Engaging Modernism

Hilde Heynen

> Man loves to create and build roads,
> that is beyond dispute. But … may it not be that…
> he is instinctively afraid of attaining his
> goal and completing the edifice he is
> constructing? How do you know, perhaps
> he only likes that edifice from a distance
> and not at close range, *perhaps he only*
> *likes to build it, and does not want to live in*
> *it*
> Feodor Dostoevsky, 1864[1]

Introduction

Let me first make it clear that I am giving this talk as a stand in for Sarah Williams Goldhagen, who is much more of a Team 10 scholar than I am, and much better suited to introduce you into the specificities of post-war modernism.[2] I hope, however, to be able to contribute something to the discussions that will be held during this colloquium, by clarifying some terminological issues. I will present to you a way of understanding some terms that are relevant for discussing Team 10: modernity, avant-garde, colonialism. Thus my contribution is meant to propose a theoretical framework that can be used in positioning and assessing the work of members of Team 10.[3]

Conceptualising the modern

To many it seems that modernity is located in the West. For Dostoevsky modernity was to be found in the London Crystal Palace, which he saw (and denounced) as the symbol of a rationalist, materialist and purely mechanical view of the world. For him this modernity needed to be fought against, since it implied the negation of all uncertainty and mystery, the defeat of adventure and romance. At the same time, however, as Marshall Berman points out, he very radically put forward the primacy of engineering as the actual symbol of human creativity. In that sense he was doubtlessly of modernist conviction, prefiguring the credo of his constructivist countrymen half a century later. It is this very ambivalence that distinguishes Dostoevsky's attitude from later generations. Being very critical of modernity while at the same time embracing its promises, was the hallmark of many 19th century intellectuals dealing with the contradictions and paradoxes that modern life implied. This ambivalence allowed Dostoevsky to capture the truth formulated in the motto quoted above: it is one thing to love building and dreaming a new world, it is quite another thing to have to live in it.

In this respect a distinction should be drawn between modernization, modernity and modernism.[4] The term 'modernization' is used to describe the process of social development the main features of which are technological advances and industrialization, urbanization and population explosions, the rise of bureaucracy and increasingly powerful national states,

an enormous expansion of mass communication systems, democratization, an expanding (capitalist) world market, etc. The term 'modernity' refers to the typical features of modern times and to the way that these are experienced by the individual: modernity stands for the attitude to life that is associated with a continuous process of evolution and transformation, with an orientation towards a future that will be different from the past and from the present. The experience of modernity provokes responses in the form of cultural manifestoes and artistic movements. Some of these which proclaim themselves as being in sympathy with this orientation towards the future and the desire for progress are specifically given the name of modernism. In its broadest sense, the word can be understood as the generic term for those theoretical and artistic ideas about modernity that aim to enable men and women to assume control over the changes that are taking place in a world by which they too are changed.

Modernity then constitutes the element that mediates between a process of socio-economic development known as modernization and subjective responses to it in the form of modernist discourses and movements. In other words, modernity is a phenomenon with at least two different aspects: an objective aspect that is linked to socio-economic processes, and a subjective one that is connected with personal experiences, artistic activities or theoretical reflections.

Exactly what the relation between modernization and modernism is - between the objective social given of modernity and the way that it is subjectively experienced and dealt with - remains an open question about which opinions are many and various. Some people tend to separate the two domains completely and to create a division between objective conditions and subjective experiences.

The discussion about modernity is for example bound up with this problem of the relation between capitalist civilization and modernist culture. The different positions that have been adopted in this debate have to do with how this relationship is understood: is it a matter of totally independent entities or is there a critical relation between them? Or is it rather a determinist relation, implying that culture cannot but obediently respond to the requirements of capitalist development? I draw a distinction between different concepts of modernity. A first differentiation can be made between programmatic and transitory concepts of modernity. The advocates of a programmatic concept interpret modernity as being first and foremost a *project*, a project of progress and emancipation, emphasizing its liberating potential. A programmatic concept views modernity primarily from the perspective of the new, of that which distinguishes the present age from the one that preceded it.

In contrast to this programmatic concept the transitory view stresses the transient or momentary quality of modern phenomena. A first formulation of this sensitivity can be found in Charles Baudelaire. His celebrated definition of modernity stated that 'Modernity is the transitory, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art, of which the other half is the eternal and the immutable.'[5] Throughout the development of modern art, this moment of transitoriness has been stressed over and over again.

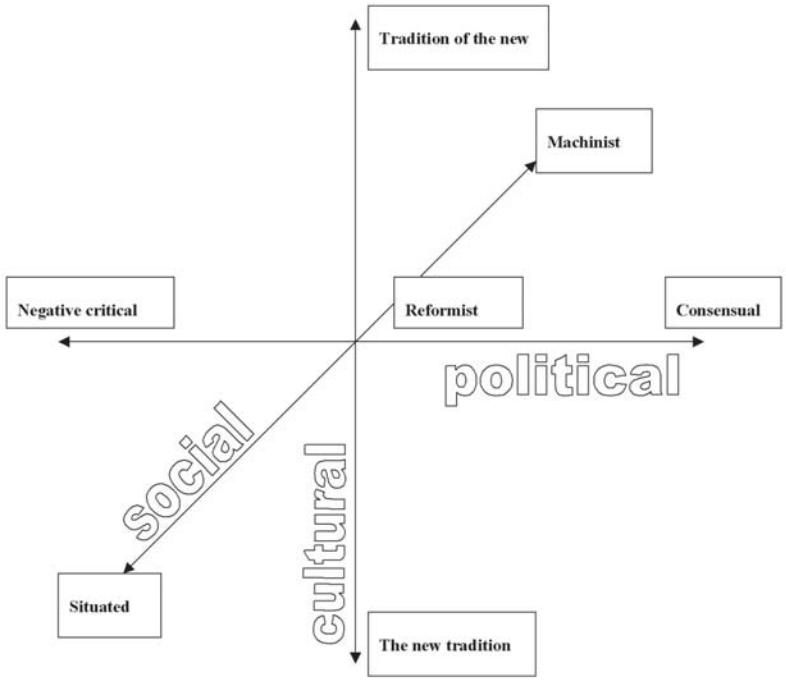
Both these aspects of modernity, the programmatic as well as the transitory, have played a role in modern architecture. The programmatic outlook is most clearly perceivable in the notion of the 'Modern Movement', introduced by Nikolaus Pevsner as a description of the joint efforts of a generation of young designers and architects who pursuit an architecture that answers to the exigencies of its time in that it is objective, rational, sober and without ornaments.[6] A similar programmatic idea was expressed by Sigfried Giedion, who moreover stressed the ideas of social mobility and emancipation that were inherent to modern architecture.[7] The transitory aspect on the other hand was getting primary value in the 'Manifesto on Futurist Architecture', in which Sant'Elia and Marinetti declared that the fundamental characteristic of the new architecture would be obsolescence and transience (each generation would have to build its own city).[8] It is this aspect that was especially celebrated by for instance Reyner Banham or the Smithsons.[9]

By now the notion of modern architecture has received a rather broad meaning, encompassing the larger part of the architecture produced in the 20th century.[10] For many authors, the term 'Modern Movement' tends to be a bit more specific and polemic, referring to those architects who explicitly joined forces with other modernists, for instance through an alliance with CIAM, the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne*.[11] Although the concept itself of the 'Modern Movement' has been repeatedly criticized as incorrect and misleading (because it suggests that there was a unified and consistent set of ideas to which all its proponents adhered[12]), it has survived these attacks, probably because it expresses so well that modernism was 'not a style but an issue'.[13] This awareness underlies many historical and personal accounts of the Modern Movement.

Sarah Williams Goldhagen proposes an interesting framework for analysis, that accounts for both the Modern Movement's historical reality and its complexity.[14] The generative principles of the movement, according to her, had to do with the interlocking cultural, political and social dimensions that together constitute the foundation of modernism in architecture. On the cultural axis, all modernists denounced the authority of tradition and wanted to develop a radically new architecture. Some thought that it would generate a 'new tradition'[15] (these would take what I called a programmatic outlook on modernity), whereas to others it was clear that it would be the basis for ever more innovations and inventions (those would rather take an outlook focusing upon transitoriness). On the political axis, the most distinguishing common feature is that modernists agree that there *is* a political dimension to architecture. In more concrete terms, they took very different stances, ranging from consensual (people who consented with democracy and capitalism), over negative critical (people intending to break up existing conditions in favor a revolutionary transformation) to reformist (people advocating substantial changes within the existing political and economic structures). As to the third, social dimension, there was considerable agreement that the new architectural language must symbolize and embody the essence of the era, the *Zeitgeist,* and that this *Zeitgeist* had to do with the dominance of industrial technology and the machine, and hence with rationalization. Opinions differed, however, as to the question in

how far this machine constellation should form the sole point of reference for architecture. Williams Goldhagen argues that there were many modernists –

MODEL OF SARAH W. GOLDHAGEN



such as Aalto, Gray, Rietveld, Scharoun or Taut – who were rather ambivalent about the role of the machine. Instead of a purely machinist aesthetics, they advocated what she calls a 'situated modernism', seeking to situate the users of their buildings socially and historically, in place and time.

Williams Goldhagen positions these diverse specters of modernism against the so-called 'non-modernists' and the 'anti-modernists'. 'Non-modernist' are those who are unaware of the existence of the Modern Movement, and who still accept the authority and the value of tradition, because they don't see why it should be challenged. 'Anti-modernists' fight the

effects of modernity by returning to the old ideas of community and identity. Williams Goldhagen qualifies the regionalist tendencies in the interwar period as anti-modernist, just like the social realism of Eastern Europe in the post-war period. In as far as Italian neo-realism and English new empiricism celebrated the values of pre-modern societies, they also labeled 'anti-modernist' in her book.
It seems that, within this framework, most members of Team 10 should be considered 'situated modernists'. The Smithsons with their interest in everyday issues such as popular culture and consumption patterns; Aldo Van Eyck with his appeal to develop an aesthetic for the great number; Candilis-Josic-Woods with their studies of vernacular and popular dwelling cultures … they all testify of an interest to anchor their designs in the concrete reality of concrete people, not seeking abstract solutions, but situating their projects within a social, historical and site-specific context.

Questions of colonialism

An important issue that has been raised in recent scholarly work on modernism concerns its relations with colonialism. Herman Hertzberger mentions somewhere, that the Van Nelle factory, which processed coffee, tea and tobacco, was built when the Netherlands was still a colonial power and that its modernism is therefore inseparable from the country's colonial past.[16] Indeed, looking back from a perspective of 80 years hence, there is no denying that there exists a direct link between the universalist and progressive ideals of the Modern Movement on the hand and the colonial discourse which legitimated colonialism as a political practice on the other.
When modernity is understood programmatically, as a project of progress and emancipation, it finds an outspoken manifestation in colonialism. The setting up a colony often links the occupation of new territory with the desire to leave behind old habits and limitations in order to establish another, a new, a better order. The colony was seen as the locus of a new world, where the old world would be rejuvenated through its confrontation with purity and virginity. However, this idea of a new and better order was inevitably interwoven with a striving for conquest and domination. For the new land was seldom pure or unclaimed, and the establishment of a colony thus meant violation and oppression of another culture. This internal contradiction is by no means an unhappy coincidence brought about by historical circumstances. It rather is inherent to colonialism..
In postcolonial theories the interconnections between the Enlightenment project of modernity and the imperialist practice of colonialism have been carefully disentangled.[17] Following the lead of Edward Said's *Orientalism*[18], it is argued that colonial discourse was intrinsic to European self-understanding: it is through their conquest and their knowledge of foreign peoples and territories (two experiences which usually were intimately linked), that Europeans could position themselves as modern, as civilized, as superior, as developed and progressive vis-à-vis local populations that were none of that.[19] Orientalism, according to Said, refers to that body of knowledge and practices that study and describe the Orient

as the 'other' of the Occident, roughly equating it with the mysterious, the exotic, the excessive, the irrational, the alien. The other, the non-European, was thus represented as the negation of everything that Europe imagined or desired itself to be. This crucial role of the colonized in the self-understanding of Western culture is something that most accounts of modernity and modernism did not acknowledge. It is conveniently ignored in the conventional historiography of the Modern Movement. Only recently, in the work of historians such as Gwendolyn Wright or Zeynep Çelik have these topics come to the fore.[20]
Indeed there are doubtlessly orientalist traits that can be recognized in e.g. the discourse of Le Corbusier. His *Voyage à l'Orient,* in which he acquainted himself with the vernacular architectures of Eastern Europe and Turkey, is a case in point. Although his experience of the spatial and constructional qualities of these architectures clearly contributed to the development of his own architectural vocabulary, they are not acknowledged as such, since they do not reappear in his modernist polemic of the 1920s which rather referred to ocean liners, grain elevators or airplanes as basic sources.[21] Another case in point is Le Corbusier's fascination with the city of Algiers and with Algerian women, which, according to Zeynep Çelik, places him in the long line of French colonialist endeavors to conquer the feminine heart of the foreign culture.[22] In such instances, the complicity of modern architecture's discourse with the colonial enterprise to establish Western hegemony over the world seems to be revealed.
There is however more to it. Whereas it cannot be denied that modern architecture was often instrumental in the formation of colonialist domination (reference can be made to the French architecture in Algeria and Morocco, or to the Belgian one in Congo, or to the Dutch one in Indonesia), the identification of modern architecture with the colonizers was not a given that was established once and for all. As Bruno De Meulder points out in his comments on the pictures by Marie-Françoise Plissart, the reception of the modernist architecture in Kinshasa was fundamentally ambivalent.[23] As clearly recognizable points of intervention by the colonizers, modernist buildings were the prime target of attack for the rebellions that sought to overthrow the colonial rule. After independence was established, however, this architecture has been willy-nilly appropriated as basic infrastructure that cannot be missed in order for the city to function. As such it remains a reminiscence of a dream that is not given up entirely: the dream of emancipation and liberation for all.
Thus far, the complicity between the modernism of Team 10 and the colonialist conditions in which some members worked has not been the focus of thorough studies (although I am sure that they are in the making). The work of Candilis and Woods in Morocco and Algiers; the fascination of Herman Haan and Aldo Van Eyck for the Sahara, its sense of space and the architecture of its people; or the dealings of Ecochard and Bodiansky with 'l'habitat du grand nombre' deserve to be studied from this point of view. It seems urgent now that the study of Team 10 should take into account theoretical insights gained in post-colonial studies. This is necessary in order to overcome the simple duplication of earlier fascinations – like e.g. those of Aldo Van Eyck with 'primitive' sculptures -, for they should not be

taken at face-values but rather unravelled in all their colonialist complexities.

Critical voices

Following the lead of Kenneth Frampton, Team 10 is often qualified as offering an 'internal critique' of the Modern Movement. Its protagonists indeed never positioned themselves outside of this Movement, although they formulated quite severe criticisms of the initial dogmas guiding the CIAM. It can be argued, however, that this position is entirely consistent with the avant-garde logics which propelled modernism.
Basically there are two different ways to describe the avant-garde. Both take into account the military origin of the term. Taken literally, the avant-garde refers to the front part of a marching army, the scouts that first head into unknown territory. As a metaphor the word has been used from the 19th century onwards to refer to progressive political and artistic movements, which considered themselves to be ahead of their time. The different interpretations come forth from a different understanding of the relationship between the political and the artistic aspects of the avant-garde.
The more conventional interpretation does not stress overmuch the political stance of the avant-garde, but rather points to its readiness to fight artistic battles. Renato Poggioli's *The Theory of the Avant-Garde* describes the avant-garde in this way. He sees it as characterised by four moments: activism, antagonism, nihilism and agonism.[24] The activist moment meant adventure and dynamism, an urge to action that is not necessarily linked to any positive goal. The antagonistic character of the avant-garde refers to its combativeness; the avant-garde is always struggling against something - against tradition, against the public or against the establishment. Activism and antagonism are often pursued in such a way that an avant-garde movement finally overtakes itself in a nihilistic quest, in an uninterrupted search for purity, ending up by dissolving into nothing. The avant-garde is indeed inclined to sacrifice itself on the altar of progress - a characteristic that Poggioli labels agonistic.
More recently another, more politically charged interpretation of the avant-garde has taken prominence, based upon the *Theory of the Avant-Garde* of Peter Bürger. According to this author, the avant-garde in the visual arts and literature was concerned to abolish the autonomy of art as an institution.[25] Its aim was to put an end to the existence of art as something separate from everyday life, of art, that is, as an autonomous domain that has no real impact on the social system. The avant-gardists aimed to achieve the 'sublation' of art in practical life:
'The avant-gardists proposed the sublation of art - sublation in the Hegelian sense of the term: art was not to be simply destroyed, but transferred to the praxis of life where it would be preserved, albeit in a changed form. (...) What distinguishes them (...) is the attempt to organise a new life praxis from a basis in art.'[26]

The avant-garde, says Bürger, aims for a *new* life praxis, a praxis that is based on art and

that constitutes an alternative for the existing order. This alternative would no longer organise social life on the basis of economic rationality and bourgeois conventions. It would rather found itself on aesthetic sensibilities and on the creative potentialities of each individual. The avant-garde thus acts according to the principle of 'Art into Life!', objecting against the traditional boundaries that separate artistic practices from everyday life.
It seems that Team 10 was (neo)avant-garde in both senses of the term. They pursued an aesthetical revolution in an activist and antagonist way – struggling as well against the high modernism of their predecessors as against the conventional tastes of the majority of the public. Although nihilism and agonism are not part of their armour, they can nevertheless be counted among those that continually renewed the aesthetical impulses governing modernism. Many Team 10 members can also be qualified 'avant-garde' in the political sense of the term. For example in the work of the Smithsons and of Candilis-Josic-Woods it is evident that they seek to diminish the distance between the expert culture of architects and the aesthetic sensibilities of ordinary people, by looking for inspiration in popular culture and vernacular or spontaneous dwelling patterns. Thus they appreciate the value of an everyday reality which was not acknowledged by an earlier generation of modernists.

Paradoxes of history

On the one hand studying Team 10 now seems simply a matter of historical evidence: one can see the existence of a law of historical distance that indicates that the past that is 30 or 40 years old begins to be worth studying (this probably has to do with the sequence of generations and with the absence / presence of people able to recount the period). There is on the other hand more to the study of Team 10. It is not just of historical relevance, but it can also teach us something which is valid for our own day. To me this relevance of Team 10 relies in their ability to merge a sensibility for the concrete realities of everyday life with their refusal to give up utopian hope. Whereas the first feature marks them as critics of an earlier modernism, the second one nevertheless affirms their participation in the Modern Movement. This utopian dimension of their work makes it particularly topical to study it today. For the general mood of the day is anti-utopian, and this is something that should be questioned.
As David Harvey remarks in *Spaces of Hope,* it is only by revitalizing the utopian tradition that we will be able to fuel a critical reflection that will help us to act as conscious architects of our fates rather than as helpless puppets of the institutions and imaginative worlds that we inhabit.[27] There are vested interests that want us to believe that 'there is no alternative'[28] to the world as it is organized today, with a globalizing capitalist system that has far-reaching and seemingly inevitable effects, ranging from the necessity of child labour in upcoming economies in the East to the spread of unemployment and urban decay in the West, not to forget the continuing misery in the poorest countries in the South. Therefore, if we are not willing to support the status quo, we should recognize the need for a revitalization of utopianism, because it is the only strategy that enables us to sound the depths of

our imagination in order to explore the possibilities of the ‘not yet’.
Modernist architects and urbanists, among them Team 10 members, have contributed a great deal to utopian thinking in the 20th century. Rather than blame them, we should admire their courage to recognize and elaborate the political dimension of their architectural beliefs. We should not turn a blind eye to the unavoidable problems that are intrinsic to any utopianism that takes on a spatial form. As Harvey points out, spatial utopias that materialize most often turn out as failures, because the social processes that must be mobilized to build them cannot be completely controlled and cause a transformation of the ideal that shatters the realization of its promises.[29] And even if this were not so, even if it were thinkable to realize a utopia in an unblemished form, even then we must see that there is something contradictory to the very idea of utopia taking on a concrete form, for the effect of its detailed description seems to be that it freezes life and thus prohibits the very freedom that it set out to establish.[30]
These flaws cannot be ignored. We should question, however, the all too easy solution of simply doing away with utopian thinking because of its built-in tendency to turn into its opposite or because of its totalitarian aspects. After all, it is through utopian thinking that we train ourselves in imagining a better architecture that would correspond to an alternative and better world. Even if it is perfectly predictable that this alternative will not be ideal either, it is nevertheless crucial to explore it as a possible route to the enhancement of the good life for all. That is also what constitutes for me the most important aspect of the legacy of the Modern Movement and of Team 10: its capacity to criticize the status quo and its courage to imagine a better world, and to start building it. Modern architects were admittedly often naïve and over-simplistic in their architectural determinism. In as far, however, that their utopian impulse was based upon a critical attitude and upon a genuine intention to change the world, we should not denounce this dimension but rather seek to re-evaluate it.[31]
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[1] Quoted in Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air. The Experience of Modernity*, Verso, London, 1985, p. 242
[2] My own work in this area is limited to an in-depth study of Constant's New Babylon project and of OMA's Exodus project (the latter in cooperation with Lieven De Cauter). My insights in Team 10 are considerably influenced by discussions with doctoral students who work on related themes: Tom Avermaete (K.U.Leuven) on Candilis-Josic-Woods; Dieter De Clercq (K.U.Leuven) on theories of the everyday and Dirk Vandenheuvel (T.U.Delft) on the Smithsons.
[3] This lecture is largely based upon an earlier publication: Hilde Heynen, "Coda: engaging modernism", in Hubert-Jan Henket and Hilde Heynen (eds.), *Back from Utopia. The Challenge of the Modern Movement,* 010, Rotterdam, 2002.
[4]. Marshall Berman, *o.c.*, p. 16
[5]. Quoted by Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity. Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism,* Duke University Press, Durham, 1987, p. 48.
[6] Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design. From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1987 (first published as *Pioneers of the Modern Movement,* 1936)
[7] Sigfried Giedion, *Bauen in Frankreich, Bauen in Eisen, Bauen in Eisenbeton,* Klinkhardt & Biermann, Leipzig, 1928; translated by J. Duncan Berry, with an introduction by Sokratis Georgiadis, Sigfried Giedion, *Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferroconcrete,* The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Santa Monica (Cal.), 1995.
[8]. Antonio Sant'Elia, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "Futurist Architecture" (1914), Ulrich Conrads (ed.), *Programs and Manifestoes of 20th century Architecture,* MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1990, pp. 34-38
[9] Reyner Banham, "A Home is Not a House" (1965), in Joan Ockman (ed.), *Architecture Culture 1943-1968. A Documentary Anthology,* Rizzoli, New York, 1993, pp. 370-378; Alison en Peter Smithson, 'Where to walk and where to ride in our bouncy new clothes and our shiny new cars' (1967), in: Alison Smithson (ed.), *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM*, Architectural Association, Londen 1982, pp. 88-91.
[10] William J.R. Curtis, for instance, in his book *Modern Architecture since 1900* (Phaidon, London, 1996), is rather inclusive, although he mentions that he does not deal with traditions such as the Gothic revival in the United States or the broad resurgence of neoclassicism during the 1930s. Alan Colquhoun, in his recent *Modern Architecture* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002), specifies that he understands it as 'an architecture conscious of its own modernity and striving for change' (p. 9). Not insignificantly, his history ends in 1965, whereas the one by Curtis continues into the nineties.
[11] Within DOCOMOMO there is a tendency to use the terms 'modern architecture' and 'architecture of the Modern Movement' interchangeably. See for instance Dennis Sharp & Catherine Cooke (eds.), *The Modern Movement in Architecture. Selections from the DOCOMOMO Registers,* 010, Rotterdam, 2000.
[12] Charles Jencks, *Modern Movements in Architecture*, Pelican, Harmondsworth, 1973; Giorgio Ciucci, "The Invention of the Modern Movement", in *Oppositions,* N° 24, 1981, pp. 69-91.
[13] Reference be made here to Anatole Kopp, *Quand le moderne n'était pas un style mais une cause*, Ecole Nationale Supérieure de Beaux Arts, Paris, 1988.
[14] Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Coda: Reconceptualizing the Modern", in Sarah Williams Goldhagen, Réjean Legault (eds.), *Anxious Modernisms. Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 2000, pp. 301-324.
[15] See the subtitle of Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture. The Growth of a New Tradition,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1980 (first edition 1941)
[16] See his contribution to *Back from Utopia.*
[17] For a useful introduction see Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory. A Reader*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1994.
[18] Edward Said, *Orientalism,* Routledge &

Kegan Paul, London, 1978.
[19] Couze Venn, *Occidentalism. Modernity and Subjectivity,* Sage, London, 2000 gives a good overview of the arguments in these analyses.
[20] Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics and Design of French Colonial Urbanism*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991; Zeynep Celik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997; Patricia Morton, *Hybrid Modernities. Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris*, MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 2000; Lawrence Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, Yale University Press, New Haven (Conn.), 1992; Jean-Louis Cohen, Monique Eleb, *Casablanca, mythes et figures d'une aventure urbaine*, Hazan, Paris, 1998.
[21] This argument is made by Sibel Bozdogan, *Modernism and Nation Building. Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2001, p. 4.
[22] Zeynep Celik, "Gendered Spaces in Colonial Algiers", in Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway, Leslie Kane Weisman (eds.), *The Sex of Architecture*, Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1996, pp. 127-140, p. 128.
[23] See De Meulder's contribution to *Back from Utopia.*
[24]. Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde* (London, Harvard University Press, 1982, translated from *Teoria dell'arte d'avanguardia*, 1962)
[25]. Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1984 (translated from *Theorie der Avant-Garde,* 1974)
[26]. Peter Bürger, *o.c.*, p. 49.)
[27] David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope,* University of California Press, Berkeley, 2000, p. 159.
[28] Margaret Thatcher, quoted by David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope,* University of California Press, Berkeley, 2000, p. 154.
[29] David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope,* University of California Press, Berkeley, 2000, p. 173.
[30] See e.g. my analysis of New Babylon: Hilde Heynen, "New Babylon: the Antinomies of Utopia", in Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity. A Critique*, MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1999, pp. 151-174.
[31] An attempt in this direction is undertaken in Amy Bingaman, Lise Sanders, Rebecca Zorach (eds.), *Embodied utopias. Gender, social change and the modern metropolis*, Routledge, London, 2002.