individual, the rejection of collectivism, and the infallibility of an unregulated economy.
Likewise, the roles of Utopia and Paper Architecture have been disempowered as outcasts of the current value system, and rejected by the mainstream due to an inability to generate a profit.

The contemporary potential for architecture to establish an effective resistance against ingrained economic disparities is in its ability to contain a contentious relationship between capitalism and the built environment, confront coercive and violent organizations of public and private space, react to the exploitation of labor and resources, and weigh unequal distributions of environmental risks and benefits. A post-capitalist architecture looks beyond the short-sighted object of capital gain with unexplored juxtapositions of use to simultaneously address fundamental human needs of dwelling, community, and meaningful work. Through these formations, the individual is actualized as a member of a truly egalitarian society.
“ALL FIXED, FAST FROZEN RELATIONS, WITH THEIR TRAIN OF ANCIENT AND VENERABLE PREJUDICES AND OPINIONS, ARE SWEPT AWAY, ALL NEW FORMED ONES BECOME ANTIQUATED BEFORE THEY CAN OSSIFY. ALL THAT IS SOLID MELTS INTO AIR, ALL THAT IS HOLY IS PROFANED, AND MAN IS AT LAST COMPELLED TO FACE WITH SOBER SENSES HIS REAL CONDITION OF LIFE, AND HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS KIND.”

-MARX/ENGLES
1. CONCEPTS
CONTEMPORARY CRISIS & MODERN UTOPIA

The framing of architecture within a post-capitalist social condition is to declare the current mechanisms of urban production to be flawed at best, and in a state of crisis at worst. The abandonment of civic centers with the evacuation of large-scale manufacturing has brought the post-industrial city to its knees. The city has always been appealing for the social and economic betterment provided through its inherent network of resources and liberties. This notion is firmly rooted within the Modernist projection of the city as a place of production and economic wealth. This ideal has faded with the removal of labor from city centers in an increasingly globalized and nomadic network of manufacturing that readily relocates in search for a cheaper workforce. The post-industrial city increasingly relies on the service and creative industries as the future of production in the Western world.

As the landscapes of labor and production undergo significant structural shifts, the foundation of the American housing sector is also being scrutinized as a failing model of economic security. The last three years have produced some of the highest foreclosure rates for homeowners since the Great Depression, and is largely seen as the result of the morally
questionable practice of subprime mortgage trading on the financial market. As Saskia Sassen lays out in her essay “When Housing Becomes an Electronic Instrument: The Global Circulation of Mortgages,” innovations in housing finance throughout the last two decades have contributed to the elevated role of housing within the economy at local, national, and global levels. As she points out, “The creditworthiness of mortgage holders is now irrelevant as a source of profit, to the disadvantage of modest-income households.”

According to the IMF, losses associated with the subprime mortgage crisis in the United States and European Union amounted to about 267 billion USD. Losses were particularly devastating in countries with insufficient public housing and a majority of privately-financed developments. Despite the ravaged condition of mortgages, the dream of the single-family home as a tool of financial leverage and status symbol is still alive. Given the current tendency towards urban migration, with more than half of the population living in cities today, is the romantic single-family homestead still a viable option for future societies?

Whether or not these issues constitute a crisis, or simply an evolution of our social and economic fabric can determine a proper architectural reaction. What does it mean to operate in a state of crisis? In his essay ‘Space In Crisis” Mark Wigley argues for the productive effects of crisis in general. In his view, crisis promotes a level of reaction that goes beyond the remedial responses to emergencies that ultimately attempts to limit the extent of change to reproduce the existing system. Wigley proposes that crisis indicates the need for a radical destruction that can become a prime agent for progress beyond a system that incurs emergency/crisis at regular intervals. In his words, “To declare a crisis is to declare that design is needed...architecture is precisely the effect of crisis. If each crisis acts as an urgent demand for new forms, it could be that every part of the built environment has been shaped by prior crises.”

Wigley goes on the argue that “The field of architecture is devoted to suppressing a sense of crisis but is propelled by the very thing it represses. As the art of limits, architecture is always in a dialectic with crisis.” If we assume we are indeed in a state of crisis within a global system of exchange that supports outdated limitations, a housing sector that has exceeded it’s boundaries as a tool of finance, and a reliance on a manufacturing model which will never sustain the numbers it once did; what are the effects on architecture and urbanism in the 21st Century?

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The acceptance of a state of crisis has contributed to a renewed role of Utopia in architecture. Typically a means of restructuring the status quo, these visionary ideals remerge in contemporary architecture as “Utopia’s Ghosts” - as described by Reinhold Martin. These new manifestations run counter to the social aims that formed Le Corbusier’s vision of Paris, or Frank Lloyd Wright’s Broadacre City. Martin argues for a reconsideration of the Utopian project in his essay “Critical of What? Towards a Utopian Realism” as providing an alternate mode of operation. His vision of Utopia is not a reading of a “perfect world”, but acts as a means to merge our everyday experience with alternate realities. This reading allows architects to adopt a “double-agent” status - one that allows for an engagement
within the realism of the everyday production of architecture, yet is able to retain a critical stance through the insertion of utopian values. Martin’s reading touches upon the dilemma that contemporary architecture might be impotent from maintaining a meaningful discourse in our current socio-economic condition. In her preface to Praxis No. 5 “Architecture After Capitalism”, Ashley Schafer writes “Given the ‘new’ homogenous space of the global economy and capitalism’s ubiquity, what possibility exists (if any) to maintain architecture as a critical practice?” Reinhold Martin maintains that architects can still perform a balancing act by conforming to market conditions with a strictly post-critical realist mentality, but still operate within the realm of idealism. In his view, the reality of the current dominant system is no more or less real than the proposed utopia, in the sense that both operate on belief. Our current crises become operative as they reflect ingrained instabilities of a flawed system, and offer openings to revisit ideologies that never ran a course in history.

GLOBAL COMMODIFICATION

In order to meaningfully relate the political effects of any society on its architecture and urbanism, it is necessary to assess it within its economic context. A central aspect of the current global economic system is the concept of commodification. This involves relegating everything to a commodity to be bought and sold subject to market forces with prices set by supply and demand without effective “agency” (a capacity to resist). Commodification has been extended to every aspect of modern life - the family, communities, education systems, labor institutions, unemployment, social protection policy, and even currency itself. Internationally, global formation has entailed the accelerated dislocation of “quicksilver capital”. With this has come a chronic transgression of the boundaries of the national economy, taken advantage of by trans-national commercial enterprises both legally and sanctioned otherwise. This foregrounds Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s (1983) claims about capitalism’s tendency to “schizofrenize” - to wrest all things free from fixed discursive and spatial coordinates. In his book on the subjective aspects of globalization, Steven Flusty describes the increasingly amorphous nature of capital: “As capital undergoes abstraction from its ecological sources and their transformation through human labor, it is traded less in the form of material - such as land and machines - and more as a fungible unitized symbolic thing in itself. Thus capital is ever more readily translated from an emplaced asset into displaced flows.”¹ In the process, extracted capital becomes deterritorialized and detached from the tangible goods and services it puts in motion. Value and movement become interdependent, making instability the only stabilizing force within the system of exchange. The foundation of every transaction, private or public, becomes speculative infinite growth. This infinite growth paradigm is the only way to maintain a “healthy” market; although “healthy” isn’t the correct word since both public and private debt is continually increasing and must increase to sustain growth. The majority of the money supply under the present form of finance capitalism depends on people and governments going into debt. By any logic, such a system can’t be sustained indefinitely. Eventually debt loads become too great, debtors default, and the economy faulters or even contracts. Though unpredicatable in the short term, economic fluctuation is created by the very nature of the system. The forces we perceive as pitiless and objective are in reality man-made; the products of our self-imposed destiny.

POLITICIZING THE MIXED-USE TYPOLOGY

After a decade spent on the production of elaborate architectural artifacts for residential, commercial, public, and private conglomerates, the current financial crisis coupled with an increased focus on hybrid juxtapositions might refocus the political effects of architecture. Whereas the 1960s and 1970s approach to housing was in the form of autonomous developments that proposed an alternative way of living apart from the city, recent developments in housing attempt to work from within the urban condition by paring with secondary programmatic components in order to respond to the perceived socio-economic needs of the site. Perhaps commercial projects that have located production and distribution facilities in isolation from other typologies could adopt this same method. By segregating every typology into a compartmentalized distribution of properties, any relationship between architecture and the street, or an existing public sphere, is removed. Modernist conceptions of large-scale housing units and pre-fabricated factories relied on elevated or interiorized roads and large open plazas to fulfill the public sphere. The criticisms of the 1970s by Richard Sennett, William H. Whyte, Jane Jacobs and others led to a renewed interest in mixed-use typologies in the post-modernist era to address perceived problems of a lack of community and a public sphere within the city.

Revisiting the mixed-use strategy to regain a public identity brings up underlying ideological proposals of such projects. The idea of mixing different uses within the same architecture finds roots in both capitalist and communist ideologies. The vision of the “social condenser” originates
from the utopian vision of Constructivist architecture produced after the October Revolution, finding expression in the worker clubs of Konstantin Melnikov and the Markomfin Building by Moisei Ginzburg, which combined living units with a library and gymnasium. The underlying concept is of communal use, and an extension of the solidarity developed in the factory into the domestic sphere. The goal was to produce a “new man” through the addition of social clubs, communal kitchens, and public space within housing. Today, 70% of housing in Russia is based on large scale, pre-fabricates concrete slab building techniques of the “Dom-Kommuna”. This communal living arrangement drastically reduced the domestic sphere of the private home in favor of larger communal space.

Le Corbusier’s version of the social condenser incorporates the tactic of including an “interior street” within the L’Unites d’Habitation. The building includes a variety of services aside from offering housing for 1600 inhabitants, ranging from healthcare, a cafeteria, a kindergarten, and a gym. Another reading of the social condenser is provided by Rem Koolhaas in his description of the Downtown Athletic Club in New York, in which the skyscraper acts as “a machine to generate and intensify desirable forms of human intercourse”. According to Koolhaas, the Downtown Athletic Club succeeds at fulfilling the goal of “lifestyle modification” as desired but unattained by the modernist avant-garde. The experience here is one of instability that reflects and condenses the complexity of the exterior metropolis in the miniature version of the skyscraper. What differentiates Koolhaas’s example from the traditional read of the social condenser is it’s inherent capitalist implications. The space here is one of exclusivity, and although its ultimate goal is to produce a “new man”, the result here is ultimately achieved through juxtaposition.

In her essay “Hybrid versus Social Condenser”, Aurora Fernendez Per argues “The Hybrid was not born out of ideological necessity, but rather out of the speculative practice of the developer, adopting the modernist style and bringing together multiple interests in order to benefit form an interchange of commercial and residential programs based on capital needs.” Today we see hybridization as a means to achieve a particular goal by combining positive traits. In the terms of program in architecture, it might suggest the possibility to generate new spatial typologies through the overlap of programmatic use.


If one believes in the idea that architecture affects the way we live together, one has to revisit the notion of the social, more specifically collectivity. Questions of power, politics and the formation of a society have been at the heart of the philosophical project since the conception of the “polis” or city-state of ancient Greece. A collective governed through political acts, which found its architectural expression in the agora. Becoming part of a society has to be considered a political act in which the individual transfers their individual autonomy and egoism to the well being of society as a whole. This idea is captured within Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s idea of the “Social contract”. It formulates the public as a collective of individuals, granting equality and political rights and responsibilities to those subscribing to the social contract. It further extends the notion of the family to that of the larger collective and places it under the governance of the people. The division between private and public life is an important issue, generated by the assumption that only in public, mankind can assume political rights and become a social entity.

In search of true collectivity, Karl Marx examined the political structure implied in 19th Century capitalism. The notion that mankind is essentially a social being posits further that true emancipation as an individual can only develop within an egalitarian society. In “Das Kapital”, Marx defines the social relationship among citizens based on their ability to control the surplus value created through production. The idea of surplus labor posits that the value of the commodity product produced is always greater than the labor power used in its production. It is only through the idea of surplus value that trade and exchange are enabled. This poses the question of who should be in control of, and benefit from, the surplus value produced. “It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers - a relation always naturally corresponding to a definite stage in the development of the
methods of labour and thereby its social productivity - which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure, and with it the political form of the relation of sovereignty and dependence; in short, the corresponding specific form of the state.”

Marx claims a trinity of categories form the basis of capitalism. The proletariat is synonymous with the masses that exchange physical labor for wages. The second category is comprised of those who own the means of production, the capitalists, which in the 19th century formulated the class of the bourgeoisie. The members of the third category are the landlords, those who control the land and are able to collect a “rent” from the capitalist production process due private ownership. Marx and Engels argued for a reversal of the exploitative means of capitalist production and called for the emancipation and rule of the collective by the proletariat. The basis of their theories resulted in the experiments of communism and socialism during the 20th century. Socialism can exist within capitalist society and could be regarded as an advanced state of capitalism in which the benefits of surplus value are according to an individual’s effort. The allocation of resources is regulated through the system of the state, hence maintaining the idea of social classes. In contrast, communism demands complete public ownership of the production process and political control by the collective in order to promote a classless society. Only by overthrowing this relationship to the production process can mankind assume the role of a free social being in relation to the collective. Given this definition, the communist project in the soviet union never achieved the final stage of a true Marxist communism, as the control of the state merely was shifted from one socio-economic group to another and the idea of the participatory collective was never achieved. Marx saw within the capitalist production system a drive to continually renew itself in its strive towards universality and greater profits. Within this attempt, the system produces contradictions, ultimately leading to its self-destruction.

According to Slavoj Zizek’s analysis of Marxism, 20th Century capitalism requires traits of crisis and destruction, which have played out in the reality of political class struggle. The formation of “boom and bust” cycles as witnessed in the recent cases of stock market and housing bubbles, and following “market corrections”, can ultimately open up a space for “radical action” in terms of alternatives to the existing status quo. 

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Urbanization of the Pearl River Delta

fig. 3: Pearl River Delta, PRC (Red indicates vegetation and grey reveals buildings and paved surfaces in these false-color images of the rapid growth initiated by capitalist practices in the People's Republic of China)

Source: NASA Landsat
It is in this space of crisis, and the idea of the existence of a multiplicity stemming from the globalization of the capitalist production system, that Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt propose the notion of “Empire”. Though capitalist production had in the past worked on a global scale, the argument posits that we have entered a stage of globalization which transcends the nation state, and the globalization of the production process attempts to “…envelop all power relations within its world order.”¹ The result is a supra-national, limitless system without fixed borders and centrality. The idea of the multiple within the notion of Empire is that it produces a heterogeneous society, which is at once the source of Empire, as well as the possible force behind the conception of a counter Empire. “The idea of the multitude here also negates the existence of the masses”,² which were an integral part in Marx’s formulation of the revolution of the proletariat. The masses today have been split into those who perform intellectual labor or work in the service industries, those who perform manual labor, and those with no income; each group following their own motivations. Negri and Hardt describe Empire as a “…horizon of activities, resistances, wills and desires that refuse the hegemonic order.”³ Rather than attempting to overthrow the ruling power, they see the transformative power of a nomadic labor force in the possibility to refuse their participation, and instead re-collectivize within alternate models of cooperation - inside Empire itself. Rather than merely resisting Empire, the productive solution as described by Negri and Hardt is the establishment of local, participatory collectivities within the system itself, allowing for the formation of mankind as a social being. Negri and Hardt argue that globalization and the principle of the multitude could be regarded as progress in the possibility to formulate a more social capitalism.

A more critical stance towards contemporary capitalism is offered by Slavoj Zizek. Contrary to Marx’s initial perception that capitalism is a step towards socialism, Zizek warns of the increasingly totalitarian nature required by capitalism to flourish. Through the examples of contemporary China, he disassembles the commonly held notion that free market policies are able to foster democratization. On the contrary, globalization has led to capitalism’s emancipation from the attachment to specific ideological systems and finds the best conditions for its own reproduction under oppressive regimes. To preserve the ideals of the social and democratic principles for the future, a new system of the collective, outside of free market capitalism based on the notions of Marxist communism and the idea of a citizen income has to be formulated.

ON COLLECTIVIST ARCHITECTURE

But how do these notions of collectivity affect architecture? If one subscribes to the idea that architecture has the ability to affect the social and political relations within human society, than the formation of the floor plan, section and building envelope become crucial to the architectural project. Inscribed within are formal and representational notions of hierarchies and boundaries that can either reflect, enforce or subvert the system which produced them. Given the tremendous resources needed, in terms of labor, material and financial resources, large-scale building projects in architecture can be seen as the demonstration of power by those who are able to build them. The Pyramids, cathedrals, aristocratic palaces and landscapes, civic structures, monuments and workers palaces as well as the coinciding formal arrangements of the city can be seen as representations of the dominant power structures. Architecture can reinforce these structures power structures and the arrival of revolutionary political change is often expressed through the symbolic destruction and following restructuring of the built environment.

On a political level, the constitution of the modern skyscraper could be read as the monumental expression of globalized market capitalism. Autonomous of its environment it reflects land speculation and scarcity within the urban environment, forcing its verticality in order to maximize surplus value in terms of rental income. Similarly its hybridization in the form of mixed-use office and commercial space in lieu of housing echoes the market pressures exerted on urban centers in its ability to secure higher per square meter rents. The skyscraper, as already described by Rem Koolhaas is transformed into an automonument and has been adopted as a signifier of economic progress and prosperity by varying

![Fig. 4: Expressions of global capitalism; Reliance Building, Chicago (left); Burj Khalifa, Dubai (center); The Shard, London (right)]
political regimes. Developed during the urbanization of Chicago and New York City, it has been adopted as the architectural typology of choice for metropolises like Dubai, Shanghai, Moscow and London. Given the tremendous resources required, both financially and logistically, the proposal of a new skyscraper can only be leveraged against the future gain and increase in market value, along with the ready availability of financial means in terms of credit underlining its speculative nature.

In opposition to the privatizing nature of capitalist economies, stand the city planning and housing practices employed by socialist and communist regimes. The best example for the transformation from one political structure to another in Berlin can best be seen in the plans and partial construction of the Karl Marx Allee in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. The large boulevard is lined with large civic structures and assembly halls called “Workers Palaces”, which were dedicated to proletariat. The formal space itself, large boulevards, public squares and halls propositions the existence of the “masses” expressed through public demonstrations of solidarity, mandated by the state. The mass construction of housing and offices, through standardized prefabricated concrete structures or “Plattenbauten” became a cornerstone of the political program of the socialist party and included participation of the public in order to evoke a sense of solidarity and equality. Though the extension of “free” participation of the public has to be questioned as civic participation was largely surveyed by members of the party. But the construction of affordable, modern housing was largely seen as a benefit of living under socialist rule. Here architecture could be regarded also as an expression of progressive ideals on a social and political level. At first glance, the socialist “Plattenbau” appears to deviate only to a small degree from its western counterpart, also based on pre-fabrication and high functionality.

fig. 5: “Workers Palaces” along Karl-Marx Allee, Berlin
western counterpart, also based on pre-fabrication and high functionality. Where the two implementations differ though is in the public space that is created on an urban level. Although both structures were typically arrayed in multiples within the block, the private nature of property in the west typically resulted in the formation of physical boundaries in the form of fences, steps and hedges, to highlight property boundaries and separate them from public space. The result was largely dysfunctional due to a lack of ownership. In opposition, the structures on the eastern side of the city formally enclosed functioning public space, which was continuous and open as the land was collectively owned and operated, through the buildings themselves without the need for boundaries.

An individual attempt outside of political pressures in repoliticizing the building process is offered by Alejandro Zaera Polo in his essay “The Politics of the Envelope”, in which he tries to reconcile the theoretical aspects of ideology through representation with the material and real aspects of building. He bases his theory on Bruno Latour’s concept of “Ding-Politik”, which describes the encompassing relationship of humans, non-humans, politics and nature; in which architecture can reassume the role of the mediator. The realm of action is placed here within the framework of the existing real market capitalism of deterritorialization, previously addressed within architecture through the concept of field conditions which led to the dissolving of the envelope in order to promote the flow of space. Zaera Polo claims that this condition has changed within the new millennium, which is dominated by security concerns and matters of sustainability; promoting instead the encapsulation of space. Referencing the ideas put forward by Peter Sloterdijk in his “Spharen” trilogy, describing the new territory as “... a foamy space filled with bubbles and balloons of different sizes and qualities. This capsular society and its inherent phenomena of ‘global provincialism’, ‘the politics of climatization’ and ‘social uteri’, describe”, as Zaera Polo puts it, “a new paradigm that requires not just a reconsideration of the technologies and economics of the building envelope, but of its political, social and psychological implications’.” Only by engaging reality can architecture become a tool of viable political transformation, able to resist the stasis of a purely representational, ideological, or utopian architecture which ultimately depends on the centralization of power. As he describes it:

“The envelope has become the last realm of architectural power, despite the discipline’s inability to articulate a theoretical framework capable of structuring its renewed importance. Mobilizing a political critique of the envelope capable of addressing its multiple attachments and
complexities may enable us to frame architecture not merely as a representation of the interest of a client, of a certain political ideology or an image of utopia, but as an all-too-real, concrete, and effective political agency able to reassemble and mediate the interests of the multiplicities that converge on the architectural project.”

The preference for the envelope instead of the plan or section is based on his perception that the envelope is the fundamental source of architecture, as it has the power to control space. The surface becomes the mediator between the public world of the exterior, and the private assembly of the interior. In its attempt to mediate these two spheres, the formation of the envelope is the result of “an act of violence on both spheres”. Unlike the plan or section, which he sees as largely determined by the program and functional aspects, the envelope represents a sphere of autonomy and has therefore the greatest possibility to be shaped through architecture in order to “articulate the relationships between humans and nonhumans in a common world.” In order to be able to produce politically active architecture that can function within the constraints of increasingly complex market structures, Zaera Polo proposes the abandonment of the abstract concepts of power and ideology as formulated through philosophical framework, and instead argues for the manifestation of political practices as they relate to the concept of the envelope and its material construction. Rather than positing an overarching political framework, the future is defined through micro-politics, which resembles the artificial intelligence model of control of increasingly smaller, concrete components from which the whole is reassembled. Therefore a localized, materialist approach to specific building elements can contribute to a larger transformation on a social level.

2. CASES CONFRONTING CAPITALISM
Plan for Xi’an University of Communications

1. main administration building; 2, 3, 4 and 5. teaching and research buildings for various departments; 6. library; 7. work experience factory; 8. medical clinic; 9. Trade Union Club; 10. covered drill ground; 11. Great Hall; 12. student dining hall; 13. bath house; 14. student and unmarried staff dormitories; 15. welfare services

Down the backstreets of China’s industrial districts within the urban undergrowth of China’s massive expansion are architectural remnants of its earlier socialist foundation. These small clusters of three to four story brick apartment blocks were once the vehicle through which the Maoist Regime provided housing, employment, education, healthcare, welfare services, and recreation for workers and their families. The work units - or danwei - were built between the 1950s and 1960s, and were the pinnacle of modern living at the time. They housed the new “masters of society” who were to build the new socialist China. The block complexes also once enclosed the factories and workshops of the planned economy in effort to construct a new utopian form of collectivized urban life. While this type of planning ultimately failed with Mao, its main effect was to create a universal form of urbanism in China; based on a collection of mini-factory towns (danwei), rather than an integrated urban system. The danwei was source of employment and material support for the majority of China from the 1950s to the 1990s. It also provided identity through which each urban resident derived a sense of place and social belonging.

fig. 7: Life inside the danwei centered around collective activities
In spite of decades of rapid growth in South China, the new global center of production in the Pearl River Delta (PRD) is relatively invisible to the West. The mass-produced consumer products distributed all over the world and to a myriad of malls come primarily from the PRD. The region is a 26,000-square-kilometer magacity with a population of 120 million, and houses many of the world’s largest manufacturing companies. It is also home to a floating population of more than 30 million migrant workers who move in and out of the towns based on the ebb and flow of hometown festivals and work opportunities.

Although much research has examined the political economy and growth of the PRD, little effort has gone toward understanding its factory towns as places with their own urbanisms. Some of these factory towns function as self-contained centralized cities, with as many as 400,00 workers living within the compound. Little is left of the utopian impulses of the Western production city experiments of the nineteenth century, or the social factors of China’s old communist danwei work units.

**Zhongshan Seasoning Co. Ltd.**

No. of Workers: 1000  
Construction: 1920-1980
Dongsha Factory Urban Village (Typical Block)
No. of Workers: 1000
Construction: 1990

Typical Urban Village House
40-80 persons
6000 ft²

Family Suite
2-4 persons
258 ft²

Worker Suite
2-4 persons
226 ft²

Newcolor Optoelectronics Co. Ltd.
No. of Workers: 250-300
Construction: 2006

Dormitory Bldg.

Worker Suite
8 persons
322 ft²
NEW CITY OF KILAMBA
ANGOLA (AFRICA), 2008

Located some 18 miles outside the Angolan capital of Luana, Nova Cidade de Kilamba has been called Africa’s first “ghost city”. Kilamba was conceived and constructed by state-owned China International Trust and Investment Corporation (CITIC) as the largest of several new “satellite cities” being built by the Chinese in Angola. The $3.5 billion “city” was designed for 500,000 occupants, to be housed in the 2800 apartment units that fill out the housing blocks. But these remain empty, as the BBC reports, in large part to the purportedly extravagant costs of the apartments—as high as $80,000—that lay beyond the reach of most Angolan families which subsist on criminally low wages and have little to no access to large loans and mortgages. Much has been made of the promotional material expounding the joys and conveniences, not to mention “bustling” streets and urban connectivity that Kilamba ostensibly offers. The videos, according to Western reports, consists of staged footage with actors animating apartment units or strolling down tree-lined avenues. These photographs are proof that this fictionalized reality couldn’t be further from the truth.
CASES CONFRONTING CAPITALISM
What if, instead of dismissing capitalist production as a detriment to meaningful social production, we harmonize economic growth with survival. Enter the billboard house.

At a recent exhibition in Thailand, Apostrophy’s introduced the ‘Billboard House’ as a threefold solution: clients would find space for advertising, homeowners would lay claim to a sleek, modern, modular housing unit, and new jobs would be created to coordinate transactions between advertisers and property owners. The conflation of two disparate spaces - the blatantly capitalist space of the billboard, and the haven of the private home - is also an attempt to reduce visual pollution in the city.

The prototype of the ‘Billboard House’ notably borrows vernacular architectural details, such as various patterns of curlicue mesh fencing and spaces for slender trees expressive of commonplace outdoor architecture in Bangkok’s climate zone. The vibrancy reflects the hues of Thailand’s cities, and eschews specific sense of place - as artifacts of capitalism often do.
CASES CONFRONTING CAPITALISM
Abandoned infrastructural and ex-industrial sites are a large feature of LA’s urban landscape. This project imagines the potential for the reuse of one such zone of brownfield land between rail infrastructure and industrial sites.

The Mega-Creative Factory site straddles the burgeoning Arts District and is immediately next to the Sci-Arc campus.
The Mega-Creative Factory exploits this strategic position to concentrate, accumulate and intermix different strands of creative industries to assemble more than product, but new urban activities and relationships. By recovering the industrial history of the site, this project visualizes an industry that is quickly challenging the manufacturing sector in size and scale within the city.

By applying Fordist production processes to creative industries, work that was once subject to inspiration can now be packaged, prioritized, and more accurately valued.
The escalator, both as metaphor and, later, as a technology, was reappropriated by and integrated into the capitalist model of history. This history is not one so much of progress, but one of accumulation, a horizontal field characterized by peaks of self-induced barriers and crises which, following David Harvey, are transcended only by financial innovations – capitalism as the source of, and answer to, global economic woes and sociopolitical injustices.

The new 1,260-foot escalator in Comuna 13 of Medellin, Colombia’s second largest city and also one of its poorest and most violent urban communities, is representative of these improvements. The escalator replaces a series of stairways climbing the hillside shantytown, significantly cutting the hike time - the equivalent of scaling a 28-story building - from 35 minute to just six.

The escalator, which is broken up into a series of six pieces mounted onto the hillside, is jarring in its appearance. Its shiny veneer contrasting with the dilapidated structures around it. It thus explicitly functions as a harbinger of urban renewal, a promise of the town’s imminent recovery, and the revitalization of Medellin’s housing and public spaces.
3.

MIDWEST REFORM
CONDITION OF THE PUBLIC REALM

In 1800, only 3% of the world’s population lived in cities. The figure had risen to 47% by the end of the twentieth century. In 1950, New York City was the only urban area with a population of over 10 million, and there were only 83 cities in the world with a population over 1 million. Today, there are 25 urban areas with a population over 10 million and 468 cities with a population of over 1 million.

The Great Lakes Megalopolis consists of the group of North American metropolitan areas which surround the Great Lakes region mainly within the Midwestern United States, the Southern Ontario area of Canada; along with large parts of Pennsylvania, New York, and Quebec. The region extends from the Milwaukee - Chicago corridor to the Detroit - Toronto corridor, and includes Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Akron, Erie, Fort Wayne, Grand Rapids, Indianapolis, Louisville, Ottawa, Quad Cities, Rochester, and Toledo, reaching as far as Pittsburgh and Kansas City. The region has an estimated population of 59,144,461 as of 2012, and is projected to reach about 65 million by 2025. As a separate economy, the Great Lakes region, which includes most of the area urban planners have called the Great Lakes Megalopolis, is one of the world’s largest economies. The Great Lakes contain one-fifth of the world’s surface fresh water and have a combined shoreline of 10,210 miles.

Emerging U.S. Megregions
CLEVELAND, OHIO
THE FLATS, 1835
The Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA), the nation’s first such organization, was established in 1933 through FDR’s New Deal. In 1995, the agency made plans to build between 450 and 680 new homes throughout the county that would allow more CMHA residents to become homeowners.
16,789 residents...

...roughly 1 out of 24 Cleveland resident

contribute to a $469,000 budget shortfall

Source: Cuyahoga Metropolitain Housing Authority, 2012
OHIO MANUFACTURING (2010)

U.S. MANUFACTURING (2010)
The Midwest’s troubles are well-known. The decline of manufacturing has resulted in job losses and dying industrial towns. This narrative is so deeply embedded both in and outside of the Midwest that many people overlook the ways in which parts of the region are recovering. The Midwest’s story is important because it serves in significant ways as a microcosm of how growth and opportunity should look in America today. Cities like Cleveland are not doomed to a slow and dirty demise like an old house on an eroding slope, nor are they forced to reinvent themselves Dubai-style in order to compete with Silicon Valley or Manhattan. The Midwest’s future is rooted very much in its past.

Manufacturing continues to be part of the regional DNA in the Midwest. The concentration of manufacturing in middle America is a real asset, especially when combined with higher levels of educational attainment. The Midwest is still home to much of the nation’s skilled labor force. The Midwest is poised to establish a “new industrial paradigm,” characterized by a blend of heavy manufacturing, new technology, a more highly educated industrial labor base, and reformed labor restrictions.

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics
Capitalist Developments In the Flats

Flats East Bank Redevelopment

Historically, the Flats were Cleveland’s industrial foundation - housing large-scale manufacturing along the Cuyahoga River at the footsteps of the civic center. With the evacuation of heavy manufacturing, the east bank of the Flats became occupied with bars, nightclubs, and restaurants that transformed the area into a post-industrial underworld for fans of cheap beer and fist fights. This underworld slowly declined with lack of security and the area became largely vacant in the mid-1990s. The area piqued the interest of Scott Wolstein, a millionaire-turned-urban-revitalizer who gathered developers and tenants to reinvent the Flats East Bank as a “Cleveland’s new upscale, mixed-use, waterfront district”. The development, to be completed in 2013, will feature an office tower to be the headquarters of a financial trading company, a boutique hotel, restaurants, a inclusive public space, and a 1,200 foot boardwalk. Projects like this are appearing across the Great Lakes Megaregion as a method of revitalizing decaying urban centers that have large areas of vacant industrial land. The true aim of the project is to act as an urban facilitator for trickle-down economics, which poses a potential threat for an open relationship between the individual and the society.
Steelyard Commons

The Steelyard Commons is located along the Cuyahoga River south of Cleveland’s Tremont neighborhood adjacent to a large steel manufacturing plant. In 2005, a large defunct portion of the old steelyard was removed to make way for a 2,500,000 ft.$^2$ retail outlet. The majority of the redeveloped land is devoted to surface parking, making the project indistinguishable from a retail outlet in a suburban or exurban site outside of the city. Compared to the Flats East Bank, this project is unapologetic in its indifference towards the social consequences of unreconciled scale and density.

fig. 9: Aerial view of Steelyard Commons
The bridge that connects Detroit Rd. and Superior Ave. is the longest bridge in Cleveland. Symbolically, it connects Ohio City and Cleveland’s western neighborhoods with the first thoroughfare in the city’s history; dating back 200 years. The bridge was constructed in 1918, and was the largest steel and concrete reinforced bridge in the world at the time. Each end of the structure has streetcar stations for trams that operated on the lower deck. Since the closing of the streetcar in the 1950s, the lower level of the bridge has sat vacant and unused. Recently, there has been interest in converting the space into a public thoroughfare due to the gorgeous views offered through the bridge’s classical arches. This design allocates perimeter pathways for bikes and pedestrians, and converts the central span into a public concourse replete with street food carts, recreation facilities, a museum of the bridge’s history, and a space for temporary functions like farmer’s markets and commercial showcases.

In the context of this project, the appropriation of the bridge’s sub-level as a public space acts as a pilot project to reintroduce the Flats as a viable section of the civic center, and redirect the efforts of private developers to convert the area into a type of post-industrial middle-class consumer landscape.
4.

PANGAEA
The Department of Urban Regeneration is an unprecedented effort to enact the potential of the vacant fossil fueled districts left behind by 20th Century American industry. The initiative aims to jumpstart the local economies of these industrial districts within the urban centers of American cities, while creating tens of thousands of unskilled jobs for the human by-products of pure capitalist practices. This is a response to the threat of the collapse of our social fabric embodied in the historic urban centers of our original habitation of the United States.

Pangæa is an initiative enacted through the Department of Urban Regeneration to inject marginalized populations into vacant industrial zones to the mutual benefit of both human and urban contingents. A Pangæa settlement creates the sufficient demand to jumpstart a local economy through the collective habitation of a nomadic global labor force in underdeveloped areas. By shifting marginalized labor between a network of Pangæa settlements throughout the United States, the population is limited to the distance that can be traveled using public transportation. Limitation of travel coupled with a sizable population creates sufficient incentive for entrepreneurs to invest in the vague industrial terrain. Development will start with the necessities of markets and basic commercial facilities to sustain the Pangæa population, but will grow over time to include every amenity of a thriving district.
Global Unskilled Labor
Suburban manufacturing
e ntrprenur development

TOTAL AREA:

34 mi²
1.8 mi²
FLINT, MI

53 mi²
INDUSTRIAL AREA:
1.3 mi²
BUFFALO, NY

57 mi²
INDUSTRIAL AREA:
6.1 mi²
GARY, IN

PANGAEA
SETTLEMENT TYPOLOGIES

**OCTAHELIX**
PRIVATE FACTORY ENTRANCES
+ GROWTH POTENTIAL
+ CENTRAL PUBLIC SPACE

**PLUG**
INTERNAL COURTS
+ PRODUCTION RING
+ INTERACTION BUFFER

**FRAME**
VARIGATED UNITS
+ TRANSPORTATION VOID
+ COLLECTIVE FACADE

**VERTICAL CORE**
INTIMATE PRODUCTION CORE
+ LIVELWORK SPACES
+ MAXIMUM LAND USE

**MGM EXTRUSIONS**
PRODUCTION NETWORK
+ PRODUCTION BASE
+ GRID PERMEANCE

**STEPS**
SHARED BALCONIES
+ PRODUCTION BASE
+ GRID PERMEANCE
RING
NO HIERARCHY
+ CONTINUOUS UTILITIES
+ PUBLIC CORE

DUBAI COMPASS
PUBLIC TERRACES
+ SOCIETAL ENTRANCE
+ EXTERNAL ENTROPY

SOLAR COURTS
RENEWABLE ENERGY
+ ACCESSIBLE COURTS
+ FORTRESS

TOWER CLUSTER
SHARED BALCONIES
+ PRODUCTION BASE
+ GRID PERMEANCE

ELEVATED FACTORY
PUBLIC GROUND LEVEL
+ PUBLIC ROOF
+ FLOATING NEIGHBORHOODS

SLENDER GRADIENT
NEIGHBOR INTIMACY
+ RESOURCE POOLS
+ TOWER PRODUCTION ACCESS
CONTEXTUAL RELATIONSHIPS OF FORMS
PROGRAM DISTRIBUTION

1,705 Shared Residential Units

850,000 ft.² Micro-Factories

400,000 ft.² Shared Facilities

3,000 Single Residents

750 Families
5.

THE CLEVELAND SETTLEMENT
The Cleveland Times

NEW AMERICAN PATTERN

VACANT INDUSTRIAL LAND CLEARED FOR NATIONAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE

Sustainable Capitalism Slouches Towards America to Be Born

By W.B. YEATS

Twenty years from now, we will have either successfully transitioned from our current economic growth paradigm to a new model of Sustainable Capitalism, or we will be suffering the calamitous consequences of our failure to do so. Likewise, sustainable investing will either remain a niche strategy or it will have supplanted mainstream investing. This is the critical point we must embrace: sustainable investing can no longer simply present itself as an alternative to traditional investment approaches that ignore environmental, social and, governance (ESG) imperatives; it cannot simply be for some people; it must actually triumph over and displace traditional investing. The current model of global capitalism – call it growth capitalism – is premised upon perpetual economic growth that must ultimately invade all accessible habitat and consume all available resources. Growth capitalism is in fact collapsing, for the simple reason that a finite planet cannot sustain infinite growth. More and extreme poverty, resource scarcity (including food and water shortages), habitat loss and species extinctions, ever more frequent financial crises, to name just a few – will increasingly bedevil global policy makers in the years ahead. The public sector is already experiencing a high degree of dysfunction associated with its inability to confront a defining feature of this system: the need for perpetual growth in consumption spurs a corresponding growth in public and private debt to fuel that consumption, which has roiled financial markets and sovereign finances across the globe.

Civic Plan Ends the Era of Infinite Growth

By H.P. LOVECRAFT

It’s hard to believe that a mere decade ago, it was the norm for the middle class American to believe that life follows a promised path of commodity accumulation and social mobility. Single-family homes in a suburban pastoral homestead, urban luxuries extracted from a global exchange system, and 800 million oil-powered vehicles became objects of entitlement and symbols of status as a global economy provided the means to achieve them. The stability of the entire American Dream was predicated on unlimited expansion, fueled by an infinite supply of oil to leverage our transportation and energy infrastructures - the very foundations of our self-imposed destiny. As population, consumption, and production reached towards ever-increasing levels of tangential growth, the limit of our desired lifestyle saw it’s climax.

Today, the realization that a system that runs on growth defies physical law is becoming more tangible. In the face of declining food supplies, and inflated prices of oil and electric energy, the President passed the Pangaea initiative last week in an effort to exact a long-term direction for a sustainable economy. The plan represents the first effort to restructure the entire ideological direction of a free nation. Born out of necessity and not political or social upheaval, Pangaea is the incubator through which the possibility of infinite habitation of this planet will be tested.

By T.S. Elliott

China Desperate for Great Lakes Water

By T.S. Elliott

More than one billion residents of the Pearl River Delta have experienced a shortage of sanitary water since last year. The area contains the most concentrated population of people below the fluctuating poverty line reassigned by the U.N. each month. The Republic is now offer-
THE CLEVELAND SETTLEMENT
Program Distribution

2.5 Miles

Ground:
- Microfactories

Level 1:
- Shared facilities

Levels 2-6:
- Balcony units

Levels 7-12:
- Generic units

Aluminum Envelope
- Diagonal Vertical Circulation Cores
- Eco-concrete floor slabs

Sustainable commodities
- Microfactories

Compressive Steel Frame
- Baroque Central Plan
  + Public Plaza
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN REGENERATION

PROGRAM DISTRIBUTION

LEVELS 7 - 12: GENERIC UNITS

LEVELS 2 - 6: BALCONY UNITS

LEVEL 1: SHARED FACILITIES

GROUND: MICRO FACTORIES

ALUMINUM ENVELOPE
ECO - CONCRETE FLOOR SLABS
DIAGONAL VERTICAL CIRCULATION CORES
COMPRESSIVE STEEL FRAME
SUSTAINABLE COMMODITIES MICRO · FACTORIES
BAROQUE CENTRAL PLAN + PUBLIC PLAZA

DISTRIBUTION RADIUS
2.5 MILES
The potential for architecture to establish an effective resistance against economic disparities lies in its ability to contain a contentious relation between capitalism and the built environment, exhibit violent juxtapositions of the public and private realms, and react to global exploitation of labor and resources. These formations actualize the individual as a member of a truly egalitarian society.
The potential for architecture to establish an effective resistance against economic disparities lies in its ability to contain a contentious relation between capitalism and the built environment, exhibit violent juxtapositions of the public and private realms, and react to global exploitation of labor and resources. These formations actualize the individual as a member of a truly egalitarian society.
“IN DREAMS BEGIN RESPONSIBILITY”

-W.B. YEATS
6. CONCLUSION
CONCLUSION

It’s important to recognize our position in society as individuals with effective agency. Our global framework attempts to confuse our roles by being at once ever-expanding, while glorifying individual expression at the same time. The inception of this project reflects a desire to promote a de-mystification of the relationship between the individual and society through an architectural medium. What it became is a fictional reality in which egalitarianism evolves from necessity after the continued use of pure capitalist practices within our relationships.

Equality isn’t a dream, or something that needs to be achieved or enforced. Ours is an age of fossil-fuel-soaked excess, which will most likely be remembered for climbing to the top of the mountain, only to find that there isn’t a prize; and in fact the view bears a striking resemblance to that from the bottom. Given our position as the generations with unlimited resources, I think it’s our responsibility to project the future possibility of a functional system - one in which questions of ethics and morality don’t come into play because the ideas of dominance and oppression are extinct.

In the end, this project was neither a success nor a failure. Ultimately, my only hope is that this thesis raises important questions about priorities of quantity and quality, the social consequences of
prioritizing material value over human value, and the role of architecture and urbanism in our subconscious societal relationships.

Thank you to my family and friends, especially M, M&D, and S&K; without their tireless support, positive criticism, and love, I would not be in a position to project a hopeful future for myself and everyone I see.
REFERENCES


POST-CAPITALIST ARCHITECTURE
THE PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE AFTER PROFIT