

Open Architecture

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Open Architecture

Migration, Citizenship, and the Urban Renewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg
by IBA-1984/87

Birkhäuser
Basel

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Preface

Writing this book, I often felt like a weaver, interlacing stories of distinct individuals from different countries, cities, and schools; with dissimilar ideas, life experiences, political positions, and economic conditions; practicing isolated professions; and feeling part of diverse, sometimes opposing affinity groups. At one point in history, the paths of these individuals merged in the same city borough, and this book is a story of this convergence. Through the weaving of these stories and the design of the book's structure, it becomes apparent that these seemingly different experiences of architects and residents, professionals and immigrants, policy makers and refugees, social workers and guest workers were indeed connected, even though the quality and intensity, and sometimes the hierarchical structure of this interaction varied for each example. The book asks what would have happened if the architectural discipline and profession were shaped by a new ethics of hospitality toward the immigrant, and calls this open architecture. It brings together historical projects and thought experiments toward open architecture (or the lack thereof), and conceptualizes open architecture's various types with terms such as flexibility and adaptability of form, unfinished and un-finalizable design, collectivity and collaboration, participation and democracy, and multiplicity of meaning.

The book explores particularly the urban renewal of Berlin's immigrant neighborhood Kreuzberg to bring this concept and its contradictions to life. This extensive building and renovation practice was carried out by IBA-1984/87, an international building exhibition which was justifiably one of the most important events of its time and a microcosm of international architectural debates from the mid-1960s till the early 1990s. An astonishing number of now-celebrated architectural offices participated in IBA-1984/87, including those of Peter Eisenman, Vittorio Gregotti, Zaha Hadid, John Hejduk, Hans Kollhoff, Rem Koolhaas, Rob Krier, Aldo Rossi, Álvaro Siza, James Stirling, Oswald Mathias Ungers, and many other, rather understudied architects and urbanists whose due acknowledgment will hopefully be given with this book. IBA-1984/87 was also a telling example about the relation between city and statelessness, because the then run-down Kreuzberg has been home to migrants, predominantly from Turkey. My overarching theme is international immigration and the ongoing human rights regime that impaired guest workers' and refugees' right to have rights, and therefore exposed the very limits of these past forms of open architecture. Unlike conventional architectural histories, this topic requires giving voice not only to architects and policy makers but also to noncitizen residents. For every chapter, the immigrant resident is therefore as much a center of the narrative as the architect. In other words, the book extends its theme to its method and explores an open form of writing through a genre inspired by oral history and storytelling. The status of oral history is a supplement in this book when discussing architects and policy makers, whose drawings, photographs, articles and letters can be retrieved in archives and publications. However, I employed it as a crucial method in raising the residents' and the tenant advisors' voices, given the lack of historical documentation. I sought to bridge the fallibility of oral history, which is due to its reliance on individual memories, by cross-checking archival documents if

available, bringing different opinions into conversation, and, needless to say, by architecturally analyzing the buildings and spaces under consideration.

The migrations between Germany and Turkey during the first half of the twentieth century, of not only people but also images, ideas, objects, technologies, and information, was the topic of my book *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey and the Modern House*.¹ There, I also commented on the insufficiencies of the dominant ethics of hospitality, by discussing the unresolved points in Kantian cosmopolitanism. While some might argue that Kant's notion of hospitality falls outside the realm of individual moral judgments, because it is concerned strictly with laws and regulations between states, I instead followed the thinkers who discuss this concept of hospitality within the general framework of the philosopher's ethics. Commenting on, first, the potential Eurocentrism and second, the paradoxes of conditional hospitality in Kantian ethics, where unconditional good will is the highest order, I argued that this hospitality does not annihilate the perception of the "guest" as a possible threat. A conditional hospitality that comes with an "if" clause, one that gives migrant individuals cosmopolitan rights only if they comply with the predefined norms of the "host", and therefore one that still construes them as the "other" and constructs a hierarchy, is not true hospitality. I think this is still the dominant mode of hospitality today, and hence constitutes the ethical backdrop of the ongoing human rights regime, even though the current international laws are, strictly speaking, products of more recent times. This book picks up these two debates in *Architecture in Translation*, namely, both the history of migrations between Europe and West Asia, and the discussion on the unresolved nature of the dominant notion of hospitality, by making a plea for a new ethics of welcoming that would inform open architecture to come.

The migration route between Germany and Turkey has been busy in both directions for a long time. After the assumption of power of National Socialism in Germany in 1933, Turkey hosted a large number of exiles, who held significant posts in universities and the country's building programs. Many refugees sought asylum in Germany after the 1980 coup d'état in Turkey and the subsequent violence, thereby joining the guest workers who had been arriving since 1961—the history that is recorded in the following pages. As I was finishing the book, a new phase in the history of migrations between Germany and Turkey came about, which impacted my own professional home much more directly. Due to the violations of academic freedom in Turkey, countless opposition journalists, intellectuals, and academics who signed a peace petition have been seeking to pursue their critical work abroad, including many in Germany, in forced or self-chosen exiles. As I was preparing the final production stages of this book, I was simultaneously reading a myriad of memoirs and articles, and going through applications from threatened scholars, some of whom were even located in asylum sites.

Additionally, during the final years of writing this manuscript, we witnessed the world's biggest refugee crisis since the Second World War due to the war in Syria. Ever since, the conditions of and the conceptual distinctions between refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers have infiltrated daily newspapers and conversations. I observed in passing how some of these refugees who arrived in Germany were treated with

varying degrees of hostility and hospitality, also by immigrants from Turkey, who, a generation ago, were subject to similar experiences as guest workers and refugees. I often could not stop comparing the welcoming culture (*Willkommenskultur*) in Germany today and back in the period that concerns this book. Architecture as a discipline has been relatively more attentive to the status of the refugee today, producing some internationally visible exhibitions and publications, which however, in the face of the structural challenges recorded in this book, have only concentrated on immediate solutions. Perhaps deceptively, I observed more generosity than in earlier periods while volunteering in the old Nazi Airport Tempelhof that had been turned into a refugee arrival space, but I also heard alarming signs in the news about the unsanitary conditions in other detention centers including sports halls, about the turning of the temporary community lodgings into permanent spaces, and about pushing refugees to the city's peripheries and sometimes into neighborhoods prone to racism.

Moreover, in the United States, my own country of residence, individuals from certain countries have been subject to travel bans, and immigrants have been stripped of their long established lives and families. Due to these recent global developments and the steep decline of civil liberties around the world, I have confronted numerous times the fact that some of the phenomena that shaped the experience of this book's characters are continuing to pose problems today with little or no improvement, including rightlessness of the stateless, crises of citizenship categories in national and international laws, state brutality, lack of decent housing, quandaries of public housing, and hostility toward immigrants. Such threatening new developments have also propelled scholars to define and create "safe spaces" that protect the stateless—a development which practices a welcoming culture toward the migrant, but at the same time sadly exposes how far the world actually is from the ethos of open architecture that is endorsed in this book.

Given that some of my colleagues and I were also affected by the violations of academic freedom in Turkey, I sometimes wondered if I was turning into a character in my own book, with an eerie feeling that must happen to many writers. But in that case, this book is also a chronicle of hope. It reports inspiring stories against all odds of immigrants who rightfully take credit for making Berlin's Kreuzberg one of the most exciting places to live in the world. In cases of the lack of hospitality reflected in architecture, it records examples where individual residents triumphed over these non-open spaces. It also brings out solidarities between ex-migrants and citizens, despite the overwhelming discriminations. Additionally, it records one of the most successful chapters of public housing in world history, a program that has since then almost disappeared from the purview of architectural publications and discussions.

The contribution of IBA-1984/87 to the history of public housing cannot be overstated. We are living in a world where developers are even hesitant to build middle-income dwellings, let alone low-income housing, and where most architects are designing only for the wealthy one percent in a neoliberal system which produces drastic income gaps. Despite the confusing immigration policies that are recorded in this book, the IBA team achieved a miraculous and rare accomplishment in repairing a working-class

neighborhood and supporting subsidized housing designed by an astonishingly large number of established and cutting-edge architects. The gentrification of Kreuzberg's several sections and the ongoing threat of gentrification in its remaining ones are recorded in this book, and constitute yet another example of neoliberalism that puts pressure both on this borough and the idea of public housing. It is not only history but also historiography that seems to be pushing public housing out of the discipline of architecture. Many of the architects who contributed to Kreuzberg's urban renewal in the 1980s continued to have shining careers and came to be identified as stars in multiple venues, but this episode when they designed public housing including units for migrants and disabled individuals has been curiously absent in their tributes.

Before starting, let me say a few words about the structure of this book, which may offer an easier orientation for reading it. Throughout the following pages, I analyze different types of latent open architecture by taking strolls in Kreuzberg through the IBA buildings and stopping at seven locations for a closer look that includes a longer history shaped by different locations around the world. The insert at the end of the book is also its table of contents, represented on a map. These seven stops and six strolls are diagrammed onto IBA's Kreuzberg map on this insert page that also contains my photographs of the buildings on the stroll paths. The other illustrations are spread among the text, including the architectural drawings of the buildings on the stroll paths, and images pertaining to the stops. While the Introduction defines open architecture and discusses some projects and thought experiments toward it in world history, Stops I–III, IV–V and VI–VII discuss open architecture as collectivity, as democracy, and as multiplicity, respectively. The stroll chapters in between carry the reader from one stop to the next. The book's structure therefore reflects the nature of Kreuzberg as not only a city borough that reveals the potentials and contradictions of open architectures, but also a collection of fine public housing designed by hundreds of architectural offices and located in walking distance of each other.

1 Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey and the Modern House* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

Introduction

Toward an Open Architecture

The word “open” has justifiably become a common metaphor today, as people, artifacts, capital, images, and information travel from one place to another in our age of global connections. The reason that open platforms excite or threaten today’s audiences to such a degree, or raise them to such a level of euphoria, may be because they arouse a feeling that is too common, too familiar, so that we respond too easily without checking the causes of this feeling. And the theoretical implications, historical background, and contradictions of this foundational concept remain unexplored.

This book defines “openness” as a foundational modern value that has nonetheless been subject to contradictions, and “open architecture” as the translation of a new ethics of hospitality into architecture. Open architecture is predicated on the welcoming of a distinctly other mind or group of minds into the process of architectural design. It is associated with, for example, flexibility and adaptability of form, collectivity and collaboration, multiplicity of meaning, democracy and plurality, open-sourceable design, the expansion of human rights and social citizenship, and transnational solidarity. Open architecture goes against the grain of the neoliberal ethos of the open market that closes boundaries for the majority, and it is not synonymous with network architectures. This book discusses the inclinations toward open architecture (or the lack thereof) in the context of the urban renewal of Berlin’s immigrant neighborhood Kreuzberg, a development known as IBA-1984/87 (International Building Exhibition of 1984/87).

IBA-1984/87 was justifiably one of the most important architectural events of the 1980s. An astonishingly large number of cutting-edge architects from Europe and the United States were invited to contribute to a project that combined urban renewal and public housing. IBA’s major area was the Kreuzberg borough along the Berlin Wall that had been heavily bombed during World War II and left to decay afterward. Almost half of the population of the run-down Kreuzberg, sometimes referred to as “the German Harlem,” were noncitizens, predominantly from Turkey, and many residents were squatters who had moved illegally into the abandoned buildings. Most of the migrants from Turkey had arrived as part of the guest worker program, since 1961, but some were refugees who fled after the Turkish coup d’état of 1980 and subsequent violence. Building almost entirely on land that belonged to the city government, by 1989 IBA had provided 4,500 new apartments in its Neubau (New Building) section under the directorship of Josef Paul Kleihues and had renovated 5,000 existing apartments and supported 700 self-help projects in its Altbau (Existing Buildings) section under Hardt-Walther Hämer. While the eleven-person Neubau team appointed around 200 international architectural firms, the thirty-nine-person Altbau team appointed around 140 mostly local architectural offices, and many historians and artists.

This book discusses IBA-1984/87 as the last episode in the history of the twentieth-century public housing, when housing was part of architects’ disciplinary concerns;

as a microcosm of the participatory, postmodernist, and poststructuralist debates in architecture from the mid-1960s till the early 1990s; and as a significant moment that exposes the contradictory relationships between international immigration laws and housing when seen from the perspective of immigrant residents. I analyze these topics in relationship to noncitizen rights to the city and translate the relevant concept of hospitality into design to define different forms and terms of open architecture. The book is composed of seven stops in Kreuzberg, each of which concentrates on a single urban block and a distinct idea of open architecture, and six strolls in between these stops, which are composed of shorter passages and copious images. This structure reflects the character of IBA-1984/87 as both a typical subject of the broad international debates of its time and a collection of projects in the same neighborhood that are in walking distance of each other.

This introduction presents a selection from the architectural practices and thought experiments related to open architecture throughout the twentieth century and the early part of the twenty-first, in order to expand on the examples of latent open architecture that were influential in the discourse from the mid-1960s till the early 1990s and are discussed in the following chapters. The word “open” seems to have two common associations today, which may limit the discussion of other possibilities. First, in the context of late capitalism, it is common to associate the word with the economic practices and the resulting ethical and political values of the open market. However, there are many contradictions involved in thinking about the open market as a metonym of openness, given the evidence about how late capitalism creates uneven economic development and hence closed boundaries for the majority of people. Instead, in this book the concept of openness is related more to open borders than the open market, collectivity more than individuality, the openness of society more than the free circulation of consumer products, user participation in architecture more than author-architect, and the collaborative more than the single-handed designer. The other frequent association with the word “open” in today’s networked society is the ever-expanding information highways. While the social impacts, potentials, and contradictions of this relatively new technological development are also discussed in this book, I hope to illustrate that there is a lot more to open architecture in history than its recent association with open-source.

Modernism and New Ground Plan Conceptions (1918–45)

Its genealogy may go back further, but the open plan commonly associated with Ludwig Mies van der Rohe would be an appropriate beginning for a history of latent (in the sense of unpronounced or incomplete) open architecture in the twentieth century. However, not only would it be misleading to think of the open plan as synonymous with open architecture, but it would also be incorrect to limit the history of transformative modern ground plans to the open plan. Mies was far from the only architect to suggest innovative ground plans during the period between the world wars, and the new ideas included the open plan, the free plan, the flexible plan, the *Raumplan* (spatial plan), and the types of plans associated with different nations. There were numerous reasons behind this flood of ideas, including the possibilities created by the new construction materials, reinforced concrete and steel; new conceptions of space;

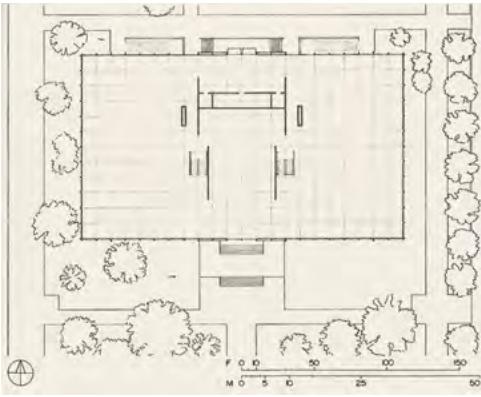


Figure Intro 1 Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, S. R. Crown Hall, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, 1950–56.

the possibility of, and necessity for, mass production; the women's liberation movement; and the national and postcolonial cultural consciousness. The new ground plans increasingly featured the free design of space, flexibility and adaptability, time-saving household methods and discordant realities.

S. R. Crown Hall (1950–56) at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago and the New National Gallery (1962–68) in Berlin constitute the culmination of Mies's open plan conception, but the architect had been freeing the plan from its structural and dividing walls since the very early stages of his career (Figure Intro 1). The Brick Country House (1924) was composed of walls as independent surfaces rather than boundaries to make closed rooms, and the Barcelona Pavilion (1928–29) was conceived of as a floating platform with just eight cross-shape columns and free-standing vertical planes that functioned as space dividers to determine directions but never enclosed rooms in space.¹ Mies carried the themes of the Barcelona Pavilion to residential buildings in the Tugendhat House in Brno (also 1928–29) and in the Farnsworth House in Plano (1945–51), after he emigrated to the United States.² The Crown Hall and the New National Gallery extended the idea of the open plan to its conclusion in public buildings. The elimination of dividing walls and frequent columns in a large building was not only groundbreaking from a programmatic viewpoint, but also challenging from a structural engineering one. In both cases, the piers were taken out to reserve the interior merely for an empty space that was left uninterrupted for both maximum flexibility over time and suitability to a number of functions. Naming the New National Gallery a “universal space,” Mies seems to have extended the grid of the floor plan from the boundaries of the building to its platform and then to the city, as if to indicate that the structure provided only a template onto which the whole universe could be potentially brought in. The museum initially was criticized for being too empty and for lacking enough walls on which to hang artwork. Like a stage waiting for scripts or a frame for images, the gallery suggested no predefined exhibition structure, but one that could therefore accommodate numerous options and change over time. The effectiveness of the open plan has been confirmed after decades of exhibitions that experimented with different display strategies.³

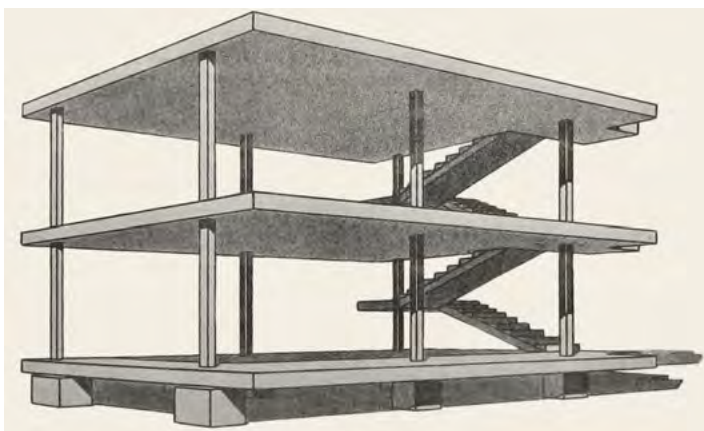


Figure Intro 2 Le Corbusier, Domino system, 1915.

Le Corbusier's free plan was quite different from Mies's open plan. At first sight, Le Corbusier's canonic drawing of the Dom-ino system (1915), which distilled architecture's necessary elements into a mere system of columns, slabs, and stairs, looks like a perfect manifestation of the open plan (Figure Intro 2). Le Corbusier himself identified the free plan as one of the five principles of his modernism, and he celebrated the freedom that was made possible with the use of new construction materials and the elimination of load-bearing walls. However, nothing could be as scripted or as removed from flexibility as Le Corbusier's houses that practiced the five principles. For example, Villa Savoye in Poissy (1928–31) was designed by choreographing the movement of the car and the human body, and Le Corbusier defined a rich promenade carrying the visitor from the ground floor up by way of the ramp or the stairs through the living room to the double-level roof terrace. The variety of spaces along the promenade and the different ground plans at each level were made possible because of the elimination of load-bearing walls. However, Le Corbusier exhausted the openness of the Dom-ino system and the free plan to be able to use his own choreography, leaving less room for freedom of choice or change after the design left the hands of the architect.

Nonetheless, Le Corbusier was a participant in another movement that gave some agency to users and hence opened architecture to residents. With his collaborator Charlotte Perriand, he designed light modern furniture made of tubular steel that was easy to move and allowed for the flexible use of space. Moreover, designers associated with Les Artistes Modernes in France and the Bauhaus in Germany during the inter-war period concentrated on making movable and adjustable furniture that could be changed in accordance with user's will. Nowhere was the idea of flexible furniture taken to its highest architectural potential than in the *Maison de Verre* (1928–32) in Paris, where the designers and craftsmen Pierre Chareau, Bernard Bijvoet, and Louis Dalbet collaborated with each other (Figure Intro 3). As Kenneth Frampton wrote, the entire house was like a big piece of furniture, blurring the definitions of both architecture and object-design.⁴ With built-in but movable and adjustable furniture in every corner and surfaces with modifiable levels of transparency, the building offered its residents endless opportunities for change. Accommodating a gynecologist's office on



Figure Intro 3 Pierre Chareau, Bernard Bijvoet, and Louis Dalbet, *Maison de Verre*, Paris, 1928–32.

the ground floor, a semipublic salon on the second, and a private residence on the third, *Maison de Verre* had sliding solid walls in the doctor's examining room, rotating glass walls in the assistant's office, a curved translucent surface that rolled on wheels to close off or open access to the main stair leading up to the second floor, solid sliding walls that separated the doctor's private office from the main living room, a custom-made device that automated the movement of tableware between the dining room and kitchen, moving and revolving cupboards, a foldable stair that enabled or disabled access from the woman resident's private living room on the second floor to the master bedroom on the third floor, bookshelves that served as balustrades along the galleries, a gazing point from where the wife could see the doctor's patients without being seen, toilets enclosed by translucent panels that revolved open or shut, and bathtubs with bookshelves that slid like shower curtains. The whole façade was made out of experimental glass brick that changed its translucency level based on natural and artificial light. With countless movable architectural elements, adjustable transparent and translucent surfaces, and custom-made details for maximum flexibility, the building was like a participatory theater that could accommodate numerous plays that revolved around seeing and hiding, gazing at and making eye contact, and choices between opening and closing.

Another icon with an innovative ground plan was the Rietveld-Schröder House in Utrecht (1924–25), the result of a collaboration between the designer Gerrit Rietveld and the resident Truus Schröder, which could morph into two completely different homes based on the occupants' choices (Figure Intro 4). The interior could be a single

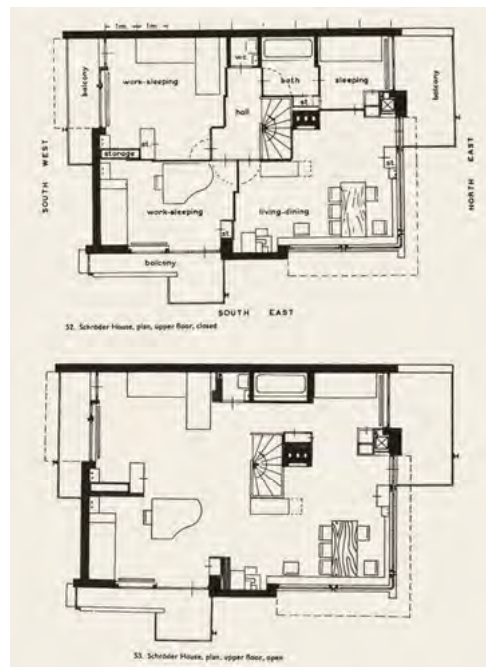


Figure Intro 4 Gerrit Rietveld and Truus Schröder, Rietveld-Schröder House, Utrecht, 1924–25.

loft-like space when the sliding walls disappeared or an apartment separated into six different spaces—two working or sleeping rooms, a living or dining room, a bedroom, a hall, and a bathroom. The sliding vertical planes slid along the floor that was painted in different primary colors to mark the different possible configurations. Based on its façade and color composition, its freestanding planes, and Rietveld’s career in furniture and space design, the house is usually perceived as the architectural manifesto of the De Stijl movement, whose members were interested in the new possibilities of a fluid, open space.⁵ The Rietveld-Schröder House did not blur the boundaries between the inside and the outside, but it embodied another definition of openness, one that opened the space to the residents’ voices and one that was originally formulated by Schröder herself, so that she could both enjoy time with her children in open space and have privacy when the sliding walls stayed shut.⁶

Among the architects of the interwar period who were inspired by flexible and multi-purpose spaces was Sedad Eldem in Turkey. Undeniably curious about and at many times imitative of the modernist architects in France, Germany, and the United States, Eldem insisted on organizing his residential projects around a space called *sofa*, rather than following the new ground plans that were being used in places he turned for inspiration. Eldem made it his lifetime project to research and categorize the typology of what he called the “old Turkish houses,” which he defined as dwellings that shared the conception of the *sofa-oda* duality, despite their differences in style, material, size, climatic environment, or social setting. According to Eldem, the *oda* was the multi-purpose, flexible room used by a small family unit that could morph into a living,

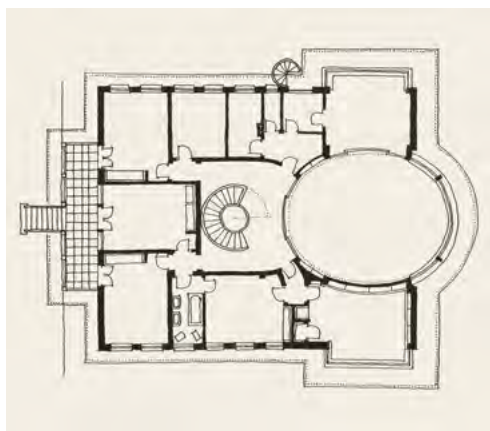


Figure Intro 5 Sedad Eldem, Ağaoğlu House, Istanbul, 1936.



Figure Intro 6 Sutemi Horiguchi, Okada House, Tokyo, 1933.

sleeping, or dining space by virtue of adjustable built-in fixtures, and the *sofa* was the semiprivate gathering space of the extended family that lived together in the house. The “old Turkish house” as an overarching and unifying national typology was a convenient myth that Eldem participated in fabricating, but it served him as a muse for many of his finest designs throughout his career (Figure Intro 5).⁷ The architect did not design his own *sofas* and *odas* as multipurpose rooms with flexible fixtures, but as rooms with specific modernized functions and furniture. Neither did he conceptualize resident appropriation as part of his own architectural design process. Nonetheless, like many architects practicing outside the centers of Europe and North America, Eldem was preoccupied with reconciling what he perceived as the modern and the national, the foreign and the local—in his case, the Western and the Turkish. This preoccupation was motivated by what might be called a postcolonial consciousness (even in countries that had not been colonized), in the sense of an anxiety about Western cultural imperialism accompanied by an openness to these foreign influences.

To give another example, Sutemi Horiguchi’s work in Japan also resulted from the tension and dialogue between what he perceived as the Japanese and the Western identities. The Okada House in Tokyo (1933), for instance, materialized this duality by literally juxtaposing a “Japanese wood-frame wing” with tatami mats and a “Western concrete frame wing” (Figure Intro 6). The two distinctly different parts of the house were connected with a detailed Edo-inspired garden design, an inner courtyard, and a reflecting pool with stepping-stones.⁸ For both Eldem and Horiguchi, modernism involved confronting what they perceived as two worldviews, the Western and the national, which needed to be synthesized, juxtaposed, or brought into conversation through a new plan conception. Their projects were based on their conviction that the two worldviews, materialized in distinct spatial organizations and construction materials, needed to be translated into each other in some way. Being modern involved the welcoming of a distinctly other type of plan conception into one that was more familiar in their immediate surroundings at the time.



Figure Intro 7 Adolf Loos, Villa Müller, Prague, 1928–30.

Even though he faced different dilemmas than Eldem and Horiguchi and practiced in one of the centers of Europe, the Austrian architect Adolf Loos also conceived of modernity as the accommodation of discordant realities, for which the *Raumplan* (a term coined in 1931 by Heinrich Kulka, one of Loos's students) prepared an appropriate stage. Practiced most prominently in the Moller House in Vienna (1928) and the Villa Müller in Prague (1928–30), the *Raumplan* signified a building where volumes flow into each other in three-dimensional ways and spaces connect with one another either physically or visually (Figure Intro 7).⁹ Loos's houses are composed of semi-closed spaces of different heights and on multiple levels that pour into each other through steps, of fluid living rooms that can be perceived as both a unitary space and a collection of smaller alcoves, and of rooms adorned with conflicting finishing materials and furniture and interconnected through physical access or visual openings. A *Raumplan* creates the ambiguous feeling of being simultaneously enclosed and under the gaze of someone else, of living on the stage of a theater and watching others through constant framing of spaces in other spaces. Loos defined his intention as “setting free a ground plan in space,” rather than stacking floors on top of each other—which, according to Werner Oechslin, was nothing short of a revolution in modern space conception.¹⁰ Hilde Heynen discusses the intellectual implications of the *Raumplan* in terms of a “counterpastoral” conception of modernity, one that does not deny its contradictions and tensions in favor of an illusion of unity, and one that does not use a single programmatic definition of “modernity” as if history were moving toward a predefined ideal or progressing toward a technocratic telos.¹¹ In the *Raumplan* these contradictory elements are juxtaposed, discordances are brought together, and harmony in domesticity is disrupted.

Eldem's, Horiguchi's, and Loos's modern plans moved toward an open architecture in their own distinct ways, because their goal was to synthesize, accommodate, or juxtapose what they manifested as different or discordant realities. Even when the architects seek to establish unity and harmony, as was the case with Eldem, their suggestions are premised on a perceived alterity. Appreciating Loos's work requires admitting the irreducible differences, contradictions, and incompatibilities of modern life, rather than covering them with a single, overarching framework. This latent open architecture is quite different from that of the New National Gallery, Maison de Verre, and Rietveld-Schröder House, whose flexibility anticipates future actors' agency, even when users are expected to appropriate the space by adapting into the grid structure or by choosing from a number of predefined options. Instead, in Eldem's, Horiguchi's, and Loos's houses the move toward an open architecture—in the sense of welcoming alterity and accommodating discordant realities—takes place on the level of designed metaphor, while the assumption of the architect's authorial status remains intact.

Flexibility and Adaptability of Form (1945–72)

During the 1950s and 1960s, freedom of choice; anticipation of change; and mobility, transformability, and adaptability of form became the common mottos of a new generation of architects. The terms “open society,” “open system,” and “open form” were also used relatively frequently to designate a world without traditional hierarchies and centralized systems. Alison Smithson associated “open society” with the ability to move freely, viewing communication media and the highway as its symbols: “An open society needs an open city. Freedom to move,—good communication, motorways, and urban motorways, somewhere to go.”¹² Her work as part of the Independent Group, especially their *This Is Tomorrow* exhibit (1956), became a turning point in architectural discourse, as it celebrated pop culture and called architects to communicate more directly with the inhabitants of their buildings. Kenzo Tange contrasted the closed and open systems as cities with the possibility of centripetal organizations and linear development, respectively. Oskar Hansen and Zofia Hansen published a manifesto on open form in 1961 to respond to the urgent need for housing large numbers of people, particularly in Poland, by registering the individual in the collective and paying attention to the everyday needs of tenants.¹³

During these decades, few architects moved as far toward open architecture as the Japanese Metabolists. Identifying the sea and the sky as zones of new habitation in response to the limited land in Japan and the country's rapid population increase, and building on the biological metaphors of organic growth and change, the Metabolists conceptualized architecture as process and the architect's role as designing an infrastructure that will accommodate transformation. In an array of paper projects at the turn of the decade in the 1960s, Metabolists such as Arata Isozaki (see stroll 1 for his IBA-1984/84 building), Kiyonori Kikutake, and Kisho Kurokawa (see stop II for his IBA-1984/84 competition project) imagined urban clusters in the air that eliminated land speculation, cities floating on oceans that were renewed by sinking their cells into the water when they became obsolete as residences, and helix cities that were meant to reproduce their DNA like breeding organisms.¹⁴ Large-scale housing, traffic, and mobility had already become the foci of attention for many architects in international

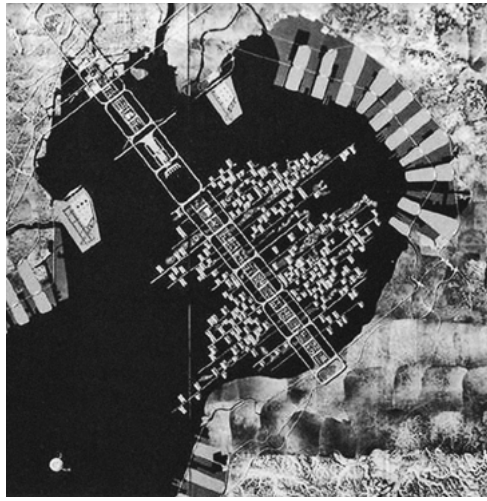


Figure Intro 8 Kenzo Tange, Tokyo Bay project, 1960.

circles during the period immediately after World War II, but the Metabolists were also “trying to revolt against Eurocentrism,” as Kurokawa put it years later.¹⁵ Yona Friedman had presented the groundbreaking “Mobile Architecture” project in the Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne (CIAM) meeting in 1956, which responded to the mass housing crisis by suggesting a permanent overarching structure where everything else was movable and changeable.

Tange’s Tokyo Bay project (1960), where Isozaki and Kurokawa also worked, represents the culmination of most of these ideas (Figure Intro 8). Already an established architect in Japan, Tange was not a Metabolist, but he influenced the group. Responding to the need for Tokyo’s growth despite its limited land, Tange’s team proposed creating large elevated freeways on water that would connect the two shores of Tokyo Bay and extend to Chiba, and gigantic artificial islands on which residents would build their own houses as needed. This was a city of the automobile, bringing together city structure, transportation, and architecture in a single framework and accommodating adaptability and future growth based on society’s need. The main points of the Metabolist advocacy of open architecture were the separation of the permanent and the temporary components of urban life, the needs of the collective and individual citizens, and the planned and provisional aspects of cities. The Tokyo Bay project was a settlement with transportation networks conceived of as permanent infrastructure, and housing in the form of flexible structures that were open to constant change based on individual choice. However, as Zhongjie Lin notes, the overbearing formal presence of the fixed freeways or other overdesigned structures created a paradox in relation to the Metabolists’ emphasis on individual agency, freedom, and democracy.¹⁶ Peter Smithson, for one, found the Tokyo Bay project authoritarian, rather than democratic. Besides, it was not clear how future citizens would build their houses by plugging into the tent-like structures specified in Tange’s renderings and models. The Metabolists contributed the ideals of openness, citizen agency, and future adaptability to architecture, which remained metaphoric and unrealizable in their own projects. A division

took place among the Metabolists as a result of a similar self-critique. Fumihiko Maki, a member of the group, formulated a theory of the “group-form” as a bottom-up, more democratic, spontaneous, and less formal accommodation of future growth. Developing additively from small to bigger patterns, “group form evolve[d] from the people of a society rather than from their powerful leadership.”¹⁷

Metabolism is usually associated with the idea of megastructure, a term coined by Maki to mean a “large frame in which all functions of a city or part of a city are housed.”¹⁸ In his influential book *Megastructure*, Reyner Banham asserted that the megastructure projects around the world, including those by the Metabolists, Cedric Price, Archigram, and in Montreal Expo 67, and several university campuses were not isolated but connected endeavors, and that there was a lineage between the avant-garde utopian movements of the early twentieth century and the contemporary proponents of megastructure.¹⁹ However, from the perspective of open architecture, the megastructures that accommodated their inhabitants’ agency and anticipated changes need to be distinguished from those that used a large-scale structure to impose a controlling order on the whole environment.²⁰ The fact that Le Corbusier’s Plan Obus for Algiers was a frequent reference for megastructures raises questions about the political association of these projects with democracy or egalitarian and free society. The quintessential symbol of the French colonial dominance on the colonized population in North Africa is not an inspiration for open architecture in the sense explored in this book. For a theory of open architecture, megastructures for social agency and as social engineering need to be differentiated. Moreover, Banham’s equating of megastructural openness with utopian thinking is also misleading, especially in the context of Karl Popper’s 1945 *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, in which historical utopias were questioned from the perspective of what the author called the open society.²¹ If utopias’ major fallibility was their inability to come to terms with their own fallibility, because they fixed the future from the perspective of the present and because they had full confidence in the single vision of their creator, then the welcoming of change and the inclusion of citizens’ voices can hardly be considered “utopian.”

Among the megastructures of the 1960s, the Fun Palace (1961–65) embodies the idea of open architecture by virtue of conceptualizing architecture as performance (Figure Intro 9). A project with a ground platform accessible from all directions as its only stable element, the Fun Palace would have been composed of structural steel towers filled with stairs and topped with cranes so that all of its other elements—including floors, walls, galleries and bridges in the air, mechanical equipment, and other types of planes—could be adjusted by the users to fit their shifting needs. Recent developments in cybernetics and game theory would have been employed to collect data on prior use and determine behavioral patterns as well as the probability of new programs. The artists, architects, cyberneticists, game theorists, scientists, and others involved in the Fun Palace each had his and her own intellectual convictions and political position, and as a result the project cannot be covered here in its full complexity. Nonetheless, for the theory of open architecture discussed in this book, the Brechtian intentions of the project come to the fore. Joan Littlewood, one of the masterminds behind the idea of the Fun Palace and a collaborator with its architect, Cedric Price, was a revolution-

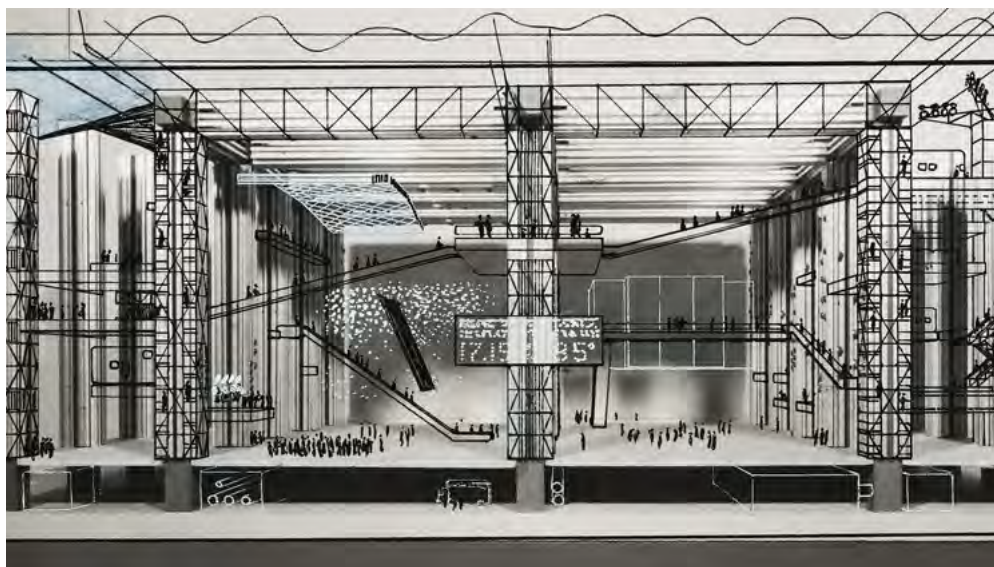


Figure Intro 9 Cedric Price, Fun Palace, 1961–65.

ary theater actor and director with decades of experience in agitprop street theater, immediate and agitational plays about class struggle or other political matters, and makeshift theaters trying different formats in provincial towns and working-class districts. Her work is relevant for open architecture in the Fun Palace by virtue of her ties to the Brechtian performance theory that advocated the potential of the theater to mobilize masses and foster critical alertness in the audience through alienation effects, with the unambiguous intention of achieving a classless society.²² The Brechtian theater closed the traditional distance between the actor and the audience, changed their roles, and invited the audience to act critically, rather than watch passively. The intention was that it would not be the author of the space or the play that dictated the performance. Rather, the theatric experience would be opened to its audience, and space to its users. As Stanley Mathews points out, this signaled nothing short of the death of the architect in his conventional role: “He [Cedric Price] refined the role of the architect from that of master form-giver to that of designer of a field of human potential, a ‘free space’ in which programmatic objectives are free to develop and evolve.”²³ The relation between performance studies and open architecture is discussed in stop VII.

The Italian architecture group Superstudio took the idea of free platforms for free lifestyles to its extreme.²⁴ In numerous ambiguously ironic drawings, storyboards, collages, and films, Superstudio covered existing cities, landscape, the ocean, the earth’s surface as a whole, and even outer space with gridded platforms. The Continuous Monument (1969) that extended the white grid globally was meant to create no interior and hence no exterior, but endless possibilities (Figure Intro 10). In Superstudio’s fictional world, which could be interpreted as either an endorsement of utopian thinking or a cautionary tale, the architects offered infrastructural resources on a grid so that humans could plug into them with any lifestyle and any individual choice. Another group that fetishized “open-ended” design during these years as a way to embrace



Figure Intro 10 Superstudio, Continuous Monument, 1969.

individualism, freedom of choice, and constant change was Archigram, whose members celebrated British pop culture by populating their imagery with copious advertisements and everyday objects; endorsed the metropolis as a site of ultimate liberation, adventure, and consumption; and envisioned using advanced technologies to maximize mobility. To those ends, they designed futuristic traffic intersections; plug-in and walking cities containing intelligent robots, nomadic houses, and transitory buildings; interchangeable architectural parts for the user to configure; and self-expanding structures that applied recent advances in cybernetics and systems design. Nonetheless, there was a contradiction in Archigram's openness to the citizens of the metropolis. As Simon Sadler observed, the *Living City* exhibit was declared to be about "the people themselves." However, the objects chosen for the exhibited "survival kit" implied that young, affluent, heterosexual bachelors were the designated "people of the city."²⁵ Moreover, despite the radical imagery that the group produced, we might as well be living today in the Archigram paradise: a world of endless individualist choices, abundant consumer products and advertisement images, data collection technologies that can predict what we will buy even before we start shopping, time-saving robots, ever-expanding lifestyle possibilities. Freedom according to the individualist ethos and the neoliberal logic today might indeed be seen as the realization of some mid-century utopias. Regardless of the groups' critical or celebratory stance, most of their ideas seem to have been co-opted by the open market and data highway enthusiasm of the world we live in today.

Collectivity and Collaboration (1966–Present)

While freedom of choice and the endless proliferation of new lifestyle possibilities became catchphrases of midcentury modernism, this book picks up the history of open architecture in the mid-1960s, when a number of architects started questioning the idealization of the individualist ethos. Open ground plan conceptions and the flexibility and adaptability of form persisted during the times and in some of the projects covered in this book, but other types of open architecture also emerged. Part 1, "Open Architecture as Collectivity," discusses collectivity and collaboration as latent open architecture by looking at the practices of IBA-1984/87 architects from Western

Europe—particularly those from Italy and Germany who were associated with other architects in Austria, Belgium, Spain, and the United States.

Stop I, “Critical Reconstruction: Open Architecture as Collaboration?” introduces the beginnings of West Berlin’s IBA-1984/87 and the organization’s goals in the context of the history of public housing. IBA-1984/87 differed from its predecessors by conceptualizing public housing as a form of urban renewal. The organization criticized postwar urban planning models for reducing the city to a collection of traffic systems. During the mid-1970s, the West Berlin Senate was considering a proposal for a mega autobahn project in Kreuzberg, which would have created a massive junction over Oranienplatz (Oranien square). IBA directors not only aborted this project but also significantly distanced themselves from the postwar, large-scale urban interventions in which existing buildings were demolished, and from standardized massive housing blocks that were constructed at the peripheries of the city. Instead of demolishing Berlin’s nineteenth-century urban fabric, composed of perimeter blocks, IBA proposed to “carefully repair” and “critically reconstruct” it. Rather than top-down master plans or mega-structures with a single vision for the entire city, IBA-1984/87 suggested that the zone of urban operations should be limited to city districts that a designer could zoom in on an architectural scale.

To explore IBA’s urban renewal vision and its beginnings more concretely, Stop I discusses the history of building exhibitions, social housing, and Neubau’s beginnings and then concentrates on Rob Krier’s urban design for Block 28, where twenty different architectural firms were brought in to design rows of buildings along the new pedestrian streets and an urban plaza at the center, where four proposed interlocking perimeter blocks met. This stop explores collaboration as a form of open architecture, as long as urban design can be achieved as a partnership between nonhierarchically positioned architects and can mobilize groups that work hospitably together. To discuss Krier’s ideas about immigration that identified an essential connection between nation and form, the stop presents the story of Hatice Uzun, who lived in several units of this project. Stroll 1, “From Schinkelplatz to Checkpoint Charlie,” takes a walk in the neighborhood from Stop I to Stop II, passing through buildings designed by Herman Hertzberger, Arata Isozaki, Daniel Libeskind, and Hans Kollhoff and Arthur Ovaska, among others.

Stop II, “Buildings That Die More Than Once: Open Architecture as Collectivity,” traces IBA’s intellectual sources back to Aldo Rossi’s theories and typological design method in the 1960s and discusses the translation of these ideas into practice in IBA’s most prestigious architectural competition and two adjacent blocks at Checkpoint Charlie. To explore the relationship between open architecture and collective ideals, the stop presents the stories of the Italian architect Rossi; the Spanish architect collective Bohigas, Mackay, and Martorell; Günsel Çetiner, the spouse of a Turkish guest worker; and N.Y., a Kurdish refugee. Analyzing Aldo Rossi’s 1966 *L’architettura della Città* (*Architecture of the City*) in the context of the Italian journal *Casabella*’s circle, this stop argues that a unique definition of open architecture as collectivity comes out of this book, whose reception generally (mis)treated it as a theory of autonomous architecture.²⁶ Like the Metabolists, Rossi differentiates between the permanent and

transient aspects of urban life, but in reverse order—identifying housing and monuments as permanent, and traffic as temporary, urban elements. The paired concepts type and event, memory and will, death and life, permanence and adaptability, and convention and political motivation construct a theory of open architecture, which views the architect as a participant in both the collective memory emerging from the past and the collective will making the future, rather than a genius creator, a *tabula rasa* mind, or an all-determining author. What makes Rossi's theory a unique definition of open architecture is his emphasis on design as a product of the collective mind on the one hand, and his acknowledgment of future transformations through the physical signs of continuously unfolding events on the other hand. This stop also identifies the limits of this openness, by exposing Rossi's expectation that a unified architecture will emerge from the collective memory and the collective will, as if a society has no alterity or no class-based, ethnic, or geopolitical dominance that prioritizes one memory and will over others, and as if citizens and noncitizens always reach consensus in the collective making of the city.

Stop III, "Opened after Habitation," discusses Oswald Mathias Ungers's multifaceted career and alternative Berlin projects from the 1960s till the late 1980s, and zooms in on his IBA design for Block 1 to show how architecture is by definition open as residents appropriate spaces whether the architect anticipated or prohibited that appropriation. This stop portrays the transformation of Ungers's ideas about the open city from a collection of multiple heterogeneous entities to autonomous architecture with increasingly exclusivist tones. The *de facto* openness of architecture is exemplified in Block 1, especially with Fatma Barış's touches in her dwelling, despite Ungers's claims to closed architecture that did not welcome changes by the occupants. Strolls 2 and 3 after Stops II and III, respectively, take walks in IBA-Neubau areas from Checkpoint Charlie to Potsdamer Platz and then to Tiergarten, to show the theme and variations of the urban renewal, visiting the buildings of established architects such as Mario Botta, Peter Cook, Pietro Derossi, Zaha Hadid, Hans Hollein, Vittorio Gregotti, Werner Gehner, Frei Otto, and James Stirling.

As part 1 of this book shows, during these years, the ethos of collectivity was endorsed by architects in Western Europe on both the political left and right. Kleihues commented on the irrelevance of shying away from collective ideals due to their alleged alliance with Eastern Europe. In the early part of the Cold War, the housing models of West and East Berlin had been based on an ideological rivalry. In the mid-1980s, however, Kleihues thought that the Cold War polarity should no longer prevent the conservation of the city's nineteenth-century urban fabric.²⁷

Today, the importance of collaboration is taken for granted, given the complex building requirements that can be handled only by professionals of different expertise, but collaboration is seldom endorsed except because of pragmatic necessity. The role played by data collection and digital technologies is celebrated for making collaboration possible, but concerns about surveillance in the cybernetic utopia remain unresolved. For example, Kas Oosterhuis defines the collaborative possibilities emerging from the new technologies as follows: "In the collaborative design process there must be an open

channel for incoming raw data from the world around the group design room. ...Citizens become real-time participants in the design game.” However, he admits that the question of who has authority over the placement of filters and channels results remains unresolved, which prevents the replacement of the traditional designer who has top-down control.²⁸ While new online open-source technologies increasingly foster the interaction and exchange of digital information, few architects are willing to give up the notion of individual authorship or “envisage [the development of] open-sourceable architectural design—i.e., design notations that others could use and modify at will,” as Mario Carpo observed, noting the paradox of parametricism and other aspects of the digital turn in architecture.²⁹ Collectivity in the sense discussed in this part of the book is also dormant, partially due to the triumph of neoliberalism after the collapse of communism, and partially because of the association of these decades with unwanted revivalism and eclecticism in architectural history. This book examines these practices to excavate theories of collectivity and collaboration as latent forms of open architecture, rather than to investigate their contribution, if any, to the making of the postmodern architectural style. I also argue that the intention to reach unity and harmony in an immigrant neighborhood through collaborative and collective urban design based merely on European models foreclosed architecture’s connective and dialogical power.

Participation and Democratizing Democracy (1968–Present)

Few ideas contributed as much to open architecture and its dialogical potential during the social upheavals of the 1960s as the call for participation in public housing. When one reads Giancarlo de Carlo’s 1969 “Architecture’s Public,” one can measure the opposition to the architectural establishment during the student movements in Europe (Figure Intro 11). Questioning architects’ submission to power and compliance with the interests of wealthy clients, de Carlo called for a fundamental change in the discipline’s self-definition and audience. Who really was architecture’s public: the clients, architects themselves, or the people? “Architecture took an elite position on the side of the client rather than on the side of the user” at the expense of its own trustworthiness.³⁰ “Why should architecture be credible today,” de Carlo asked, when architects served only landowners and authorities, when they restricted themselves to the technical questions of the “how” rather than addressing the social and political questions of the “why,” and when the question of public housing remained unresolved while architectural education was in crisis and architectural publications were characterized by arrogance? To improve architecture’s credibility, de Carlo suggested participatory design, which meant that the architect would design with users rather than for them, and process planning, which meant that participation would be initiated as an open-ended procedure in such a way that users would continue shaping their environments even after the work of the architect ended. In making a distinction between the client and the user, de Carlo was suggesting that architecture ought to work for the common good rather than the particular interests of the wealthy or powerful authorities. While the expectation of change and unfinalizability of design were ideas similar to those endorsed by the Metabolists during the same period, the participatory design procedure that invited a direct connection with future users was another distinct form of open architecture.



Figure Intro 11 Occupation of the Milan Triennale, 1968.

Part 2 of this book, “Open Architecture as Democracy” takes the reader to Altbau areas in East Kreuzberg and analyzes a parallel beginning of IBA with another critique of the idealized architect as author. In contrast to conventional city planning implemented from above, the IBA Altbau team directed by Hämer promoted a participatory model without displacement and insisted that the people living in the buildings and directly affected by the renovation should become the decision makers in a democratic process. Tracing the participatory discourse in architecture from the 1960s onward, Stop IV looks at the city blocks directed by Heide Moldenhauer and Cihan Arın (one of the few women and one of the four Turkish citizens on the IBA team, respectively), bringing the participatory design process to life on a unit-by-unit basis through oral histories with architects, tenant consultants, and other residents, especially the Tuğrul, Nişancı, and Çelik families. Strolls 4 and 5 take walks in Altbau areas via the Kottbusser Tor and Görlitzer Park areas, respectively, giving voice to the subdirectors, tenant advisors, and the architects Uwe Böhm and Bahri Düleç, as well as the residents living in the blocks under their responsibility.

The Neubau and Altbau projects differed because the former involved the design of new buildings in West Kreuzberg and the latter the restoration of existing ones in East Kreuzberg. Another key difference between them was their approaches to residents’ contribution to designs. While most of the Altbau team saw user participation as a synonym of democracy in architecture, many architects on the Neubau team diagnosed it as a disabling of architectural expertise and an invitation to mediocrity. In my interviews with them, the Neubau coordinators Hildebrand Machleidt and Günter Schlusche emphasized that they tried to encourage participation as well, and the latter spoke about a 1981 crisis, after which Kleihues was forced to be more responsive to the requests of the local social advocacy groups. There were some participatory meetings and self-help projects undertaken under the auspices of the Neubau team as well—discussed in strolls 1–3—but the key decision makers on the team usually invited ar-

chitects who advocated the autonomy of architecture in the name of the discipline's integrity and what they saw as a better mode of engagement with cities.

The debate about the relationship between democracy and architecture acquires particular relevance in the context of the mid-1980s, when Western Marxists in other disciplines were revisiting the concept of democracy. For example, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe advocated that the Left reclaim democracy in its “radical” form, by acknowledging the proliferation of new subjects and struggles other than those of the working class, such as feminism, minority movements, and noninstitutionalized ecology movements. Only acknowledging the plurality of social struggles and the open-ended possibilities for the emergence of new subjects of history would bring about the transformation of the classical Marxist models and the theorization of radical democracy necessary for a free and egalitarian society in the late twentieth century. Part 2 of this book discusses the complex relation between the client and the state and between the architect and the resident in public housing, linking it to Laclau and Mouffe's contemporary theory of plural and radical democracy. According to this theory, democratization is conceived of as a necessarily perpetually open, “never-ending process,”³¹ since the multiple actors who struggle against inequality in the present and the future cannot be foreclosed or predicted. Furthermore, “it is only when the open, unsutured character of the social is fully accepted, when the essentialism of the totality and of the elements is rejected, that this potential becomes clearly visible.”³²

Stop IV also outlines why the relationship between democracy and architectural participation, and especially between plural or radical democracy and noncitizen participation, was not necessarily resolved during the Altbau urban renewal process, despite IBA's earnest attempts. It was unclear who the democratically legitimate participants of an urban renewal process would be. Moreover, it became clear on a few occasions that the Altbau's participatory model welcomed participants only as long as their requests were compatible with IBA's values. All of the abovementioned facts drew a limit beyond which the noncitizens could not speak.

In the context of the perceived opposition between Neubau's autonomy and Altbau's participation, Álvaro Siza's building block, which was a new design but under the purview of the Altbau, offered a significant alternative. Stop V, “A Building with Many Speakers: Open Architecture as Critical Participation,” looks at Siza's participatory design practice by tracing it from his early career in Portugal. Siza was not at all romantic about participation. He criticized the “authoritarian politicians” who perceived participation as the subordination of architectural expertise under the demands of what they claimed people wanted, and who reduced the role of the architect to a “tool for people.”³³ Nonetheless, he was equally critical of the disengaged architectural practice at the end of the twentieth century that seemed to consider participation as “something shameful and provincial, which is of no interest to anybody.”³⁴ Despite his frustration, Siza continued to find ways to encourage critical participation, and Stop V discusses the open character of his IBA project that included void spaces in anticipation of user appropriation, whose potential was actualized, for instance, with Yüksel Karaçizmeli's designs in her own dwelling.

As Siza predicted, participatory architecture remained at the margins of the profession, embraced occasionally by a few architects such as Charles Correa, when he commented on the role of the architect in developing countries such as India; Hassan Fathy, whose New Gournia village built to address rural poverty in Egypt was constructed by the villagers themselves; the Rural Studio, whose members engaged in a similar co-building practice with residents and students in Alabama; the designers of the Previ housing in Peru that was open to expansion and adaptation over time in relation to changing family needs; and more recently Alejandro Aravena, whose affordable housing projects offer an “open typology” by building only part of the unit so that residents can finish it according to their needs and with available resources.³⁵

This disinterest in participatory architecture at the end of the twentieth century is an indication of broader global transformations whose adverse effects have become visible only recently. Many contemporary political philosophers are warning about the de-democratization taking place throughout the world today. The widespread acceptance of Samuel Huntington’s rereading of multiculturalism as a “clash of civilizations” and a threat to Western values is a sign of the new intolerance around the world and of reactivated Orientalist stereotypes.³⁶ The authoritarian turn in many countries that see themselves as liberal democracies has sparked protests and acts of civil disobedience. According to thinkers such as Wendy Brown, it is the new global capital that is “undoing democracy” and turning democratic institutions into something else: “Neoliberal reason, ubiquitous today in statecraft and the workplace, in jurisprudence, education, culture and a vast range of quotidian activity, is converting the distinctly *political* character, meaning, and operation of democracy’s constituent elements into *economic* ones.”³⁷ Despite the elusive meaning of democracy and the number of its variants—including liberal, radical, republican, direct, and participatory democracy—, Brown argues that the shift from classical economic liberalism to neoliberalism means the complete economization and hence the emptying out of democracy in all its variants. Neoliberal reason, a geographically dissimilar and shifting signifier most commonly understood as an alliance with the free market, the reduction of welfare state services, and the privatization and conversion of all human activities into profitable businesses, nullifies the distinction between politics and economics. According to Michel Foucault’s crisp explanation, this logic formulates competition rather than (economic) exchange, and hence inequality rather than equality as normative.³⁸ Étienne Balibar has added that the very principle of representation in democracies is disqualified, because “neo-liberal governance is not interested in ‘conflict resolution’ as such. ... Rather than reducing conflict, neo-liberalism tends to instrumentalize it.”³⁹ In sum, the Enlightenment concept of individuals as free and equal citizens with rights and responsibilities for the public good, as ends in themselves, and as capable of self-governance is at risk. A world where there is only *homo oeconomicus* “leaves behind not only *homo politicus* but humanism itself.”⁴⁰

The contemporary processes of de-democratization make the discussion of open architecture as democracy and state-subsidized public housing even timelier.⁴¹ Building on a conversation with authors who see contemporary de-democratization merely as apocalyptic, Balibar continues to suggest the alternative of “democratizing democracy”

as a process always in the making, always to come. This could be achieved through affirmative means rather than resistance alone, including democratic inventions that advance and articulate new human rights and the revitalization of the acts of citizenship such as insurrection and civil disobedience.⁴² IBA's earnest attempts and methods to democratize architecture in the Altbau, albeit inconsistent with respect to noncitizens, gain further relevance in this context.

Multiplicity of Meaning (1983–Present)

As a microcosm of architectural discourse in the 1970s and 1980s, IBA-1984/87 was also a stage for a new generation of architects who came on the scene criticizing the proliferation of postmodern style, the overemphasis on memory, and the abundant use of historical forms in designing new buildings. Four of the seven architects in the *Deconstructivist Architecture* exhibit at New York's Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in 1988—an exhibit that owed its title to the philosophy of Jacques Derrida—had been invited to participate in IBA early in their careers: Peter Eisenman and Rem Koolhaas were invited to participate in the competition at Checkpoint Charlie, and both of them were eventually commissioned to design a building in the area (Stop VI); Zaha Hadid built one of her first buildings on a nearby site (stroll 2); and Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum was originally commissioned after he had participated in the IBA competition for the museum.

In Part 3, the book returns to Checkpoint Charlie. Stop VI, “Open History in the Past Subjunctive Tense” discusses OMA's (Rem Koolhaas and Elia Zenghelis) and Eisenman and Robertson Architects' unrealized yet renowned competition projects for this area, which offered alternative models of urbanism to the one favored by IBA. These projects are discussed along with a theory of open architectural history as history of possibility. OMA's competition project for Neubau was a manifestation of Koolhaas's ideas on metropolitan diversity as discussed in his 1978 book, *Delirious New York*.⁴³ It integrated many themes that Koolhaas had used in “The City of the Captive Globe” (1972) and “New Welfare Island” (1975–76), paper projects that were metaphors of his book's argument. Both tributes to Manhattan, the former envisioned an urban grid packed with buildings devoted to different theories and ideologies that rose to the sky or collapsed as an indication of the growth or decline of their conceptual lives; the latter filled Roosevelt Island with projects that had been rejected for Manhattan. Similarly, for the IBA competition site and later, OMA suggested a combination of different urban visions and unbuilt projects from Berlin's history, instead of fulfilling Neubau's requirements such as critically reconstructing the perimeter blocks, restoring the continuity of the street, and establishing the unity of the environment. A place for the manifestation of plurality, the welcoming of all pursuits, the revenge of the hitherto excluded, and the alter ego of the dominant, the cities in OMA's projects for New York and Berlin were meant to be products of an open society. They amounted to a visual history of possibility. The ideally open and democratic society had already become a common topic in architectural circles in the United States and had given rise to such books as Colin Rowe's *Collage City* (with Fred Koetter).⁴⁴ Despite their formal differences, Rowe's and Koolhaas's urban theories that promoted open society were reincarnations of the liberal visions of midcentury modernism.

For the same IBA competition site at Checkpoint Charlie, Eisenman and Robertson Architects offered a memorial rather than public housing. The architects also refused to reconstruct Berlin's urban fabric by simply ignoring its historical traumas or designing an illusion of continuity. Stop VI interprets this project as an *avant la lettre* memorial to the Holocaust but also problematizes the writing of Berlin's disrupted, traumatic past without looking beyond 1961—the year when the wall was constructed and guest workers started moving into the area. The final stroll, "History of a Possible Kreuzberg," is a walk in an imaginary Kreuzberg, anticipating the possibilities had the unchosen IBA competition projects by Kollhoff and Ovaska, Raimund Abraham, Giorgio Grassi, Rafael Moneo, Richard Meier, Alison and Peter Smithson, Aldo van Eyck, and others been built.

The relationship between language and architecture was at the forefront of architectural theory in the 1970s. The poststructuralist turn in literary theory, visual arts, and architecture happened against the background of structural analysis and admitted the necessarily uncertain and unfixable meaning of any text, image, or space. In acknowledging the multiplicity of meaning and disrupting the author's authority over a text, no articles were as influential as Umberto Eco's 1962 "The Poetics of the Open Work" and Roland Barthes's 1968 "The Death of the Author."⁴⁵ Unlike Derrida's ideas, the theoretical relevance of these texts and their possible reflections on architecture has been largely overlooked. This book's last chapter explores precisely the relevance of open work both in architectural history and for present discussions. Stop VII, "Exit Implies Entries' Lament: Open Architecture in John Hejduk's IBA-1984/87 Immigrant Housing," examines John Hejduk's unbuilt and built projects for IBA, which also constituted an alternative mode of engaging with the city that was quite different from IBA's intention to critically reconstruct Berlin's nineteenth-century urban fabric. This chapter identifies Hejduk's practice as an adventure game, a form of open architecture conceived of as an intersubjective play, or a participatory performance with emancipated spectators. This open architecture is like a happening that both evolves over time and connects individuals by inspiring them to open themselves to a stranger. The story of this openness is retold through the oral history of Yeliz Erçakmak, a second-generation immigrant. This stop also discusses the relevance of open work in contemporary performance studies and interactive and participatory art by adding the voice of Jacques Rancière—who, I argue, politicizes Eco's and Barthes's texts to construct a critical strategy to resist the society of spectacle in late capitalism.⁴⁶ This last stop thereby closes the book's circle by bringing the discussion of open architecture as multiplicity together with collectivity and democracy.

Hardly anything but their opposition to the proliferation of postmodern style connected the architects associated with deconstruction at the MoMA exhibit. Bernard Tschumi and Eisenman were the only architects in that exhibit who directly referred to deconstruction in Derrida's sense. In architectural discourse, Derrida's ideas have commonly been integrated into either a theory of autonomous architecture with a closed system of reference, or a set of formal preferences that helped gather different architects under a curatorial narrative. However, the translation of deconstruction into architecture could have inspired other possibilities. In one of his rare texts written

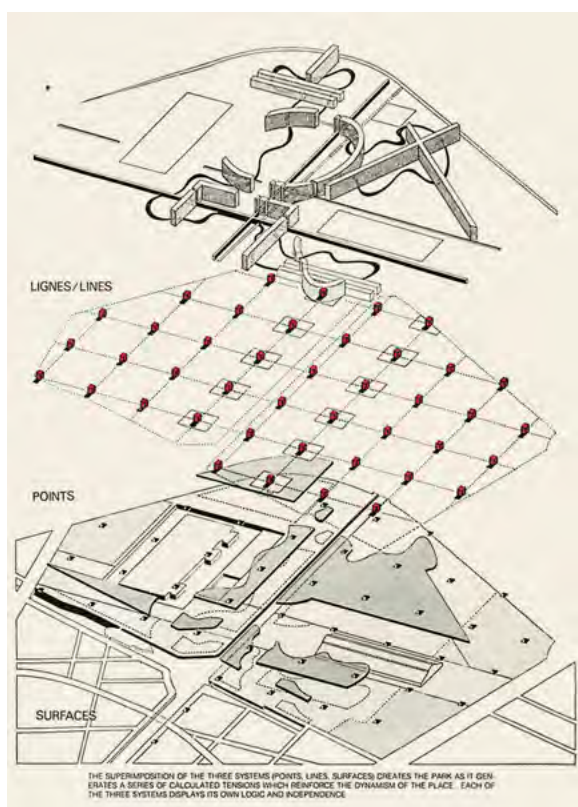


Figure Intro 12 Bernard Tschumi, Parc de la Villette, Paris, 1983.

directly about architecture, in which he discussed Tschumi's Parc de la Villette in Paris (1983), Derrida identified conventional architecture as the "fortress of Western metaphysics," the figure of an essentialist system of representation and the very target of deconstruction (Figure Intro 12).⁴⁷ The aim of deconstruction was therefore to question the architecture of philosophy—what Immanuel Kant called its architectonics—while questioning the very same essentialized values in architecture. Deconstruction was meant to pry open the foundational and constructed value of representation that was taken for granted and naturalized, those principles and fundamental beliefs whose historicity was so forgotten that they were seen as natural laws. After all, Derrida defined deconstruction's intention as thinking about architecture. Rather than asking what deconstruction would look like if it were translated into architectural form, an equally pertinent question would have been to ask what architecture would be like after a deconstructive thinking process, and how it would be practiced after deconstruction had been translated into thinking about architecture. This question is still valid. Hospitality toward the noncitizen, the democratization of democracy, and the citizenship to come—which are basic questions of open architecture as discussed below—may owe much more to the poststructuralist turn in the humanities than the deconstructivist architects do.

The parts of this book analyze latent forms of open architecture from the mid-1960s till the early 1990s as collectivity, democracy, and multiplicity, with the overarching theme of international immigration that exposes the limits of these past forms. In contrast, open architecture, as endorsed in this book, is the translation of a new ethics of hospitality toward the noncitizen into architectural design. The concepts of hospitality and citizenship that are of crucial value for open architecture have recently been at the forefront of discussions on human rights and globalization. Nothing exposes the unresolved contradictions in the current human rights regime as effectively as the concept of the noncitizen.

Giorgio Agamben revisited Hannah Arendt's text "We Refugees," written in response to the biggest refugee crisis during World War II, precisely because statelessness continues to be prolific, and simultaneously exposes the limits of modern institutions in handling citizenship.⁴⁸ The stateless puts into question the limits of the human rights that presume the condition of being a citizen of a state. Ever since the first declaration of rights during the global network of people's revolutions, which included the French, American, and Haitian revolutions, the link between natural and civil rights, "man" and "citizen," and birth and nationhood has continued to define human rights, making it impossible to have rights without citizenship. A refugee who loses citizenship status in a country would immediately recognize that the inalienable rights of being a human—the rights that a human being should have by virtue of being born—are actually unprotected unless one belongs to a nation-state. "The paradox here," wrote Agamben, "is that the very figure who should have embodied the rights of man par excellence—the refugee—signals instead the concept's radical crisis."⁴⁹ When citizenship rights disappear, so do the human rights. Agamben exposes the paradox in this human rights regime to make the biopolitical argument about the evaporation of bare life, when life enters into the structure of the state. Moreover, the existence of the refugee questions the global nation-state system itself: "The refugee must be considered for what he is: nothing less than a limit concept that radically calls into question the fundamental categories of the nation-state, from the birth-nation to the man-citizen link, and that thereby makes it possible to clear the way for a long overdue renewal of categories."⁵⁰

This book exposes the historical consequences of this human rights paradox as it reflects on housing and urbanism. In another of her texts about the loss of human rights, Arendt specified housing as the first major right lost to the refugee: "The first loss which the rightless suffered was the loss of their homes, and this meant the loss of the entire social texture into which they were born and in which they established for themselves a distinct place in the world."⁵¹ The legal distinctions between different types of non-citizens lose some of their relevance when it comes to housing rights. The refugee is stateless, and the guest worker is in between states—but as one who can hardly claim citizenship in either state, the guest worker is also in some condition of statelessness. The particular case study in this book concerns guest workers and refugees in Germany who had come from Turkey. In 1973, migrants from Turkey already formed the biggest portion of the noncitizen population in Germany (23 percent), followed by those from

Yugoslavia (17 percent) and Italy (16 percent). Just before the wall fell, 12.5 percent of West Berlin's population of two million was composed of what the Germans referred to as *Ausländer* (foreigner), half of whom were reportedly Turkish. Kreuzberg borough had the highest percentage (23 percent), but in some areas of Kreuzberg, including Kottbusser Tor, half the residents were foreigners from Turkey.⁵²

By the time of IBA-1984/87, many of the workers from Turkey had decided to stay in Germany more permanently than they had originally anticipated, but according to German law until 2000, citizenship was a right granted by blood and not by birth. Thus, earning citizenship required living and working permanently for at least fifteen years in Germany, and giving up any other citizenship. In other words, it was technically impossible for guest workers to have become German citizens at the time that the housing regulations that affected IBA were put in place.⁵³

Before IBA took shape, the Berlin Senate and landlords had used immigrants' lack of rights in quite opportunistic ways. Even though never pronounced as such, there is a general consensus that ghetto making had been an efficient way to start a large architectural development from scratch, since destroying the run-down neighborhood would be relatively easy. There had been a proposal to do precisely that in Kreuzberg before IBA aborted it, and noncitizens without rights would have been much easier to displace than citizens. Civil society groups at the time reported that landlords and housing bureaus consistently turned down foreign families' applications to rent apartments, which pushed them into the run-down buildings in Kreuzberg. "The apartment will not be rented to foreigners" was a common phrase in newspaper advertisements in Berlin.⁵⁴ Taking advantage of noncitizens' lack of rights, landlords failed to perform legally required maintenance or repairs, given that foreign families could not make official complaints about the decaying state of their apartments.

IBA's innovative formal ideals were contradicted by its ambivalent immigration politics that responded to the housing regulations of the Berlin Senate. Between 1975 and 1978, the Senate passed a series of housing laws and regulations that were meant to address the so-called foreigner problem. Two of these had serious consequences for guest workers: the *Zuzugssperre* (ban on entry and settlement, which Turkish immigrants called *taşınma yasağı*), which took effect in 1975 and prohibited additional foreign families from moving into three of the city's twelve boroughs (Kreuzberg, Wedding, and Tiergarten); and the desegregation regulations of 1978, which required that no more than 10 percent of the residential units in West Berlin be rented to noncitizens. Justified as a supposed integration of foreign workers into German society by their forced dispersal evenly throughout the city, the restrictions were meant to prevent Turkish families from inhabiting dwellings close to their relatives or other members of their affinity group, and hence to check the construction of social and cultural networks.⁵⁵ This program would either reduce noncitizen families' chances to move into IBA's buildings in Neubau or welcome them only after they had changed their lives to fit the German standards for family size. To be precise, the Berlin Senate, IBA's employer, had determined that there were too many migrants from Turkey living in IBA's areas, and the new urban renewal project was a form of social control to regu-

late what the Senate believed to be desegregation — which would be forced on people from above. Halfway into IBA's realization, the Christian Democrats gained control of the Senate and promulgated anti-immigration policies. In a 1982 speech to the Bundestag, Chancellor Helmut Kohl unambiguously declared that his political party would “first: ... avoid an unbridled and uncontrolled immigration. Second: ... restrict the number of new family members coming to West Germany ... to avoid another immigration wave. Third: assist the foreigners who would like to go back to their homeland.”⁵⁶ The Christian-Democrat Senator Horst Franke, who was responsible for building construction and IBA, declared: “We want to integrate [the foreigners], if they want. ... Whoever comes to Germany must feel like a German. ... But of course, within the framework of our general foreigner policy, we would like the foreigners, especially the Turks, to go back to their home country. We will help everyone who would like a new orientation in their lives to get out of Kreuzberg.”⁵⁷

I argue that these housing laws were translated into IBA's Neubau buildings in several ways. For example, the big apartments that would be appropriate for the stereotypical big Turkish family were in short supply. Even though the share of Turkish immigrants reached 50 percent in many areas of East Kreuzberg, the Senate mandated that only 5 %, sometimes maximum 10 %, of new units would be big (four or more bedroom) apartments,⁵⁸ and that foreigners could make up no more than 10 percent of the residents of any building. Coupled with the “ban on entry and settlement,” the Senate's restrictions were meant to reduce noncitizen families' chances to move into IBA's Neubau buildings and to change the percentage of the foreign population in the area. Unlike many cases of urban renewal that caused gentrification, IBA remained a public housing project, but one through which the Senate employed discriminatory policies between citizens and noncitizens in the city. The following parts of the book discuss how architects responded with varying degrees of submission or subversion to these housing regulations.

This book tells the stories of guest workers and refugees from Turkey as noncitizens in Berlin in the strictly legal sense of the term, but the concept of the noncitizen is theorized here as the epitome of the excluded and hence made relevant for a much broader set of individuals and conditions. It is important to remember that people have been excluded from citizenship throughout the history of citizenship. Slaves, women, colonial subjects, guest workers, legal aliens, undocumented immigrants, and refugees have all been identified as noncitizens at some point in the past, and some of them continue to be identified in this way today. Moreover, when applied to the notion of social citizenship, as first identified by T. H. Marshall, noncitizens also include people excluded from citizenship because of socially constructed notions of class, race, gender, ethnicity, or religion.⁵⁹ People who were once noncitizens often continue to be denied social citizenship, as the exclusion of former slaves, colonial subjects, or guest workers is projected onto the present in the form of class difference and white supremacy. Balibar also theorizes about the relation between internal and external exclusions from citizenship, to understand the mechanism that denies legal citizens the right to have rights. “An ‘external’ border is mirrored by an ‘internal’ border,”⁶⁰ Balibar writes, to such an extent that citizenship becomes a club to which one is admitted or not

regardless of one's legal rights. "It is always citizens 'knowing' and 'imagining' themselves as such, who exclude from citizenship and who, thus, 'produce' noncitizens in such way as to make it possible for them to represent their own citizenship to themselves as a 'common' belonging."⁶¹

Public housing and housing as a human right continue to be at the forefront of discussions about social citizenship, as the decline of the welfare system around the world today with the advance of neoliberalism puts public housing—and with it, the idea of social citizenship—at even greater risk.⁶² This is why IBA's public housing in an immigrant neighborhood at the dawn of the contemporary world order provides an excellent example to theorize open architecture. Some IBA architects inclined toward open architecture to subvert the discriminatory housing regulations, but they still worked with the Kantian notion of hospitality, just as this notion of hospitality within the general framework of Kantian ethics continues to inform the human rights regime. Welcoming the guest only on the condition that he or she behaves according to the host's norms preserves the authority of the host. The guest's norms must either be assumed to be the same as the host's, or they must be considered a possible threat from which the host needs to be protected. In either case, such hospitality conceals the differences between guest and host, and bestows on the guest the right to inclusion only on the condition that she or he is assimilated. According to the Kantian conception, individuals welcome the foreign because they consider it their duty. It was the enlightened person's duty to tolerate the foreign. In this view, the foreign person must be a stranger who is different in a quite uncharming way, a stranger to be tolerated for the sake of reason and peace, but not someone to open oneself to, not someone to translate from, and hence nobody one could expect to be enriched by. This limited hospitality does not necessarily eliminate the perception of the guest as a possible threat, and it draws a border that closes architecture.⁶³

What, then, would be another notion of hospitality, one that can inform open architecture to come? This new hospitality toward the noncitizen is continuously left open and in the making, always to come, because unconditional hospitality would mean the end of the authority of the host, and thus the new hospitality continues to expose the contradiction in the existing Kantian notion of conditional hospitality. This new hospitality also coincides with the democratization of democracy, as the latter constitutes democracy as something always to come, in contrast to the present notion of liberal democracy that has either presumably finalized itself at the "end of history" (according to Francis Fukuyama),⁶⁴ or been corrupted into imperialistic ambitions (spreading democracy to the whole world through violence). This is "a democracy that can never 'reach itself', catch up with itself, because it involves an infinite openness to that which comes—which also means, an infinite openness to the Other or the newcomer."⁶⁵ As Balibar also suggests, democratization of democracy "also means that democracy, insofar as it is identified with its own continuous democratization, requires the deconstruction of the discriminations and exclusions that have been institutionalized in its name (here again, the example of women and foreigners is of particular importance.)"⁶⁶ The concept of citizenship has historically been in constant evolution precisely by virtue of the hospitality toward the noncitizen, as women and former

slaves and colonial subjects gained rights. It ought to continue to change as refugees and global migrants still remain rightless. The question for the present is how the architects of a connected world whose inhabitants we may call the citizens to come will find new forms and ways of practicing open architecture.

Notes on Method

The stops in this book provide a closer look at a specific type of open architecture and trace a longer history of ideas that culminated in a particular urban block in Berlin. The strolls were inspired by guidebooks and travel literature, but they adapt this genre given travelers' experience in the age of GPS navigation. This is a sort of "remediation in reverse"—a term that Andreas Huyssen coined to explain the emergence of what he calls "urban miniatures," a literary genre developed by authors such as Charles Baudelaire, Franz Kafka, Walter Benjamin, Siegfried Kracauer, and Robert Musil that updated writing in response to the proliferation of visual media such as photography and film.⁶⁷ The strolls in this book walk the readers through the streets of Kreuzberg, assuming they will have a clear cognition of the city map because they can locate themselves in the city by using digital navigation devices.

This is not a book on IBA-1984/87 *per se*, as it does not examine the smaller sites of the exhibition in Tegel and Prager Platz or many important projects in Kreuzberg in detail. The book does not claim to provide a comprehensive picture of the residents of Kreuzberg or of the guest workers and refugees from Turkey in Germany, as it does not contain the stories of German squatters or migrants from other countries in Kreuzberg, or people from Turkey in any part of Germany except Kreuzberg. My main intention is to theorize open architecture in the sense of a new ethics of hospitality that problematizes nation-state formations and comes to terms with the paradoxes of current human rights regime. Nonetheless, I trust that readers interested in the migrant experience in Germany or elsewhere, as well as those interested in IBA or Kreuzberg in general, will find information in this book useful in leading to a more comprehensive understanding of these issues.

The book problematizes not only the history but also the historiography of the non-citizen voice in urban space. Methodologically, I therefore extend the book's theme to its format and explore an open form of writing, by giving voice not only to architects and policy makers but also to noncitizen residents through a genre inspired by oral history and storytelling rather than sociology and ethnography. This creates an alternative both to established architectural history, which stops the narrative at the moment the building's design leaves the architect's hand, and to established forms of environmental science research. In architectural research, the resident—often called the user, an abstract and universal term—is analyzed either scientifically (through sociological methods such as collecting sufficiently large samples and turning results into quantifiable data) or ethnographically (which originally started as a reflection of the concern with what the West deemed to be primitive, other, or non-Western). One can think of Gottfried Semper, Alois Riegl, Heinrich Wölfflin, and many others here.⁶⁸ The first approach limits the possibility of open-ended questions in exploring an individual's voice, while the second maintains the authorship of the ethnographer and,

more importantly, views an individual as a member of an ethnic group from the start. I propose an alternative by presenting individual noncitizens' voices as an oral historian who does not have claims to representability, but may rely on a single witness, and as a storyteller who alternates between the role of author and resident and who acknowledges that the fabric of everyday life unfolding in an individual's experience of a space is also part of the history of that space. Oral history is not without its problems, as it is always distorted by individual memories, but it is one of the few ways to write participatory architectural history in the absence of official documents that could have given access to the voice of the stateless.⁶⁹ In translating these oral histories into my own writing, I entertain the idea of storytelling as a format for participatory architectural history. As opposed to the isolated novel or the ever-speedy information highway, Benjamin characterized storytelling as the experience that is passed from mouth to mouth, and the storyteller as the mediator who conveys "counsel woven into the fabric of real life."⁷⁰ Traditional architectural history usually stops at the point when the building is constructed and the design leaves the hand of the architect. In contrast, open architectural history as storytelling extends the narrative by combining the time of its design with the time of a specific occupation. The contingency and partiality of storytelling that results from this specific amalgam of the two time periods acknowledges the necessarily open, unfinished nature of architectural history.

The noncitizen residents whose stories are included in this book were chosen in an almost self-selective way. Between 2009 and 2014, I rang the bell of almost every door in Kreuzberg that I could identify as belonging to an immigrant's apartment due to the name inscribed on the bell, and I asked to interview those who had participated in the urban renewal process in the mid-1980s or who had been living in the IBA buildings since then. The people who agreed to tell their stories at length to me (sometimes over the years) and who happened to live in the buildings that I eventually called latent open architecture are the characters in this book (their names or acronyms appear in the form they wanted). My own interior photographs used in this book have always been taken with residents' permission, and when including photographs of street scenes with city habitants, I tried to make sure to avoid voyeuristic vision (and sometimes preferred empty scenes for this reason). A significant majority of my interviewees, whom I call resident architects, were female immigrants from Turkey (former guest workers and refugees), probably at least in part because of my own gender, language skills, and familiarity with cultural codes.⁷¹ Even though I did not decide initially to interview mostly women, the group of people I interviewed fits well with the book's feminist aspiration to write more women architects into architectural history. Remembering Linda Nochlin's groundbreaking essay "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?"⁷² I think that historians have filled architectural history books almost exclusively with male characters because they defined Architecture as an occupation historically practiced by men. Yet if we define architecture as design open to residents' appropriation, there would be at least as many women architects as men in history, even though of course there is no biological or essential reason why women should be the makers of a house's interior after the architect leaves the stage. By telling the history of residents as specific individuals who are as influential as specific architects in designing spaces, I try to contribute to the writing of this feminist history. My

interviewees came from different ethnic groups in Turkey, including Turkish, Kurdish, and Alevi individuals. The national, ethnic, and religious categories are used in the book as long as they were important for my interviewees. I tried not to perpetuate such identity markers in my own explanatory concepts that aim to move toward transnational categories in defining open architecture as the welcoming of the perceived other.

Having been trained as an architect, I frequently did not agree with the residents' assessments of their living spaces—especially when (not surprisingly) they disliked architectural decisions that I appreciated or criticized as nonfunctional or uncomfortable what I thought was an innovative idea. I tried to report their viewpoints comprehensively without necessarily taking too much time to formulate my own alternative opinions, unless they pertained to the theory of open architecture endorsed in this book. After all, architectural debate is at its best when it is ongoing; when it suppresses the speech of neither the architects, nor the inhabitants or the scholars; and when it is kept open.

Critical reconstruction and careful urban renewal as the urban design themes that developed during IBA-1984/87 have had a long-lasting impact and guided the planning of Berlin's reunification when the Berlin Wall unexpectedly came down just two years after IBA's final opening. Due to the public housing status given to the IBA buildings for twenty-five years, until a few years ago Kreuzberg avoided gentrification, unlike the adjacent neighborhoods of Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg. As I was writing this book, Kreuzberg began to be gentrified, and the IBA buildings lost their public housing status one after another. During the final couple years of my on-site research and writing, I often found myself returning to buildings where I no longer knew anyone and ringing doorbells of empty apartments waiting for their upgrades and new renters. The more I witnessed the IBA buildings being completely abandoned in a week due to sudden and drastic rent increases that forced residents out of their apartments, the more I understood that I was catching the final years of the history of a migrant neighborhood.

As I look back at my on-site research and as my colleagues ask how it was possible for me to have been invited to so many apartments, courtyards, social clubs, and even secret passageways, I can't help thinking that it was a Kreuzbergian mindset (which of course can be found in other parts of the world, and which certainly not everyone in Kreuzberg has) that made this book on open architecture possible. It was this open mindset—a hospitality that at least in theory has the strength of overcoming authority and chauvinism, regardless of the contemporary political forces and legal regulations—that this book records and to which it owes its existence. As I finish writing the book in a world where platforms for free speech, academic freedom, and civil rights are fast diminishing, and where new borders are being built both physically and conceptually to exclude others, I am once more convinced of the importance and urgency of open architecture as the translation of a new ethics of hospitality into design.

1 As if they could slide across the floor, these planes demonstrated the independence of space from vertical boundaries, while the totally transparent glass walls separating the inside and outside theoretically allowed the eye to see to infinity. By placing a column just next to a wall, rather than hiding it inside, Mies was making a statement about the irrelevance of walls for structural purposes and his departure from Renaissance-based plan conceptions. The vertical and horizontal surfaces that were made out of different materials with varied levels of reflexivity and translucency—including the pools, colored glass, chrome-clad columns, onyx dore wall, and three types and colors of marble partitions—contributed to the feeling of a fluid space sandwiched between two horizontal planes. If you turn the historical photographs of the Barcelona Pavilion upside down, the building would still look plausible as a space in this universe, which signaled a departure from not only the classical anthropocentric metaphors of the universe, but also the pragmatic necessities of daily life such as space dividers, doors, and pieces of furniture. For more on the pavilion, see Sonit Bafna, "Symbolic Content in the Emergence of the Miesian Free Plan," *Journal of Architecture* 10, no. 2 (2005): 181–200; Jean-Louis Cohen, *Mies van der Rohe*, 2nd ed., trans. Maggie Rosengarten (London: Springer, 2007); Gevork Hartoonian, "Mies van der Rohe: The Genealogy of Column and Wall," *Journal of Architectural Education* 42, no. 2 (1989): 43–50; Fritz Neumeyer, *The Artless Word*, trans. Mark Jarzombek (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991). For the significant role of the Barcelona Pavilion and its visual effects in the story of modernism, see Detlef Mertins, "Architectures of Becoming," *Mies in Berlin*, ed. Terence Riley and Barry Bergdoll (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2001); Josep Quetglas, "Fear of Glass: The Barcelona Pavilion," *Architectureproduction*, ed. Joan Ockman (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 122–51; Claire Zimmerman, *Photographic Architecture in the Twentieth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). **2** The main living space in the Tugendhat House was composed as an open and fluid space made possible by eight slender columns, while the freestanding walls defined the sitting and dining areas without separating them in enclosed rooms. The idea of an open residential space, an unprivate house without walls and doors, and a space sandwiched between the two horizontal planes of the slab and the podium was nowhere as extremely expressed as it was in the Farnsworth House. For more discussion from the viewpoint of various authors, see: Adolph Stiller (ed.), *Das Haus Tugendhat* (Vienna: Verlag Anton Pustet, 1999). **3** As Detlef Mertins has shown ("Mies's Event Space," *Grey Room*, no. 20 (2005): 60–73), many exhibitions during the life of the museum followed the original Piet Mondrian show in 1968 by hanging panels from the ceiling that floated in space, while others built walls from the ground up. However, the most memorable were the site-specific installations that had a dialogue with the building, which lent "itself especially well to those who enter into its logic and respond—affirmatively or critically—to [Mies's] desire to manifest the deep structure immanent to creation" (ibid., 69). Mertins emphasizes the installations by artists such as Ulrich Rückriem (1983), in

which stones on the ground reflected the roof's grid, and Jenny Holzer (2001), in which lit scripts flowed over the beams. I would add the one by David Chipperfield (2014), who turned the space into a forest of columns, with each one marking the intersections in the grid of beams. **4** Kenneth Frampton, "Maison de Verre," *Perspecta* 12 (1969): 77–109. There have been numerous subsequent publications about the house. **5** As Theo van Doesburg stated in his 1924 manifesto, "The new architecture has opened the walls and so done away with the separation of the inside and outside. The walls themselves no longer support [the structural load]. The result is a new, open ground-plan entirely different from the classical one, since inside and outside now pass over into one another" ("Towards a Plastic Architecture," in *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th Century Architecture*, ed. Ulrich Conrads, trans. Michael Bullock [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970]: 78–80.) **6** Alice Friedman, "Not a Muse: The Client's Role at the Rietveld Schröder House," in *The Sex of Architecture*, ed. Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway, Leslie Kanes Weisman (New York: Harry Adams, 1996), 217–32. **7** For example, his designs for the Ağaoğlu House (1936) integrated many elements that had inspired him during his study trip to Europe, including horizontal windows, linear massing, and white-washed stucco walls devoid of ornament, but he organized the plan around a central space that he called *sofa*—a type of plan that can be observed in many of his other buildings. See Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey and the Modern House* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012). **8** Ken T. Oshima, *International Architecture in Interwar Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009). **9** For Loos's work, see Benedetto Gravagnuolo, *Adolf Loos: Theory and Works* (New York: Rizzoli, 1982). **10** Werner Oechslin, "Raumplan Versus Plan Libre," *Daidalos* 42 (December 15, 1991): 76–83. **11** In Hilde Heynen's words, "Rather than deceiving people with an illusory harmony, Loos chose a ruthless design that does not gloss over any discontinuities and moments of fissure, but highlights them" (*Architecture and Modernity* [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999], 93). For more on Loos's style, see ibid., 75–95. **12** Alison Smithson, ed. *Team 10 Primer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968), 61. **13** Oskar Hansen and Zofia Hansen, "The Open Form in Architecture: The Art of the Great Modern," in *Opening Modernism* (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, 2014, or 1961), 7–9. **14** I owe much of my discussion of Metabolism and Kenzo Tange to Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement* (London: Routledge, 2010). See also Rem Koolhaas et al., *Project Japan: Metabolism Talks* (London: Taschen, 2011); Tomoko Tamari, "Metabolism: Utopian Urbanism and the Japanese Modern Architecture Movement," *Theory, Culture and Society* 31, nos. 7–8 (2014): 201–25. **15** Michael Blackwood, dir., *Kisho Kurokawa: From Metabolism to Symbiosis* (Michael Blackwood Productions, 1993). **16** Lin wrote that "from the Metabolist point of view, people would paradoxically achieve freedom through comprehensive planning" (*Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement*, 95). **17** Fumihiko Maki, *Investigations in Collective Form* (St. Louis, MO: Washington University Press, 1964), 19. **18** Ibid., 8. **19** Reyner Banham, *Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent*

Past (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976). **20** As Sarah Deyong points out, the megastructure movement had institutionalized beginnings in the period immediately after World War II, when most CIAM members were trying to become official consultants to the United Nations and receive corporate backing to regulate the colonial architecture in Africa and developing nations—projects that did not mesh with the avant-gardist anti-establishment sensibility (“Planetary Habitat: The Origins of a Phantom Movement,” *Journal of Architecture* 6, no. 2 [2001]: 113–28). **21** Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013, or 1945). **22** See Stanley Mathews, *From Agit-Prop to Free Space: The Architecture of Cedric Price* (London: Black Dog, 2007). It is useful to note that leisure was a basic zone of action for the Labour Party in Britain at the time, and fun in the Brechtian sense signaled the role of theater as a place for bemused criticality, rather than elite seriousness. For Cedric Price’s relation to left-wing struggles in Britain, see Pier Vittorio Aureli, “Labor and Architecture: Revisiting Cedric Price’s Potteries Thinkbelt,” *Log*, no. 23 (2011): 97–118. **23** Mathews, *From Agit-Prop to Free Space*, 244. **24** Peter Lang and William Menking, *Superstudio: Life without Objects* (New York: Skira, 2003). **25** Peter Cook, a member of Archigram, had explained that “the image of the city may well be the image of people themselves...and we have devoted much of the exhibition to the life-cycle and survival kit of the people within cities” (quoted in Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture* [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005], 72.) **26** Aldo Rossi, *Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982). **27** Josef Paul Kleihues, “Die Architektur, das wollte ich sagen, bedarf unser aller Pflege,” in *Erste Projekte: Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1984/87: Die Neubaugebiete – Dokumente, Projekte*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Quadriga Verlag, 1981), 58–71. **28** Kas Oosterhuis, *Hyperbodies: Towards an E-motive Architecture* (Basel, Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2003), 83–87. **29** Mario Carpo, introduction to *AD Reader: The Digital Turn in Architecture, 1992–2002*, ed. Mario Carpo (London: John Wiley and Sons, 2013), 13. **30** Giancarlo de Carlo, “Architecture’s Public,” in *Architecture and Participation*, ed. Peter Blundell Jones and Doina Petrescu (New York: Spon Press, 2005), 3–19. Quotation: p. 5. **31** Chantal Mouffe wrote that “a project of radical and plural democracy recognizes the impossibility of the complete realization of democracy and the final achievement of the political community. Its aim is to use the symbolic resources of the liberal democratic tradition to struggle for the deepening of the democratic revolution, knowing that it is a never-ending process” (“Democratic Citizenship and the Political Community,” in *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*, ed. Chantal Mouffe [London: Verso, 1992]), 225–239. Quotation: p. 238. **32** Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 1985), 176. **33** Álvaro Siza, “Evora Malagueira,” in Álvaro Siza: *Complete Works*, ed. Kenneth Frampton (London: Phaidon, 2000), 160–62. **34** Álvaro Siza, “Fragments of an Experience: Conversations with Pedro de Llano, Carlos Castanheira, Francisco Rei, Santiago Seara,” in Álvaro Siza: *Works and Projects*, ed. Pedro de Llano and Carlos Castanheira (Madrid: Electa, 1995), 27–55. Quotation: p. 34. **35** Charles Correa, “Urban Housing in the Third World: The Role of the Architect,” in *Architecture and Community: Building in the Islamic World Today* (New York: Aga Khan Press for Architecture, 1983); Hassan Fathy, *Architecture for the Poor: An Experiment in Rural Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973); Andrea Dean and Timothy Hursley, *Rural Studio: Samuel Mockbee and an Architecture of Decency* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002); Alejandro Aravena, “Elemental: Santiago, Chile. Democratic Interaction Produces More Benefit by Same Investment,” in *Sustainable Design: Towards a New Ethic in Architecture and Town Planning* (Basel, Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2009); Alejandro Aravena, *Elemental: Incremental Housing and Participatory Design Manual* (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2012). **36** Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996). **37** Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism’s Stealth Revolution* (New York: Zone Books, 2015), 17. **38** Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–79*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave, 2008). **39** Étienne Balibar, *Citizenship*, trans. Thomas Scott-Railton (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 118. **40** Brown writes that “when there is only *homo oeconomicus*, and when the domain of the political itself is rendered in economic terms, the foundation vanishes for citizenship concerned with public things and the common good. ... The replacement of citizenship defined as concern with the public good by citizenship reduced to the citizen as *homo oeconomicus* also eliminates the very idea of people, a demos asserting its collective political sovereignty” (*Undoing the Demos*, 39 and 42). **41** The fact that in 1979 Foucault had already realized that one of the birthplaces of this neoliberalism was postwar Germany makes the story of immigration and participation in IBA-1984/87 even more exhilarating. Foucault formulated the “first objective of neoliberalism” in the context of postwar Germany immediately after World War II and Nazism as follows: “How can economic freedom be the state’s foundation and limitation at the same time, its guarantee and security?” (*The Birth of Biopolitics*, 102). For him, this neoliberalism was different from traditional liberal projects since the eighteenth century: “What is at issue is whether a market economy can in fact serve as the principle, form and model for a state which, because of its defects, is mistrusted by everyone on both the right and the left, for one reason or another. Everyone is in agreement in criticizing the state and identifying its destructive and harmful effects. ... Can the market really have the power of formalization for both the state and the society? ... It is not just a question of freeing the economy. It is a question of knowing how far the market economy’s powers of political and social information extend” (ibid., 117–18). **42** Balibar, *Citizenship*, 119–31. **43** Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1994, or 1978). **44** Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978). **45** Um-

berto Eco, "The Poetics of the Open Work," in Umberto Eco, *Open Work*, trans. Anna Cancogni (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, or. 1962), 1–24; Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephan Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142–48. **46** Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, trans. Gregory Elliott (London: Verso, 2009). **47** Jacques Derrida, "Point de Folie: Maintenant Architecture," in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, ed. Michael Hays (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 566–81. **48** Hannah Arendt, "We Refugees," *Menorah Journal*, no. 1 (1943): 77; Giorgio Agamben, "We Refugees," trans. Michael Rocke, *Symposium* 49, no. 2 (1995): 114–19. For a revised version, see Giorgio Agamben, "Biopolitics and the Rights of Man," in Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, ed. Werner Hamacher and David E. Wellbery, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 126–35. **49** Ibid., 126. **50** Ibid., 134. **51** Hannah Arendt, "The Perplexities of the Rights of Man," in Hannah Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1973), 293. **52** Jürgen Hoffmeyer-Zlotnick, *Gastarbeiter im Sanierungsgebiet: Das Beispiel Berlin-Kreuzberg* (Hamburg: Christians, 1977). **53** Many studies of the legal, sociological, and cultural aspects of immigration were undertaken in Germany during the cold-war years, which will be discussed in the following chapters. For recent scholarly books, see especially: Tomas Hammar, *European Immigration Policy: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Ayhan Kaya, *Sicher in Kreuzberg: Constructing Diasporas: Turkish Hip Hop Youth in Berlin* (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2001); Leslie Adelson, *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature: Toward a New Critical Grammar of Migration* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Timothy Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson, *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005); Deniz Göktürk, David Gramling, and Anton Kaes, eds., *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955–2005* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Ruth Mandel, *Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Gökçe Yurdakul, *From Guest Workers into Muslims: The Transformation of Turkish Immigrant Associations in Germany* (Newcastle: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Annika Marlen Hinze, *Turkish Berlin: Integration Policy and Urban Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013). **54** Cihan Arın, Saffet Çınar, Necati Gürbaca, Hakkı Keskin, M. Yaşar Öncü, and M. Niyazi Turgay, "Yabancıların Yabancılar Politikasına İlişkin Görüşleri/Stellungnahme der Ausländer zur Ausländerpolitik," (Berlin: IGI [Initiativkreis Gleichberechtigung Integration], May 1981), 24. **55** For more discussion of these laws and regulations, see Cihan Arın, "Analyse der Wohnverhältnisse ausländischer Arbeiter in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland – Mit einer Fallstudie über türkische Arbeiterhaushalte in Berlin-Kreuzberg," PhD diss., Technische Universität Berlin, 1979; Cihan Arın, "The Housing Market and the Housing Policies

for the Migrant Labor Population in West Berlin," in *Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States*, ed. E. Huttman (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991). **56** Helmut Kohl, "Coalition of the Center: For a Politics of Renewal," trans. David Gramling, in *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955–2005*, ed. Deniz Göktürk, David Gramling, and Anton Kaes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 46. **57** "Interview mit dem Berliner Bausenator Franke," *Der Architekt*, no. 10, October 1984, 445–447. Quotation: p. 447. **58** See Manfred Schonlau, "Die Berliner Wohnungsbauförderung," special issue, "Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987. Wohnungsgrundrisse," *Baumeister* 84, no. 5 (1987): 20–23. **59** Much has been said about Marshall's tripartite definition of citizenship as civil, political, and social citizenship, and others have challenged him on numerous fronts, especially for his account of the concept's historical evolution and his assumption of a unitary process tied to the British context. Nonetheless, his insight into the three types of rights continues to have an explanatory power. According to this framework, social citizenship rights are those tied to economic welfare and security, such as insurance against unemployment and rights to health care, education, and a pension. See T. H. Marshall, *Social Policy in the Twentieth Century* (London: Hutchinson, 1965). See also Richard Bellamy, *Citizenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Bryan Turner, "Outline of a Theory of Citizenship," in *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*, ed. Chantal Mouffe (London: Verso, 1992), 33–62. **60** Balibar, *Citizenship*, 69–70. **61** Ibid., 76. **62** Turner has stated that "the problem with Marshall's theory is that it is no longer relevant to a period of disorganized capitalism.... Marshall's theory assumed some form of nation-state autonomy in which governments were relatively immune from pressures within the world-system of capitalist nations" ("Outline of a Theory of Citizenship," 40). **63** Derrida made the same objection to the Kantian definition of hospitality, which he contrasted to that of Emmanuel Levinas. Derrida reads Levinas as referring to a person who desires to open him- or herself to the other, rather than assimilating the other into his or her framework. In Kant, hospitality is a forced way to peace; in Levinas, everything begins with hospitality, as a natural desire to open oneself to the other. See Jacques Derrida, *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999). Gayatri Spivak exposes the Kantian conception of hospitality based on duty as one of the shortcomings of the current human rights regime. This conception continues to be used as a justification for imperialism, as long as it is assumed that it is the West's duty and responsibility to carry human rights to its others. See Gayatri Spivak, "Righting Wrongs," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 103, nos. 2–3 (2004): 523–81. For my own interpretation of Kantian hospitality, reading Kant's "Perpetual Peace" and *Prolegomena* together, see: Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey & the Modern House* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 21–26, 277–281. **64** For Derrida's rebuttal of Fukuyama's argument, see Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge,