

Zeitschrift: Werk, Bauen + Wohnen
Herausgeber: Bund Schweizer Architekten
Band: 88 (2001)
Heft: 6: Wohnen, wohnen = Habitats = Housing

Werbung

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slightly too large for the span, which leaves a certain degree of design scope when manipulating the tunnel structures.

In 1968, exactly five years after Bogaers' initiative for industrializing the building industry, his successor Schut enacted the subsidy prescription for experimental housing construction, which showed that the authorities had a completely new concern, and this was no longer primarily about perfecting the system and increasing its efficiency, it was about reform. Increasingly violent criticism of the serial and monofunctional housing construction methods used in the rebuilding period was making itself heard. "The imposition of discipline entered a state of crisis in its own right, in favour of new forces that formed slowly and were to develop at a tremendous speed after the Second World War: we were no longer members of disciplinary societies, we were already leaving them", wrote Gilles Deleuze, and by "we" he of course means the so-called generation of 1968. Paradoxically, Dutch housing construction had resorted to camouflaging its large-scale and serial nature at precisely the moment at which its industrial infrastructure had started to work efficiently. It is remarkable that methods of open subsystems did not place any obstacles in the way of this project: for example, in the seventies sector-form tunnel shuttering was developed in order to realize the fractally branching, wind-

ing cauliflower forms of the residential courtyards. And the detachment of the façade from the shell, which was being carried out with increasing consistency, created ideal conditions for a superficial differentiation in terms of appearance for buildings that were structurally the same.

Repetition and difference

In the meantime this tendency has hardened into a state of automatism that sometimes takes on grotesque features. Large housing estates like the Ypenburg estate near The Hague, which is under construction and will provide 15,000 dwellings, are divided up into various sections, which are then allotted clichéd landscape or architectural titles. Thus in Ypenburg there is a water quarter, a forest quarter, a moor quarter and so on. Each of these quarters is being built by a different consortium of investors and building contractors. A different architectural practice devises a sub-plan on the basis of the title theme for each quarter. These sub-plans are then further broken down into half a dozen building blocks, and half a dozen architectural practices are selected to work on them further. At this stage a supervisor watches like a hawk to make sure that the building blocks are as different from each other as possible. Of course this is entirely superficial, as the architects have only marginal scope for manipulating the uniform

space-use programmes, constructional dispositions and budgets.

In the best contemporary Dutch housing construction projects, attempts to exploit the scope in the system as much as possible have been made with subversive subtlety and tireless negotiating skills in order to achieve something more than cosmetic distinctions in the housing offered. One of the last highlights of architecture in a period coming to an end is that there are signs of resistance to obsolete structures due to premonitions about new developments. The IT age will replace central, planned control with self-organized networks and Taylorist series manufacture by using automated custom construction. The boundaries between function categories like housing construction or office building will become blurred and lose their significance for the organization of urban development and building production. But the state aesthetics commission's image policy is also becoming frail: if architecture no longer represents the popular community housing project, architectural images will become advertising messages competing with each other in a free market.

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