AN INQUIRY ON BOURGEOIS CONCEPTION OF SOCIAL HOUSING PROGRAM
FOR WORKING-CLASS: KARL MARX HOF IN VIENNA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APLLIED SCIENCES

OF

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

İLKNUR SUDAŞ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE
IN
ARCHITECTURE

SEPTEMBER 2011

Approval of the thesis:

AN INQUIRY ON BOURGEOIS CONCEPTION OF SOCIAL HOUSING PROGRAM
FOR WORKING-CLASS: KARL MARX HOF IN VIENNA

submitted by **İLKNUR SUDAŞ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Architecture in Architecture Department, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen _____
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın _____
Head of Department, **Architecture**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın _____
Supervisor, **Architecture Dept., METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan _____
Architecture Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın _____
Head of Department, Architecture

Assoc. Prof. Elvan Altan Ergut _____
Architecture Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Lale Özgenel _____
Architecture Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Esin Boyacıoğlu _____
Architecture Dept., Gazi University

Date: September 26th, 2011

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: İlknur SUDAŞ

Signature:

ABSTRACT

AN INQUIRY ON BOURGEOIS CONCEPTION OF SOCIAL HOUSING PROGRAM

FOR WORKING-CLASS: KARL MARX HOF IN VIENNA

Sudaş, İlknur

M. Arch, Department of Architecture

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

September 2011, 125 pages

This thesis focuses on the architectural production of Red Vienna in 1920s to examine the bourgeois conception of social housing program in a governmental socialist understanding of housing. Having a structural transformation through the First World War, Vienna became the enclave of Socialist Democrat Party and thereafter underwent radical housing and cultural transformative programs. Within these programs, it was intended to give the working-class the accurate social position by means of provided accessibility to their own private and public spheres.

Among a wide range of housing examples built during the governance of the party, Karl Marx Hof, one of the largest projects, has been chosen to examine the reflections of bourgeois conception of culture. Based on the contradictory discourse and practices in political, architectural and cultural realms, the aim of the research is to redefine the privacy of the dwellings and the public qualities of the common spaces and thereafter to situate the proletarian housing in relation to bourgeois spatial values within the history of domestic space in Vienna.

ÖZ

İŞÇİ SINIFI KONUT PROGRAMINDA BURJUVA ANLAYIŞI ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA:

VİYANA'DA KARL MARX HOF

Sudaş, İlknur

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

Eylül 2011, 125 sayfa

Bu tez, sosyalist devlet anlayışı içerisinde işçi sınıfı konut programında burjuva anlayışını incelemek için Kızıl Viyana döneminin 1920lerdeki mimari üretimine odaklanmıştır. Birinci Dünya Savaşı ile birlikte yapısal bir dönüşüm geçiren Viyana, Sosyalist Demokrat Parti'nin yerleşim bölgesi haline gelmiş ve ardından radikal konut ve kültürel dönüştürücü düzenlemelere tabi olmuştur. Bu programlar dâhilinde, işçi sınıfına, kendi özel ve kamusal alanlarında sağlanan erişilebilirlik yoluyla, doğru toplumsal konumun verilmesi amaçlanmıştır.

Proletaryaya tahsis edilmiş özel ve kamusal alanlardaki burjuva kültür anlayışının yansımalarını incelemek için, parti yönetim döneminde inşa edilen çok çeşitli konut örnekleri arasından Karl Marx Hof seçilmiştir. Siyasi, mimari ve kültürel alanlardaki çelişkili söylem ve pratiklere dayanarak, bu araştırmanın amacı konutların mahremiyet, ortak alanların ise kamusallık niteliğini yeniden tanımlamak ve ardından burjuva mekânsal değerlerine göre proletarya konutunu, Viyana konut tarihi içerisinde konumlandırmaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: özel / kamusal alan, proletarya / burjuvazi, ideoloji, sosyal konut, Karl Marx Hof, Karl Ehn, Kızıl Viyana, ütopya, sosyal pratikler

To my parents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being,
> but; on the contrary, their social being that determines their
> consciousness.
>
> Karl Marx

Mayor of the capital city of Austria, Vienna, Karl Seitz, officially opened the *Gemeindebau*[1] Karl Marx Hof, a social housing complex of the working-class, on October 12th, 1930 with his famous words:

> Longer after we are gone, these stones will speak for us.[2]

The governmental system mainly practiced within the territory of Vienna by Social Democrats between the years 1918 and 1934 within its ideological framework and its architectural production[3] – as Seitz has addressed – has been widely discussed within the historiography of Austria. The approach to the writing of history of the period, according to Charlie Jeffery, has been revolved around the positive aspects of the socialist municipality in Vienna until 1990s, after when new research methods were developed in order to achieve the reflections of "municipal" socialism regarding the whole Austria –the party SDAP (*Sozial Demokratischer Arbeiter Partei*) was the owner of the dominant power in Vienna, however the governmental parliament was ruled under the coalition of SDAP and

---

[1] The building typology, created within the municipal housing program by Social Democrats in Red Vienna, will be mentioned in the following chapters extensively.

[2] Andrea Nussbaum. "Kleiner Roter Ziegelstein, Baut die Neue Welt", *Karl Marx Hof Versailles der Arbeiter*, in ed.Gerald and Genoveva Kriechbaum, p.52

[3] The architectural production of the period considering the working-class can be regarded as the prominent practice of Social Democrats. Until 1934, 10.500 dwellings in suburban settlements and 63.000 flats in urban perimeter blocks have been built. (Peter Marcuse. The Housing Policy of Social Democracy: Determinants and Consequences, *Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918-1934*, Ed. Anson Rabinbach, Westview Press, 1985, p.78)

Christian Socials.[4] Besides Jefferey's new criticism to the historiography, it can be said that 1980s underlined the negative criticism even about the practices and its operating tools of Social Democrats in their territory, Vienna. From a general perspective, the criticism involved mainly the discrepancy between the theoretical background and even the inconsistencies within it, namely Austro-Marxism, and, the practices of the socialist party. Moreover, the practices, especially in the cultural realm of the working-class, were also another focus in the criticism of the period. However, the architectural production of the period adhered to the proletariat – that of being in the worst condition with respect to other countries in Europe – was hardly criticized[5] and referred often as glorified examples. The optimistic approach to the main project – establishing urban settlements for the working-class – can be addressed to the previous living conditions of that social class. According to a research done in 1919, the workers were living in such houses, of which;

- 92 percent did not include a toilet (it was located in the corridor of the building)

- 95 percent did not include a water tap (it was located on the corridor of the building)

- 14 percent did not include gas installation

- 7 percent did not include electrical installation.[6]

Furthermore, the houses were mainly in one and a half size of the room and accommodated not only by a worker family, but also by subtenants and bedrenters due to the high rents, which were raised arbitrarily by the landlords before the World War I. Therefore, since the new housing projects has erased the oppressive features of the tenement apartments and provided an opportunity to live in better conditions to the proletariat, it is understandable to refer them as spectacular achievement of the period.

---

[4] Jeffery in his book Social Democrats in the Austrian Provinces 1918-1934: Beyond Red Vienna proposes a wider perspective in order to understand the sudden collapse of socialism after fourteen years. His suggestion is to redefine the period with all negative and positive aspects, but this time regarding the whole Austria with its other provinces, not just the capital city.
[5] The criticism regarding the social housing complexes' architectural qualities will be extensively discussed in the fourth chapter.
[6] Reinhard Gieselmann. *Der Karl Marx Hof*. Prolegomena 24, 1978, p.6

However, apart from the critical assessments regarding its architectural characteristics – whether the elemental forms of the architectural language were conveying bourgeois values or not –, the most crucial comment was referring them as socio-political projects of Red Vienna reflecting Social Democrats' political program within "heroic, idealistic, accommodating, hopelessly self-deluded, and utopian" aspects which were unable to fulfill the promise of the party's claims by Manfredo Tafuri.[7]

While drawing a similar approach to the problematique of the municipal housing with other critics – based on the contradiction between the Austro-Marxists' revolutionary doctrine and the reformist policies of the Social Democrats' municipal program –, his criticism provides a different perspective which can be understood within his fundamental definition of the term "utopia" and the interrelations among the concepts "utopia, ideology, and architecture"[8]. Therefore, his prominent text "Architecture and Utopia-Design and Capitalist Development", of which task was to demonstrate the history of illusions and failures of modern architecture within the statement of that architecture can be ideological and can bear utopian impulses[9], is a crucial medium in relating the discussion to the topic.

Tafuri bases the notion of "utopia" on Mannheim's distinction between ideology and utopia; statement in Mannheim's words:

> In limiting the meaning of the term "utopia" to that type of orientation which transcends reality and which at the same time breaks the bonds of the existing order, a distinction is set up between the utopian and the ideological states of mind. One can orient himself to objects that are alien to reality and which transcend actual existence – and nevertheless still be effective in the realization and in the maintenance of the existing order of things…Such an incongruent orientation became utopian only when in addition it tended to burst the bonds of existing order. Consequently representatives of a given order have not in all cases taken a hostile attitude towards orientations transcending the existing order. Rather they have always aimed to control those situationally transcendent ideas and interests which are not realizable within the bounds of the present order, and thereby to render them socially

---

[7] Eve Blau. The *Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934*, The MIT Press, 1999, p. 344
[8] Zeynep Tuna in her thesis draws a prosperous framework, in which the concepts were handled by Tafuri. Within the textual analysis she contributes to the field by revealing the contradictions in the assessment of negative connotation of architectural ideology. For further discussion on the dialectical relations of the concepts, please see Z. Tuna, "Reading Manfredo Tafuri: Architecture and Utopia-Design and Capitalist Development", Unpublished Thesis, METU 2002, pp.20-39
[9] Ibid., pp.9-10

impotent, so that such ideas would be confined to a world beyond history and society, where they could not affect the status quo.[10]

The transcendent ideas and interests in Mannheim's remark find its place as "architectural utopianism"[11] in Tafuri's assessment. Moreover, within the analysis of modern architecture, he renders the role of architecture as ideological, which can only move within the domain of dominant ideology, i.e. capitalism. In other words, the term ideology, in his discourse, corresponds to the Marxist understanding as a pejorative phenomenon, [12] which ensures reproduction of the relations of production in the base, and therefore, his emphasis on the ideology of architecture implies that being an ideological institution of the capitalist development. As he states:

> It should be immediately stated that the critical analysis of the basic principles of contemporary architectural ideology does not have any "revolutionary" aim. What is of interest here is the precise identification of those tasks which capitalist development has taken away from architecture.[13]

His remark underlines the in-effectiveness of architecture, especially of the modern examples in 1920s, within the capitalist system. Furthermore, his point regarding the working settlements – particularly Ernst May's *Siedlungen*[14] – as an illusion which made the worker to believe in change, but operated and neutralized within the capitalist system, together with the concealment of contradictions, clarifies his standpoint towards the European socialism.

At this point, it is important to identify the position of Red Vienna within the European context. Anson Rabinbach, a specialist in modern European history, defines the period as "the greatest achievement of postwar European socialism, the modern welfare state, which was achieved without revolution, with the overwhelming support of the working-classes,

---

[10] Karl Mannheim. *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, London: Routledge, 1966, p.173

[11] According to Mannheim and thereafter Tafuri, the utopia's progressiveness and creativeness within its aim to break the existing order becomes a part of the dominant ideology when realized. However, the opposition between the concepts, utopia with its progressiveness and ideology with its conservatism creates a tension, which is in Tuna's thesis extensively discussed.

[12] Louis Althusser, too, defines ideology within its negative connotation as representing the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence. (Louis Althusser. İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları, İthaki Yayınları, 2008, p.187)

[13] M. Tafuri, ibid., pp.176-178

[14] Ibid., pp.114-124

and within the framework of capitalism and democracy".[15] This description, indeed, by means of its key concepts, such as "without revolution" and "within the framework of capitalism", prepares the ground for a Tafurien criticism concerning its grandiose architectural production.

Keeping in mind the criticism of the proletarian social housing as "utopian" by Tafuri, it is aimed within the research to examine the most symbolic architectural production of the period, Karl Marx Hof, in order to answer the question of whether it was an illusion and a failure within the architectural history, or not. Before outlining the survey's approach to the problematique, it is significant to refer to some of the statements concerning the selected project in order to comprehend its significance within the architectural history. Within the historiography, Karl Marx Hof was mainly glorified as:

- "...the central monument of Red Vienna."[16]

- "...the most significant, spectacular and symbolic housing project in the Interwar Period."[17]

- "...the highest achievement of Red Vienna."[18]

Regarding these statements – and also similar approaches in other sources as well –, it can be said that the building was commented in a very positive manner, although the municipal socialism by Social Democrats – which was the main actor in the building program – was strongly criticized in a negative one. In other words, the most splendent production of the period was addressed as if it was the most appropriated and accurate result of a semi-correct way of socialism.

Departing from this point, it is aimed to conduct a re-reading of the most symbolic architectural production of Red Vienna. Thus, it is intended to base the research on

---

[15] Anson Rabinbach. *Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918-1934*, Westview Press, 1985, p.1

[16] Eve Blau, ibid., p. 320

[17] Helmut Weihsmann. *Das Rote Wien: Sozial Demokratische Architektur und Kommunal Politik: 1919-1934*, translated from German by the author, Wien: Promedia, 2002, p. 398 [The original statement in German: "...die bedeutendste, eindrucksvollste und symbolträchtigste Wohnhausanlage der Zwischenkriegzeit in Wien."]

[18] Anson Rabinbach. Introduction, *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism from Red Vienna to Civil War*, The University of Chicago Press, 1983, p.1

Tafurien criticism – without having an absolute reliance on the negative assessment that architecture cannot possess any revolutionary path. Moreover, since the program had a particular claim in providing accessibility to the working-class in to their own private and public spheres, the secondary theoretical background will be based on the concepts "private" and "public", thereafter related ones, such as "exclusion", "inclusion" and "territoriality".[19]

"The concept of privacy is an important component of dwelling studies in general"[20], as Özgenel states in her thesis and became a topic within two fields: the behavioral sciences – in which privacy is viewed as part of the social behavior which focuses on the idea of control and freedom of choice – and the sociological field – in which the discussions are centered on the dichotomy of private and public.[21] In other words, whereas in the first mentioned field, privacy is utilized within the process of regulating personal information and accessibility, within the second field "for analyzing the key issues of political, legal and moral debate in the end of the twentieth century", the boundary demarcations create a multi-dimensional discourse through the opposition of the terms private and public.[22] Since the research examines a social housing in such a period in which a new relationship between the municipal government and the inhabitants, the working-class, was constructed, the concept "public", more significantly the tension between "private and public" becomes as important as the term privacy itself, rather than the examination of the concept that in behavioral sciences. Therefore, the opposition and the tension between these two terms will be the departing point in the research of the social housing Karl Marx Hof within the boundaries of sociological discourse.

Throughout the research, this tension will constitute basically the framework, particularly referring to the constant change of the definitive areas of "public" and "private" realms.[23] In that sense, Jürgen Habermas with his prominent book "Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society" was taken as the major

---

[19] Within the research these concepts will be addressed from the perspective of sociological discourse and will be tried to be detailed according to the research subject.

[20] Lale Özgenel. *Between Public and Private: Investigating Privacy in the Roman Domestic Context*, Unpublished Dissertation, 2000, p.9

[21] Ibid., pp. 12-15

[22] Ibid.

[23] In Chapter 3, the spatial reflection of the transformative change in the definitions of the public and private realms will be discussed regarding social classes' domestic spaces, "the Palace of Aristocracy, the House of Bourgeoisie and the Working-Class Housing".

reference. According to one of the main arguments of the book, there is not a clear definitive area for both of the terms "private" and "public" since each defined area of them has been interfered by the other throughout history and it resulted in re-definitions of these two realms.[24] Within constant re-definitions, the transformations of social practices were reflected upon the spatial organizations of the dwellings as well, as he narrates:

For instance, nobleman was regarded as "public person". He and his wife were living in different places, in their own *hotel* and met each other in the extra familial sphere of the *salon* in the circle of their own family. However, bourgeoisie – signed as "private person" – transformed large halls of the entrances of the palaces into narrow entrance halls or signed the appearance of living room as private space – for the use of family members – and hall as public space of the family – for meetings – in their own "private" dwellings.[25]

Thus, within "private" bourgeois house, a new duality of private and public emerged through social relations. In other words, bourgeois family life was brought together with the house meetings within the same place. Furthermore; at the same time, with the introduction of industrial and mass production, the traditional domestic context which served as both a living and working place was transformed into a new understanding of life, i.e. "the separation of the production unit and the business".[26] According to Özgenel, this separation resulted in a new conceptualization of the house: "the specialized place of family consumption, child rearing and private life" and it turned out to be a closed entity which allowed minimum yet controlled penetration.[27] As Madanipour states:

---

[24] Habermas states that there was not a distinction between "private" and "public" until bourgeoisie, emerged social class, differentiated them. The feudal powers, the Church, the prince, and the nobility were the carriers of representative publicness until the eighteenth century, however through economical and social transformations, private and public spheres were polarized. On the one hand religion became a private manner; public budget was separated from the territorial rulers' private holdings and on the other hand there existed a public authority with military and bureaucracy opposing to the civil / bourgeois society. While the king and nobleman were "public" people, bourgeois man was regarded as a "private" person. (Jürgen Habermas. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, The MIT Press, 1991, pp.11-12)

[25] Ibid., pp.44-46

[26] L. Özgenel, ibid., pp.26-29

[27] Ibid., p.28

The question of public-private relationships in dwellings is often seen as the way the house as a private realm is separated from the outside world. The house is controlled by the household as its property, owned or rented, and thus is separated from what is beyond the household's control. What is within this boundary is considered a private realm, as established by various legal and cultural boundaries.[28]

Regarding the legal boundaries, Habermas provides a conceptual perspective. According to him, polarization of the duality private-public can be seen directly on housing which drew back from the social labor arena and also on commodity and information which drew back from the private sphere of bourgeoisie. With the inversion of capitalism in publicizing the circulation of commodity and information by bourgeoisie, ruling class' control had a significant role in regulating the rivalry.[29] As he states, this duality still exists but in different forms particularly on the housing, such as the intervention of the state and media:

The exchange relationships of bourgeois society deeply influenced the personal relations between the members of the bourgeois family. With the loss of its basis and the replacement of family property by individual incomes the family lost, beyond its functions in production… those for production.

The classical risks, especially of unemployment, accident, illness, age, and death are nowadays largely covered by welfare state guarantees incorporating basic support measures, normally in the form of income supplements. … Against the so-called basic needs, which the bourgeois family once had to bear as a private risk, the individual family member today is publicly protected.[30]

While the public sphere was transformed through a controlling mechanism on domestic space, the private sphere was getting narrower according to him since the housing becomes the regulation area of the state and some private institutions through contracts.

His argument related particularly to the domestic space' privacy and the interventionist position of the state in terms of regulation matters – which Madanipour basically counts as a factor constituting the private realm – creates the basis of the analysis which would help to understand the tension between private and public. Furthermore, the concepts' definitive parameters can vary according to the discussion subjects – such as the privacy of individual, privacy of the family, privacy as space ownership etc.[31] Therefore, the area of

---

[28] Ali Madanipour. *Public and Private Spaces of the City*, Routledge, 2003, p.75
[29] J. Habermas, ibid. pp.255-280
[30] Ibid. p.155
[31] For example, Peter Ward draws the framework for two kinds of privacy, that of individuals and that of the family or household as:

the research needs to be restricted in which senses of the concepts will be utilized as guiding principles within the discussion. Main concentration will be the private sphere of the domestic context on Viennese social housing, particularly on the ownership issue regarding the renter position of the inhabitants of Karl Marx Hof and also on the privacy of the proletarian family, especially the women, regarding the "new" proletarian culture created by the socialist municipality. In other words, in the research it will be tried to examine the boundary between the private and public realms – which is defined as "a means of separating the two realms and protecting them from each other, indeed a site of interface and communication between them"[32] – and the level of public intrusion into the private sphere of the working-class. Within the examination of the domestic context of proletarian private sphere, the housing, in more general terms "the space", will be the subject of the analysis. Regarding the theoretical background of the thesis and the material it concentrates on, the position of the research is determined as architecture and culture. Within a cultural perspective, the proletarian domestic space will be tried to be re-defined.

Indeed, since it is hard to reach any original visual document, such as plans, sections, and elevations – except a sample housing plan-part in addition to the central laundry plan that every publication used –, as a secondary aim, through the field research it is intended to contribute to the field of architecture by means of archiving the original drawings of the building by the architect, dated to 1927.[33]

In order to be able to re-define the proletarian housing, Karl Marx Hof, the survey will be based on two secondary and one major reviews. The first preliminary analysis will be a re-reading of the economic and political background of the capital city Vienna in the second chapter. By means of the literature review on both positive and negative aspects of the period, the aim will be to draw the contextual framework, in which the practices of Social Democrats can be re-defined. Then, as a second preliminary analysis in the third chapter, the Viennese architectural production of domestic space, before and after the war, will be discussed with respect to the class-struggle among aristocracy, bourgeoisie and proletariat.

"Personal privacy sets the individual apart from the group, creating opportunities for seclusion, times and places to be alone and to pursue one's particular interests. Family privacy draws boundaries between the household and the community. It defends the solidarity of the home and provides a basis for familial relationships." (Peter Ward, *A History of Domestic Space: Privacy and the Canadian Home*, UBC Press, 1999, pp. 5-6)

[32] A. Madanipour, ibid., pp.63-64

[33] The drawings were obtained from the *Baupolizei* in Döbling District.

Basing the discussion on mainly the architectural criticism of the period, the aim will be to reveal the relation between the politics and the production of urban domestic space.

Afterwards, in the fourth chapter the main discussion regarding the contradictions inherent in the production of the proletarian space will be sectioned into three realms; political, architectural and cultural. Within the first one, it will be tried to re-read the contradictions inherent in the politics of Social Democrats by bringing together the political discourse of Austro-Marxism and the practices of the party. Then in the second one, the contradictions inherent in the architectural discourse and practices of the period will be discussed and the building will be analyzed according to the outcome of the review. And lastly, in the third section, the practices of the institutions of the municipality and the cultural program realized within the proletarian housing will be discussed extensively and tried to be reflected on the spatial layout of the building. Thus, in the fourth chapter, the aim will be to redefine the privacy of the dwellings and the public qualities of the common spaces and thereafter to situate the proletarian housing in the history of domestic space in Vienna.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF RED VIENNA AS THE SOCIALIST ENCLAVE

> Democracy is the road to socialism.
>
> All great historical facts and personages occur, as it were twice...the first as tragedy, the second time as farce.
>
> Karl Marx

The time span between 1918 and 1934 marks a critical period in both social and cultural life of Vienna, especially of the proletariat, within the political implications of the Social Democrats, in other words the SDAP. The period, which depicted the capital city as Red Vienna, played a significant role in historiography since the socialist politics was materialized with its numerous social housing complexes including significant judicial regulations based on different social, economical and political conditions than other countries in Europe.

However; the city Vienna, even before 20th century had also gone through some transformative reorganizations under the ruler Emperor Franz Joseph I, such as demolitions of medieval city walls and construction of *Ringstraße* with its numerous public buildings instead of walls, which marked the beginning of Vienna's transformation into a modern metropolis.[34] Regarding industrialization, the city walls had become outmoded with the advent of new weapons technology and since "[t]here was now less fear of attack from outside than there was of the 'inner' enemy; there was anxious talk of a 'potential attack by the proletariat' from the outlying districts"[35]. Therefore; in order to overcome the anxiety, at either end of *Ringstraße* military complexes were constructed.[36] In other words, the fortification walls were replaced by another wall, but this time, a symbolic one, a

---

[34] Peter Haiko. *Viennese Architecture 1850-1930,* Rizzoli International Publications, 1992, p.8
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

11

boulevard. This boulevard, *Ringstraβe*, was supposed to guarantee the power of aristocracy over bourgeoisie and to protect it from proletariat in the time when working-class movement was in the charge[37].

Even before the World War I, there was a tension among three different camps of classes – aristocracy, bourgeoisie and proletariat – in terms of power relations literally, and through dissolution of the aristocratic part within the collapse of monarchy after the war, although the stress continued to exist between the two left over classes, the formula that ruling class was utilizing for the working-class has changed. Instead of shielding themselves from the poor, the government's aim was declared as to create "class consciousness" for proletariat and it was tried to be fulfilled through spatial and social organizations within the social housing program.[38]

2.1 THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF AUSTRIA AFTER THE WORLD WAR I

After the World War I, through dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, there emerged a new governmental formation, firstly under the name of "the Republic of German-Austria" between the years 1918-1919, and then "the Republic of Austria"[39] following the signing of the Treaty of St. German, which forbade the *Anschluβ*[40] with Germany basically.

Looking to the structural formation of the government in both of them, there were three main camps of political parties; which are, The Social Democrats (SDAP), Christian Socials (CS), and German Nationalists. [41]

---

[37] As Blau in her prominent book mentions: "The Austrian labor movement began in 1860s with the establishment of constitutional monarchy in 1867 and the legalization of workers' organizations." Furthermore, despite the new legislation of the years 1867 and 1870, these organizations had been given no political rights since they were regarded as "dangerous to the state". (E. Blau, ibid., p. 22)
[38] Ibid., p.193
[39] Throughout the text, the period will be referred as the First Republic, a synonym for the Republic of Austria.
[40] The term is used for the annexation of Austria into Germany.
Besides the Treaty of St. German between the Allies and Austria, with the Treaty of Versailles between the Allies and Germany it is declared that Austria could not enter into political or economic union with Germany.
[41] Ibid., p.57

Figure 2.1: Austria after 1917, showing a map

"The centers of the strength of the Social Democratic movement were typically isolated industrial enclaves surrounded and threatened by a rural socio-political environment or milieu, marked by a hostile conservative traditionalism"[42], which means that the power of SDAP was concentrated mostly in Vienna, the largest industrial center in Austria, and surrounded by provinces, which were represented by the other two political parties to a large extent except industrial enclaves located there.

The *Anschluβ* with Germany was in fact not desired only by the nationalists, but also by socialists, although they had a different motivation in it. Beyond its intrinsic motives inherent national and social values, the state's economic and demographical condition can also be counted as one of the main factors of the demand.

After the fallen Dual Monarchy, Austria was left with;

- 26.3% of the population

---

[42] Charley Jeffery. *Social Democrats in the Austrian Provinces, 1918-1934: Beyond Red Vienna*, London: Leicester University Press, 1997, pp.12-13

13

- 23% of the territory of the Austrian half of the Monarchy.[43] (Figure 2.1.)

While Czechoslovakia, as another emerged country out of the monarchy, had 96 percent of the Monarchy's coal reserves in its territories, Austria with 30 percent of the total industrial workers of the monarchy was left only with 0.5 percent of these reserves.[44] Furthermore, looking to the other numerical data in terms of production, the same country, Czechoslovakia, could be regarded as lucky with 75 percent of the Monarchy's textile and chemical factories, 92 percent of its sugar refineries, and 75 percent of its breweries.[45]

As a result, Austria, which was dependent on imports for its coal before the war[46], was disabled in producing as well as in consuming in following years after the war. That is to say, there was an excessive shortage of food and coal. Together with the war loans, which absorbed most of the country's domestic capital,[47] the disadventurous division of productive lands, worsened Austria's financial predicament.

Within this economical framework, in the first election of the First Republic in February 1919, the Social Democrats gained 40.8 percent of the vote[48], emerging as the strongest party, but lacking an absolute majority. Due to the lack of majority on the national level, SDAP preferred a coalition with the Christian Socials, which represented "…conservative, normally staunchly anti-socialist, rural communities pervaded by the influence of the Catholic Church"[49].

---

[43] Bruce F. Pauley. The Social and Economic Background of Austria's Lebensunfähigkeit, *Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918-1934*, Ed. Anson Rabinbach, Westview Press, 1985, p.22
[44] Ibid., pp.23-26
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] SDAP obtained 43.4 percent of the seats in the Assembly with 40.76 percent of the national vote, while Christian Socials 35.93 percent and German Nationalists 18.36 percent of the vote; and together 54.7 percent of the seats. (Helmut Gruber. *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934*, Oxford Uni. Press, 1991, p. 21)
[49] C. Jeffery, ibid., p.10

This cooperation, on the ground of passing some welfare legislation, however; counted as a sign of "…removing the revolutionary edge from the movement and in supporting bourgeois democracy, inclusive of the capitalist economic system"[50].

The Social Democrats, called as Austro-Marxists, were a group of Marxist thinkers in Vienna and included the intellectual leaders of the Austrian socialist movement, such as Max Adler (1873-1937), Otto Bauer[51] (1881-1938), Karl Renner (1870-1950), and Rudolf Hilferding (1877-1941).[52] Defined by Anson Rabinbach as,

> …undogmatic view of Marxism as an empirical social science that had programmatic implications for the development of socialist institutions and for the creation of a new type of individual,[53]

Austro-Marxism, however; saw their role in Austria as the stabilization of the new – and still clearly nonsocialist – status quo, despite their commitment in theory to major social change[54]. Being the strongest critic of cultural policies of the period, Helmut Gruber, at that point describes Austro-Marxism in two separate bodies; the first one, a small group of Marxist theoreticians and intellectuals – mentioned above – as a school of Marxism and the second one, the group of SDAP doers and reformers – leading figures in municipal and provincial governments –.[55] The gap between the theory and practice together with other arguments will be one of the main discussions in following chapters.

In this context; pressed between the extremes of conservative German Social Democratic reformism and a radical Leninist Bolshevism in Russia, it can be said that Social Democrats chose a third way, democratic socialism – a model for new nonSoviet left[56] – in order to create middle class, where the population consisted of the poor on the one hand and the rich on the other basically. In the way to socialism without revolution, they preferred the state to be remained in the capitalist and democratic system. Their approach to the

---

[50] Wilhelm Kainrath. <u>Die Gesellschaftspolitische Bedeutung des kommunalen Wohnhaus im Wien des Zwischenkriegzeit</u>, *Kommunaler Wohnungsbau in Wien*, Vienna, 1978, p.1; quoted from Peter Marcuse, ibid., p.210
[51] Otto Bauer was regarded as the leading thinker of the Austro-Marxists.
[52] E. Blau, ibid., p.23
[53] Anson Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918-1934*, Westview Press, 1985, p.3
[54] P. Marcuse, ibid., p. 203
[55] Helmut Gruber (1991), ibid., p.30
[56] "Both the Eurosocialist and Eurocommunist movements of the 1970s saw in the democratic emphases and ideological pluralism of the Vienna Socialists a model for a new nonSoviet left." (A. Rabinbach, ibid., p.8)

problem of system was announced in a SPO publication even before the World War I, as: "They did not want to destroy the house in which they lived but wished to make it inhabitable for all its residents."[57]

2.1.1   Vienna as the Enclave

The house[58] Social Democrats lived in was in fact the city Vienna, which was the capital of the Austrian part of the Dual Monarchy. Its status continued after the war, but this time, located at the eastern extremity of the country geographically. Looking to demographic information there, its population in 1910 was 2.1 million which was modest for the capital of an empire of over fifty-two million people[59]. However; with the Monarchy gone, it became the capital of a hinterland of only 4.4 million people.[60] Furthermore, besides the rich, the larger part of Austria's unemployed together with the civil servants and light industry members, who lost their markets after the reconstruction of the state, were living in Vienna.[61]

Although the socialists could not achieve an electoral majority on the national level as mentioned before, after the 1919 municipal elections their political hegemony in Vienna was absolute regarding their policy interested in working-class living in miserable conditions. The Social Democratic Party received 54 percent of the vote and 100 out of 165 seats on the city council.[62]

After 1920, as a result of Article 114 of the Federal Constitution, the capital achieved the status of a Province or State, "…which allowed it to operate with some independence of the federal government in matters of finance and administration."[63] Thus, together with the political hegemony, the situation of the capital allowed the SDAP to formulate socialism on

---

[57] Das Grosse Erbe, p.30; quoted from Melanie A. Sully, Social Democracy and the Political Culture of the First Republic, *Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918-1934*, Ed. Anson Rabinbach, Westview Press, 1985, p. 58
SPO is a synonym for SDAP (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs*).
[58] The term house was referred as the strength of Social Democrats. Vienna, being the largest industrial center, was the most significant supporter of the party.
[59] B. Pauley, ibid., p.29
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] E. Blau, ibid., p.33
[63] A. Rabinbach (1985), ibid., p.4

the municipal level as a showcase, in other words; "socialism in one city"[64] was experienced.

One of the most critical comments on this exercise was found in Charlie Jefferey's noticeable book "Social Democrats in the Austrian Provinces, 1918-1934: Beyond Red Vienna". According to the author, until 1980s the history of First Republic was concentrated on high politics of the Social Democratic Party in Vienna and restricted to, the party's national level leaders, their ideas and the policies they develop both for the national stage and for their municipal power base in Red Vienna itself. [65]

Within this understanding of history of the period, the terms Red Vienna, Austro-Marxist and Social Democracy were used without any distinction. However; to discuss the history upon Vienna dominated agenda only, according to him, was to approach the subject above.[66] Therefore, while restructuring the history, he considers Social Democratic movement in Austria as a whole, beyond Vienna. And the question of the book why such a movement "…come to disintegrate and be destroyed just fourteen years after successfully leading the transition to democratic government in Austria after the First World War"[67], finds its answer in neglecting of periphery, which resulted in facilitating to erode the power bases and morale of Social Democracy in the provinces by antisocialist front, even though half of the party's electoral support was from outside Vienna, the provinces[68].

Thus, as surrounded by mainly the conservative rural, the most significant urban enclave, Vienna, together with a few large and integrated industrial areas in provinces, could be regarded as isolated enclaves, that were perceived in conservative culture as "enemy within"[69] committed to overthrowing the established order.

---

[64] Besides judicial regulations on economical and political regulations, the most important practice Social Democrats utilizing was massive council housing program with re-education of the supporters into new proletarian culture, which was realized mainly in the city Vienna.
[65] C. Jeffery, ibid., p.1
[66] Ibid., pp.4-5
[67] Ibid., p.10
[68] Ibid., p.3
He describes the classic milieux of the Austrian provinces as; manual worker communities with strong, often vehemently anti-clericalist Social Democratic party, trade union traditions, and conservative, normally staunchly anti-socialist, rural communities pervaded by the influence of the Catholic Church.
[69] Ibid., p.19

2.2 AUSTRO-MARXISM THROUGH *BILDUNG*[70]

Through the evolutionary transition to socialism within the framework of the postwar democratic state, the established order, which served for the aristocracy before, has been changed to a large extent, starting with new judicial regulations on political level and followings "municipal socialism", which was consisted of a series of reforms in Vienna. Through these changes,

> [t]he socialist leaders believed that Austro-Marxism, unlike other versions of Marxism, could fulfill the promised foretaste of the socialist utopia in the present. When Otto Bauer spoke of "a revolution of in the soul of man," he implied much more than the elevation of oppressed and deprived proletarians through *Bildung* in order to make them conscious actors in the dialectical unfolding of history.[71]

Regarding consciousness, one of the main arrangements in the regulation was passing the suffrage law on January 1919, which extended the franchise to women as well as a secret ballot, and one month later a renovation in municipal voting rights, which would have included all Austrian citizens over the age of twenty who had been residents of Vienna before the first day of the election year.[72] Meanwhile, this formation also helped to strengthen to power of Social Democrats, which can be seen evidently in municipal elections held one month later.

Besides the basic rights of citizenship; organization of the issues related to working sphere was as much important as the previous subject. However; although working space was paid little attention in the policies, the work hours and payment of the workers, especially for women[73], played a significant role in improving the condition of the working-class family. Since Austro-Marxism,

---

[70] Translated into English as "education", however; as Gruber mentions, "The Austromarxist heritage of *Bildung* was translated by the reformers into the 'politics of pedagogy'." (H. Gruber 1991, ibid., p.36)

[71] Helmut Gruber. The "New Women": Realities and Illusions of Gender Equality in Red Vienna, *Women and Socialism / Socialism and Women: Europe between the two World Wars*, Ed. Helmut Gruber and Pamela Graves, Berghahn Books, 1998, p.56

[72] E. Blau, ibid., p.33

[73] Female workers constituted 40 percent of the labor force in the period. (H. Gruber 1998, ibid., p.69)

> ...appeared to reject the accepted Marxist canon, which anticipated the dissolution of the family under capitalism and its replacement by communal forms of social organization,[74]

the opposite form, "nuclear family model"[75] was preferred and the most important figure in this organization, women, in this regard, was given some significant rights, such as equalization of the payment with male workers, and shortened workday together with other municipal organizations.[76] However; the emphasis on women, with other implications on their daily life that will be mentioned later extensively, was criticized strongly because of labeling women as "mother, wife and worker" instead of freeing them, in order to assure the reproduction of the labor force.

In the way to socialism, culture was seen as the weapon for the class struggle.[77] Therefore, in order to create class consciousness among workers, SDAP's splendent practice, municipal socialism, with housing, health, pedagogical reforms and innovations, was materialized in Vienna, where its power could manage the program.

2.2.1 "Municipal Socialism" and *Wohnpolitik*

The program "municipal socialism", which represented Austro-Marxism in Vienna, is discussed under four headings by Blau, which are;

- Administrative reorganization,

- Public health and welfare,

- Education and culture, and

- Building program.[78]

---

[74] H. Gruber (1991), ibid., p.147

[75] "The nuclear family model became pervasive in Vienna and other European cities only between the late nineteenth century and the early 1920s, as an adaptation to changing productive techniques of high industrial capitalism, which demanded a stable worker existence and assured reproduction of labor." (Ibid., p.146)

[76] Ibid., p.150

[77] Helmut Gruber. Socialist Party Culture and the Realities of Working-Class Life in Red Vienna, *Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism,1918-1934*, Ed. Anson Rabinbach, Westview Press, 1985, p.230

[78] E. Blau, ibid., pp.36-45

Following the same order; being partioned into seven divisions of the *Magistrat* – the administrative department which was responsible for municipal operations –, it was tried to close the gap between it and the upper levels of government and to redistribute some of the executive powers and administrative duties of the mayor.[79] This organization also helped to have a complete control over the operational functions of the city administration.[80] Declared on 31 May 1920, mentioned divisions were,

- Personnel (*Personalangelegenheiten und Verwaltungsreform*)

- Finance (*Finanzwesen*)

- Public Health and Welfare (*Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen, Jugendfürsorge und Gesundheitswesen*)

- Social Policy and Housing (*Sozialpolitik und Wohnungswesen*)

- Public Works and Technical Infrastructure (*Technische Angelegenheiten*)

- Food and Stores (*Ernährungs- und Wirtschaftsangelegenheiten*)

- General Administration (*Allgemeine Verwaltungsangelegenheiten*)

- Urban Enterprises (*Städtische Unternehmungen*)[81]

The names of the divisions can be regarded as a sign which reflects the socialist program in the progress in the beginning of 1920s, not directly but especially for a certain group of inhabitants, the working-class.

One of the major components of the program was the Department of Public Health and Welfare, under the direction of Dr. Julius Tandler, a prominent physician and anatomist. Besides dealing with the health problems, especially the tuberculosis[82] – which was widespread among the working-class neighborhoods due to the miserable conditions –, the Welfare Department with a number of institutions had a task of "rearing the next

---

[79] Ibid., p.37
[80] Ibid., p.38
[81] Ibid.
[82] In that period, it was known as "Viennese disease". (Ibid.)

generation"[83]. In other words, within the mission of creating a new proletarian culture, the office had the privilege to provide temporary or alternative care, where the family failed to provide optimal conditions.[84] Criticized as interventionist by a large number of authors, the department had various institutions; such as Marriage Consultation Center, Youth Consultation Center, Kindergarten Training Institution, etc. and it was also interested in other welfare facilities, for instance public bathing and swimming, and municipal burial and cemetery services. Thus, looking to mentioned organizations, it is clear that the department was charged not only with the physical health but also the social health of the working-class. However; regarding the social one especially, the interventionist position of the office by specialists and professionally trained experts implied a change of the behavior of the working-class under the control of the government.[85] That is to say, proletariat was taken as a "passive entity"[86] which can be formed under certain operations – through *Bildung* – in the way to *Neue Menschen[87]*.

As Rabinbach states;

> [t]he party's housing, health and, above all, pedagogical reforms and innovations were more than the model of a future socialist society. They were the party's central motif: institutionalism was its real strategy…It is no accident, therefore, that the party's left wing was so closely associated with the educational and youth movement. Max Adler's remark that the burden of future democracy did not lie in "politics but in pedagogy" captured this essential truth of the Austrian Socialists.[88]

In other words, cultural education[89] was one of the bases in the program as informing the workers about their new culture. Created by the party itself, mainly two organizations were established. As Gruber mentions, their names and the activities included were like;

---

[83] H. Gruber (1998), ibid., p.64
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] H. Gruber (1991), ibid., p.147
[87] The term is used to imply the new proletarian culture, emerging working-class.
[88] A. Rabinbach (1985), ibid., p.188
[89] Regarding the formal education in public schools there were also made certain regulation changes since the system, which had old hierarchical class divisions, was established under the monarchy. With the public education program, the divisions "…and corporal punishment were abolished, tracking was postponed in order to give working-class students increased access to higher education, school administration was democratized, parents' associations were established…". Furthermore, to the students free books and educational materials were given and libraries were established. (E. Blau, ibid., p.41)

- Socialist cultural center (*Sozialistische Bildungszentrale*): Press and publication, the lecture department, worker libraries, schools of party functionaries, festival culture, excursions and vacations

- Socialist art center (*Sozialistische Kunststelle*): Music, theater, radio, film[90]

Within these organizations, the main aim, stated by Gruber, was to "…appropriate for the workers the best of elite/bourgeois culture, and at the same time to create a closed proletarian counterculture for a socialist society"[91] in a collective and democratic way. Although these organizations were thought to operate on the national level, the major percent was pursued in Vienna.[92]

Besides the transformation of the daily life of the working-class, its private sphere, their houses, was another concentration spot in terms of the newly created counterculture due to the inability to alter the capitalist system, which obstacled any intervention through the working place. This program, realized in Vienna, was the massive council housing program for mainly the working-class, which "…had been at the mercy of landlords, who were permitted by the tolerant Christian Social municipal administration to raise rents arbitrarily and to refuse to make even basic repairs, and to evict at will"[93] until 1918.

The socialists, before the war, had a theoretical position on housing as it was in the revolutionary tradition, that socialism was a prerequisite to solving the housing program, as Engels put forward.[94] Thus, the theory and practice, before 1918, was concentrated on working place. However, without revolution, the main concern was relocated to the private sphere due to some reasons, which were mainly, as Marcuse explains:

- The impact of the housing situation on the party's natural constituency

- The direct extraparliamentary demands of the ill-housed

- The electoral situation[95]

---

[90] H. Gruber (1991), ibid., p.82
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid., p.22
[94] P. Marcuse, ibid., p.204
[95] Ibid., p.205

Together with the rent control laws of 1917-1918, which resulted in the expulsion of subtenants and bedrenters,[96] massive demonstrations, in front of the city halls by ill-housed,[97] accelerated the party to take action.

In this context, the story of the housing program between the years 1918 and 1934 in Vienna can be grouped under three headings:

- Eviction and rent control

In order to have control over the private housing market, the rents were fixed under a formula, which compelled the landlords to return on prewar rents, which were not adjusted for inflation. The cost of operation and maintenance became the landlord's concern. Moreover, private housing, which was underutilized or vacant, was requisitioned and reallocated.[98]

- Legitimization of squatter on green belt

The settlements on green belt of the city were awarded legal status and provided with architectural services, materials, transportation and utilities. Besides, garden city like developments were built, and assistance in construction and financing was also provided while permitting individual ownership.[99]

- New housing program

Within this council housing program, SDAP achieved a splendent serie of massive housing. Called as *Gemeindebauten*[100], these buildings, including communal facilities, were constructed directly by municipality having the ownership of them.[101] In order to finance the construction in a downturn, a creative plan was implemented by the party. The construction was mainly dependent on annual housing tax taken from wealthier residents

---

[96] Because of high rents the tenants had generally subtenants and bedrenters, who were sleeping on tenants' beds when they were at working place.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Information about the subject was obtained from P. Marcuse, ibid., p.207
[99] Information about the subject was obtained from P. Marcuse, ibid., p.207
[100] The building type will be mentioned in the next chapter extensively.
[101] P. Marcuse, ibid., p.

and luxury taxes levied against all objects and means of entertainment associated with middle class consumption.[102]

As a result of the program, 64.125 new dwellings with communal facilities were constructed and 2.145 ones renovated or requisitioned by the municipality in the period 1918-1934.[103] Although the numbers are fascinating regarding the economical condition of the republic, the building program is criticized in terms of adequacy as well, by Gruber:

> In practical terms the Socialists' municipal housing program did little to alleviate the dire needs of the working population. The 63.000 apartments which were built by 1934 accounted for 10 percent of all domiciles. But nearly half of these fell into the construction program of 1928-1933, so that for most of the period the impact of new housing was much smaller. Most of the Viennese population continued to live much as they had before, under conditions which the Socialists repeatedly described as less than human.[104]

Moreover, the most critical comment on the building program is rested upon the relation between housing problem and socialism because the problem of housing for proletariat was not discussed for the first time in the period of the First Republic by Social Democrats. Between 1870 and the turn of the century there was a search for improving the living conditions of the lower classes by liberal reformers.[105] One of their proposals was a worker barrack which included communal facilities such as laundries, bath houses, clinics, and central heating and common dining rooms, however; the project was not realized due to the possibility of creating a radical movement within the communal life.[106] Thus, regarding also other implemented projects[107], it is hard to say that the program was "an original socialist conception or demand but [it was] rested on liberal reform ideas and experiments of the late nineteenth century"[108].

---

[102] H. Gruber (1985), ibid., p.232
[103] E. Blau, ibid., p.44
[104] H. Gruber (1985), ibid., p.234-235
[105] Ibid., p.232
[106] Ibid.
[107] For example, the Stiftungshof and Lobmeyerhof of the year 1900 were constructed by a private foundation.
[108] Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHITECTURAL PRODUCTION IN VIENNA AND KARL MARX HOF

A house may be large or small; as long as the neighboring houses are likewise small, it satisfies all social requirements for a residence. But let there arise next to the little house a palace, and the little house shrinks to a hut. The little house now makes it clear that its inmate has no social position at all to maintain, or but a very insignificant one; and however high it may shoot up in the course of civilization, if the neighboring palace rises in equal or even in greater measure, the occupant of the relatively little house will always find himself more uncomfortable, more dissatisfied, more cramped within his four walls.

Karl Marx

In order to be able to have a dynamic understanding of domestic "space" of a city, it is intended to analyze the space production of Vienna regarding the period before and after the World War I within the political reflections of the class struggle among aristocracy, bourgeoisie and proletariat.

At that point; Madanipour's analysis of "the intersection between space production and everyday life practices"[109] will be main tool in explaining the material space and its social connotations what the mode of production within capitalism bears. However the power of ruling class changes hands among the classes, the impact of power produces its own space, in which a part of society is excluded and the leftover included. Madanipour states this point of view as;

---

[109] Ali Madanipour. Social Exclusion and Space, *Social Exclusion in European Cities: Processes, Experiences and Responses*. Ed. A. Madanipour, G. Cars & J. Allen. Routledge, 2003, p.80

The overall constitution of the social world is such that different forms of exclusion are fundamental to any social relationship. For example, the division of social life into public and private spheres means drawing boundaries around some spatial and temporal domains and excluding others from these domains. In this way, exclusion becomes an operating mechanism, an institutionalized form of controlling access: to places, to activities, to resources and to information.[110]

He describes the dimensions of the social world in which inclusion and exclusion take place, as economic, political and cultural; and explains,

- Economic exclusion as lack of access to resources, such as poverty and unemployment

- Political exclusion as lack of political representation

- Cultural exclusion as to stay out of shared set of symbols and meanings, such as language, religion or the patterns of consumption.[111]

In the Viennese context after the war, regarding these exclusionary dimensions, especially the political one was tried to be solved by passing the suffrage law to franchise women in whole Austria and citizens over the age of twenty in Vienna. However, the economic and cultural exclusions concerning mainly the proletariat remained questionable. Putting aside the cultural exclusion / inclusion matter for the next chapter, regarding the economical condition of Austria, the representatives of working-class were unable to create new work areas in favor of not changing the existing system. Moreover, as mentioned before, the aim to provide housing for a part of society did not achieve its highest goal and only 10.8 percent of worker-class population was living in the new municipal housing; which means that people living in bad conditions together with the subtenants and bedrenters continued to live in the same way. Indeed, workers having the opportunity to live in new dwellings were still renters, not of the landlord but the municipality this time. This condition, together with the control mechanism of municipality – will be mentioned extensively in the next chapter – was criticized by Gruber as:

The arbitrary and invidious power of the slum landlord was a thing of the past; however, the regulations of the municipal projects – all in the spirit of creating

---

[110] Ibid., p.76
[111] Ibid., pp.77-78

the *ordentliche Familie* – still left the worker-tenants the objects of superior (but wiser?) forces.[112]

As he brings to the agenda the comparison of the ownership of landlords and socialist municipality, in other words bourgeoisie and proletariat in the profound meaning, this quotation gives rise to the discussion to be revolved around the private property issue. Called as theft by Proudhon[113], it is described by Madanipour as:

…historically established, spatial form of an individual's sphere of control. [114]

Represented by the private sphere[115], private wealth was also continually re-defined within the transformation of the concepts, "public" and "private". Differed from the modern understanding of that being a commodity "…which is easily exchanged in the marketplace" [116], before the modern age it was referred to "…a condition for the membership of a free society"[117] by Arendt cited in Madanipour. Following the same statement, it provided a location, from which a person enters into the public realm, whereas the slave having not a private place of his / her own was no longer in human condition and could not represent himself / herself in the public realm, in the political arena.[118] In other words, private property was regarded as a means for pursuing a political life.[119]

Within the period of industrialization, from a Marxist point of view, it was related to the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat, i.e. capital and wage labor. [120] Capital refers here to property and a result of exploited labor. [121] It was actually the reason why Proudhon defined the property as theft. Although providing different solutions to the

---

[112] H. Gruber (1985), ibid., p.235
[113] A. Madanipour (2003a), ibid., p.54
Proudhon, calling himself as anarchist, refers land as a common thing, not as a private issue, and according to him the regulation of the land should be done "…not for the profit of a few, but in the interest and for the security of all". In other words, the society will be the owner of the land, since "…the equality of rights, in the case of a commodity which is limited in amount, can be realized only by equality of possession". (Pierre Joseph Proudhon. What is Property, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p.92)
[114] Ibid., p.53
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid., p.54
[118] Hannah Arendt. *The Human Condition*, The University of Chicago Press, 1958, p.64
[119] Ibid., pp.64-65
[120] A. Madanipour (2003a), ibid., p.57
[121] Ibid.

problem of private property, [122] from both points of views, it can be said clearly that working-class was unable to provide a private sphere, in which its boundaries were controlled by themselves, within the capitalist mode of production.

In this context, returning to the basic definition of the private property by Madanipour; the owners of the private sphere have the opportunity to "…regulate their social interactions, and the balance between being on their own and being with others, both in space and time" through the control of its boundaries.[123] This statement, however, does not bear what happens when private sphere of individuals was not only owned – as renter – but also controlled by others, hesitating to show it explicitly. In this case, a different – new in this sense – definition was required for this part of society and this definition would also answer other questions related to their public and private spheres regarding the relations of power.

Thus, regarding the domestic space as a private property, space production of a city, which reflects the basic components of the discussion within its immense housing production by bourgeoisie and proletariat representatives, it will be tried to understand the underlying impulses within the production of domestic space. Moreover, through the redefinition of public and private realms in the municipal building program, especially in one of the biggest projects, Karl Marx Hof, the question whether the transformation would bear socialist spatial inventions[124] or just a redefinition of exclusionary aspects of control mechanism by ruling-class through blurring the boundaries of private and public spaces will be tried to answer.

---

[122] Whereas Proudhon was supporting the idea of abolishing the private property, Engels was, instead, for the idea of abolishing the capitalist mode of production. (Frederick Engels. *The Housing Question*, Progress Publishers, 1970, p.16-38)

[123] A. Madanipour (2003a), ibid., p.53

[124] Henri Lefebvre in his prominent book questions whether socialism produced its own space or not. In the way to finding an answer for that, within the criticism of Soviet socialism, he refers to simple technical improvements for detail instead of creation of different spatial practices. However, according to him "[a] revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential; indeed it has failed in that it has not changed life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses." (Henri Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*, Blackwell Publishing, 2010, pp.54-60)

3.1   FORMATION OF A CITY'S PRIVATE SPHERE, HOUSING

Concentration on a city's architectural production reminds Lefebvre's famous statement that "every society produces its space"[125]. However; following the same statement, his more striking remark is that:

> [a]ny 'social existence' aspiring or claiming to be 'real', but failing to produce its own space, would be a strange entity, a very peculiar kind of abstraction unable to escape from the ideological or even the 'cultural' realm. It would fall to the level of folklore and sooner or later disappear altogether, thereby immediately losing its identity, its denomination and its feeble degree of reality.[126]

Questioning the production of socialist space, according to him, related to the invention of new spatial practices and with this quotation he comes up with a result that if there is not a production of space of a system, it means that it is stuck within its ideological or cultural space. Thus, Lefebvre prefers here to distinguish ideology and practice, i.e. lived and concealed[127], referring to the term ideology with negative connotations.

Keeping in mind the discussion about ideology and practice within the creation of space, Steinert, an Austrian sociologist, has another approach about the production of space, especially about a city's layout and architecture, which regards the space as a physical tool in analyzing the domination in the city. Based on Horkheimer and Adorno's "culture industry", he defines the theory analysis of the city as; "…how the classes define and represent themselves and each other in their struggles over who owns the city."[128]

According to him, this struggle is reflected upon buildings, streets, squares, parks and their various uses and, this formation of the city represents both dominant powers and powerless.[129] In other words; a city can be regarded as a tool of power, not only as symbolic but also as physical, in a direct manner.

Describing the layout of the city as a representation of power implies the ruling-class' demonstration of power over the society through public sphere – and also with their

---

[125] H. Lefebvre, ibid., p.31
[126] Ibid., p.53
[127] Ibid.
[128] Heinz Steinert. Culture Industry Cities: From Discipline to Exclusion, From Citizen to Tourist, *City*, 13:2, 2009, p.280
[129] Ibid., pp.280-281

private properties – mainly. However; the domestic space, i.e. private sphere, of other classes plays also significant role in that struggle since it conveys the traces of power relations of public sphere, both visible and invisible. Moreover, within the changes of power relations in that period, the effects can be observed more easily as the defined areas of both realms are formed according to each' transformation. Put it another way, Sargın summarizes this point in his challenging article as,

> An ordinary individual has to sustain his / her life in a place that ruling class has signed and assumed as a safe place and has to share his / her private and public life within this invisible dominant power. [130]

Regarding the "private" and "public" realms, Özgenel, in her dissertation, describes the power of dichotomy between these terms as having several demarcations, such as between intimacy and sociability, between the private world of the domestic sphere and the public world of the social (political, economical) sphere and between the self (individual) and the community, etc.[131] One of these demarcations, between the domestic sphere and social sphere, is a significant departure point for the research while understanding the reflections of power relations belonging to the public sphere on the private one.

At that point, as Sargın points out, it is important to remember that privacy may also have an economical definition besides the cultural one[132], which means an economic limitation on the spatial qualities of the private sphere. This limitation may also refer to the limits of social and political representation of self.

Therefore; as being one of the significant private properties, the dwelling will be addressed as a matter, which implies the power of a class' ability both in economic and cultural arena, which gives rise to be able to have power in the political one.

---

[130] The original statement in Turkish: "Sıradan birey, gündelik hayatına dair her şeyi iktidar sahiplerinin işaretlediği ve emin olduğu varsayılan bir mekânda sürdürmek ve hem mahrem hem de kamusal hayatını bile görünmez egemenle paylaşmak zorundadır…" (Güven Arif Sargın by the author, "Denetim ve Nesneleştirmenin Aracı Olarak Kamusal Mahremiyet", Arredamento Mimarlık, 2006, p.56)
[131] L. Özgenel, ibid., p.15
[132] G. A. Sargın, ibid., p.54

3.1.1 The Palace of Aristocracy – The House of Bourgeoisie

Domestic space of aristocracy with antagonism of that bourgeoisie will not be mentioned in the sense of an analysis of a historical period, instead, while mentioning significant examples and commentaries on it by valuable critics, it will be tried to examine the underlying reasons in process and the reflections of them on architecture in the context of Vienna.

As mentioned before, within the modernization process of Vienna, under the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph I, razing of the medieval city walls created the space necessary for the *Ringstraße*, which was to surround the inner city[133] (Figure 3.1). However; the plan was not only the construction of the boulevard, but also new public buildings – like parliament, city hall, museums of art and natural history (Figure 3.2) – with emerged "palatial apartment blocks – as monumental in scale as the public buildings – that housed the haute bourgeoisie".[134]

The architecture of the *Ringstraße*, in that period known as *Gründerzeit*,[135] is criticized as historicist in the design principles by critics – the first statement by Steinert, and the second one by Haiko – as:

> … [T]hey had no style of their own but imitated their palaces – between Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque. The result was the *Gründerzeit* style: ornament overload, all façade, presumptuous and nouveau riche.[136]

> Conceived in 1857, the *Ringstraße* was essentially completed in the 1870s and 1880s. All the buildings, whether public or private, conform in their architectural appearance to historicist principal of design; that is, they refer back to older styles, especially in their formal details.[137]

---

[133] The construction phase of the Ringstraße was between the years 1857 and 1880s. (P. Haiko, ibid., p.9)

[134] E. Blau, ibid., p.52

[135] The period was called as *Gründerzeit*, which architecture also named as *Gründerzeit* architecture by the critics referred in the research.

[136] H. Steinert, ibid., p.281

[137] P. Haiko, ibid., p.9

Figure 3.1: A view from the *Ringstraβe*, c. 1880

Figure 3.2: *Gründerzeit* public buildings, 2011
(In the order of the parliament, the opera and the museum of natural history)

Figure 3.3: *Hofburg* Palace, 2011

This criticism, regarding the Ringstraβe and *Gründerzeit* architecture, not only involved the public buildings, which was representing the aristocratic self-confidence[138], but also the private palatial apartment blocks owned by bourgeoisie. The haute bourgeoisie in that period in Vienna were described by Haiko as mainly bankers and merchants "…who had become immensely wealthy over a relatively short time (usually three generations)".[139]

These apartment blocks by bourgeoisie were built in the same style and this similarity can be read not only on the façade organization but also on the spatial arrangement in plan, which was discussed mainly by Haiko and Blau. While Haiko is more concentrating on similar features between aristocratic palace and bourgeois apartment block, Blau is after the similarities on the planimetric characteristics regarding the transformation of the plan of bourgeois housing through proletarian one.

Haiko, in his book "Viennese Architecture 1850-1930", gives an example of bourgeois apartment block on the *Ringstraβe*, namely *Schottenring 21*. He describes the building mainly according to three aspects, related to:

- Its style

- Exterior design qualities emphasized on *bel étage* (second floor)

- Interior spatial layout

Putting aside the commentaries on it, the formal language of the building can be summarized as:

Owned by a rich architect, the building stylistically recalls Neo-Renaissance, the dominant style in Vienna during 1870s and 1880s, which was employed in baroque palaces. Besides the similar features with the old nobility on exterior in a general sense, the most important component designed was the *bel étage* on the façade organization, which was used to emphasize the floor where the owner lived (Figure 3.4). Also following the design principles of baroque palace, upper and lower levels of this floor received less emphasis with less ornamentation on the façade and smaller windows. Moreover, the interior spatial arrangement is also an indicator of the effect of aristocratic palace, but with some

---

[138] H. Steinert, ibid., p.281
[139] P. Haiko, ibid., p.12

dimensional changes, like the ballroom, public sphere of a palace, which became smaller because of the reduced publicness of bourgeoisie.[140]

Figure 3.4: *Bel étage* of *Schottenring*

At that point, it is important to note that the moneyed bourgeoisie, having their representative places like ballrooms and huge rooms for dinners in the *bel étage*, did not need the whole apartment block and rented the rear part for stabilizing their economic ability,[141] which explains the importance of the particular emphasis on the *bel étage*. The inhabitants of the above and below of that floor were from lower social stratum.[142] Thus, while competing for a new status in relation to aristocracy within the effort of developing a style of life appropriate to their social position, bourgeoisie transformed the aristocratic palace regarding their needs and also their position towards to lower classes, both in the

---

[140] Information about the building was obtained from P. Haiko, ibid., pp.12-13
[141] H. Steinert, ibid., p.282
[142] P. Haiko, ibid., p.12

same floor – towards servants – and other floors – towards tenants –, in relation to that of aristocracy towards their servants.

In order to examine the similarities on spatial layout and its results in the transformation of the positions of classes in relation to each other more closely, Blau's description of an upper-middle-class apartment may be helpful. As she defines, the bourgeois apartment block was consisting of principal rooms, which were arranged along the front of the building. They were undifferentiated as to function and were opening into the next. The building also had a small courtyard and airshafts around which housed the service areas, such as backstair, kitchen, bathroom and servants' spaces. Between these spaces there was a long corridor separating the rooms, where the family lived, and the leftover space where the servants can move without disturbing the bourgeois family (Figure 3.5). In other words, it functioned "…both as a channel providing access to all rooms and as a social divider, physically and visually separating the rooms in which the bourgeois owner or tenant lived with his family from the spaces in which the servants labored and lived". Considering the spatial qualities of the bourgeois apartment, Josef Frank stated that these were characteristics of aristocratic spatial organization and were barrowed from baroque palace planning, as cited in Blau's prominent book. [143]
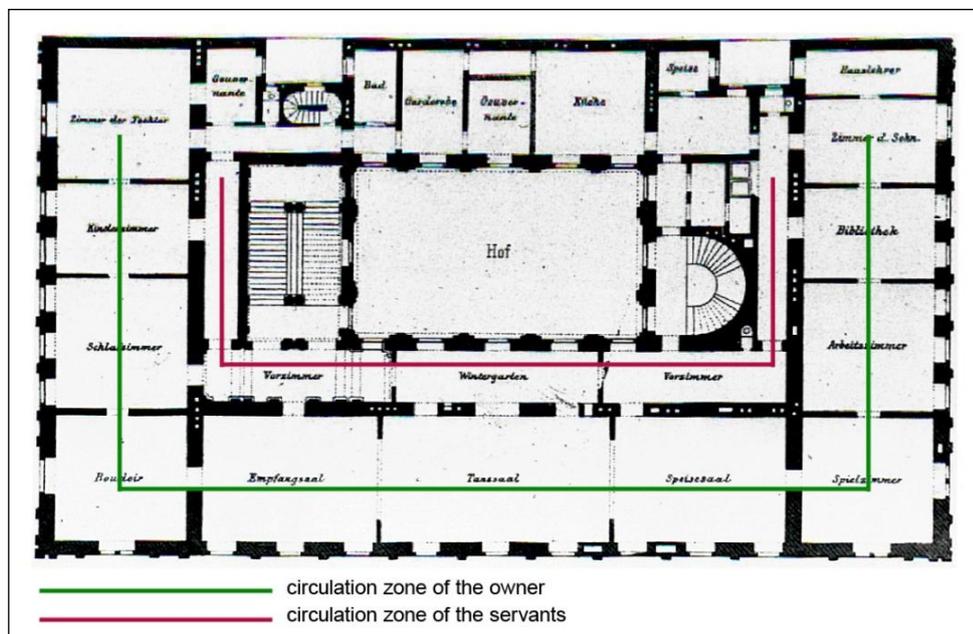
Figure 3.5: Typical *bel étage* floor plan

---

[143] Information about the bourgeois apartment was obtained from E. Blau, ibid., pp.201-202

The imitation of aristocratic palace by bourgeoisie especially on the *bel étage* together with the economic use of the building resulted in both a different definition on public, representative places of the class and the domestic space of the lower-classes on other floors, and in a different definition of the use of aristocratic features. Behind the aristocratic appearance, there was not a palace used by the owner anymore, it was a building with a differentiation in the functional use. The private sphere of the bourgeoisie was represented publicly on one floor, and other floors were devoted for their economic strength.

While aristocratic historicism was ensuring the ongoing power over the subservient bourgeois-class, the same style utilized by bourgeoisie, which enforced the use of expensive ornamentation, was a sign of a struggle in the economic arena, which "…cries out 'we can afford it'".[144]

3.1.2   The House of Bourgeoisie – The Working-Class Housing

The period, when aristocracy was demonstrating its imperial supremacy over the bourgeoisie within architectural language[145] – or put it another way, when the position of bourgeoisie was defined regarding that of aristocracy –, was labeled with industrialization and with its outcome, which was migration of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers into the city, Vienna.[146] The consequence in Vienna, however, was different from other cities in Europe – such as London, Paris and Berlin – in terms of the formation of the urban space. Unlike them, in Vienna workers did not settle in the center, instead they migrated to the periphery due to an issued decree by Francis II in the early-nineteenth century, which prohibited industries from locating inside the city walls mainly.[147]

Since this part of the research concentrates on the urban fabric and the power relations, the industrialization plays a significant role due to the fact that it resulted in rapid increase of the amount of working-class population, which tripled the total number of people in

---

[144] H. Steinert, ibid., p.281
[145] Ibid., pp.280-281
[146] "In the first half of the nineteenth century, patterns of settlement in Vienna were much like those in other industrializing cities in Europe. Over the course of the eighteenth century Vienna had grown steadily as a manufacturing and distribution center for textiles (particularly silk), furniture, leather, paper and luxury goods." (E. Blau, ibid., p.53)
[147] Ibid.

inner and outer suburbs of Vienna.[148] The boom in the population resulted in emerging proletarian dwellings and within the exemplification of the urban ones; the aim will be to situate the position of the working-class in relation to bourgeoisie.

The industrialization, of course, did not resulted directly in urban settlements in nineteenth century. Before, called as utopias at that time, worker colonies and worker-housing around the factories in rural areas were assigned to provide housing for the proletariat with social facilities in them. Seen also in Austria relatively later than other cities in Europe[149], the dwellings – *Musterarbeitersiedlungen* – however, were criticized strongly. Weihsmann, for example, in his book "*Das Rote Wien*" states:

> It remains to note that the settlements represent certainly no utopias in the sense of revolutionary social utopian but had fallen into a political instrument of power and control. The industrialists were able to eliminate the urban market competition monopoly prices for their workers set (housing, food, clothing, transportation, entertainment, etc.) and, moreover, were protected from labor unrest. The workers were not only separated from their class and their organizational forms, they risked over this, in a strike, their jobs but also losing their homes. The patron, so-called generous house or factory owner, therefore had the power to control the influence, labor mobility and labor struggles – actually a paradise for entrepreneurs advised utopia for centuries.[150]

The privilege that the factory owner had with the control mechanism of their private sphere was apparently in order to reproduce the labor without any interruption regarding the working-class movement. And however the type of the housing changes in the urban environment, or how much the factory owner became distant from the houses of its workers, the conditions were re-designed for the benefit of the bourgeois-class in whose hands the power of capitalism was re-shaped.

---

[148] Ibid., p.65

[149] Helmut Weihsmann. *Das Rote Wien: Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934*, Wien: Promedia, 2002, p.65

[150] The original statement in German: "Es bleibt zu bemerken, dass diese Werksiedlungen sicherlich keine Utopien im Sinn der revolutionären Sozialutopisten darstellen, sondern zu einem politischen Instrument der Macht und der Kontrolle geraten waren. Die Industriellen konnten durch die Beseitigung der städtischen Konkurrenz des Marktes Monopolpreise für ihre Arbeiter (Wohnung, Essen, Kleidung, Verkehr, Vergnügen etc.) festsetzen und waren überdies vor Arbeiterunruhen geschützt. Die Arbeiter waren nicht nur von ihrer Klasse und deren Organisationsformen getrennt; sie riskierten über dies, bei einem Streik nicht nur ihren Arbeitsplatz, sondern auch ihre Wohnung zu verlieren. Der angeblich so großzügige Patron bzw. Haus- und Fabriksherr hatte somit die Macht und den Einfluβ, Arbeitsmobilität und Arbeitskämpfe zu kontrollieren – eigentlich eine zum realen Paradies geratene Utopie für den Unternehmer." (H. Weihsmann, ibid., p.66)

In the period, when migration resulted in increase of the population in outer districts of Vienna, the bourgeoisie developed the mass rent building for the workers – urban form of the factory settlement – with distinctive features. Being behind a *Gründerzeit* façade, these buildings with their small flats and courtyards, according to Steinert, produced the space, in which lower classes were defined by the bourgeoisie.[151]

In order to look more closely for their spatial layout, the descriptions of them by Blau can be very useful. Putting aside the preindustrial pattern example in outer districts – *Pawlatschen* house[152] –, the urban settlements' transformation can be regarded as having two phases:

- Tenement house before the rapid migration period

In a short narration; these buildings were called as first *Gangküchenhäuser* (corridor-kitchen houses) or *Bassenahäuser* (water basin houses). They were usually three stories high and U-shaped in the plan. As a basic feature in the floor plan, there was a long corridor, along which water tap and toilet were located. Moreover, the apartments were relatively small and just a combination of one room and a kitchen. Kitchens were opened directly to corridor, which means that in these spaces there was no direct light or air.[153]

- Tenement house after the rapid migration period

Due to the increase in the working-class population, these buildings were usually five or six stories high and instead of being U-shaped, they were rather I-, T-, or H-shaped in plan, which results in having more than one courtyard. Resembling airshafts, the courtyards' dimensions were often less than three meters across. The spatial organization of the floors and apartments was the same with the first *Gangküchenhäuser*, i.e. interior long corridors in the floor plan and one room and a kitchen in the apartment.[154]

---

[151] H. Steinert, ibid., p.281

[152] Pawlatschen house type was an adaptation of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Biedermeier period artisans' houses. Regarding their spatial layout, the Pawlatschen houses were U-shaped in plan and had open galleries and balconies fronting the courtyard. Moreover, they were usually two or three stories high. (E. Blau, ibid., p.64)

[153] The information about the characteristics of the first tenement house obtained from E. Blau, ibid., p.64

[154] The information about the characteristics of the second tenement house obtained from E. Blau, ibid., pp.65-66

Constituting 73 percent of the living quarters in Vienna in 1917 – nevertheless, not sufficient for the working-class population –, these tenement buildings became crowded slums with subtenants and bedrenters due to high rents. [155] This situation of the working-class housing was mainly referred to Philippovich's classical study of housing in Vienna in 1894. As cited in Marcuse's article,

> …dark cellar rooms with water-covered walls; toilets used by 120 persons, habitations which…were scarcely adequate as stalls for domestic animals… The [more] typical apartment of a Viennese worker…consisted usually of one room and a kitchen. Opening on a narrow gangway on each floor of the court side of the house were ten, fifteen, sometimes more, kitchen doors; thus the kitchens usually lacked any direct light. From the kitchen a door led to a room of about 150-180 square feet. Usually two, seldom more, of these apartments per floor had an additional narrow room with only one window, called in Vienna a *Kabinett*…Along the gangway were a few toilets, each of them used by the occupants of two or more apartments. There was one water faucet for the common use of all tenants of a floor.[156]

Therefore the façade organization, same with the upper-middle-class apartment buildings, was a medium which hided the condition of the workers from outsider, in other words the working-class was marginalized as if they did not exist.[157]

The only difference between bourgeois-house and worker-tenement was in the plan, but it can be said that just in the organization of the rooms (Figure 3.6). A single family housing was transformed into a multi-family housing, in other words. Instead of the possibility of passing through rooms, they were arranged separately and the long corridor, which was assigned for the use of servants mainly in the bourgeois house, was still in use but this time for the workers and for added functions, such as water tap and toilet. Thus, it is clear that the owner of these buildings, small investors mainly,[158] having the right to increase the rents arbitrarily and evict the tenants at will before the war,[159] described a social class within their own terms.

Furthermore, regarding the mentioned working-class settlements, it can be said that the ways the factory / house owner and small investors approached to the problematique of

---

[155] E. Blau, ibid., p.79
[156] P. Marcuse, ibid., 202
[157] E. Blau, ibid., p. 69
[158] Ibid., p.78
[159] Ibid., p.79

working-class were different, but they aimed the same, the re-production of their wealth, which resulted in strengthening them in the class struggle with aristocracy.
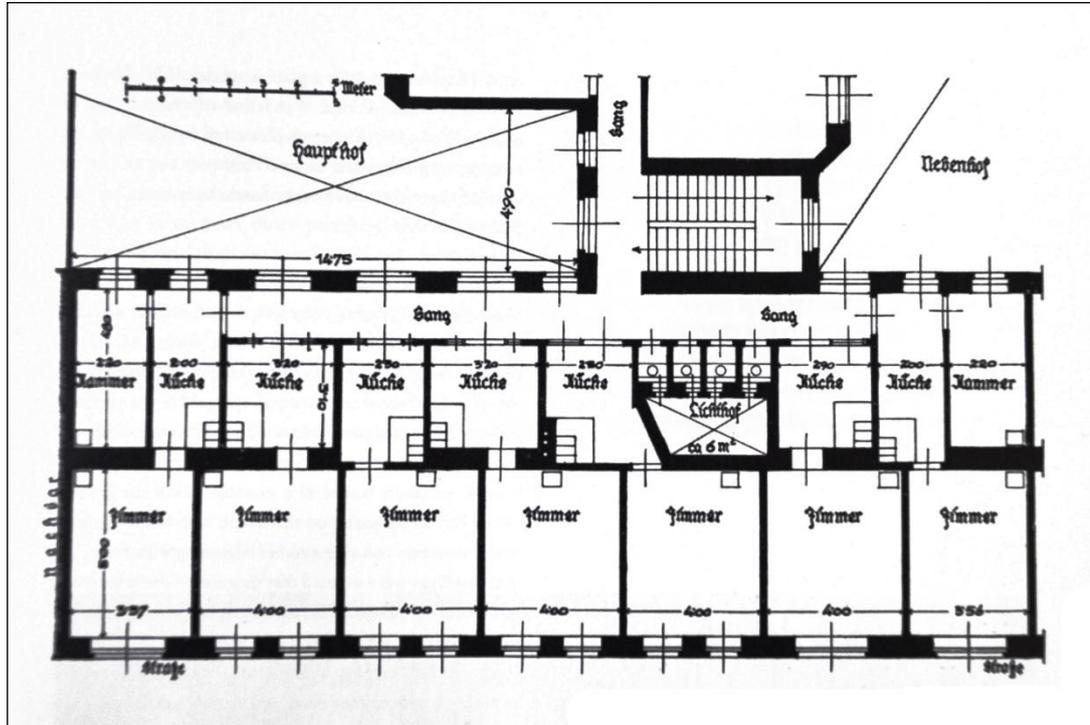
Figure 3.6: Typical tenement plan around 1900

However, after the World War I the situation changed with the collapse of Dual Monarchy, in other words ruling-class' power has changed hands; and within the new system, the power of aristocracy was dissolved. In that time being, as mentioned before, a new municipal government was formed and Austro-Marxists, representatives of working-class, became the owner of the dominant power in Vienna.

Their regulations, firstly based on eviction and rent control for protecting the proletariat from bourgeois-class' applications and then based on housing and luxury taxes, produced a space in which the domestic sphere of working-class could be re-defined.

Keeping in mind the economic background of the First Republic, the construction of settlements by municipality for proletariat was firstly realized within *Siedlungen* in the periphery through assisting the construction and providing infrastructure; and then within

Gemeindebauten in city center through taking whole responsibility regarding the construction, as mentioned before.

Although suburban *Siedlung*-type housing, having a distinctive history of transformation regarding their architectural features,[160] does not fit in the research area, which includes only the urban settlements, the different ways the municipality chose in order to solve the housing problem makes some points significant. Therefore, instead of describing architectural features of it, the municipality's attitudes towards both of the settlement types will be mentioned.

These two types of settlements had very different qualities within the same goal. While the former was a single-house type with a garden built in the suburbs, the latter was a communal *Hof*-type building including various social facilities.

The municipality was not able to provide a big amount of settlements due to the economic conditions in the beginning, therefore; they decided to assist the ongoing settlement movement, *Gartensiedlung*, first by legalizing the existing pattern and then by contributing their development, as mentioned in the second chapter. So, the municipality's role was decided to provide funds, land, public transportation, and urban infrastructure.[161] The leftover, which was design and construction of the buildings, was assisted by cooperative building societies.[162] Moreover, due to the economical difficulties, the settlers were working also in the phase of construction and "…a minimum of 10 to 15 percent of the total estimated building costs were provided by" them[163]. Indeed, regarding their social infrastructure, there were also some institutional buildings, which housed different facilities, such as child-care centers, meeting halls, schools, churches, theaters, etc.[164]

Besides the architectural and economic features, the main point regarding this type of building was the status of settlers as being the owner of the houses in a collective manner. As Blau mentions:

---

[160] However, the type *Siedlung* can also be discussed regarding the power relations between bourgeoisie and proletariat, but on another basis, which is the definition of it by bourgeoisie regarding their new space production, namely modernism.
For further information on Siedlungen, please see E. Blau, ibid., pp.90-133
[161] Ibid., p.92
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid., 95
[164] Ibid., p.96

The houses themselves were cooperatively built and collectively owned with the title retained by the settlement society. Settlers could bequeath houses to family members, but could only sell to the association.[165]

Thus, it can be said that these buildings were the first in which the private sphere of working-class was devoted to the workers themselves with its control mechanisms; they were living in a community and being the owner of their houses they had the power to shape their own space. Moreover, they had the privilege of producing their own food within their allotment gardens, as Adolf Loos pointed out in a demonstration.[166] In other words, the meaning of the domestic sphere was transformed and the house became also a place of production – of which the labor was not exploited –.

Having no root in bourgeois structures, i.e. wage & labor relation, this type of settlement, however, was replaced with the *Gemeindebauten*-type built in the city center mainly in 1920s due to economic and social impulses. Besides the inadequacy of settlements with low density within other infrastructure problems, the economic condition of the municipality was stabilized at the end of 1922 by means of ongoing regulations.[167] So, the municipality became to be able to provide housing for a big amount of working-class population and created a new program, which could accommodate the modern proletariat in "an appropriate form". This change in the form was declared by one of the leaders of the settlement movement in 1924 as – by Otto Neurath –:

> It would not be possible, given the historical conditions, to meet the need for housing by building settlements (*Siedlungen*). There is not enough land…The question at the moment in Vienna is not whether to build apartment blocks, rather where and in what form.[168]

Regarding the new form, Karl Seitz, the mayor of Vienna in that time, made also a declaration in an opening of one of the *Gemeindebauten*:

> Now begins the new building period, in which we will no longer construct small single buildings with narrow courts, but large communal housing complexes, in which the people will live as a mass together, and yet each person, according to his individuality, can also live a particular and private life. The universal need for recreation and relaxation will be provided for in beautiful parks for the use of all. We want to educate our young not as individualists, outsiders, loners.

---

[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid., p.98
[167] Ibid., p.128
[168] P. Marcuse, ibid., p.78

Rather they should be raised communally and be brought up as socialized individuals.[169]

According to these statements, it is clear that the new form was also charged to accommodate working-class as a community, but this time, regarding the principles of design and the administrative conditions it was explicitly differed from the suburban type *Siedlungen*.

Within a formal language, these buildings were designed to accommodate a vast number of workers as tenants; therefore, within the economic condition the idea was to construct high-density buildings within the city center, which would allow creating class-consciousness among them, in other words which would allow the Austro-Marxists shaping a new proletarian counter-culture.

Looking more closely to the architectural layout of this housing type, Weihsmann provides a clear historical section. As he mentions, in the mass building program, there existed some main guiding principles, such as:

- The dimensions of the courtyards with respect to constructed part of the building should have been at least 50 percent of the land area.

- Each apartment should have located facing to either courtyard or street, which allowed to direct light.

- While having water tap in the kitchen, the apartments should have had also a toilet.[170]

Besides these enhancements of the quality of workers' physical life, a vertical service core was provided instead of the long corridor of the tenement buildings which resulted in privacy for the families,[171] as Seitz declared in his speech that "each person, according to his individuality, can also live a particular and private life". While, on the one hand, private sphere of an individual was tried to be achieved, on the other hand within the large courtyards various social facilities were provided where the workers could come together and were socialized, like communal laundries, libraries, clinics, child-care facilities,

---

[169] Ibid.
[170] H. Weihsmann, ibid., p.39
[171] Ibid.

kindergartens, public baths, parks, playgrounds, swimming and wading pools, theaters, lecture halls or exhibitions held in the courtyards. These communal spaces were as important as the private spaces within the cultural program of SDAP.

Within this general layout of the *Gemeindebauten*, in the beginning of 1920s the sizes of apartments were standardized according to two different dimensions; 38 square meters, which constituted 75 percent of the whole *Gemeindebauten* projects, and 48 square meters, 25 percent of that. While in the former one the apartments included just a kitchen and a room in the latter one, a smaller room, *Kabinett*, was added to the standard planning (Figure 3.7). However, in 1927 new types of apartments were introduced, like 21 m^2 with one room, 40 m^2 with one bedroom and one living-room, 49 m^2 with two bedrooms and one living-room and 57 m^2 with two large rooms and one *Kabinett*, whole including a kitchen, or a kitchenette.[172]
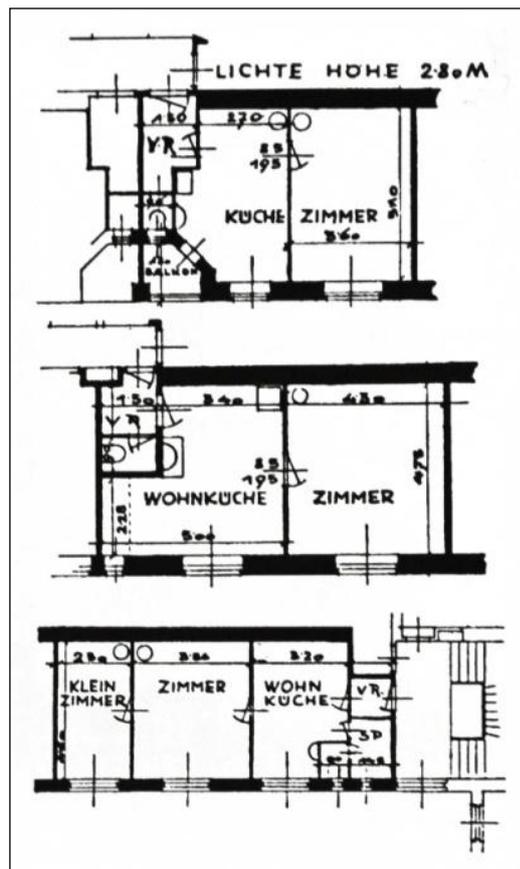
Figure 3.7: Sample floor plans in different sizes, 38-48 m²

---

[172] Information about the types of the apartments was obtained from H. Weihsmann, ibid., p.40

The type *Gemeindebauten* was realized according to these guiding principles which were shaped "…by policy rather than by a precise architectural program"[173]. These programmatic priorities were assigned to improve the living conditions of the working-class while providing social facilities in them. Moreover, considering the earlier mentioned urban settlements for working-class, the façade organization differed from the older ones. In the new program, there was not a distinctive approach to the problem of exterior view, instead it can be said that it was evolved through the applications of the architects and their ideals. Although there was not a clear stylistic approach, emerged small toilet windows created a different pattern of the front view since the toilets were facing either the courtyard or the street, as Blau states regarding the subject. At that point, she makes a critical remark that these standardized windows became the feature of a proletarian house, "a mark both of difference and of identity".[174]

Mainly realized in the perimeter block typology, with nearly 63.000 flats,[175] this program was classified by Weihsmann according to five phases regarding its morphological development.

- Early phase with relatively small, irregular and various types of courtyards and squares, such as Fuchsenfeld-Hof, Rabenhof

- Second phase with more schematic and restrained forms, such as August-Bebel-Hof, Lindenhof

- Third phase with amorphous and small courtyards, such as Josef-Wiedenhofer-Hof, Anton-Schlinger-Hof

- Fourth phase within large, axial and monumental applications, i.e. Superblocks, such as Jakob-Reumann-Hof and Karl-Marx-Hof

- And the later phase with loosened and frayed versions of Super- and Megablocks, such as Goerge-Washington-Hof and Karl-Liebknecht-Hof[176]

---

[173] E. Blau, ibid., p. 218
[174] Ibid., p.210
[175] P. Marcuse, ibid., p.78
[176] H. Weihsmann, ibid., p.111

Within this vast range of *Gemeindebauten*, Karl Marx Hof from the fourth phase will be elaborated in order to understand the space production of the socialists in terms of their policy, architectural determinants and the control mechanism within the aim of creating a new proletarian culture regarding the ongoing discussion in this chapter.

3.2 PEOPLE' PALACE - KARL MARX HOF

Karl Marx Hof, designed by the architect Karl Ehn and constructed between the years 1927 and 1930, is the example, which is referred mostly as the highest achievement of the *Gemeindebauten* period in documents. Not only its physical qualities, which allowed accommodating nearly five thousand people in a single continuous structure, or its social facilities, ranged from kindergartens to libraries, but also the relationship that the building established with the environment, a part of the city labeled this exemplar as significant.

In order to be able to relate the discussion to the building in detail, a general layout about the building is essential. As mentioned, there were several reasons which marked the building crucial. One of them – may be the most important one – was the district, where it was constructed, the 19th district of Vienna, Döbling. The district was an old wealthy traditional place, which accommodated noble families in 18th century and then the bourgeoisie in 19th century, which means that before the condensed program of SDAP in Döbling, the place was regarded as a bourgeois district with its numerous chateaus, single family houses and villas.[177] Therefore, it can be said that Karl Marx Hof, located between the Heiligenstädterstraβe, main artery of the district, and *Stadtbahn* station, was meant for the socialists as a defense point in the struggle with bourgeoisie.

This struggle was materialized within the form of this continuous structure, especially in the main courtyard, *Ehrenhof*, with its six tower superstructures and flagpoles. Resembling a castle, this part of the building was emphasized not only by a special design principle but also by a different height of seven storeys with respect to other parts and by the axial planning of the main semi-open courtyard (Figure 3.10). These elemental forms and their color were regarded as the symbol of Red Vienna both as a wall and an entry to the city.[178] Differed from the middle part of the building, the façade organization of the two wings was

---

[177] Friedrich Achleitner. *Österreichischer Architektur Band III*. Residenz Verlag, 2010, pp.9-10
[178] E. Blau, ibid., p.327

counted as both civic and domestic.[179] They were less emphasized with mainly four stories high and simple organization of balconies and windows. Furthermore, the building crosses four streets with arch-structures which enable the continuity of the building. These parts of the building were colored in blue and heightened in contrast to standardized parts facing to the inner courtyards.

Figure 3.8: Schematic illustration of the districts in Vienna and 19th district Döbling showing the location of Karl Marx Hof
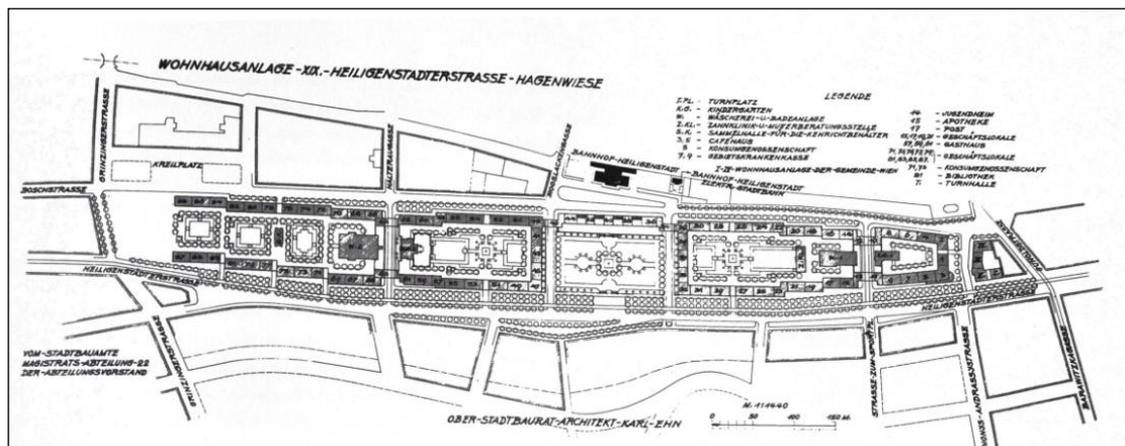
Figure 3.9: Site plan of Karl Marx Hof by Karl Ehn, 1926-1927

---

[179] Ibid., p.326

Figure 3.10: Model of Karl Marx Hof, 1926

Regarding the architectural layout briefly; comprising four courtyards except for the main one, the building spans more than one kilometer parallel to the Franz-Joseph railway line. While the building was constructed onto 18.4 percent of the total land area, the courtyards resemble squares with their total 127.276 square meters area.[180] While the main courtyard was designed as the representative of the proletarian solidarity in an axial form with sculptures, one in the middle and four adjacent to the main façade, the inner courtyards, again in symmetrical pattern, were assigned to accommodate benches for adults and playgrounds for children. Furthermore, in the intersection points with crossing streets, there were also some small buildings providing various social facilities. According to a research of 1978 on Karl Marx Hof, there existed exactly; two central laundries, two central baths, two kindergartens, a dental clinic, a mother consultation center, an advice bureau for the interior design of the dwellings, a library, a youth consultation center, one post office, an ambulatorium, a pharmacy, and 25 different stores – some of them are still in charge –.[181]

These facilities were serving for 1.382 apartments, consisted of mainly five types of dwelling: single room type for unwed in 88 apartments, other single bedroom types in 125 apartments, 2-bedroom type in 907 apartments, 3-bedroom type in 245 apartments and 4-

---

[180] Manuel Smalis. *Die Gärten des Karl Marx Hofes in Wien*. Unpublished Thesis, 2003, p.35
[181] Reinhard Gieselmann. *Der Karl Marx Hof*. Prolegomena 24, 1978, p.30

bedroom type in 17 apartments (Figure 3.11).[182] Since the building includes various parts, the types were formed according to the staircases – and also according to the changes in construction phase – and resulted in different arrangements of the plan layouts. Indeed, the service cores and the layout of the apartments were designed according to the design principles. Within the vertical organization of the core the apartments were arranged and; a toilet and a water tap in the kitchen were provided in them.
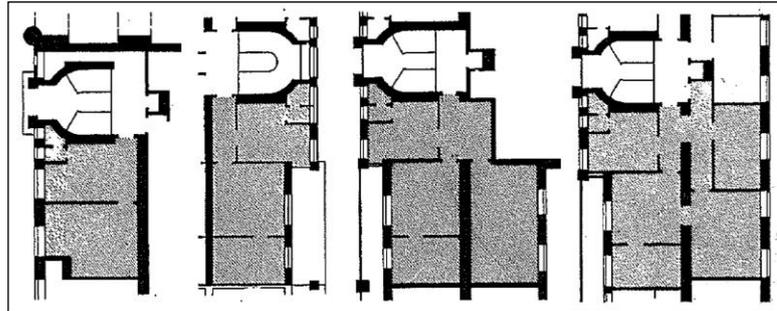
Figure 3.11: Four main types of apartment, except for the single-room type

Within these architectural terms, Karl Marx Hof provided new definitions for perimeter block and courtyard. The courtyards with its huge dimensions, having direct transition passages to the streets changed the meaning of it for the inhabitants. They could be regarded as open in a closed shape serving for the city, instead of serving just for the inhabitants. The main courtyard, in that sense, was also not just a courtyard; it was a square – called as Karl Marx Square before the Civil War, and then 12.February Square after it – representing the working-class. The building, designed in perimeter block type, was like a town, as Blau mentions, which had its squares, parks and other facilities in it.[183]

The type *Gemeindebauten* was thought to be an archetype not just architectural, but also cultural. Therefore, within the program this new type was glorified with its new dimensions and Karl Marx Hof was the most profound one within the vast array of examples. However, in order to maintain the discussion – or to notice the visible, or even the invisible, traces of the struggle between the classes –, it needs to be analyzed in detail and not only regarding its architectural qualities. Since the program was determined by the policies, the analysis

---

[182] *Sanierungsmodell: Karl Marx Hof*. Wien: Gistel Druck, 1987, p.17

[183] E. Blau, ibid., 324

will be revolved around three main areas; the politics of SDAP, the architecture and the control mechanism.

Figure 3.12: Karl Marx Hof between the Stadium and *Bahnhof*, 1930

Figure 3.13: Different views from Karl Marx Hof, 2011

Figure 3.14: A view from one of the inner courtyards, 2011

Figure 3.15: Different views from Karl Marx Hof, 2011
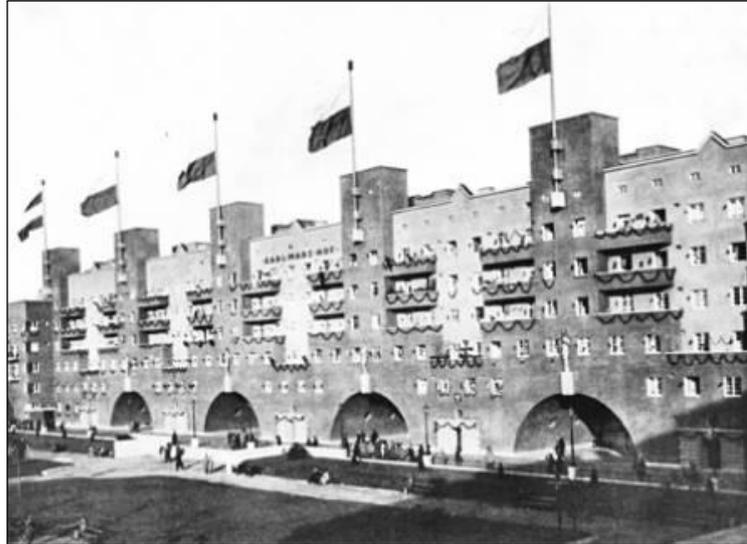
Figure 3.16: Opening day, 12 October 1930

Figure 3.17: View from an inner courtyard, 1930

Figure 3.18: View from the opening fest, 1930

CHAPTER 4

DUALITIES, CONTRADICTIONS AND UNEXPECTED COMPLEXITIES IN REALIZATION

> The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways.
> The point, however, is to *change* it.
>
> Karl Marx

The discussion of the previous chapter was concentrated on reading the domestic sphere upon the struggle among social classes. While it was clearer to read the effect of aristocracy on bourgeois house and thereby on working-class housing before the World War I, when the former one was regarded as the ruling-class, it becomes harder to realize the traces of bourgeoisie on working-class dwellings, after the war. At that point, stating that the *Gemeindebauten* type was a new spatial invention of the socialists for proletariat, being the dominant power in Vienna, can be the easiest way since it means underestimating the bourgeois values inherent in the capitalist system basically.

Therefore, in order to relate the discussion to the new type, it can be helpful to refer the space production of bourgeoisie after the dissolution of aristocracy. Steinert, analyzing the city Vienna regarding the power domination, depicts the architectural production of bourgeoisie, which was the modern villa, as:

> The villa expresses a type of domination very different from the *Ringstraße* Palais: discreet, not overly ostentatious, aiming at intra-class solidarity instead of inter-class impressiveness, displaying good and advanced, even avant-garde taste to the other members of the ruling class, including openness to critical intellectuality and avant-garde art in its Salon hospitality.[184]

Modern movement in Vienna – within all branches like architecture (Loos), philosophy (Wittgenstein), psychology (Freud), music (Schönberg), literature (Kraus) – emerged with a sharp criticism of *Ringstraße*,[185] in other words within the disappearance of aristocracy in

---

[184] H. Steinert, ibid., p.285
[185] Ibid., p.284

political arena, bourgeoisie did not continue to define themselves upon it, instead created a new basis for re-definition. Taken the struggles as pairs, first bourgeoisie with aristocracy and then proletariat with bourgeoisie, it can be said that formerly one was dissolved with the victory of bourgeoisie.

However, in order to reveal whether Austro-Marxists succeeded to create a new spatial practice for the sake of proletariat or not – or in other words whether the socialists created its own space or not within the struggle with bourgeoisie –, the architectural production need to be examined from three perspectives; the structure of the ruling-class and their policies upon the architectural production, the physical qualities inherent in the product, and lastly the reflections of the apparatuses of the dominant power on space.

Within the examination, it is intended to re-define private and public spaces, and also their boundaries of the period's most symbolic architectural product, Karl Marx Hof. Therefore, the framework drawn for the previous chapter will be guiding mainly. In addition to that, since the new municipal housing program's significance was not lying only on the basis of architectural determinism, but also on the cultural program realized mainly within the private sphere of the proletariat – in terms of their new private and public spaces within the housing –, the control mechanisms of spatial practices and the territoriality by Madanipour and Robert David Sack will be other key concepts while analyzing the spatial qualities of Karl Marx Hof.

While Madanipour defines the term territory as "…the continuous exertion of control over a particular part of physical space by an individual or a group"[186] and is interested in the degree of ownership and social control regarding the individuals, Sack addresses the issue from a wider perspective and asserts that territoriality is,

---

[186] A. Madanipour (2003a), ibid., p.50
Madanipour asserts that territoriality is related with the ownership of physical space, however; without legal ownership or, in other words without having a complete control over the space, it is also possible to establish a territory. He exemplifies the types of territoriality in relation to individuals' degree of ownership and control over his/her own space; however, it is also possible to relate the term to ruling-class having a control mechanism over a social class within the same manner.

> …a powerful geographical strategy to control people and things by controlling area. It is a primary geographical expression of social power and it is the means by which space and society are interrelated.[187]

According to Sack, within the rise of capitalism and modernity, territoriality was utilized to define and control people in the society as well as between societies and, moreover; it creates a sense of emptiable space, of impersonal relationships and of obscuring the sources of power.[188]

At that point, the municipality's apparatuses utilized within the control mechanism – building rules, the practices of counseling centers and some institutions of the municipality, etc. – can be regarded as establishing a "territory" within the architectural products, in order to prepare the working-class for the desired "cultural" struggle with bourgeoisie. In other words, the *Gemeindebauten*, in that sense, created a space, in which the spatial practices of the working-class were controlled, as Sack points out in his general statement, while obscuring the municipality's ruling power under the name of creating a proletarian counter-culture, i.e. an enclave for the working-class. Indeed, the control mechanisms of spatial practices mentioned by Madanipour create a base for analyzing the territory of municipality, which are established:

- Through the physical organization of space

- Through fears and perception of activities there

- Through social control, which can range from legal prohibitions on entering places to constructing formal barriers along publicly recognized borders or by informal codes and signs and formal rules and regulations[189]

In the context of Karl Marx Hof, while the first and second control mechanisms can be related to the representation of municipality's power in architectural language – fortress like structure– and in socialist organizations – held in the courtyard – for intimidating the bourgeoisie, the third one can be regarded as the main control mechanism within legal and informal codes controlling the spatial practices of the working-class.

---

[187] Robert David Sack. *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p.5
[188] Ibid., p.217
[189] A. Madanipour (2003a), ibid., pp.80-81

Therefore, in order to reveal the more accurate composition of private and public spaces in Karl Marx Hof it is intended to discuss the space production of Social Democrats within three realms, politics, architectural and cultural production, by means of the concepts and analyzing tools also referring to the previous discussion.

4.1   CONTRADICTIONS INHERENT IN AUSTRO-MARXISM

This section of the research is concentrated on the dualities both in the discourse and practices of Austro-Marxism, instead of clarifying the definitive area of that empirical social science. The information is gathered through the criticism of the period within a wide range of sources and tried to be eliminated regarding the topic.

As mentioned before, the socialist programs were strongly criticized from various perspectives. While Helmut Gruber was concentrating on the cultural program and examining the practices in details, Charlie Jeffery was after the non-existence of the regulations and practices in the provinces except for the capital city Vienna. And Adelheid von Saldern was criticizing the party's policies as reformist steps, and; moreover, there were also other valuable critics' crucial comments regarding different points. These evaluations from different points of views were indeed trying to reveal the contradictions inherent in Austro-Marxism, which played a role in the disintegration of the government just after fourteen years.

In order to relate the discussion to the topic, it is intended to bring the information together regarding significant issues; beginning with the party structure and the distance between the leaders and the rank and file, then the effort to stabilize the status-quo maintaining the existing capitalist system, the passivity of the party leadership, and lastly accepted "reformist steps" regarding the municipal housing program.

Austro-Marxism – so named by the Austrian socialist Louis Boudin a few years before the World War I – was formed by the intellectual leaders of the Austrian socialist movement; Max Adler, Otto Bauer, Karl Renner, Friedrich Adler and Rudolf Hilferding, as mentioned before. Gruber criticizes this intellectual structure of the party, especially regarding the first years of the establishment of the Republic, mainly from three perspectives; the loyalty of the party members, thereby the cultural distance from the rank and file, and the un-readiness of the party for sudden circumstances.

According to his essential text, a monograph on working-class culture in Red Vienna, the party had "…a stable oligarchy dominated the pyramidal organizational structure"[190], although the leaders were claiming the opposite that the party members were not directed from the top. In order to confirm his main argument that the cultural program for the working-class was established while underestimating the values of that class beared in favor of creating a new proletarian culture since the leaders were unaware of the complexity of the existing one, he draws a framework in which the leaders' origins and their attitudes towards the proletariat can be read easily. As he states, the party, especially the core of it, had not working-class origins, except for Karl Renner, who was accepted as "organic leader".[191] The four of five leaders were coming from middle-class families and all of them "…had doctorates and enjoyed the elevated cultural position being considered and addressed as *Herr Doktor* in Viennese society and within the Socialist party as well".[192] Moreover, regarding the organic leaders, he also claims that they – Karl Renner and Joseph Buttinger – were assimilated in the party structure and started to exhibit same features embedded in the values of "bourgeois / socialist" duality.[193]

Through these criticisms, besides the leaders' inexperience in establishing contact with workers,[194] he comes up with a result that they were unfamiliar with the ordinary life of Viennese workers and this distance from the rank and file caused to see the complexity of the subcultures of working-class in the way of creating a new proletarian culture; in other words, the loyalty of the party's leaders resulted in a contradiction within the bond of their theoretical background and their practical solutions.

Regarding the theoretical background, he was also critical and mentions that the leaders had different approaches and different cult figures aside from Karl Marx while creating the basis of Austro-Marxism. Renner was influenced by John Stuart Mill, Hilferding by Karl Kautsky, Max Adler by Kant, and, Bauer and Friedrich Adler by Ernst Mach.[195] Therefore; he insists on that there was not a common intellectual idea around which socialism and their apparatuses could be formed.

---

[190] H. Gruber (1991), ibid., p.7
[191] Ibid., pp.7-8
[192] Ibid., p.31
[193] Ibid., pp.7-8
[194] Ibid., p.31
[195] Ibid.

Another point relevant to this argument – in other words, the weakness of the theoretical background's reflection on practice – is the discussion by him about the un-readiness of the party leadership within the sudden collapse of the Dual Monarchy and the fear from the solidarity of the working-class movement manifested in massive demonstrations related with the terrible conditions of their living environment. In his words:

> There had been no preparation for such an eventuality: no discussion of republican versus other political forms; no consideration of popular participation; no agenda of practical measures for the transformation toward socialism.[196]

The weak crisis management – except for a sketchy plan of Bauer, which was a long transition from private to public ownership – within the first years of municipal power in Vienna, could also be seen on the sudden regulations – like suffrage laws and rent control regulations –, according to him.[197] To illustrate, the laws for stabilizing rents and prohibiting arbitrarily evictions for protecting the workers from the landlords caused that the subtenants and bedrenters, who were low-income groups with respect to well-paid workers, became homeless and found themselves in a worse condition, to find an apartment which they could financed, but there was not.[198] Thus, it can be said that the measure for economic inclusion, however, did not provide the desired solution and came up with a different exclusion matter for a part of working-class population.

Figure 4.1: Demonstration of Workers' Movement, 1919

---

[196] Ibid., p.20
[197] Ibid., p.22
[198] Ibid., p.23

Besides these kinds of practical failures, indeed, there was another issue which was discussed strongly by all critics: maintaining the existing economic system, i.e. capitalism. The very basic discussion whether it could be possible to sustain socialism in capitalism or not can be regarded as the second question if considering the party's attitude towards the problem. As Melanie Sully, a political scientist, put it forward although the party was attacking on the system verbally through the period of governing, they never stood in the position of "loyal opposition".[199] On the contrary, even before the World War I, they concentrated "…on modifying the positive aspects of the economic structure of the Habsburg Empire".[200] According to Sully, this paradoxical position was resulted from the party's vulnerability to external pressure and the country's dependence on the international economic system.[201] However, Klemens von Klemperer, a historian, is explaining the situation, removing the revolutionary edge – major social change in the system – from the movement, from another point of view, as:

> Austria between two world wars has to be seen in the context of what Karl Dietrich Bracher has called the "era of ideologies". Politics were increasingly removed from the realm of the practical and subordinated to a ready-made ideological schema. The function of the politics changed from the realization of a given objective to the legitimation of a closed and infallible prescription. One example of Otto Bauer's acrobatics was his insistence on a balance of class forces in postwar Austria, which was a *Volkstaat* or people's state; this was a forced and unsubstantiated ideological argumentation.[202]

One way or another, the party chose to stabilize the non-socialist status quo. Therefore, the way to socialism was drawn without revolution; instead, they preferred bourgeois democracy, in which a general consensus for socialism was dreamed.

However, the idea "general consensus for socialism" was not an easy way. The party's regulations and policies were addressed directly to the working-class, but at the same time the majority in the national government was not obtained yet. As Gruber states, the governmental strength in Vienna was deceptive because of their political opponents' power

---

[199] M. Sully, ibid., p.60
[200] Ibid., p.58
[201] Ibid., p.59
[202] Klemens von Klemperer. The Habsburg Heritage: Some Pointers for a Study of the First Austrian Republic, *Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism,1918-1934*, Ed. Anson Rabinbach, Westview Press, 1985, p. 14

outside Vienna.[203] As mentioned before, Vienna was regarded the socialist enclave of the party being the largest industrial center and with other small industrial areas it was surrounded and threatened by a rural socio-political environment, i.e. conservative traditionalism, represented by other two parties.

The illusion of power in Vienna was also deceptive for the party itself, as Sully states; in a democratic, socialist and republican state, the party believed that their power in Vienna would expand without any necessity of bloody struggle.[204] However; although it was declared again by Bauer that the party represented the proletariat in the party conference of 1926, they were also anxious about their ability to provide the majority for socialism.[205] Therefore, in order to break the power of the capitalists and landowners, there was also an intention of attracting petty-bourgeoisie – wooing agricultural workers, the peasantry, small farmers, tradesmen, white-collar workers, civil servants and intellectuals – and, this intention was ended up with hesitating to implement radical policies which would alienate the petit-bourgeoisie.[206] To illustrate the abstinence, the party's approach to the religion can be counted. As Gruber states, although the party had the power to discuss the separation of church and state, they were contented with the argument of "religion is a private matter" and the Catholic Church remained undiminished in its power.[207]

This contradiction also within the policies of creating a new culture for proletariat, which was clarified as a culture purified from all bourgeois contamination, resulted in undesired alienation.[208] In other words, during the SDAP government since the economic condition of the state was not improved besides the glorious municipal program for proletariat, the classes were more polarized.

Besides the main contradictions – non-acceptance of the existing system but not to change it, in addition, revolution without terror, but by general consensus in an asymmetric structure of society – a more striking approach of the party was its "wait and see policy" during the last years of their governance.

---

[203] H. Gruber (1991), ibid., p.10
[204] M. Sully, ibid., p.60
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid., pp.60-61
[207] H. Gruber (1991), ibid., pp.27-29
[208] M. Sully, ibid.

In a short narration, underestimating the danger of the extreme right led the party in a bloody struggle with nationalists. In 1927, when the party SDAP won the largest electoral victory in the history of the First Republic, the tension between the workers and the right-wing was grown substantially and caused the death of some socialist workers in a fire.[209] Regarding this event, frantic demonstrations by the workers on *Ringstraβe* were held and called the Social Democrats to fight back, even the newspaper *Arbeiter Zeitung* with an article declared that a Civil War was already started:

> The bourgeois world is constantly warning against starting a civil war; but is not this provocative release, scot-free, of men who have killed workers (indeed because they killed workers) in itself tantamount to a civil war?[210]

However, "…despite this assessment, no call for a strike action came from the party, and supplies of arms were not released"[211]. Even in the bloody struggle of February 1934, the party leaders did not support officially the arming of *Schutzbund*, the republican paramilitary organization.[212] Their "wait and see policy", despite the working-class' demand to have a revolution by fighting back, was originated presumably from the "revolution by a general consensus" notion. They were reluctant to use force and believed that to combat could not be the solution. This passivity of the party resulted in the end of First Republic after the February 1934 bloody events.

Besides these contradictory discourse and practices, the party is in fact was harshly criticized mainly by Gruber and von Saldern about their main program, which included housing and cultural transformation.

As mentioned before, housing question was thought to be solved after the revolution as Engels put it "[o]nly socialism will dispose of housing misery"[213] in the first years of the government. However, this revolutionary tradition was dissolved with the Workers' Movement within large demonstrations demanding immediate housing. In order to solve the problem of accommodating a large quantity of workers besides the wish for a new proletarian culture, in the housing program, instead of a single-house type, the *Gemeindebauten* type was created and through increasing the privacy of the apartments,

---

[209] A. Rabinbach (1983), ibid., pp.30-32
[210] *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 15 July 1927, cited from M. Sully, ibid., p.62
[211] Ibid.
[212] A. Rabinbach (1985), ibid., p.192
[213] P. Marcuse, ibid., p.204

nuclear family model was utilized. The nuclear family model was, according to Gruber, a tool in strengthening the formal structure and shaping the values of the nuclear working-class family regarding the cultural program.[214] However, that strategy was the opposite of one of the Marxist canons, "…which anticipated the dissolution of the family under capitalism and its replacement by communal forms of social organization".[215] The rejection of the communal forms of social organization, indeed, can be seen also in the party's approach to *Siedlungen* type housing, which implied a communal form of social life. Although in the beginning the *Gartensiedlung* movement was supported by the municipality due to the economical conditions, the assistance was stopped after stabilizing the budget with the regulations. Gruber criticizes the position of the party as:

> The squatters' and settlers' movement on the outskirts of Vienna after World War I, for instance was greeted by the party with suspicion because it was spontaneous and outside the party structure. Eventually, the SDAP gained control of this "garden city" movement and killed it. The reasons which it gave for doing so – the fact that the cost of superblock municipal housing was considerably lower than that of one-family houses, and that the superblocks served larger numbers – cannot be controverted. But one senses that the reasons were more complicated and that self management in the garden city enclaves was a contributing cause; it was seen almost as a kind of anarchism which was disruptive to the customary channels of party activity and control.[216]

Within the understanding of nuclear family model, the party saw an advantage to give a shape to an individual's life style rather to implement it to a community. However, although the aim was to create class-consciousness among proletariat around a concrete and powerful culture, von Saldern is very critical in that point, assuming that the class ties would be looser in that kind of a practice.

Regarding the cultural program, she provides significant information in her critical essay "The Workers' Movement and Cultural Patterns on Urban Housing Estates and in Rural Settlements in Germany and Austria during 1920s". According to her, bourgeois reformers and working-class movements' leaders have different aims but same means, which is the cultural education for modernization and rationalization.[217] While the former is trying to

---

[214] H. Gruber (1991), ibid., p.147
[215] Ibid.
[216] H. Gruber (1985), p.229
[217] Adelheid von Saldern. The Workers' Movement and Cultural Patterns on Urban Housing Estates and in Rural Settlements in Germany and Austria during 1920s, *Social History*, 1/1990, p.349

strengthen the existing conditions of the society in a modernized form, the latter one to create a human being, well prepared for the socialist future expected some day.[218] Furthermore, accepting housing in terms of improving the conditions of working-class as a key to reforming society – in the way to reproduce the labor – without having to change the fundamental capitalist structures of economy,[219] the programs within the virtual socialism of the Social Democrats were inevitably criticized by Communists as reformist steps since the economy in general and the construction sector in particular worked under normal principles of capitalism.[220] In other words, the aim may have been different from the bourgeois reformers, however, the visible practices and contradictory discourses resulted in a criticism of reformist attitudes.

4.2   CONTRADICTIONS INHERENT IN ARCHITECTURE

This section of the research is concentrated on the architectural discourse and practices during the SDAP government. While trying to understand architectural qualities of the type *Gemeindebauten*, it is intended to situate Karl Marx Hof regarding the architectural critiques of the period and the discussion held in the previous chapter.

As mentioned before, the building provided new definitions for architectural terms, like courtyard, perimeter block, and also façade. Within these different qualities, Karl Marx Hof is regarded as the glorious product of municipal housing program and a tool in a comparison with the bourgeois production of Vienna In written documents, such as:

> If the *Stephansdom* and the *Ringstraβe* represented the heights of medieval and bourgeois Vienna, the Karl Marx Hof, a few miles away in the district of Döbling, represented the highest achievement of Red Vienna.[221]

However, in order to have a further discussion in the analysis of the architectural practice in Karl Marx Hof, its formal characteristics and their re-definitions – mentioned in previous chapter – cannot be enough. Therefore, besides an analysis of formal language of the building, it is intended to define the area of production. Put it another way, presented as the new architecture of working-class, the *Gemeindebauten* type and its design principles should be analyzed in detail. Afterwards, within the critiques of formal qualities of

---

[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid., p.334
[220] Ibid., p.341
[221] A. Rabinbach (1983), ibid., p.1

Gemeindebauten and Karl Marx Hof, it is intended to re-define the building in architectural terms.

Beginning with the primary feature of the *Gemeindebauten* type, they were realized mainly in the *Hof*-type – perimeter block – building schema, and this form together with social facilities, however, was not an innovation within the new housing. As Smalis asserts in his thesis, this type was utilized, a hundred years ago, in the utopian ideal city projects, such as by Robert Owen in "New Harmony", by Claude Nicolas Ledoux in "*Ville Idéale*", by Charles Fourier in "*Phalanstére*", and also by Jean Baptiste André Godin in "*Familistére*" (Figure 4.2).[222] These projects were generally aimed to improve the condition of the working-class' environment as desired in the new housing of Red Vienna.[223]
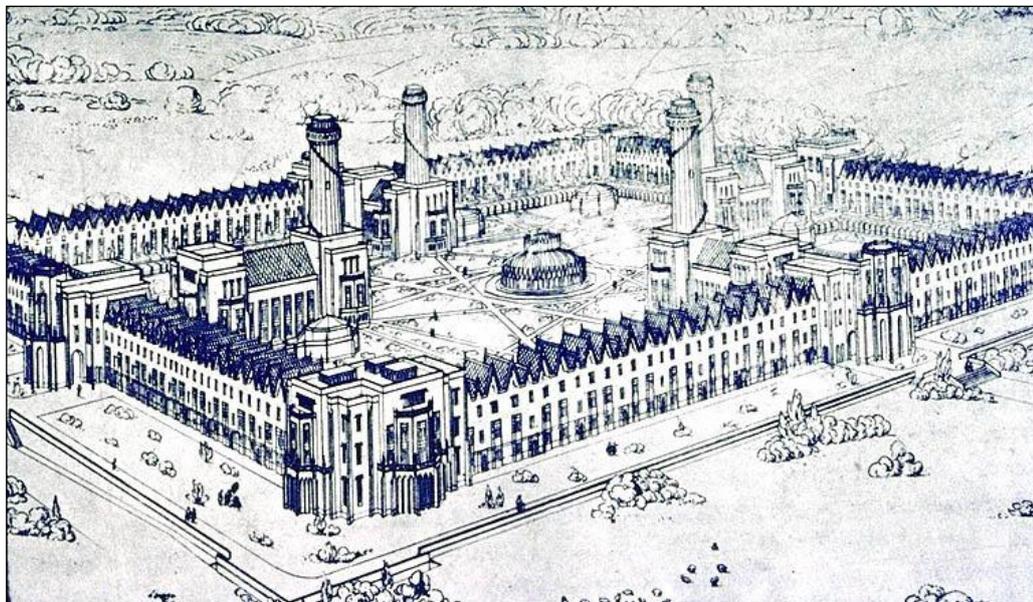
Figure 4.2: Ideal city proposal, "New Harmony" by Robert Owen, 1817

Besides the international examples of perimeter block types of 18th and 19th centuries, *Hof* was also a traditional object since the Baroque, in the Viennese buildings, both in monasteries and agricultural middle-class residential houses, where the inhabitants lived and worked.[224] This tradition was carried upon the *Gründerzeit* buildings, however, through

---

[222] M. Smalis, ibid., pp.5-9
[223] Ibid., p.5
[224] Ibid., p.9

64

retrenching the area of courtyard into utmost 15 percent of the construction area.[225] In other words, in the *Gründerzeit* period, in the tenements mostly, the courtyards – assigned to improve the conditions of proletariat in 19th century – were re-defined as airshafts.

The transformation of the courtyards in the new housing program, however, was not regarded as stemming directly from the *Gründerzeit* buildings or the preceding examples. Instead, as Wolfgang Sonne, a theoretician on architecture, states in his article "Dwelling in the Metropolis: Reformed Urban Blocks 1890-1940 as a Model for the Sustainable Compact City" that the large garden courtyards of the new housing were based on Camillo Sitte's article on "Metropolitan green" in 1900:

> The sanitary green should not be located within dust and noise of the streets, but within the safe interior of large perimeter blocks.[226]

According to him, Sitte was proposing "…nothing less than opening the formerly private ground of the urban block to the public."[227] And, this suburban proposal by Sitte was transformed in the dense urban housing program within the city Vienna, while providing the advantage of green spaces and social institutions.[228]

The new housing in the *Hof*-typology, as mentioned before, was not set as a standard by the municipality, in the beginning of the program, indeed there was not a clear architectural program, as Blau points out. However, after the first example of housing, Metzleinstalerhof by Hubert Gessner, following housing blocks emerged to bear the same socio-spatial functions with the first one; as opening the interior space of the city block by means of one or more open courtyards, embedding municipality's new public facilities in the courtyard space, and connecting the new communal space to the public space of the street (Figure 4.3).[229]

---

[225] Ibid., p.10
[226] Wolfgang Sonne. Dwelling in the Metropolis: Reformed Urban Blocks 1890-1940 as a Model for the Sustainable Compact City, *Progress in Planning*, 8/2009, p.76
[227] Ibid., p.77
[228] Ibid.
[229] E. Blau, ibid., p.262

Figure 4.3: Metzleinsteinerhof by Hubert Gessner, 1922-23

Realized mostly by Wagner's students – one of them, Karl Ehn –, the municipal housing program cannot be understood without considering the Wagner school's influence, although there was a great deal of difference among the architects and the buildings they designed for the municipality.

Otto Wagner, the first European architect to state publicly his break with the past,[230] was appointed in 1894 to the second professorship for architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. Although it was expected from him to base his teaching on Neo-Renaissance in the context of Viennese late-historicism, he opposed the eclecticism of Vienna architecture and shaped the curriculum around his *Modern Architecture* objectives, in terms of building material, in technical construction and also in terms of aesthetic design and form.[231]

As Walter Zednicek and Marco Pozzetto, in his prominent book "*Die Schule Otto Wagners*", point out, his ideas were not represented only in his own buildings, but also through a wide range of Viennese examples designed by his students it is possible to see the influence of him. It can be said that it was directly related to his well-managed teaching program. The revolutionary objectives in the assignments – with respect to years: first year, a city center apartment with commercial building; second year, a public building within the urban

---

[230] Harry Francis Mallgrave. Introduction, *Modern Architecture, Otto Wagner: A Guidebook for his Students to the Field of Art*, The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988, p.30
[231] Walter Zednicek. *Otto Wagner und seine Schule*, Wien: Grasl Druck & Neue Medien, 2008, p.43

setting; third year, *ideale Stadt* starting from 1:75.000 and ending with 1:50 – were designed within the aim of the architecture to adapt the needs and requirements of the time.[232] Regarding the projects, the students were not just assigned to accomplish the projects, instead firstly they were to conceptualize the problematique and then after hard working hours, if Wagner would have seen a good solution, the students were tested by him within a discussion about politics, philosophy, theater, etc. in order to see whether they were providing a new understanding to the modern world.[233] Moreover, besides the discussions – on Austrian, German, French, English, American, Russian and Italian magazines – held in the classes,[234] the students were urged to visit not the south, but the great metropolitan centers of the north – Paris, London, Berlin – mainly in order to observe and perceive the needs of modern man.[235]

Two years after Wagner became the professor, he published his well-known theoretical book "Modern Architecture", directed principally to a student audience. The main idea inspiring the work was – affected also the program of architectural education – as follows in his words:

> … [T]he basis of today's predominant views on architecture must be shifted, and we must become fully aware that the sole departure point for our artistic work can only be modern life.[236]

According to Mallgrave, there were three principal themes in the book: a plea for simplicity in the accommodation of modern needs, the artistic and ethical ruin of eclecticism, and the demand for a new style based on present technologies and methods of construction.[237] Wagner based architecture on construction and technology, opposing the Viennese eclecticism of symbolic form, in his theory. In other words, through the changes in modern construction methods, he prescribed the new architectural formal language as evolving from the new technical and material means. In a detailed statement, as Haiko puts it:

> …[T]he modern style of building sets itself apart from that of the Renaissance in that it does not pile one layer of stone atop another "with a large expenditure of time and money," but rather "uses slabs…as the outer facing

---

[232] Marco Pozzetto. *Die Schule Otto Wagners 1894 1912*, Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1979, pp.9-13
[233] Ibid., p.13
[234] Ibid., p.12
[235] H. F. Mallgrave, ibid., p.12
[236] Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, translated from German by H. F. Mallgrave, ibid., p.9
[237] Ibid., p.29

for the building."…"The monumental effect is heightened by the superior material, the pecuniary means thus expended are enormously reduced, and construction time is held down to a usual, normal, and desirable level."[238]

However; how a constructional form becomes artistic form, Mallgrave says, was not extensively explained by Wagner. At that point, referring one of his projects may provide information about the utilization of materials. In his most popular architectural product, Postal Savings Banks (1904-1907), the brick structure was sheathed with thin sheets of marble and the façade is given its artistic form by metal bolts anchored to the wall and capped with aluminum heads, implying the structural joining points with slabs (Figure 4.4). However, as Haiko asserts, the slabs were firmly embedded in mortar and they did not require any additional anchoring.[239] Thus, fifteen thousand bolts with exaggerated aluminum heads on the façade were symbolizing the visibility of the structure. Put it another way, "…the bolts *were* distributed over the façade decoratively, according to purely artistic considerations."[240] Haiko describes it as "symbolic functionalism" and according to the discussion held in the Mallgrave's introduction part of the book "*Modern Architecture*"; it is associated with a discrepancy in theory and practice.

This contradictory approach by Wagner within his *Bekleidung* (dressing) practice is discussed around Bötticher's distinction between core-form (Kernform) and art-form (Kunstform), which was incorporated into a general theory of architecture by Semper through dividing four primeval motives of the origin of architecture: heart-gathering (the spiritual center of the dwelling, later associated with ceramics), walling (textiles), the making of a tectonic framework (carpentry), and terracing (originally mounding, later masonry).[241] Although Wagner criticizes Semper's symbolism of construction within his "textile" motive – "dressing" corollary – in his theory, it can be said that his practices could not escape from Semperian visual formulation.

Apart from the main criticism related to his "symbolic functionalism", his interest in vernacular architecture – also related to the first year design problem in the Academy – and monumentalism was regarded as appropriation, adaptation and modernization of the

---

[238] P. Haiko, ibid., p.15
[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid.
[241] H. F. Mallgrave, ibid., pp. 31-32

Biedermeier and baroque tradition of Viennese architecture,[242] likewise Achleitner, a valuable architect and critic of Austria, criticizes the social aesthetic of *Gemeindebauten* as having a traditionalist approach of Wagner school.[243]

Thus, *Gemeindebauten*, within the understanding of Wagner's modernism, had a different approach than the period's German modernist architecture including the Austrian cult figures like Adolf Loos and Josef Frank, which ended up in the position of the architecture of Red Vienna without attracting attention in the history of modernism.


Figure 4.4: Postal Savings Bank by Otto Wagner, 1904-07

---

[242] E. Blau, ibid., p.357
[243] Friedrich Achleitner, <u>Vorwort</u> in M. Pozetto, ibid., p.5

Indeed the municipal housing program in Vienna had common approaches with German examples to the housing problem of proletariat. According to Saldern's comparison of both programs on the basis of providing better living conditions, it can be said that Viennese examples were more advantageous in terms of keeping rents lower than the German examples.[244] Furthermore, rents did not cover the costs either – which caused the attract mainly workers with relatively low incomes –, with respect to the opposite situation in Germany with high cost covering rents just attracting the low middle class and very well paid skilled workers.[245] Apart from these particular features also with similar provided social facilities in the both German and Viennese estates, Saldern defines the Viennese examples as conservative and more stylistically mixed, differed from the modern German examples.[246]

Regarding the external architectural layout of the Gemeindebauten, while Gieselmann is asserting that the buildings can be assigned to Expressionism in terms of its style,[247] Haiko's comments on the modernism of the *Gemeindebauten*, in that sense, are very crucial:

> It should be emphasized that in matters of architectural design the builders did not follow the trends of modernism, of the *Neue Bauen* (new architecture), but rather remained bound to tradition. New technologies, too, were hardly utilized…In external appearance, the residential buildings of the Municipality of Vienna were intended to compete with the buildings of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie.[248]

The main critique, in fact, was not only pertain to the external appearance which resulted in expressivity of the emphatically massive main body, but also other architectonic design principles of *Gemeindebauten*, like monumental portal architecture, and spacious and extensive inner gardens.[249] In other words; besides the monumental approach in the formal language of the buildings, the axial planning principles used in courtyards and the non-

---

[244] A. Von Saldern, ibid., p.337

[245] Ibid.

[246] Ibid., pp.337-338
While Germany in the new housing was propagating the new technologically advances construction materials, steel and concrete, the Viennese examples were built with bricks within conventional construction techniques due to the economical condition, in addition to it, due to the employment policy, creating job opportunity. (A. Nussbaum, ibid., p.51)

[247] R. Gieselmann, ibid., p.8

[248] P. Haiko, ibid., p.23

[249] Ibid.

modernist details were the basic elements preparing the principle ground to associate the architecture of Red Vienna with nineteenth-century bourgeoisie.

In his words again:

> The concept behind many municipal buildings confirmed this intentional confrontation with and appropriation of the formerly feudal, grand-seigneurial architecture, along with its pathos formulae, which was employed by the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century. For instance, quotations from the baroque – especially in terms of the urban architecture of the large complexes – were made to validate the Social Democrats' claim to power, while at the same time giving expression to their newly won self-image.[250]

Furthermore, in the newly won self-image, superfluous ornamentation adhered to bourgeoisie was disregarded, however; application of the avant-garde elements, used in the German examples, was neglected either. Instead, the balconies, loggias, oriels, large arched gateways, tower-like superstructures, wrought iron gratings, and courtyards were tried to be accentuated.[251] In other words, it can be said that in the way to reach the monumentality of bourgeois houses of Vienna, a different tool was developed.

Besides the created image mainly by Wagner-school in the external architectural layout, the standardized planimetric approach in the apartments – mainly consisted of a room, a *Kammer*, a kitchen, and a toilet – was also criticized as having bourgeois planning effect, mainly by Blau and Frank. Providing not a different spatial practice, the *Gemeindebauten* type plan can be read "…as an inversion of the traditional Viennese working-class *Kleinstwohnung* or tenement plan"[252], according to Blau. That is to say, just through removing the most oppressive features – long corridors, shared water tap, basin and toilets, indirectly lit rooms – of the tenement apartment, the new housing plan was erected.[253] Furthermore, according to the discussion of the previous chapter and as Frank points out, the new identifying features of the new housing, which were the vertical organization of stairwells and landings, internal water supply and internal toilet, were the principal features of the middle-class apartment block in Vienna.[254]

---

[250] Ibid.
[251] A. Nussbaum, ibid.
[252] E. Blau, p.201
[253] Ibid.
[254] Ibid.

These crucial critiques of the *Gemeindebauten* type within Wagnerian modernism can be taken as a framework in which the architecture of Karl Marx Hof can be properly read. In order to have a clear understanding of the architectural layout, it is intended to read the qualities under two main bodies; firstly the architectural characteristics of the building as the main domain and then the courtyards' planning schema with its objects as the second one.[255]

Regarding the building part, the main section of the building is the dominant part of the building with its six tower structures, flagpoles and castle like appearance within a different height of seven storeys (Figure 4.7). The monumental expression directly related to the architectonic demonstration of the Social Democrats is, in fact, symbolically continued by means of the pyramidal projections on the façades of the two wings. In other words, as Nussbaum points out in a general critique of the *Gemeindebauten*, the balconies, loggias and projections of the Karl Marx Hof provide a continuum in the monumental outlook.

The two wings, having different size and construction area, are formed in a mirror-image effect in the formal language. Furthermore, auxiliary buildings having various social facilities are located in the similar way – mirror image – at the intersection points of crossed streets and courtyards. In a detailed statement, one of the kindergartens and one of the central laundry-bath buildings are located at the ends of first and second courtyards in right wing facing to each other, also both faces to the street, Felix-Braun Gasse, while the other two ones in the fourth and fifth courtyards are facing Halterausgasse in the same way. The streets, Felix-Braun Gasse and Halterausgasse, like the other two ones located on the edges of the central courtyard, are bordered with the arch-structures and thereby create enormous perspectives which cannot be ignored. It can be said that by means of the huge arches, front-squares for the auxiliary buildings was tried to be created (Figure 4.6). In other words, the building inverts the disadvantage of being cut through by streets into an advantage to demonstrate the monumental image of the working-class housing within different perspectives.

---

[255] The planning of the dwellings was not counted as another architectural discussion point since Blau's critique covers the standardized dwelling and the spatial layout of the types of the apartments in Karl Marx Hof, mentioned in the third chapter, was a result of standardization of the municipal housing program.
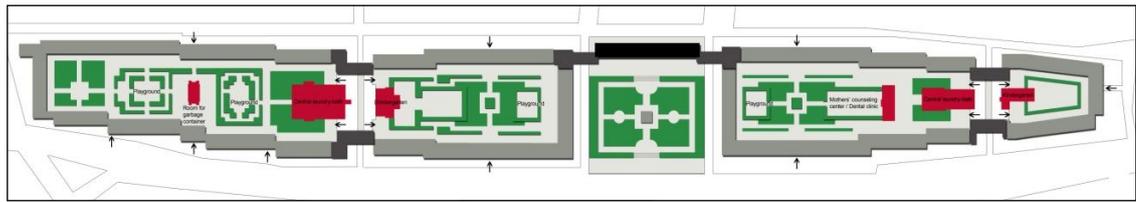
Figure 4.5: A symbolic illustration of the site, according to the original site plan, 1930

Figure 4.6: A view from Halterausgasse, showing central laundry-bath and a part of kindergarten façade, Karl Marx Hof

Furthermore, the kindergartens and central laundry-bath buildings, together with the mother counseling / dental clinic building inside the second courtyard – not existing today – , are formed in a more cubist understanding, having a pyramidal organization still attracting the attention especially with their façades facing to the street or so named front-squares.

While the middle section of the building is accentuated with the color red – color of Socialists – especially in the projections, the remained is colored with yellow-pink and white – white on the projections, balconies, loggias, yellow-pink on the main part –. Indeed, the application is seen on the outside of the building, inner courtyard façades are not emphasized in this manner. Moreover, the arch-structures between the courtyards are another attraction point with its six storey height and blue color. That is to say; in this huge continuous structure, even by means of color application, the building designed and constructed as a monumental structure for the demonstration of the working-class dignity.

73

Figure 4.7: Middle section of Karl Marx Hof

Besides the main qualities of the building, the courtyards and details used in the building may be much more illustrative of its expressivity. As mentioned before, the courtyards constitute 81.6 percent of the construction area, with a total of 127.276 square meters. Within these huge dimensions, the central one – not the biggest but the semi-open one in front of the main section – is the part of the building which was criticized mostly, in terms of its "strong tendency to axial alignment".[256] Since the main courtyard is under construction these days – due to a parking garage beneath – and also since there have been some demolitions like the mothers' counseling center / dental clinic in the second courtyard, regarding the criticism of the courtyards, Smalis' thesis "*Die Gärten des Karl Marx Hofes*" and the little site plan – the only original one found from the years 1920s – are going to be referred.

---

[256] P. Haiko, ibid., p.246

Smalis, in his thesis, states that the courtyards were formed regarding two inputs, the guidelines established by municipality and the skills of the architect.[257] The guidelines included just the creation of playgrounds for children and resting places for adults, planting of tress for shading and keeping the walkways dust free, i.e. covering with grass – on account of precaution for tuberculosis,[258] which means that there was not a clear formal language set for the courtyard either; it was left to the architect mainly.

Moreover, the courtyards were divided into two types, central and inner courtyards in the spatial layout of the *Gemeindebauten*. While the central one was employed with the representation of working-class in "feudal and bourgeois" styles, the inner courtyards were assigned to fulfill the needs of the inhabitants within functional planning.[259] Smalis summarizes this approach in the *Sozialistischen Realismus* style, which includes the formal language of bourgeois style embed in the functional use.

This general layout is also reflected on Karl Marx Hof's courtyards. The central court, according to the original site plan, resembled a square bordered on one side with the castle like structure, on two sides with the streets facing the rearing part of Karl Marx Hof and on one side open. Having huge arches, transmitting the citizens between the *Bahnhof* and the main artery, middle section of the building, together with the main road, was one meter high with respect to the square. The sunken *Karl Marx Platz* was surrounded by grass verge within five meters in width and accessed by means of granite staircases.[260]

The formal language was attained through cruciform, i.e. division into quarters, having a statue in the middle on a heightened concrete base with 1.5 meters. The bronze statue, *Sämann* (Sower), was designed by Otto Hoffner in 3 meters height (Figure 4.12). The effect of the statue, representing the working-class, was reinforced with other ceramic figures attached to the façade of the main section above the arches. They were also designed by the same artist in similar fashion representing; "Enlightenment", "Liberation", "Child

---

[257] M. Smalis, ibid., pp.33-34
[258] Ibid., p.33
[259] Ibid., p.34
[260] Ibid., pp. 40-69

welfare", "Physical fitness", the desired values embed in the working-class culture (Figure 4.13).[261]
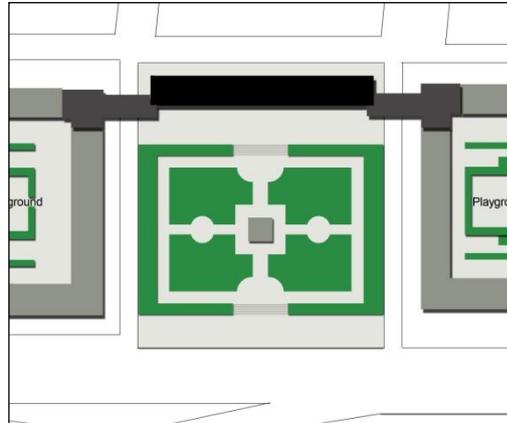
Figure 4.8: A symbolic illustration of the central courtyard, 1930

Figure 4.9: A view from the central courtyard, 1930

Within this formal language, the central courtyard was loaded with symbolic meaning adhered to working-class dignity and it can be regarded as complementary of the main section in its symmetrical and axial form. Smalis, at that point, states that the planning idea is related both to feudal examples and Jugendstil movement and moreover, he mentions that it resembled Baroque gardens in terms of the application of the grass verge.[262]

---

[261] G. Kriechbaum, ibid., p.74
[262] M. Smalis, ibid., pp.66-68

The inner courtyards were in closed shape and differed in sizes and beared functions. While the first courtyard was the smallest, mostly occupied with the playground of kindergarten, the second and fourth ones were similar in size and larger than the first one, having different auxiliary buildings like central laundry-bath building in addition to mother counseling / dental clinic in the second, kindergarten in the fourth. Furthermore, the fifth one was relatively larger than other ones and included the second central laundry-bath building – of which part functions today as a museum "*Waschsalon*".
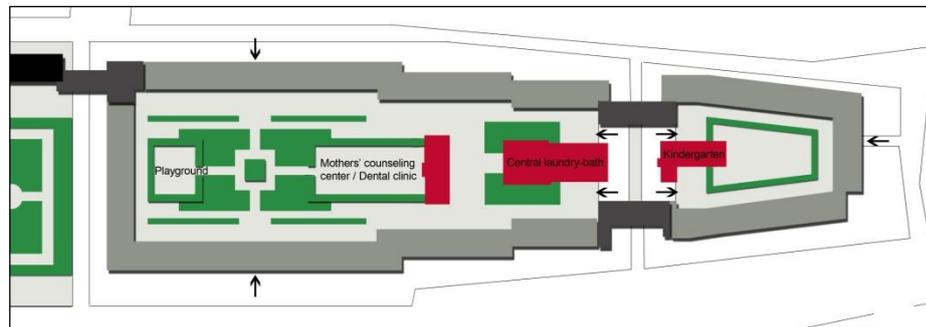
Figure 4.10: A symbolic illustration of first and second courtyards, 1930
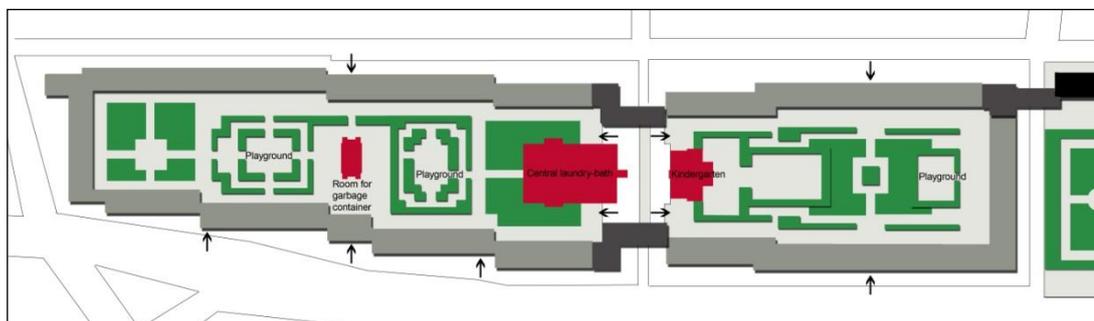
Figure 4.11: A symbolic illustration of fourth and fifth courtyards, 1930

Besides their various facility functions, they were designed in similar ways, firstly assigned to accommodate playgrounds paved with asphalt and resting places decorated with benches, as decided in the guiding principles. Although the inner courtyards were purified from the symbolic meanings in favor of functional use, all of them were designed in an axial form considering the entrances from outside (Figure 4.10&4.11). Moreover, the application

Smalis asserts that the formal gardens, which were utilized in the palaces of aristocracy and in bourgeois houses in the beginning of the century, were adapted by Jugendstil. (Ibid., p.56)

of the grass and flowerbeds within this form resembled again bourgeois styles, according to Smalis.[263]

Apart from the courtyards' planning, the details are also worthy to mention regarding the discussion, although there are few of them. The courtyards' entrances from the façades are systematically located, mostly close to the middle parts of the courtyards according to the planning idea. These passageways are emphasized with projections on the outer façades – similar design principles with the entrances of the service cores – and the wrought iron gates were designed as fence and colored with red (Figure 4.14&4.15). Showing the skill of craftsmen, the passageways create a similar effect with the blue arch-structures: a passage which transmits the citizens from the public sphere of the city to the private sphere of proletariat.

Moreover, the doors of central laundry-bath buildings and the decorated flower vases, located in the playground of the kindergarten in the fourth courtyard, were designed in similar way, resembled Jugendstil (Figure 4.16&4.17). While the vases are detailed with picturing animals, the doors of the *Waschsalonen* are wrought iron gates with curled door handles.

To sum up, the planning idea in Karl Marx Hof including both the building and courtyard design within its details can be regarded as a reflection of the period's architectural criticism. While creating a proletarian space in a bourgeois district, the architect's approach could not escape from the bourgeois values in planning idea. But this time, within the language of architecture, the symmetry, axiality and monumentalism were created for the demonstration of power of Social Democrats within the expression of the dignity of the social housing project. In other words, the architectural language, internalized by the party, created a contradiction in the struggle with bourgeoisie.

---

[263] Ibid.
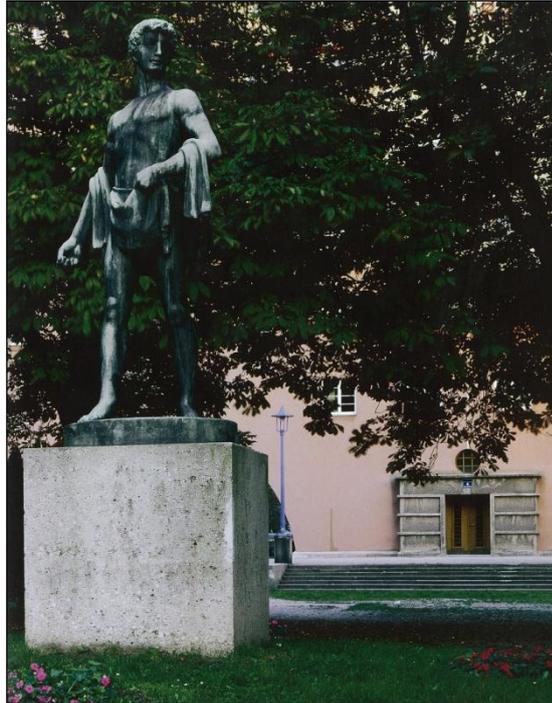
Figure 4.12: Bronze statue "*Sämann* / Sower" by Otto Hofner in the central courtyard, Karl Marx Hof
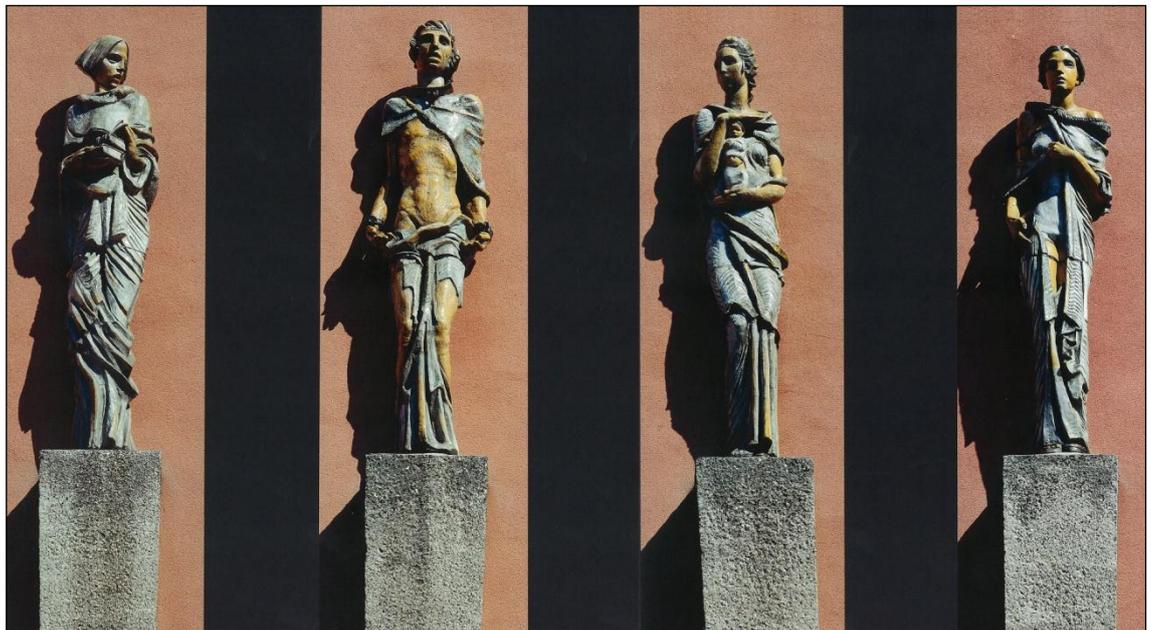
Figure 4.13: Four ceramic figures mounted above the arches: "Enlightenment", "Liberation", "Child welfare", "Physical fitness" by Josef Franz Riedl, Karl Marx Hof

Figure 4.14: General view of entrances of the service cores, Karl Marx Hof
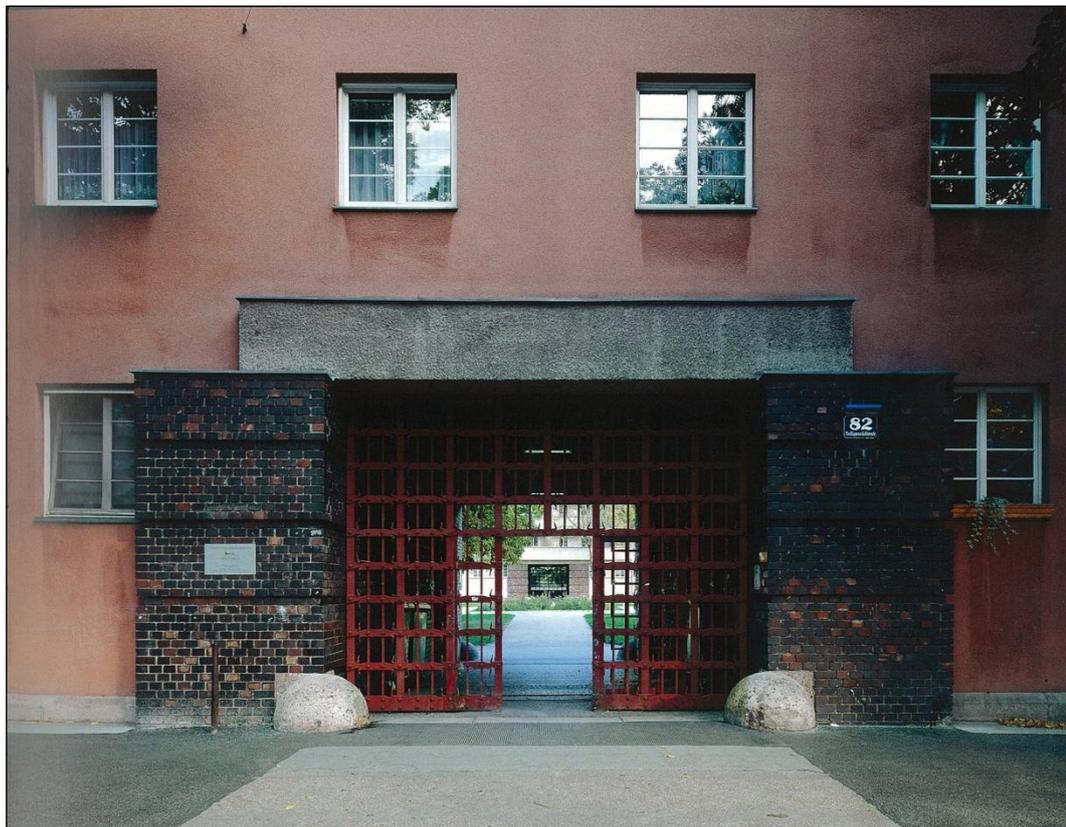
Figure 4.15: A view from a passage way, Karl Marx Hof
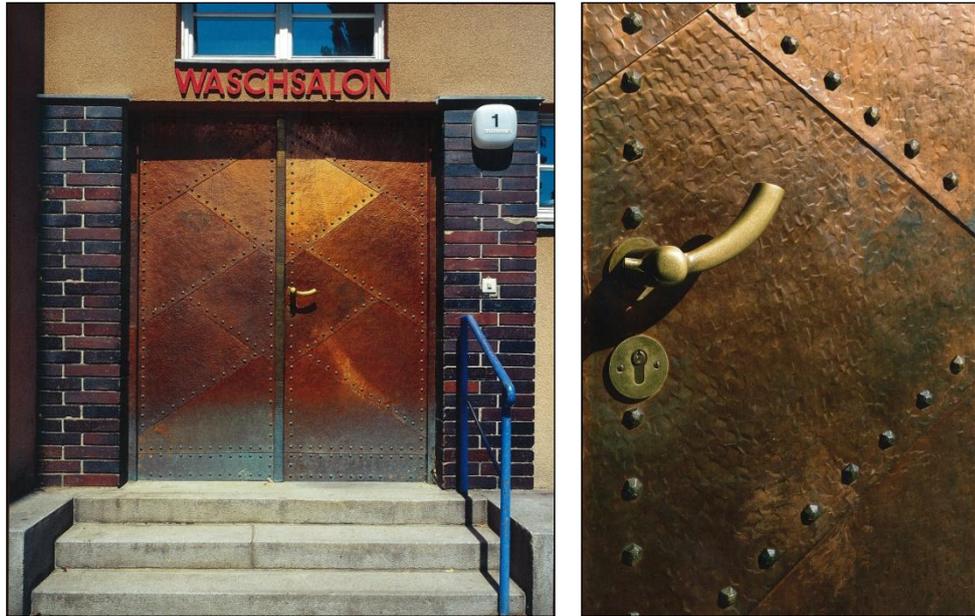
Figure 4.16: A view from the door of one of the central baths and its detail, Karl Marx Hof

Figure 4.17: One of the decorated vases in the kindergarten, by Josef Franz Riedl, Karl Marx Hof

4.3   CONTRADICTIONS INHERENT IN ITS MICRO-POLITICS

Besides its symbolic meaning for the Social Democrats – or the struggle with bourgeoisie within bourgeois values?– embedded in the architectural characteristics, Karl Marx Hof was also regarded as providing new definitions for private and public spaces of the proletariat living there, as mentioned before. With its in-betweenness, somewhere between closed and open building form, while establishing a new relation with the city, it also transformed the meaning of the courtyard into the square of a town having different social facilities served to inhabitants.

Having their own private sphere, advertised as "not just a place to sleep, but a place to live"[264], while the worker families met with different understanding of privacy on the one hand, they had the opportunity to be socialized within the public spaces of the Hof, like playgrounds, resting places and other wide range of facilities on the other hand with respect to the tenement buildings' conditions. In other words, Karl Marx Hof, like all other *Gemeindebauten* buildings, allocated private space as well as public space to a social class that had previously had accessed to neither.

However, just looking to the concrete architectural results may not give the facts about the access question. Put it another way, the dimensions of the privacy of the dwellings and the public qualities of the common spaces cannot be drawn just within the architectural area. Therefore, within a period, in which "cultural self-realization" tried to be achieved, the cultural program within these buildings becomes as important as the housing program and its dual architectural properties. As Gruber puts it:

> The municipal "people's palaces", as they were popularly called, were considered a laboratory and learning environment in which the party could socialize the worker family and provide it with a new socialist culture. The "humanizing" of worker life may have emanated from the highest ethical motives; in practice it had pronounced coercive connotations.[265]

In order to reveal the reflections of the "coercive connotations" of the cultural program on space, it is important to refer the practices carried out by Social Democrats.

---

[264] E. Blau, ibid., p.192
[265] H. Gruber (1985), p.235

Thus, in this part of the research it is intended to find out whether the Social Democrats had fulfilled the promise of giving the accurate social position by means of accessibility or had created a contradictory space just as in the politics and architecture.

Before tracing the spatial consequences in Karl Marx Hof, first of all, the practices of cultural program and the aim within it need to be discussed. According to von Saldern, as a mean in the way to "to create a human being, well prepared for the socialist future expected some day", cultural education meant "…learning how to live in a modern and rationalized way."[266] And within this education, it was aimed to have a higher standard of hygiene, a higher level of cultivated living – especially in connection with the furnishing of the flats –, severe standards of discipline and order, and rationalized housekeeping and therefore housewives' work and in some ways housewives themselves.[267]

Regarding the objectives of the cultural education, the workers were viewed as "…aping worst aspects of petty bourgeois cultural forms and aspirations"[268] and therefore the new proletarian culture was defined as purified from bourgeois culture, "culture of objectivity, cleanliness & clarity".

In order to implement the new culture, as Marcuse points out, "[h]ousing was not seen as shelter alone, but rather as part of an overall reconstruction of life around goals of human dignity and public responsibility.[269] Thus, besides the practices related to administration and advice centers to provide the orderliness and discipline, even the practices of Department of Public Health and Welfare, of which some institutions were assigned to rear the next generation within the socialist goals, were directly related to the private and public spheres of working-class.

From a general perspective, firstly it is intended to give information about the practices of the Department of Public Health and Welfare, under the direction of Julius Tandler, which made possible to have insight into homes. At that point, Gruber provides detailed information in his book "Women and Socialism, Socialism and Women: Europe between the Two World Wars" about the cultural program.

---

[266] A. von Saldern, ibid., p.347
[267] Ibid., pp.347-349
[268] H. Gruber (1991), p.8
[269] P.Marcuse (1985), ibid., p.218

The department's visible task was mainly to stable the health quality of the working-class, which was under the threat of tuberculosis, and to provide assistantship to worker families in order to improve the conditions of their daily-life. However, in favor of creating a new culture, some institutions of the department moved away from its basic purposes. In other words, the position of the department as assistant was replaced with the position of interventionist.

Moreover, municipality's housing program, realized within the nuclear family model, which corresponded to closed form of family, facilitated to regulate the life of workers from the base. Put it another way, working-class, the subject of socialism, became the most fundamental object in the program.

Therefore, it can be said that the basic intervention the worker families were subjected to was the practices of Marriage Consultation Center. The municipality, which accepted the religion as a private matter, did not view the sexual activity private, instead it was declared as a problem of social control in their program, as follows:

> Sexual relations meet a physiological and psychological need, whose satisfaction has social consequences. For that reason sexual activity is not simply a private matter. Sexuality was viewed as having a social utility, especially in uplifting the moral standards of worker families.[270]

This typical programmatic statement even bears the level of interventionist position. According to Gruber, the institution's function was "…to advise couples intent on marriage about their sexual health, genetic deficits, hereditary weaknesses, and prospects for producing normal and healthy children".[271] In the assessment it was intended to improve the quality of the population by giving certificates to the sexual partners, which proves that he / she was free of disabilities such as syphilis and tuberculosis connoting the interfere to the private sphere of the working-class.

Indeed, the duty of the department just began with the sexual activity and continued after that within a more complex structure. In a short narration referring Gruber's article "The 'New Women': Realities and Illusions of Gender Equality in Red Vienna", the births given in the municipal hospitals were recorded and the mothers were followed, firstly by

---

[270] *"Leitsätze für sexuelle Aufklärung der Jugend"*, Bildungsarbeit 19, 1932 cited in H. Gruber (1998), ibid., p.74
[271] Ibid., p.65

subsequent home visits and then by giving recommendations for going Mothers'
Consultation centers for further assistance in infant care.[272] The visits were regarded as a
tool to observe and judge the quality of family nurture, as well as other issues –
housekeeping, cleanliness, food preparation, family relations, etc. –, in other words the
progress within the worker's family life in terms of culture. Moreover, in order to ease or
make the intervention invisible, the chronicle visits were identified within different
functions, such as "infant layettes to all newborns as a 'birthday present' from the
municipality".[273] Gruber interprets this occasion as "Trojan horse effect".

The visits were not just for observing; the Department had the authority to remove children
from their parents temporarily or permanently if the family could not provide the
"appropriate" conditions for them.[274] Within this mechanism, the department's authority
was operated by means of persuasion with compulsion or voluntary cooperation with
juridical force.[275]

Besides the control mechanism upon the new-born children by the Department, the grown
ones were also under surveillance by kindergartens and Youth Consultation centers and
these social assistance centers were also giving rise to home visits, such as in the condition
of health problems of the children detected by them.[276]

To sum up, these kinds of practices of the Department were providing an opportunity for
Social Democrats to interfere the private sphere of the working-class, in a different version
of landlord-tenants relation in the tenement apartments. While the workers even did not
have the key of their apartments and could have been evicted arbitrarily in their former
houses, in the *Gemeindebauten* they encountered a different intervention under the name
of counseling. Furthermore, the intervention of the private sphere was not counted just in

---

[272] According to Gruber's text, there were 34 of them in Vienna in 1927. (H. Gruber 1998 p.65)
Regarding Karl Marx Hof, there was also one Mothers' Consultation Center, which was serving in the
second courtyard, as mentioned before.
[273] Ibid., p.66
[274] Ibid., pp.64-65
[275] Ibid.
[276] Ibid., p.66
Apart from the interventionist position, the main aim of the kindergartens as creating a possibility
for the women to work was also criticized by Gruber as not fulfilling the needs. According to his
researches, they were just accepting children at age four, mainly opened at 8 a.m. (one hour after
the adult workday had begun), having long and frequent holiday periods, and closed abruptly
because of childhood diseases. Put it another way, the discourse and its practice were strictly
contradictory. (H. Gruber 1998, ibid., p.72)

these counseling centers. In the way to creation of a new proletarian culture, even the dresses, the furniture and other consumption materials of the working-class was determined and advertised by means of magazines and newspapers, like *der Kuckuck, die Unzufriedene* and *die Arbeiter Zeitung*.

Within this mission, the women were regarded as the main actor in family and tried to be attracted by different devices. As mentioned before, firstly in the political arena they were given the right to vote, then in the economical arena their working conditions were tried to be tamed with equal pay and shortened work day regulations – although Gruber states that the conditions could not put into practice –. And in the cultural one, for the simplification of the housework they were also encouraged to use labor saving devices – such as electric hot plates, irons, sewing machines and vacuum cleaners – instead of luxury of personal presents, such as jewelry.[277]

Besides the encouragement attempts in order improve the life qualities of the female workers, there was another counseling center established for the creation of a domestic interior of the new proletariat and it was located in Karl Marx Hof[278]: the Advice Bureau for Interior Design and Domestic Hygiene of the Austrian Association for Housing Reform (*Die Beratungstelle für Inneneinrichtung und Wohnungshygiene des Österreichischen Verbandes für Wohnungsreform*) (Figure 4.18). It was opened in December 1930 and advertised by *die Arbeiter Zeitung* therewith in a phrase with a photo of the center:

> The counseling center for interior design and domestic hygiene in the Karl Marx Hof, where everyone gets one free advice on modern and functional apartment equipment.[279]

The purpose of the bureau, called as die BEST, was to counsel tenants in the new buildings on how to furnish their apartments and to introduce them to new furniture and industrial design within the lectures, exhibitions and other events promoting "simple practical design".[280]

---

[277] Ibid, p.70
[278] Before, there were temporary exhibitions in order to inform the working-class about their houses' new interior design. (E. Blau, ibid., p.191)
[279] *Die Arbeiter Zeitung*, 21 December 1930. The original statement in German: "Die Beratungsstelle für Inneneinrichtung und Wohnungshygiene im Karl Marx Hof, in der jeder man unentgeltlich Rat über moderne und zweckmässige Wohnungsausstattung bekommt."
[280] E. Blau, ibid., pp.191-192

Figure 4.18: The BEST, Karl Marx Hof

Blau gives detailed information about the permanent exhibition there by Ernst Lichtblau, who was an architect trained with Otto Wagner and the director of the BEST, as:

> …a model interior of a municipal apartment furnished with articles designed by himself and others. The purpose was the showcase good, inexpensive, and technically innovative contemporary design and to demonstrate how such furnishings could be accommodated and arranged in a typical working-class apartment to make the most effective use of the available living space. The emphasis was on small-scale, space saving, and multipurpose articles. Furniture on exhibition included laquered steel folding chairs and tables (often painted in bold primary colors), carpets and rugs, small wooden side tables, and innovative space-saving items like a collapsible child's play table that could be easily stored behind a door or cupboard, foldaway beds, linoleum-covered serving trays, and so on.[281]

---

[281] Ibid.

In 1920s, a new understanding of interior design was created under the name "*Einfacher Hausrat*" through the transformation of the "re-orientation in the Viennese interior design", created between the years 1910-14, which was including white walls, light furniture ornamented just in details. The new style was devoted to the proletariat with its simple and inexpensive qualities. Within the socialist objectives, standardized models like "*der Wiener Volkshaus*" - fixed furniture in the kitchen, a dinner table with three chairs, a couch and a bed with a closet and a washbasin on it– were created by the architects, Anton Brenner and Franz Schuster and exhibited. (Eva B. Ottilinger. *Wohnen zwischen den Kriegen: Wiener Möbel 1914-1941*, Böhlau Verlag Wien, 2009, pp.18-33)
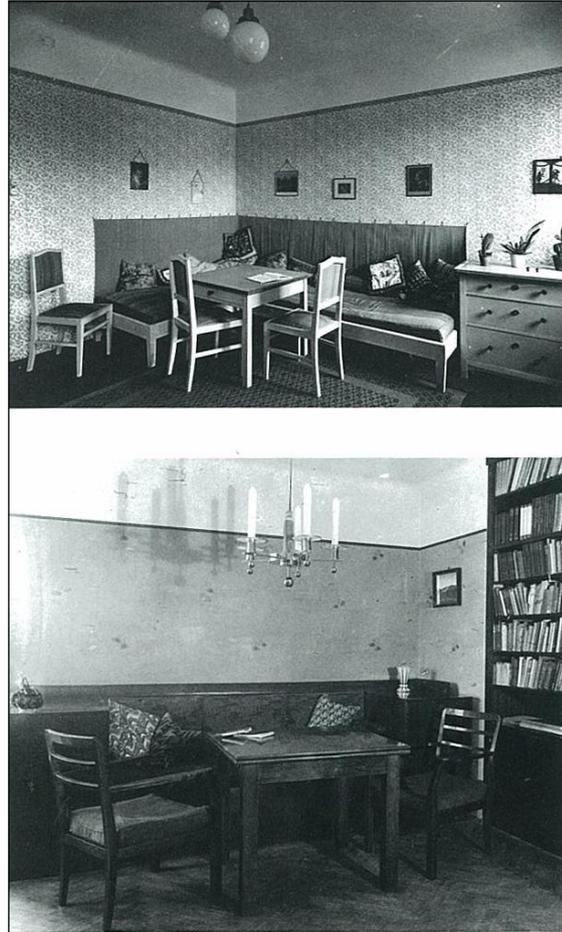
Figure 4.19: Model rooms presented in the BEST, Karl Marx Hof, 1930

Blau states that the lectures as well as exhibitions were well-attended by the candidates of the new proletarian culture.[282] However, the purchase power of low-income worker families retained as a question. As Gruber states, few workers could afford to buy this functional furniture, and; the center's effort to increase the production and lower the cost of some of the more innovative designs was never realized, according to the Blau's argument. Thus, it can be said that few worker families could attain the functional furniture together with the functional electronic devices, and it resulted in the criticism of modernism in *Gemeindebauten*.[283] Indeed, from another perspective, it can be regarded as

---

[282] "The BEST was open on Friday and Saturday afternoons, Sunday mornings, and most holidays. Admission to all exhibitions and events, like use of the consultation services, was free of charge." (Ibid.)

[283] One of the von Saldern's critiques was related with the standard of furnishing. He states that German modernist estates' interior design and furnishing were high standard, on the contrary of Viennese examples. This criticism is in fact related with the purchase power of the worker families,

an endeavor to change the physical appearance of the domestic sphere of working-class, which has been interested in 19th century petty-bourgeois values in terms of massive interior design. The indirect intervention of the municipality, however, did not end up within the desired consequences.

The control mechanism of the private sphere of proletariat, which was conceptualized around "cleanliness and order", was also supported with administrative regulations. Being the tenants of the municipality, the inhabitants did not have the chance of participating in the administration; although there was a committee of tenants in each *Gemeindebau* whose ideas were regarded as just recommendations.[284] The building rules – like the time and place to beat the rugs and deposit refuse; how and where children should play in the courtyard; the appearance of hallways, cellars and balconies, etc. – were prescribed by the housing bureau of the municipal council.[285] Moreover,

> [t]here was also a laundry supervisor who scheduled the monthly wash days of each family, kept all but the women out of washing facility (on the prudish grounds of protecting female modesty), and supervised the use of machinery; an apartment inspector who made monthly visits to all domiciles to ascertain their state of maintenance and to receive reports of infractions of the rules from the concierge (children playing on the grass in the courtyard were duly marked down in a book of infractions); and an array of "experts" in the clinics, consultation centers, kindergartens, and libraries whose function was above all tutelary.[286]

Thus, the administrative regulations together with the other practices of the departments of SDAP, indeed, did not only result in the intervention of private sphere of the proletariat but also the public sphere of it. In other words, the inhabitants could not have the possibility to shape their domestic and common spaces through their own spatial perceptions, in opposition to the *Siedlungen*, supported by the municipality in the beginning of their governance period. This argument brings up the question of whether "the emerged spatial re-definitions of perimeter block and courtyard" corresponded to the architectural dimension or not.

---

middle-class or well-paid workers in the German estates and low-income worker families in the Viennese ones. (A. von Saldern, ibid., pp.337-338)
[284] H. Gruber (1991), p.64
[285] Ibid., p.63
[286] Ibid.

In order to relate the discussion to the Karl Marx Hof and to read some of the interventions on its spaces, it is crucial to refer to the interview done with a native inhabitant of that period, Kurt Treml,[287] and to little information reflected in the book "*Der Karl Marx Hof*" by Susanne Reppé. The memories of these native inhabitants can be regarded as mostly nice – stories about their games with their friends, social organizations within the youth centers, etc. –; however, some details they are giving are connoting coercive practices, which will be mentioned in order to reveal spatial consequences on public sphere of the proletariat.

Kurt Treml was a native resident living in the two-bedroom type of apartment in Karl Marx Hof. According to the information he provides, there were 20 to 40 children in per staircase, which meant approximately 100 children per courtyard.[288] Therefore it can be said that the dimensions of the courtyards with its playgrounds were providing an enormous advantage both to children as a safe place to play and their parents, who could watch their children from their balconies and loggias while they were at home. However, the playgrounds were not sufficient for the children as he mentions:

> We liked football the best of course. We would get in trouble when our shoes
> wore down, so we would always play football barefoot, whether summer or
> winter, and in the evening bathe our bleeding toes in olive oil. Only the lawns
> we children treated with great respect, as "children-free" zones.[289]

Turning to the architectural qualities, the courtyards were occupied by lawn to a great extent; however, the aim was declared even in the guiding principles as keeping the environment dust-free, i.e. due to the health considerations. From a functional point of view, the lawns were used as an aesthetic object in addition to the precaution for tuberculosis and it was strictly prohibited to step on it, in addition to flowerbeds, in the building rules. According to Treml in another interview, if a child was warned by the *Hausinspektor,* who was responsible to observe whether the building rules were followed or not, and was controlling the courtyards often, twice and wrote down in the fraction book, the family was encountering the problem of eviction.[290]

---

[287] Similar interviews done with him is accessible both in the thesis of Manuel Smalis and the book "*Karl Marx Hof: Versailles der Arbeiter*" by Kriechbaum.
[288] M. Smalis, ibid., p.61
[289] G. Kriechbaum, ibid., pp.129-133
[290] M. Smalis, ibid., p.63

Figure 4.20: A view from one of the courtyards, Karl Marx Hof, 1930

Besides supervisors[291] of common spaces like central laundry-bath and experts in the counseling centers, there were other agents, namely *Hausinspektor*, which was mentioned, and *Hausbesorger/in*, in the Karl Marx Hof. Each stairwell housed a *Hausbesorger/innen*, i.e. caretakers, and they were worker families, who could afford the accommodation by cleaning up the stairwell, collecting the rents, and they were in communication with the *Hausinspektor* about the rules. A relevant story from Reppé:

> If the caretaker has washed up the stairs and we children were at that moment in the courtyard, we were not allowed going up. Since then the mother has let down a milk jug with water by means a rope, for us children.[292]

These statements show that the building rules, even the ones concerning the children, were put in the practice well and the reason may be counted as that violating the rules was resulted in strict punishments like eviction.

---

[291] They were mainly responsible for applying general rules valid for common spaces in *Gemeindebauten*. Besides informing the inhabitants about the equipments, they were also controlling the usage of the spaces: for each person, bathtubs were 45 minutes, the showers 30 minutes allowed. (Susanne Reppé. *Der Karl Marx Hof*, Wien: Picus, 1993, p.58)

[292] The original statement in German: "Wenn die Hausmeisterin die Stiegen aufgewaschen hat und wir Kinder grad im Hof waren, durften wir nicht raufgehen. Da hat die Mutter dann über ein Schnürl eine Milchkanne mit Wasser runterlassen für uns Kinder." (Ibid., p.93)

Moreover, regarding the courtyards of Karl Marx Hof, there were also other rules, concerning the adults mainly. While in the morning hours, inner courtyards were mostly occupied by children, in the afternoon they were becoming the resting place of the adults. According to Smalis' thesis, the benches were used for resting when the workers came to the *Gemeindebau* before going home,[293] as thought in the guiding principles. However, after 9 p.m. it was forbidden even to talk loudly in the courtyards. In the case of code violation, the workers were told by the *Rathauswache* – watchman – to leave the courtyard.[294]

The central courtyard was controlled within a similar and stricter mechanism, too.[295] However, the situation was different there regarding its architectural definition. As mentioned before, it was assigned to demonstrate the working-class dignity. Although some benches were located around the Sämann, with its openness, being located between the *Bahnhof* and, the Hohe-Warte Stadion and the main artery of the district it was much more like a square devoted to citizens, instead of the inhabitants. As Treml mentions in the interview, apart from the regular citizens, 40.000 people were passing through the courtyard just because of football matches in the stadium.[296] In other words, although the central court was the most expressive part of the housing, it was hardly used by the workers.

To sum up, Social Democrats' housing program – promising new spatial practices to working-class – within the cultural policies and the regulations of the party created an illusionary space. Different control mechanism – like the visits into homes, prohibitions about the usage of courtyards, stairwells, even the dwellings – operated so that the worker families could not shape and control their private and public spheres freely, although the building was completely devoted to them. The symbolic meaning of the building was left just in the contradictory architectural image.

---

[293] M. Smalis, ibid., p.64
[294] Ibid., p.66
[295] Ibid., p.70
[296] Ibid., p.35

4.4 EPILOGUE

Although it seems that the practices were belonged to three different realms – politics, architecture and cultural – they were interrelated areas, which affected each other in diverse points. While politics was the actor in the architecture as decision taker, cultural policies of the party itself affected the architectural production in terms of defining the private-public duality.

The selected project, Karl Marx Hof, indeed, provides a basis to see the interrelation of these three realms, even basically the hardest one politics and architecture, where it was thought that of a lack of a clear architectural program by the party in the housing program. While the interviews done with the inhabitants of the period are clarifying the consequences of the control mechanism of the party on space, for the politics-architecture relation the story of the design process provides significant information about the effect of politics on the architecture, which makes harder to think that architecture as an autonomous mechanism controlled by the architects, especially by the students of Wagner in that period.

According to the Blau's narration, the existing project, in fact, was the second proposal which was built after the rejection of the first one by Clemens Holzmeister (Figure 4.21). He was invited by the municipality to design a *Gemeindebau* for this crucial site in Döbling; however his project, consisted of parallel rows of low-density blocks grouped around sunken rectangular gardens, was regarded as a *Siedlung* and rejected by the municipal building authorities, by the *Stadtrat* Franz Siegel, since the building was cut through just by three street and was closed to the environment, i.e. "…disengaged from the area around them".[297]

This information, in fact, provides a framework in which the relation between politics and architecture can be seen apparently.[298] As mentioned before, the architectural layout of the type *Gemeindebauten* was evolved through the practices of architects, especially with the first example by Gessner, a student of Otto Wagner. However, based on the example of Karl

---

[297] The information about the first proposal was obtained from E. Blau, ibid., pp.320-321

[298] There was not a clue about the relationship between the architects and the party which affected the decision regarding their "socialist" positions in Vienna. While Holzmeister was invited due to the success of his previous project, municipal crematorium's contextualism, Ehn was known with his housing projects and working in *Stadtbauamt*, municipal planning and building control office.

Marx Hof, it can be said that it does not mean that the mechanism was operated outside the realm of politics. The "monumentalization, axiality and symmetry", which were regarded as Wagnerian features by Haiko, implemented in the existing project, were accepted by the party as signifying its ideology and, within the decisions of the municipal housing projects the features became crucial.
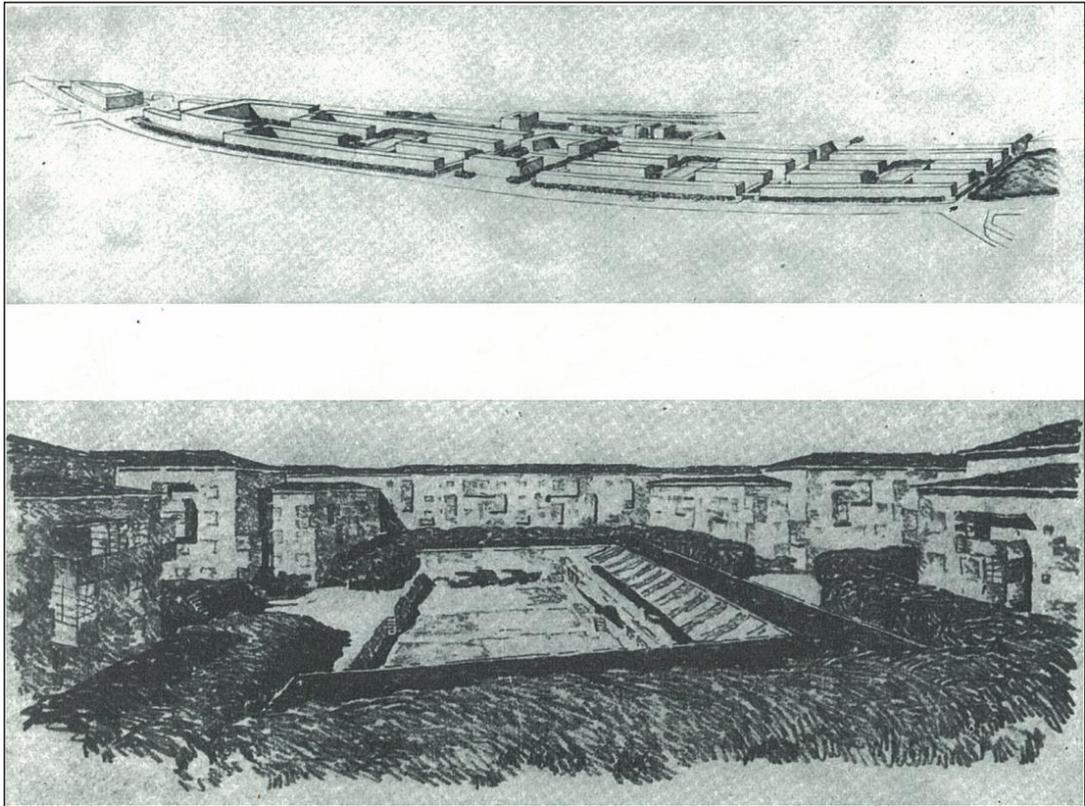

Figure 4.21: Drawings of the first proposal by Clemens Holzmeister, 1926

Since these three realms are affecting each other, they are demonstrating the contradictory discourse and practices on each other, too. To illustrate the contradictory relation between the politics and architecture, to refer the architectural layout of the *Gemeindebauten* may be crucial. While the features of the *Gemeindebauten*, especially of Karl Marx Hof – monumental outlook within the urban context symbolizing the power of Social Democrats – , were identifying features of a fortress-like structure, however; the approach of the party itself was developed around "wait and see policy" in terms of having a revolution through a bloody struggle. In other words, there was a discrepancy between the political position of

the party towards the revolution – as opposing the struggle in the reality – and the architectural language they used.

For illustrating the relation between the politics and cultural practices, and thereby the results on architecture, it is important to mention the *Neue Menschen*, who were thought to be the new proletariat with their newly created culture. As Gruber and von Saldern emphasize, the existing sub-cultural forms of the working-class were not appreciated in favor of creating a new counter-culture, which resulted in a strict control mechanism. Gruber, at that point, grounds the reason on the party's unfamiliarity with life at bottom.[299] Put it another way, the statement implies that the origins of the members – mainly bourgeois families – and their hardly touch with the working-class was resulted in practicing radical cultural policies realized upon the private and public spaces of proletariat.

Therefore in the research, the reflection of the cultural policies by means of the control mechanism on space was regarded as one of the most effective tools in analyzing private-public duality in Karl Marx Hof, besides its dual architectural characteristics.

As mentioned before, the *Gemeindebauten* were mainly glorified by the municipality due to creating accessibility to private and public spaces for proletariat – with its large courtyards, attics and cellars for public use and the individual dwelling units for private. Before the World War I the courtyards in the tenement buildings were reduced to airshafts (Figure 4.22) and; even in the middle class housing, the tenants were not allowed to enter the courtyards – they were serving for the landlord's private use.[300] Thus, the created housing was assigned to allocate the use of the private-public spaces to the working-class.

---

[299] H. Gruber (1991), ibid., p.9
[300] E. Blau, pp. 218-220

Figure 4.22: An example of tenement courtyard, c.1900

By looking the architectural qualities – courtyards, playgrounds, individual dwellings, counseling centers –, it can be said that the physical obstacles were removed. Courtyard, defined as a private space of bourgeoisie before the war, can be regarded as becoming both the private sphere of working-class and the extension of public sphere of the city by means of openings into the streets. The housing, Karl Marx Hof, was not just providing accommodation for the inhabitants; it was serving to the city with its large green spaces – through the passage ways. The blurality of the boundaries between private and public was addressed to the success of the housing, indeed it was. The only strict boundary drawn was located between the dwellings and the city. The privacy of the dwellings were achieved step by step, first by situating the entrances of the stairwells in the courtyards, and then by the vertical organization of the apartments. Thus, although there was a contradictory approach in the architectural language in terms of the struggle with bourgeoisie, the architectural solution for the public-private duality seems to be effective.
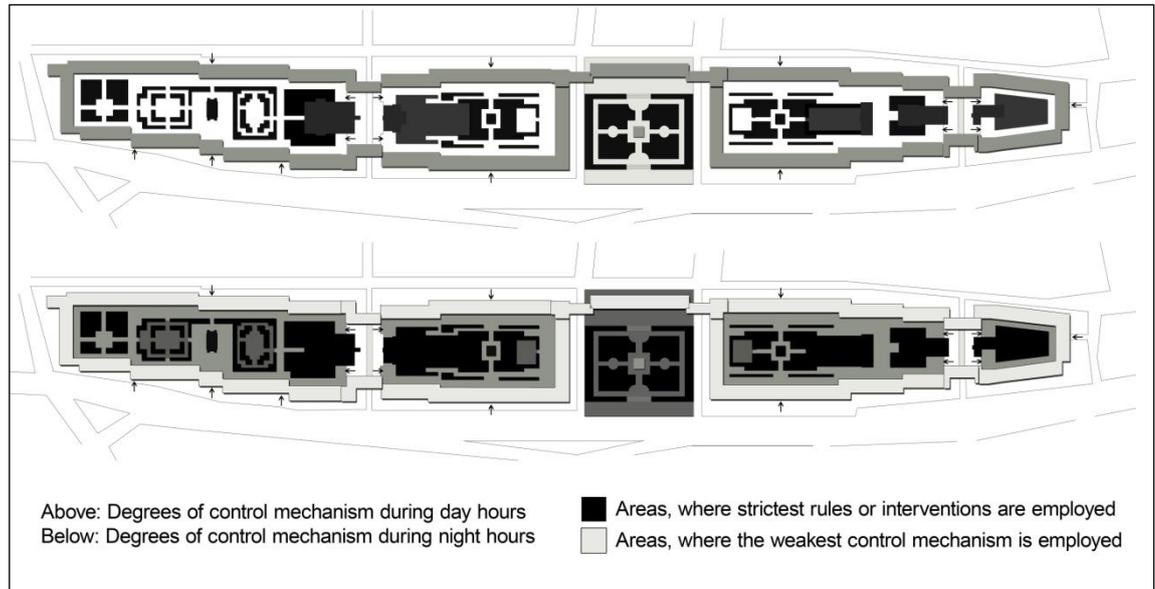
Figure 4.23: A symbolic illustration of the control mechanism employed in Karl Marx Hof

However, through unfolding the contradictions inherent in separate but interrelated realms, it can be possible to reveal whether the created spaces' qualities corresponded to that of architectural. First of all, it should be said that the inhabitants were still in the position of tenants, although there were many reformist regulations put into practice regarding the rent control and the arbitrarily eviction of the tenants by landlords. In the *Gemeindebauten* the rents were kept very low, as stated by von Saldern in the comparison of German and Viennese examples and the worker families were not encountered any arbitrary eviction, but; as long as they would follow the building rules and the counseling centers' recommendations.

The facilities the housing was providing mainly in the auxiliary buildings in the courtyards – central laundry-bath, kindergarten, mother counseling / dental clinic, etc. – were supervised by the experts. Moreover, the dwellings were visited monthly for the maintenance issue by the *Hausinspektor* and even by other agents of municipality – unannounced visits in order to control the condition of the houses. Besides the control mechanisms regarding the private sphere of the proletariat mentioned extensively in the previous subchapter, the common spaces were also controlled under strict building regulations. The prohibition of game plays in the courtyards, of stepping onto lawns or the constraints about the usage of the courtyards with respect to hours created the objectives in which the public sphere of the working-class was shaped (Figure 4.23).

Sonne describes the *Gemeindebauten* as private blocks publicly owned by the municipality.[301] However, regarding the mentioned control mechanisms, the definition needs to be broadened through questioning the privacy of the working-class. In other words, the public intrusion into the private sphere of working-class resulted in re-definition of the boundary between private and public spaces in Karl Marx Hof.

Madanipour, at that point, provides a further insight with his discussion on exclusion and inclusion matters. He discusses dismantling attempts of the causes of social exclusion, and exemplifies some efforts to include a part of society which came up with de-spatialization of the social exclusion "…without necessarily dismantling the causes of deprivation", to illustrate Baron Haussmann's wide boulevards in the middle of pour neighborhood in the nineteenth century.[302] *Gemeindebauten*, in that sense, fit in the definition within two separate realms. While subtenants and bedrenters were encountered homelessness, the inclusionary aspects of the cultural policies in the territory of the municipality, can also be regarded as resulted in the de-spatialization of the social exclusion.

It can be said that the illusion of the power of Social Democrats even by themselves was reflected on the space of proletariat, as an illusion of inclusion. Or this practice can also be questioned whether the socialism theorized in Austro-Marxism – as fulfilling the requirements of the working-class – would have fallen the dichotomy of its idealistic position and its real one as the dominant power, or not.

The practices of the party and the apparatuses it employed make sense within the assessment of Sargın:

> Modern city can be regarded as an evidence for how a modern state can transform into a panoptic apparatus entirely; and it is inevitable that this transformation will have a "voyeuristic" quality: In one sense, modern city is the utopian space of "big arrest and imprisonment" and it shelters the ruling class who controls the individuals with compiled image and information expertly.[303]

---

[301] W. Sonne, ibid., p.78
[302] A. Madanipour (2003b), ibid., p.79
[303] The original statement in Turkish: "Modern kent, modern devletin bütünüyle nasıl panoptic bir aygıta dönüşebileceğinin ispatıdır ve bu dönüşümün "voyeuristic" bir nitelik edinmesi kaçınılmazdır: Modern kent bir anlamda, 'büyük gözaltı ve büyük kapatma'nın ütopya mekânlarıdır ve bireylerini derlenmiş imge ve enformasyon aracılığıyla denetleyen iktidarı kendi içerisinde ustalıkla barındırır." (G. A. Sargın, ibid., pp.53-56)

Besides the dual architectural language signifying proletarian culture within bourgeois values, the *Gemeindebauten*, especially Karl Marx Hof, created a space in which bourgeois apparatuses were used by Social Democrats within the creation of a proletarian counter-culture purified from bourgeois values. In other words, it can be said that an abnormal formation evolved around the ideal of socialism transformed into a normal entity within the spatial organization. Thus, regarding the discussion in the previous chapter, the new housing program for the proletariat was bearing the traces of bourgeois conceptions both in the realms of politics and its practices realized on the architectural production. While bourgeoisie was in the phase of creating a new spatial language within the German modernism, the working-class was continued to be defined upon the bourgeoisie – the architectural layout upon the nineteenth century bourgeois values, the control mechanism upon the general bourgeois strategies. Put it another way, the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat seems to be ended with the victory of bourgeoisie.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In a social order dominated by capitalist production even the non-capitalist producer is gripped by capitalist conceptions.

Karl Marx

In the research, Karl Marx Hof, the most symbolic architectural production of Red Vienna, was examined in order to achieve the re-definitions of the private and public spheres of the working-class by means of uncovering the contradictions inherent in three interrelated areas, namely the realm of politics, architecture and culture. Within the survey, it was aimed to reveal the contradictory assessment of Social Democrats whose promise was providing accessibility to working-class into their own private-public spaces. At that point, the critique of being "utopian, socio-political projects" by Tafuri assisted in setting up the framework of the analysis. The dialectical relation between the dominant ideology, i.e. capitalism, and the formation of the practices of the governing party within socialist goals prepared the base in defining its spatial consequences. Through the analysis, the second aim was thereafter to posit the housing of proletariat with respect to bourgeois domestic space. Based on the spatial analyses by critics mainly, the framework was drawn regarding prewar and after war domestic architectural production of aristocracy, bourgeoisie and proletariat.

In order to be able to achieve the goals of the research, in Chapter 2, the economic and political background of the capital city Vienna was tried to be explained. Referring both positive and negative criticism of the period after the First World War, the external effects – the enforcement of the treaties between the Allies and Austria, which prohibited the *Anscluß* with Germany, and; through the division of productive lands of the Dual Monarchy the economical condition of Austria – and the internal dynamics – the division of the power between Social Democrats, Christian Socials and German Nationalists – were tried to be

brought together. The aim was to draw a picture of the political and economic background of Vienna, which would facilitate to comprehend the municipal socialism, main project of Social Democrats.

In Chapter 3, the ground for the main discussion was prepared. In order to relate the dominant ideology notion to the struggle among the social classes – aristocracy, bourgeoisie and proletariat –, the produced urban domestic space has been taken as the main indicator of economic and political arena. Therefore, the discussion in this chapter consisted mainly of two parts: the prewar domestic space production of bourgeoisie in relation to aristocratic palace and, the working-class housing before and after the war in relation to bourgeoisie. Based mainly on the architectural criticism, it was aimed to redefine the domestic space production with respect to the struggles first between the aristocracy and bourgeoisie before the war, and then between bourgeoisie and working-class after it. The analysis showed that, in the first part of the discussion, the bourgeois house can be regarded as a transformation of the aristocratic palace, although there was a tremendous difference in utilization of the domestic space. In other words, it can be stated that the ruling-class within its power in economic and political arena implicitly drew the framework of domestic architectural production and, bourgeoisie within its private sphere tried to demonstrate its existence in economic arena, thereafter in the political one through the usage of the same style and expensive ornamentation of aristocratic palace.

Within the same context, the second part of the discussion was concentrated on the architectural definition of the domestic sphere of working-class, first in the tenement building before the war and then in the social housing created by Social Democrats after it. By means of the same tools, the prewar condition of working-class housing was stated as being an inversion of the bourgeois apartment. In other words, within the struggle between aristocracy and bourgeoisie, there was not a clue of working-class' domestic space production. Rather, due to the economic and political exclusion of the class, its private sphere was compelled to be defined within the bourgeois understanding of housing. However, it can be said that, after the World War I through the dissolution of the aristocracy, the domestic space production of both the bourgeoisie and the working-class was changed. While bourgeoisie started to define its domestic sphere within its new spatial invention – modern villa –, the domestic sphere of proletariat was relocated in the new housing program within the political and economic power of the governing party, SDAP. In

order to relate the discussion to the new production of housing, the chapter was concluded with the architectural definition of *Gemeindebauten* and the selected project, Karl Marx Hof.

In Chapter 4, the examination of the new building type was conducted through three interrelated areas, politics, architecture and culture. In the first section, it was aimed to reveal the discrepancy between the theoretical background of the party, Austro-Marxism, and the attitudes towards the problematique of establishing a socialist system within the capitalist structure of economy in the First Republic. In order to re-invent the inherent contradictions of politics, mainly the negative criticism in the historiography constructed the framework and the analysis showed that; although the theory was to thought to be based on the revolutionary liberation of proletariat to some extent, within the economic and political realms, the practices of the party was shaped rather around the reformist courses.

In the second section of the fourth chapter, it was aimed to reveal the contradictory spatial qualities of the proletarian housing by means of the architectural criticism of the period. Referring mainly to the discussion held in the third chapter, the architectural language in *Gemeindebauten* was discussed both in the planimetric level and in stylistic approach mainly within Wagnerian modernism, and; the framework was utilized in the extensive analysis of Karl Marx Hof's architectural characteristics. Defined as a *new* building type, through establishing new relations between the private and public spaces – as well as creating a new relation with the city – the statement becomes blurring within the examination. Although the architectural terms and definitions corresponded to the physical spatial layout, the analysis showed that the advertised *newness* of the building type was consisting of such formal elements and representation techniques embedded within the nineteenth century bourgeois values.

Furthermore, in order to be able to judge the new private-public duality – which showed a consistency within the architectural layout to some extent –, in the third section of the chapter the administrative regulations and cultural policies run by the municipality were taken as the main actor in re-definition of private and public sphere of the working-class. In other words, it was aimed to reveal the contradiction between the architectural language and the spatial practices within it. Therefore, the discursive formation of the new

proletarian counter-culture, which was thought to be essential in the way to socialism by the party, as purified from bourgeois values, at the same time purified from the older formations of proletarian subcultures, played a significant role in the analysis. The practices by some institutions of the Department of Public Health and Welfare together with the counseling centers located within the buildings – providing insight into the private sphere of the proletariat by means of home visits – and the building rules – providing a control mechanism mainly within the common spaces of the buildings – were discussed by means of cultural studies and related to the examined project, Karl Marx Hof, also by referring to the memories of the native inhabitants of the building. Within the examination it became clear that the interventionist position of the party resulted in new re-definitions regarding the private and public spaces of the proletariat. In other words, the possible new spatial practices the architecture accommodated – new in the sense of being put into service for the first time to the working-class in Vienna – were eliminated by means of the apparatuses operated by the party, the same actor who was charged to create the urban enclave for the proletariat.

To sum up, throughout the research it was tried to underline the dialectical relationship between the politics and the production of space within the context of the period 1920s and 1930s and the findings showed the process of the transformation of an idealistic socialism into a *normal* modern welfare state by means of spatial practices within the capitalist system. The architecture, at this point, became a medium, which reflected the errors of the political realm.

This re-reading of the spatial qualities of a proletarian housing started with the motivation of conducting a Tafurien reading. His position towards the working-class settlements, especially the German examples within the same period, was stating "the inevitable neutralization by the rational principles of the forces and relations of capitalist production"[304]. His contextual analysis in his words:

> The utopianism of central European architecture between 1920 and 1930 consisted in a relationship of trust established between left-wing intellectuals, the advanced sectors of "democratic capitalism" (think, for instance, of a figure such as Rathenau), and the democratic administrations. Within the working situation the solution to individual problems tended to be presented as highly

---

[304] Z. Tuna, ibid., p.16

103

generalized models (policies of eminent domain and expropriation, technological experimentation, formal elaboration of the housing project as a standard architectural type), but they revealed their limited efficiency when tested in actual fact.[305]

Bearing similar relationships – maybe more revolutionary –, the Viennese working-class settlements' building type was examined in order to reveal "the actual fact" he mentions. As mentioned before, the findings showed that the revolutionary attempt by Social Democrats in the theory turned out to be reformist spatial experiences for the working-class together with the architectural formation within the housing program. In that sense, Tafuri's assessment seems to be corresponding to the 1920s of architectural production in Red Vienna.

Indeed, the research's main argument that bourgeois values were conveyed not only within the architectural language but also within the control mechanisms regarding the transformation of the old proletarian culture into the new one together with the bourgeois roots of the party leadership reminds Engels' criticism of the book "The Housing Condition of the Working Classes and Their Reform" by Dr. Emil Sax in 1869's Vienna. Sax, as Engels puts it, solves the problem of housing by introducing working-class colonies to be established near the towns with their common "water supply, gas, lighting, air or hot water heating, laundries, drying rooms, bathrooms, nursery, school, library, concert halls, etc.".[306] According to the critique, Sax was of the opinion that

> …by improving the housing of the laboring classes it would be possible successfully to remedy the material and spiritual misery which has been described, and thereby – by a radical improvement of the housing conditions alone – to raise the greater part of these classes out of the morass of their often hardly human conditions of existence to the pure heights of material and spiritual wellbeing.[307]

Describing the effort as "bourgeois socialism", Engels states that "the bourgeois Socialists are desirous of re-dressing social grievances in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society".[308] His point here which is not to change the capitalist mode of production and to raise the "propertyless classes" to the level of the "propertied classes" by means of improving the housing conditions has a common ground within the questioning of

---

[305] M. Tafuri, ibid., p.115
[306] F. Engels, ibid., p.50
[307] Ibid., p.14
[308] Ibid., p.41

1920s of Vienna despite some basic differences, indeed. As mentioned within the research, the reformist approach upon the existing system though the verbal attack by the leaders the capitalist mode of production was not changed. However, it can be said that the solutions found for the housing problem by Sax and by Austro-Marxists may be called as different basically. Instead of working-class colonies near the towns – which were named as *Musterarbeitersiedlungen* in Vienna and criticized in Chapter 3 as aiming the reproduction of labor by controlling the private sphere of the working-class –, Social Democrats of the First Republic preferred to concretize the working-class' existence with numerous social housing estates within the city – supporting and advertising the new proletarian counter culture. At this point, there exists a discrepancy between the definition of bourgeois socialism by Engels and the housing program by Austro-Marxists. Whereas bourgeois bourgeois socialism tries to create a society without proletariat – in other words, to destroy the class consciousness within the working-class –, the Austro-Marxist's discourse implies the opposite position: to create a proletarian culture which would be politically and culturally conscious. However, regarding the inherent contradictions within the politics, architectural production and cultural policies run by the municipality – based mainly on bourgeois values –, it becomes hard to define the municipal socialism as resting upon the working-class revolution. Therefore, although it does not correspond to the concept bourgeois socialism of Engels precisely, the reformist practices of the revolutionary Austro-Marxist doctrine places a question mark in 1920s and 30s of Red Vienna.

As a consequence, it can be said that the *Gemeindebauten* type inherited in Karl Marx Hof had a dual characteristic: revolutionary discourse within a reformist realization. Therefore, Tafuri's critique that the working-class settlements' ideals are neutralized by the capitalist system can be regarded as a tool in explaining the existing situation. However, his main argument that architecture as an ideological tool, i.e. an integral part of the capitalist project, cannot possess any revolutionary path within the social transformation was not handled as one of the objectives of this study. Rather, the positive role of the architectural ideology within the possibility of establishing a spatial resistance was regarded as a departure point, keeping in mind.

In order to concretize the standpoint of the research it is important to refer the critical approaches to the position of Tafuri. Fredric Jameson, at that point, provides a significant

framework and states that if that kind of reading would be accurate, then it means to read the socialist attempts by the "red communes" as they would have not constitute;

> …enclaves at all – not laboratories in which original social relations of the future are being worked out, but rather simply the administration of the inherited capitalistic relations, albeit conducted in a different spirit of social commitment than that of the Christian Democrats.[309]

He continues his remark then by referring to the examples of the West, which were not realized within the collective ensembles, rather owing to the private property system and states that,

> [t]he essential would rather be that they are able to form conceptions and utopian images of such projects, against which to develop a self-consciousness of their concrete activities in this society (it being understood, in Tafuri's spirit, that such collective projects would only practically and materially be possible after a systematic transformation of society). But such utopian "ideas" are as "objective" as material buildings: their possibilities – the possibility of conceiving such new space – have conditions of possibility as rigorous as any material artifact.[310]

His assessments within "the enclave theory" together with the notion of Gramsci's "counter-hegemony", rather, can be said that constituted the basic conception of the research, especially regarding the unspoken subjects that were defined outside of the research field. To illustrate the traces of the possibility of a spatial resistance, the Civil War between the *Schutzbund* and the *Heimwehr* – paramilitary organizations of Social Democrats and the Nationalists – in 1934 can be exemplified, but this time from another perspective. Within the research, the bloody struggle was defined within a contradiction, which was formed between the politics and its architectural language – i.e. within an ideological approach –; however, the text by Susanne Reppé refers to the same issue from another point of view, i.e. from the working-class' perspective. As she narrates, the members of the *Schutzbund,* the ones living in the social housing, took their places within the struggle, although there was not a call of arming the paramilitary organization by the party. Within the sense of togetherness, the military service was supported by the

---

[309] Fredric Jameson. *The Ideologies of Theory: The syntax of History*, The University of Minnesota Press, 1988, p.51
[310] Ibid., pp.51-52

inhabitants; the worker families were helping to each other and so on.[311] As the most important, they were gathering in the large and protected courtyards instead of staying within their private dwellings – indeed, within the nuclear family model, they were much more advertising individuality, rather than collective living.[312] In other words, it can be said that, the building organized a sense of togetherness with its spectacular common spaces, if not with private apartments. As Josef Frank pointed out, Karl Marx Hof with its architectural qualities was suggesting to the inhabitants "protection and security against a hostile environment, while repelling outsider by the diminishing effect of its architectural force majeure".[313]

At this point, it can be stated that the architecture within a positive connotation of ideology plays a significant role in the political struggle by means of creating a spatial resistance, even if not desired by the capitalist system. As Lefebvre states;

> Thus indeed space "speaks" but it does not tell all. Above all, it prohibits. Its mode of existence, its practical "reality" (including its form) differs radically from the reality (or being-there) of something written. [314]

Reading the criticisms in a positive approach can be tool in the search of the circumstances, which connote a possible resistance. Hence, Tafuri's argument that it is an illusion to hope a social transformation within the counter-projects in the capitalist system was regarded as a negative approach in the study. Rather, it is intended to suggest a further reading of the Viennese proletarian housing projects in terms of their potential in rearing a spatial resistance, even despite its contradictionary positioning in the historiography. Keeping in mind, housing was not addressed as just a consumption issue in the program; instead it was thought to be the place where a new social class would come into being. Therefore, regarding the productive aspects of the space, it is still possible to discuss what kind of

---

[311] For further information about the Civil War experienced within Karl Marx Hof, please see S. Reppé, ibid., pp.73-88

[312] Indeed, regarding the cultural and political activities SDAP promoted in the large courtyards, bourgeoisie considered the *Höfe* as "gathering places for the enemies of the society". (A. Von Saldern, ibid., p.344)
In other words, the courtyards, promising a collective living, played a significant role both within being one of the reasons of the Civil War through its ideological meaning and then within the real utilization by the inhabitants during the war.

[313] P. Haiko, ibid., p.23

[314] H. Lefebvre, ibid., p.142

revolutionary possibilities the architecture proposed within the *reformist* municipal program.

Finally, the research suggests that the *Gemeindebauten* should not be addressed as utopian projects, in Tafurien sense, although the survey's methodology was based on his arguments. Rather it is believed that the term "utopia" needs to be collapsed into the original Greek words again – *eu-topia* as "good place" and *ou-topia* as "no-place" – and the critic needs to situate himself/herself in-between and to look at the physical space from there.[315] Karl Marx Hof, being a social housing developed around bourgeois values, may bear the possibility of a revolutionary path, a "good place". It should not be forgotten that, wherever there exists a power, there are also free individuals and a possibility of resistance, even if individualistic.[316]

---

[315] Kevin Hetherington in his book "The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering" examines some of the most important social spaces of the eighteenth century in order to reveal the significance of marginal space in relation to issues of order, transgression and resistance. Regarding his methodology, he suggests to posit the Foucauldian heterotopias in between *eu-topia* and *ou-topia*.

At this point, Peter Johnson's statement becomes worthy to mention. According to him, although Foucault describes heterotopias as "actually existing utopia", the conception is not tied to a space that promotes any promise, any hope or any primary form of resistance or liberation. Rather he defines the different spaces as sites for resistance to the dominant culture. (Peter Johnson, Unraveling Foucault's "Different Spaces", *History of Human Sciences*, 19:75, 2006, pp.81-84)

From this point of view, the term heterotopias can be more effective as a re-reading tool, in further researches.

[316] Işık Ergüden and Tuncay Birkan Ed., *Michel Foucault: Özne ve İktidar*. Ayrıntı: 307 Seçme Yazılar 2, 2000, p .21

BIBLIOGRAPHY

25 Jahre Karl Marx Hof. Karl Marx Hof Zeitung, 1955.

Achleitner, Friedrich. *Österreichischer Architektur Band III*. Residenz Verlag, 2010.

Althusser, Louis. *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*. İthaki Yayınları, 2008.

Anon., "Bauen + Wohnen Sozial?", *Architektur Aktuell*, Heft 65/1978.

Anon., *Wiener Wohnraum*, Wiener Bodenbereitstellungs- und Stadterneuerungsfonds.

Anon., *Sanierungsmodell: Karl Marx Hof*. Wien: Gistel Druck, 1987.

Architektur Zentrum Wien, http://www.azw.at, accessed on 15.08.2011.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. The University of Chacago Press, 1969.

Bauer, Lilli. *Da steht er, der 'eingestürzte Bau': Extra-Ausgabe*. Presse und Polemik zur Errichtung des Karl Marx Hofes, 2010.

Blau, Eve. *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934*. The MIT Press, 1999.

Das Rote Wien: Waschsalon, http://dasrotewien-waschsalon.at/in/, accessed on 15.03.2011.

Die Angelobung im Karl Marx Hof. Bundesministerium für Ländesverteidigung, Wien, 1984.

Engels, Frederick. *The Housing Question*, Progress Publishers, 1970.

Ergüden, Işık and Tuncay Birkan, ed. *Michel Foucault: Özne ve İktidar*. Ayrıntı: 307 Seçme Yazılar 2, 2000.

Ergüden, Işık and Tuncay Birkan, ed. *Michel Foucault: İktidarın Gözü*. Ayrıntı: 383 Seçme Yazılar 4, 2003.

Foucault, Michel. *Dicsipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1975.

Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces: Heterotopias", *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach. Routledge, London, 1997.

Gieselmann, Reinhard. *Der Karl Marx Hof*. Prolegomena 24, 1978.

Gruber, Helmut and Pamela Graves, ed. *Women and Socialism, Socialism and Women: Europe between the Two World Wars*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998.

Gruber, Helmut. *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture 1919-1934*. Oxford University Press, 1991.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. USA: The MIT Press, 1991.

Haiko, Peter. *Vienna 1850-1930: Architecture*. Rizzoli International Publications, 1992.

Hetherington, Kevin. *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Jameson, Fredric. *The Ideologies of Theory: Essays 1971-1986, Volume 2: Syntax of History*. The University of Minnesota Press, 1988.

Jeffery, Charlie. *Social Democrats in the Austrian Provinces, 1918-1934: Beyond Red Vienna*. London: Leicester University Press, 1997.

Johnson, Peter. "Unraveling Foucault's 'different spaces'", *History of Human Sciences*, 19:75, 2006.

Kriechbaum, Gerald and Genoveva Kriechbaum. *Karl Marx Hof Versailles der Arbeiter und seine Höfe*. Wien: Holzhausen, 2007.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Production of Space*, Blackwell Publishing, 2010.

Madanipour, Ali. *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. Routledge, 2003.

Madanipour, Ali, Göran Cars and Judith Allen. *Social Exclusion in European Cities: Processes, Experiences and Responses*. Routledge, 2003.

Mannheim, Karl. *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge, 1966.

McKee, Alan. *The Public Sphere: An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Moore, Thomas. *Ütopya*. Dünya Klasikleri, Bordo-Siyah, 2010.

Ottilinger, Eva B. *Wohnen zwischen den Kriegen: Wiener Möbel 1914-1941*. Böhlau Verlag Wien, 2009.

Özgenel, Lale. *Between Public and Private: Investigating Privacy in the Roman Domestic Context*. Unpublished Dissertation, 2000.

Paul, Hirst. "Foucault and Architecture", *Michel Foucault Critical Assessments*, Ed. Barry Smart. Routledge, London, 1995.

Pozzetto, Marco. *Die Schule Otto Wagners 1894-1912*. Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1979.

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph. *What is Property?* Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Rabinbach, Anson, ed. *Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918-1934*. USA: Westview Press, 1985.

Rabinbach, Anson. *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism from Red Vienna to Civil War*. USA: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.
Reppé, Susanne. *Der Karl Marx Hof*. Wien: Picus, 1993.

Sack, Robert David. *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Sargın, Güven Arif. "Denetim ve Nesneleştirmenin Aracı Olarak Kamusal Mahremiyet", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 5/2006.

Sargın, Güven Arif. "Aklın Bir Anlık Durgunluğu: Sanallık ve Mekan Üzerine Tezler", *Mimarlık ve Sanallık*, Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2002.

Smalis, Manuel. *Die Gärten des Karl Marx Hofes in Wien*. Unpublished Thesis, 2003.

Soja, Edward W. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other real-and-imagined Places*. Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1996.

Sonne, Wolfgang. "Dwelling in the Metropolis: Reformed Urban Blocks 1890-1940 as a Model for the Sustainable Compact City", *Progress in Planning*, 8/2009.

Steinert, Heinz. "Culture industry cities: From discipline to exclusion, from citizen to tourist", *City*, 13:2, 2009.

Tafuri, Manfredo. *The Sphere and the Labyritnh: Avant-gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*. The MIT Press, 1990.

Tafuri, Manfredo. *Architecture and Utopia Design and Capitalist Development*. The MIT Press, 1988.

Teyssot, Georges. "Heterotopias and the History of Spaces", *Michel Foucault Critical Assessments*, ed. Barry Smart. Routledge, London, 1995.

Tuna, Zeynep. *Reading Manfredo Tafuri: Architecture and Utopia, Desing and Capitalist Development*. Unpublished Thesis, METU, 2002.

Urbach, Henri. "Writing Architectural Heterotopia", *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol.3, 1998.

Von Saldern, Adelheid. "The Workers' Movement and Cultural Patterns on Urban Housing Estates and in Rural Settlements in Germany and Austria during 1920s", *Social History*, 1/1990.

Wagner, Otto. *Modern Architecture: A Guide Book for his Students to this Field of Art*. The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988.

Ward, Peter. *A History of Domestic Space: Privacy and the Canadian Home*. UBC Press, 1999.

Weblexikon der Wiener Sozialdemokratie, http://www.dasrotewien.at/karl-marx-hof.html, accessed on 15.03.2011.

Weihsmann, Helmut. *Das Rote Wien: Sozialdemokratische Architecktur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934*. Wien: Promedia, 2002.

Zednicek, Walter. *Otto Wagner und seine Schule*. Wien: Grasl Druck & Neue Medien, 2008.

OTHER *SIEDLUNG* AND *GEMEINDEBAUTEN* DESIGNED BY KARL EHN
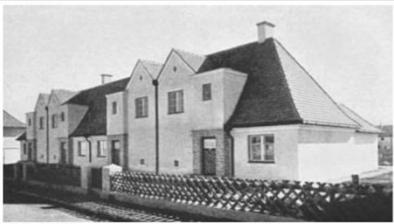
	1923-1924 Siedlung Hermeswiese, Wien 13, Lynkeusgasse 2-84
	1924-1925 WHA d. Gemeinde Wien "Lindenhof" Wien 18, Paulinengasse 9
	1925-1926 WHA d. Gemeinde Wien "Bebel-Hof" Wien 12, Steinbauergasse 36
	1925-1926WHA d. Gemeinde Wien "Szydzina-Hof" Wien 20, Leystraße 83-85
	1932WHA d. Gemeinde Wien "Adelheid-Popp-Hof" Wien 16, Herbststraße 99

Figure A.1

CLEMENS HOLZMEISTER'S *KREMATORIUM*, 1921-1922
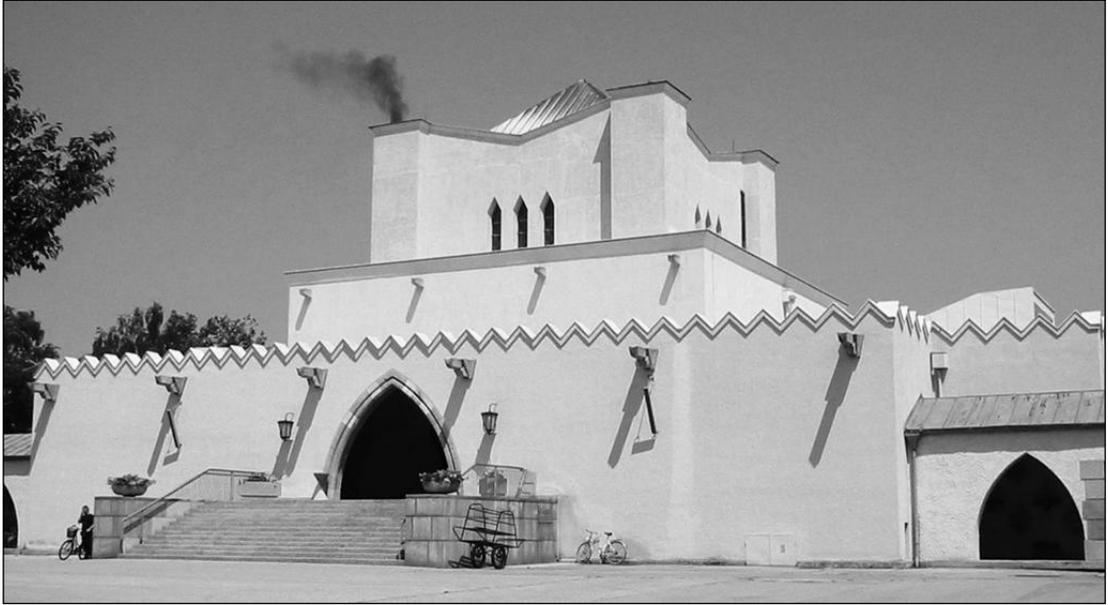
Figure B.1

KARL MARX HOF'S ORIGINAL DRAWINGS - SAMPLES
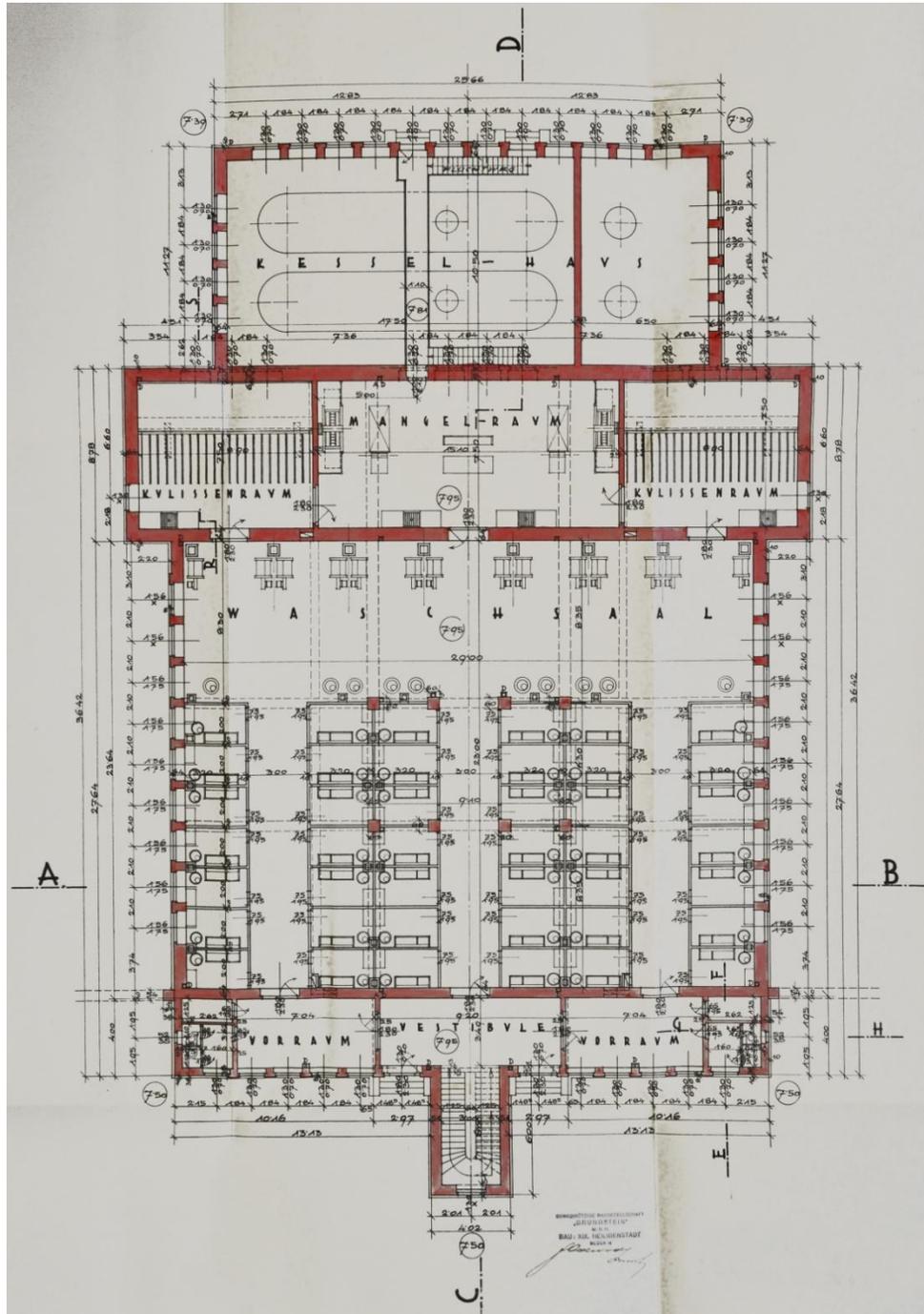
Figure C.1: Groundfloor Plan of Central Laundry-Bath Building

Figure C.2: First Floor Plan of Central Laundry-Bath Building
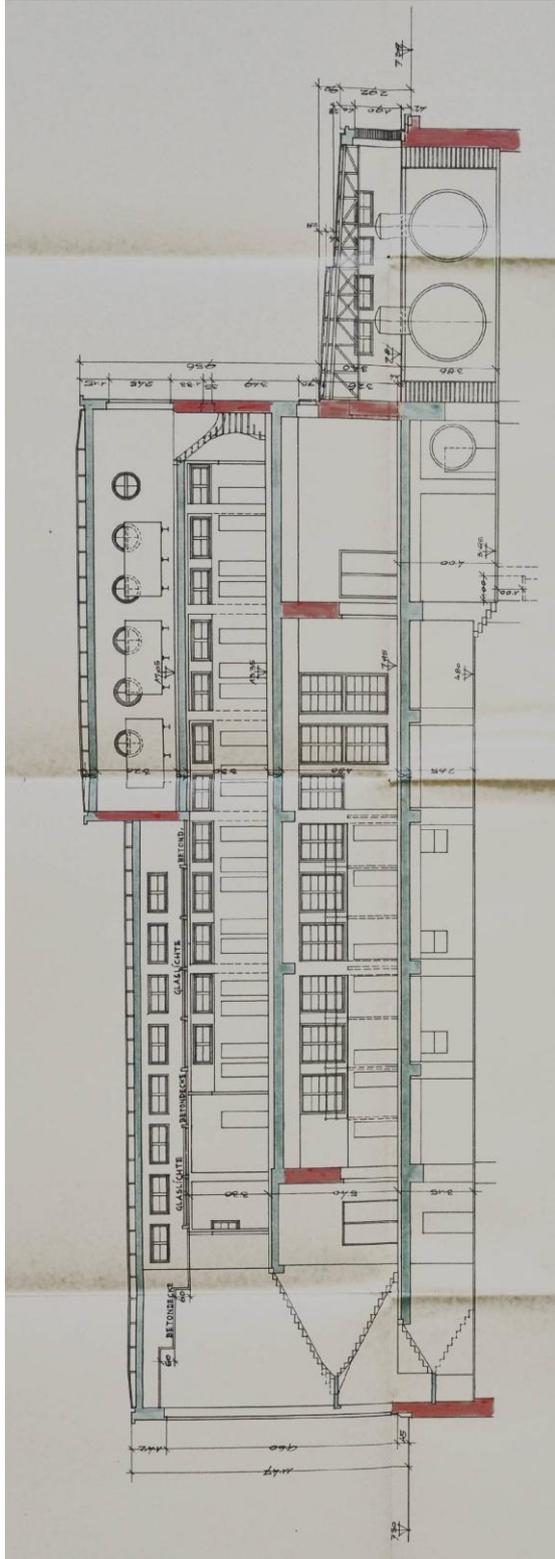
Figure C.3: Section of Central Laundry-Bath Building
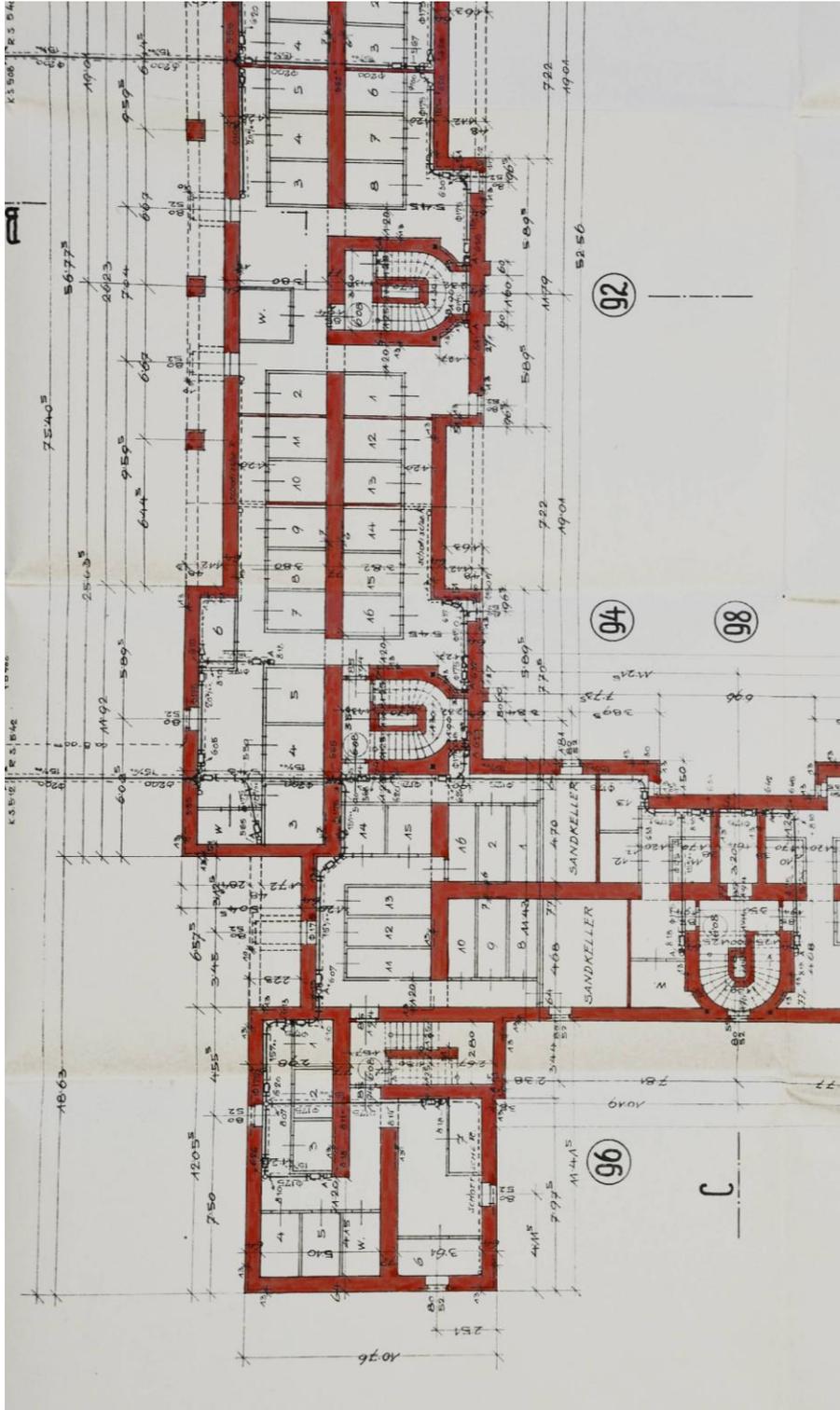
Figure C.4: Sample from the Fourth Courtyard Basement Floor Plan of the Housing
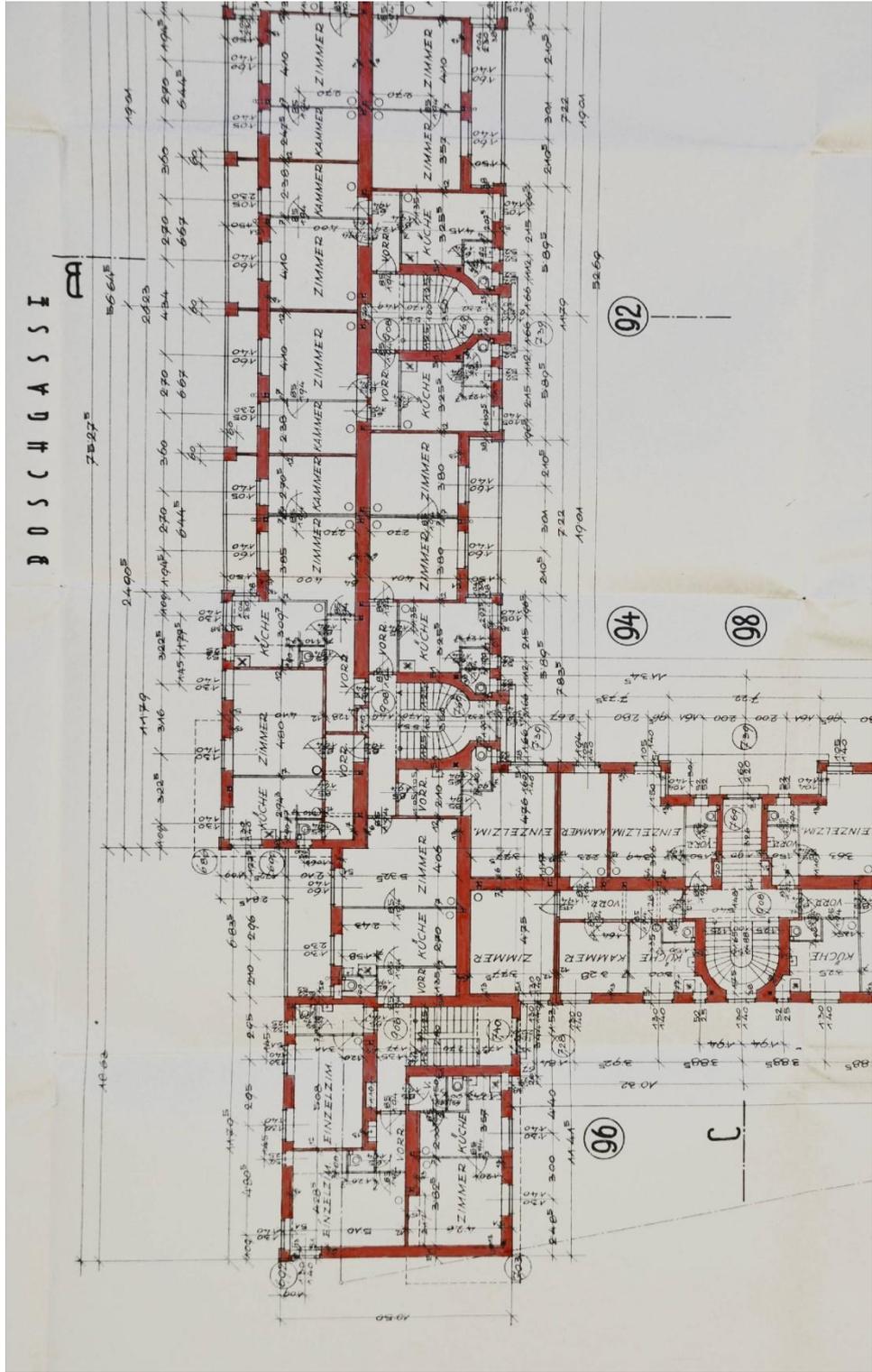
Figure C.5: Sample from the Fourth Courtyard Ground Floor Plan of the Housing
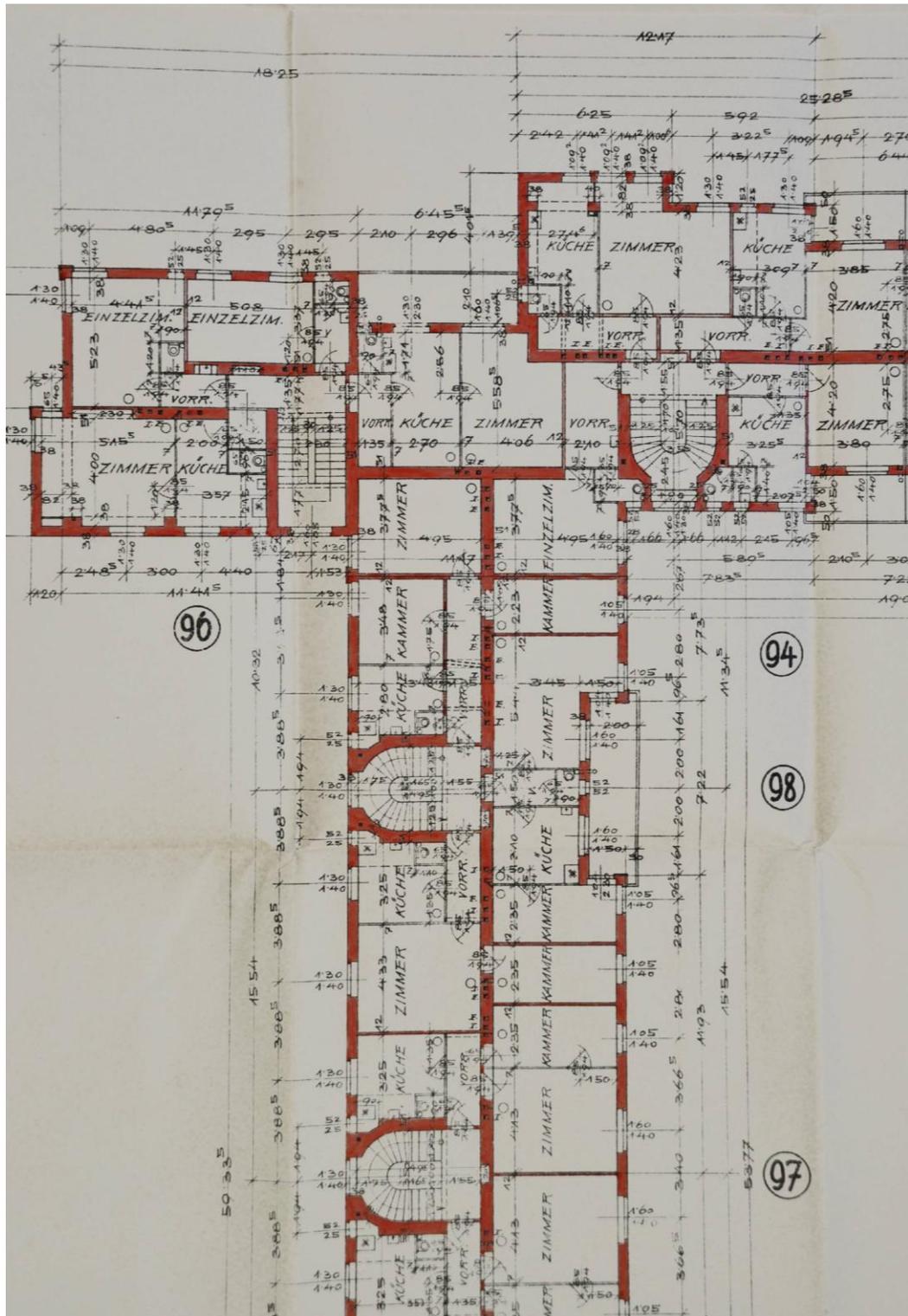
Figure C.6: Sample from the Second Courtyard
Second Floor Plan of the Housing

Figure C.7: Sample from the Second Courtyard
Elevation of the Housing from the Courtyard

Figure C.8: Sample from the Second Courtyard
Elevation of the Housing from the Main Artery
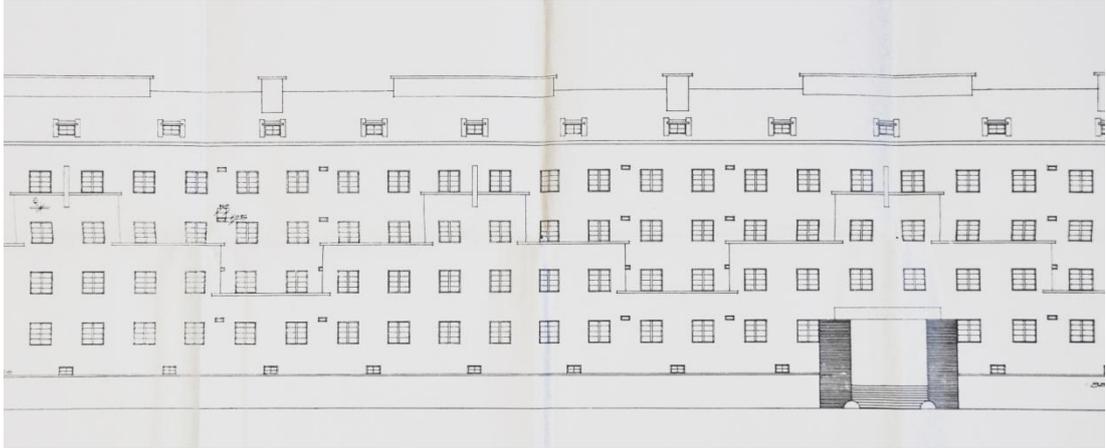
Figure C.9: Sample from the Second Courtyard
Elevation of the Housing from the Back Street
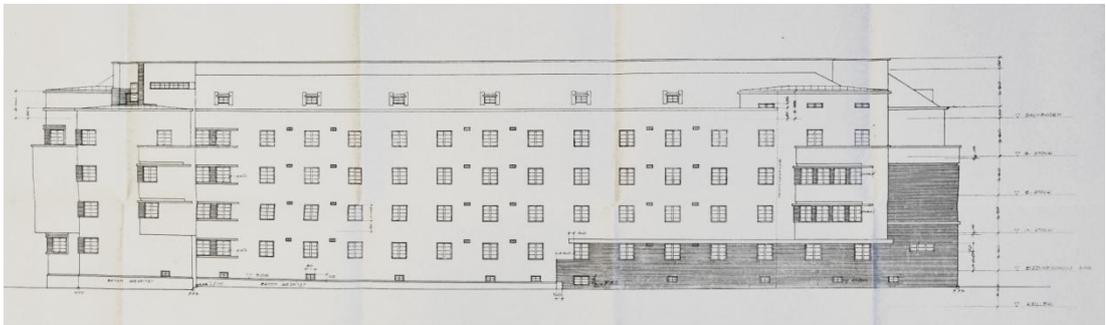
Figure C.10: Sample from the Fourth Courtyard
**Elevation of the Housing from the Side Street**
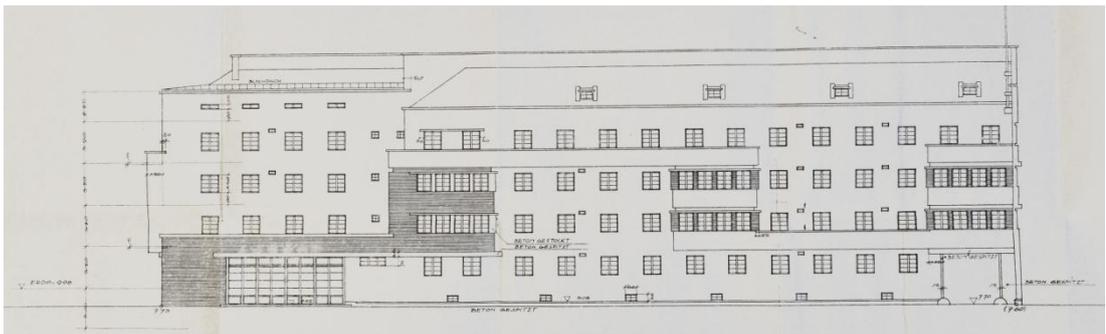
Figure C.11: Sample from the Fourth Courtyard
Elevation of the Housing from the Main Artery
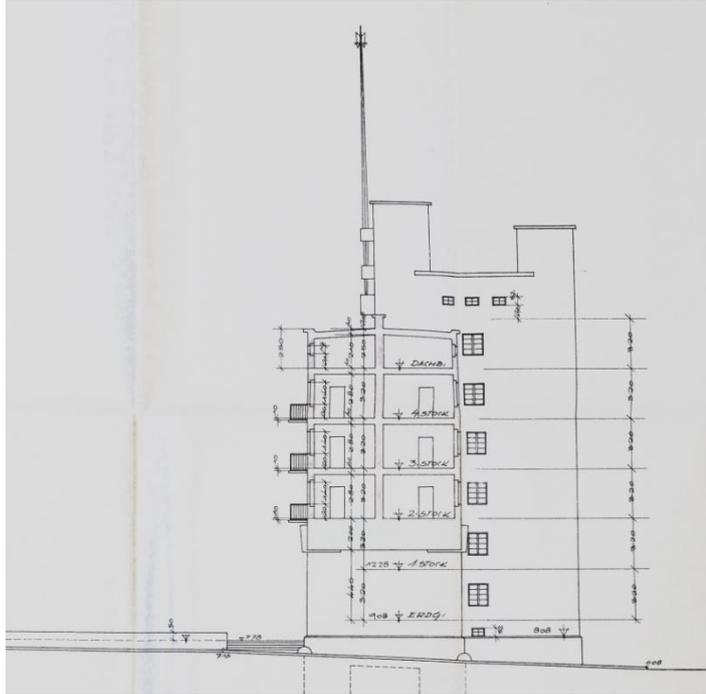
**Figure C.12: Sample from the Central Courtyard**
Section of the Housing
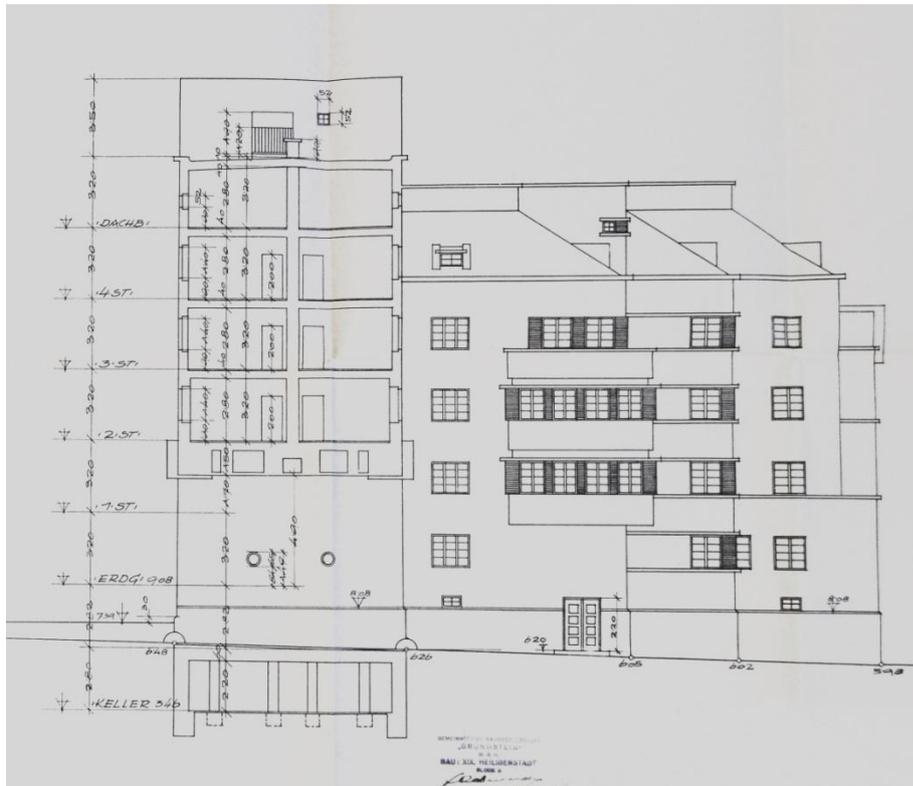
Figure C.13: Sample from the Intersection Point of First and Second Courtyard
Section of the Housing
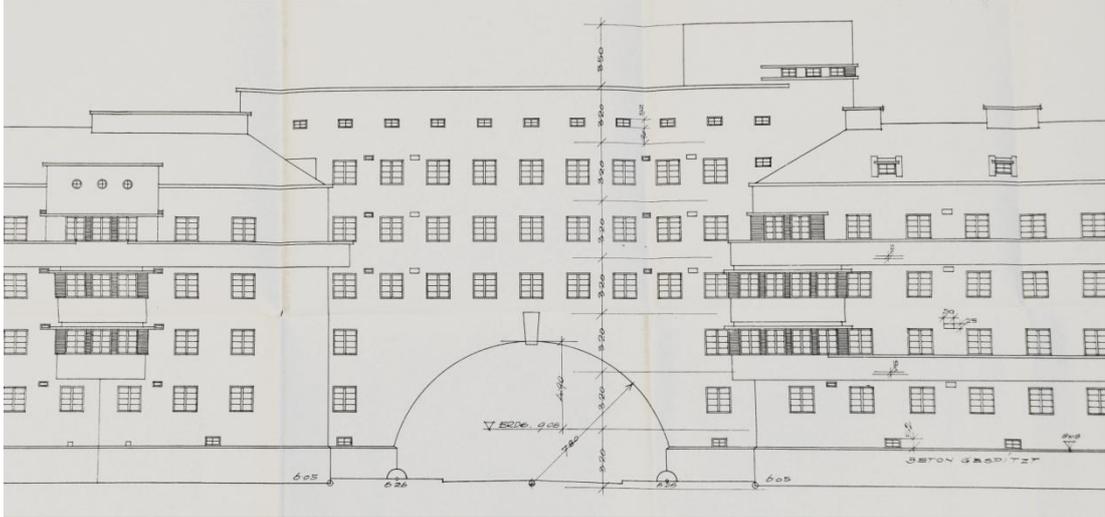
**Figure C.14: Sample from the Intersection Point of First and Second Courtyard
Elevation of the Housing**
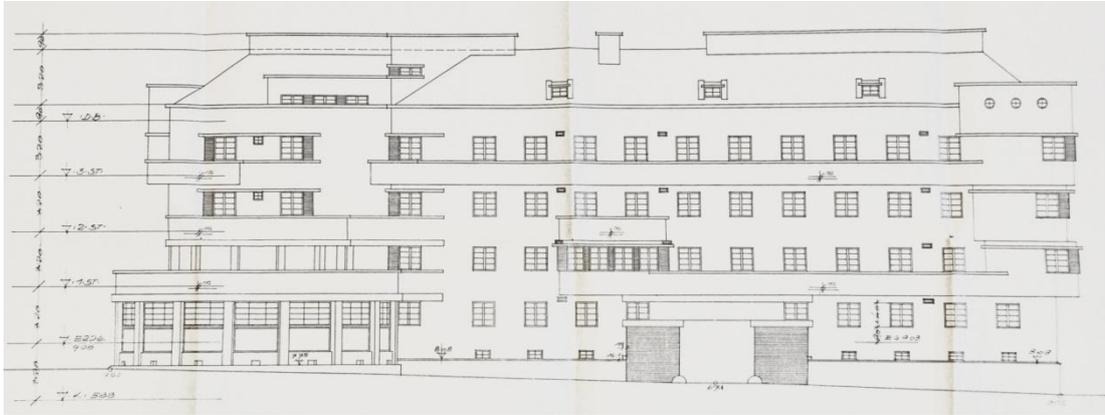
**Figure C.15: Sample from the First Courtyard
Elevation of the Housing from the Side Street**