INTRODUCTION

A MANUSCRIPT FOUND IN SARAGOSSA

TOWARD AN ARCHITECTURE

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The Manuscript Found in Saragossa is a gothic novel by Jan Potocki (1761–1815), a Polish aristocrat touring Napoleonic Europe, that recounts the story of a mysterious manuscript found in the Spanish city of Saragossa and features the adventures of Walloon soldier Alphonse van Worden who, on his way through the mountains of Sierra Morena to Madrid, meets thieves, inquisitors, cabbalists, princesses, coquettes, and many other colorful characters.[1] With Potocki's book in mind, I arrived in Saragossa on a warm evening of September 2008 to be received by Mario Gaviria, the renowned Spanish urban sociologist, planner, and ecological activist. In the early 1960s Gaviria was a student of Henri Lefebvre (1901–91) at Strasbourg University and became a friend and collaborator in the period when Lefebvre was formulating his theory of production of space, published between 1968 ("The Right to the City") and 1974 *(The Production of Space)* and developed further in *De l'État* (On the State, 1976–78).[2] Belonging to Lefebvre's inner circle, Gaviria would visit him many times in his maternal house in Navarrenx, and they would make trips to the nearby new town of Mourenx and then to the Ossau Valley and further south: Pamplona for the San Fermin festival, Tudela to celebrate the fiesta in Gaviria's *peña*; they would rest for several days in his house in Cortes on the border between Aragon and Navarra, and then Lefebvre and his partner, Nicole Beaurain, would take off to his summer house in Altea in the province of Alicante. During

our conversation in Saragossa Gaviria recalled their collaborations and in particular the 1973 study on tourist new towns in Spain, for which he commissioned Lefebvre to write about "the architecture of pleasure." Yet the manuscript that Lefebvre delivered hardly met the expectations of Gaviria, who considered it too abstract and decided not to include it in the results of the study submitted to the commissioner.[3] He should still have this manuscript, Gaviria mentioned, and offered that we look for it together. The next day, we drove to Cortes, and it was in the library of the seventeenth-century house that, after several hours of searching, he found *Vers une architecture de la jouissance,* a typescript with Lefebvre's handwritten corrections.[4]

Among Lefebvre's writings, a book about architecture is unique. However, a look at the table of contents of *Vers une architecture de la jouissance* shows that architecture is listed among philosophy, anthropology, history, psychology and psychoanalysis, semantics and semiology, and economy; and this marginal position seems to be confirmed by Lefebvre's broadening of the investigation from "architecture" to "spaces of jouissance," as

Mario Gaviria, Henri Lefebvre, and Lefebvre's daughter Armelle at Gaviria's family house in Cortes (Navarra, Spain), early 1970s. Archive of Mario Gaviria, Saragossa, Spain. Courtesy of Mario Gaviria.

he summarizes the book in its "Conclusions."[5] Straddling a range of disciplines, the book needs to be understood as resulting from an encounter between Lefebvre's philosophical readings of Hegel, Marx, and Nietzsche; the impulses provided by his contacts with architects and planners; and multiple studies in rural and urban sociology he carried out or supervised beginning in the 1940s—which is how I read his theory of the production of space in my *Henri Lefebvre on Space* (2011).

From within this encounter, Lefebvre formulated such transdisciplinary concepts as "space," "the everyday," "difference," and "habitation." These concepts facilitated exchanges between multiple discourses: political-economic analyses by David Harvey since the 1970s; followed by "postmodern geographies" by Edward Soja within the "spatial turn," or the reassertion of space in critical social theory; and philosophical readings of Lefebvre's work by Rémi Hess, Stuart Elden, Christian Schmid, and others.[6] Since the late 1990s, architectural and urban historians, critics, and theorists such as Iain Borden, Margaret Crawford, Mary McLeod, and Jane Rendell demonstrated the potential of Lefebvre's concepts for architectural practice and research.[7] Facilitated by the transhistorical character of Lefebvre's definition of space, whose production in capitalist modernities allows for a retrospective recognition of space as always-already produced, historians examined architecture's instrumentality within social processes of space production.[8] This was complemented by discussions in postcolonial and feminist theories focused on the everyday practices of submission and normalization, transgression and resistance; Lefebvre's work has been a key reference here, despite his moments of "infuriating sexism" and "disturbingly essentialist rhetoric."[9] In this perspective, minoritarian practices of the production of space were recognized as sites where the agency of architecture in the reproduction of social relationships can be addressed and, potentially, challenged, toward a rethinking of architecture's manifold possibilities.[10]

The transdisciplinary understanding of architecture, which inspired these studies and which was implicit in *The Production of Space*, is spelled out and advanced in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*. If architecture understood as a professional practice or a collection of monuments has a marginal presence in the book, it is because Lefebvre addresses architecture beyond its restriction to a disciplinary division of labor and redefines it as a mode of imagination.[11] The starting point for this redefinition was the concept of habitation, understood as the half-real, half-imaginary

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Table of Contents of the manuscript *Vers une architecture de la jouissance* by Henri Lefebvre. The book was handwritten by Lefebvre and typed by Nicole Beaurain. Archive of Mario Gaviria, Saragossa, Spain. Courtesy of Mario Gaviria.

distribution of times and places of everyday life. Prepared in the first two volumes of *The Critique of Everyday Life* (1947, 1961), this concept of habitation was advanced by the studies on the everyday practices of inhabitants in mass housing estates and individual suburban houses, carried out by the Institut de sociologie urbaine (ISU), cofounded by Lefebvre in 1962 and presided over by him until 1973.[12] Specific and yet shared by everybody, habitation became for Lefebvre a form of leverage to rethink the possibilities of architecture and to reconsider its sites, operations, and stakes.

This rethinking of architecture in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* was embedded in the vibrant architectural culture in the period between the death of Le Corbusier in 1965 and the mid-1970s, when various paths within, beyond, and against the legacy of modern architecture were tested. Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, drawing on his research at the Centre d'études sociologiques (1948–61) and the universities of Strasbourg (1961–65) and Nanterre (1965–73), was a major reference in these debates, which he occasionally addressed, including architectural and urban semiology by Roland Barthes and Françoise Choay, the emerging postmodernist discourse by Robert Venturi and Charles Jencks, the phenomenological writings of Christian Norberg-Schulz, and texts by readers of Martin Heidegger in France. In particular, he would oppose the restriction of Marxism in architectural debates to the critique of architectural ideologies by Manfredo Tafuri and his followers, with which *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* takes issue. After 1968 Lefebvre would comment on students' designs at the *unités pédagogiques* and the Institut d'urbanisme de Paris, determine with Anatole Kopp the editorial policies of the journal *Espace et sociétés*, give advice on the reform of architectural education within governmental commissions, and participate in juries of architectural competitions. Direct contacts with architects were also a part of this continuing exchange: with Constant Nieuwenhuys in Amsterdam and Ricardo Bofill in Barcelona; with Georges-Henri Pingusson, Ricardo Porro, and Bernard Huet, all of whom he invited to his research seminars in Nanterre; and with Pierre Riboulet, Jean Renaudie, and Paul Chemetov during the visits to the buildings recently designed by them. Comparing his work to that of an architect as an intellectual speaking on behalf of urban space, Lefebvre gave multiple interviews on radio and television, where he would insert comments on architecture, urbanism, and space production into his broad assessment of social, political, and cultural topics.[13]

Lefebvre's interventions into these discussions were highly polemical, and this was also the case with *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, where many concepts were introduced in contrast to others, rather than by a self-sustained definition. It is not the aim of this introduction to give a comprehensive account of these polemics in French politics, urban sociology, philosophy, and architectural culture around 1968—which was done in *Henri Lefebvre on Space*. Rather, my aim is more singular and more speculative: to read Lefebvre's book as a study on the architectural imagination, which participates in the social process of space production but is endowed, in his words, with a "relative autonomy."[14] In what follows I will take clues from *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* in order to explore architectural imagination as negative, political, and materialist. Negative, that is to say aiming at a "concrete utopia" that strategically contradicts the premises of everyday life in postwar capitalism—which is how Lefebvre assessed the potential of the practice of habitation. Political, because habitation becomes the stake of political struggle, as Lefebvre's studies in rural and urban sociology and his specific interventions into political debates after 1968 show. Materialist, both in the general philosophical sense of Marxist historical materialism and as starting with the materiality of the body and its rhythms. Taking the liberty to read *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* in the manner Lefebvre was reading his favorite authors—as fields of possibilities, beginning with their historical context and moving beyond it—I will start with a discussion of the research project on spaces of tourism in Spain, as an opportunity and pretext for Lefebvre's speculation on architecture.

Modernity at Its Worst and Its Best

There is a real chance that, after its publication, Lefebvre's *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* will in some bookshops sit next to Alain de Botton's *Architecture of Happiness*, just as Nietzsche's *Gay Science* occasionally ends up in the LGBT section.[15] While such an encounter would be enchanting and not fully accidental given the sharing of some quotes by both authors, in contrast to de Botton's escapism *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* needs to be read as part and parcel of Lefebvre's formulation of the theory of the production of space.

Landscapes of leisure on the Spanish Mediterranean coast were strategic sites for this task. "A remarkable instance of the production of space

on the basis of a difference internal to the dominant mode of production is supplied by the current transformation of the perimeter of the Mediterranean into a leisure oriented space for industrialized Europe," wrote Lefebvre in *The Production of Space*.[16] In this book, spaces of leisure exemplify the reproduction of capitalism through the production of space: they result from the "second circuit of capital" in real-estate investment that compensates for the tendential fall of the average rate of profit in the primary circuit of capital, related to manufacturing.[17] They are sites of the reproduction of labor power and of the bourgeois cultural hegemony over everyday life. Yet at the same time, Lefebvre argued that in spaces of leisure "the body regains a certain right to use": they are indispensable parts of space production by postwar capitalism and yet reveal its "breaking points."[18]

This fundamental ambiguity of spaces of leisure was the focus of the research project in Spain, and to investigate this ambiguity was the main motivation of Gaviria:

> Around 1968 [he recalled], there was a lot of criticism about the consumer society, and leisure and tourism were seen by critical Marxist thinkers as

Henri Lefebvre, Nicole Beaurain, and their daughter Armelle in Sitgès (Catalonia, Spain) in the early 1970s. Photograph by Mario Gaviria. Archive of Nicole Beaurain, Paris, France. Courtesy of Nicole Beaurain.

> consumption of space, as alienation of the working class. Yet my point was that the space of pleasure was something else: if you go to the Alhambra you realize that its experience cannot be reduced to consumption; it is something else, or *also* something else. This is what we talked about with my collaborators and colleagues in Benidorm, also with Henri, and this is what I asked him to write about.[19]

One cannot think of a more provocative case study for a Marxist philosopher than Benidorm, a tourist new town described recently by the sociologist José Miguel Iribas—himself a former member of Gaviria's team—as "stand[ing] out as the purest example of concentration at the service of mass-market tourism."[20] Yet to focus on Benidorm was more than a provocation, and Gaviria's opposition to mainstream Marxism reveals the broad theoretical and political aim of Lefebvre's book: the critique of asceticism in Western intellectual and political traditions. *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* targets asceticism under its many forms—as bourgeois morality, capitalist accumulation, modernist aesthetics, structuralist epistemology, biopolitical statecraft—but this critique culminates in Lefebvre's rejection of the asceticism of the communist Left. The suspicion of sensual enjoyment and consumption was deeply entrenched in left political discourse ever since the early nineteenth century, tracing any hint of betrayal of the proletariat changing sides toward the petit-bourgeoisie and condemning the "individualism" of those who disturb collective solidarity and do not comply with the norms and larger aims set by the organization.[21] This asceticism was upheld by Western Marxism during the postwar period: even if Herbert Marcuse in his essay "On Hedonism" (1938) recognized in the drive for sensual enjoyment a "materialist protest" against the relegation of happiness beyond the present, he was quick to add that hedonism only shows that the unfolding of "objective and subjective" human capacities is impossible in bourgeois society.[22] With alternative arguments entering wider circulation with decades of delay, like Walter Benjamin's "promise of commodities," Aleksandr Rodchenko's call on the socialist thing to become a "comrade" of the proletarian, or Werner Sombart's argument about the progressive historical potential of waste and expenditure in eighteenth-century Europe,[23] Western Marxism, and the Frankfurt School in particular, defined postwar left discourse about the emerging consumer society as normalized amusement and regenerative recreation, strictly functionalized within the

reproduction of capitalist relationships. This critique extended toward state socialism in Central and Eastern Europe, marked by new types of social hierarchies defined by access to consumer goods. Just as socialist realism in architecture and its "palaces for the people" was, more often than not, ridiculed in the West, so was later discourse on consumption in "real existing modernism" invisible to postwar Western Marxists, with tobacco seen in Bulgaria as one of the main achievements of the socialist state; fashion explained in the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic in terms of cultural, economic, and social progress; or perfumes considered a "democratic luxury" and a "gift" from the industry to Soviet women.[24] Having all but disdain for "goulash socialism" in Hungary, "small stabilization" in Poland, and "normalization" in Czechoslovakia, many Marxists in the West found they were in unlikely agreement with the dissidents behind the Iron Curtain, who saw post-Stalinist socialism as being founded on "the historical encounter between dictatorship and consumer society," in Vaclav Havel's description of Czechoslovakia in 1978.[25]

Lefebvre's opposition to this tradition was inscribed into his rethinking of Marxism against its productivist discourse, in line with Paul Lafargue's *Right to Be Lazy* (1880) and more recent references to Pierre Naville's argument (1967) that the historical movement "from alienation to jouissance" implies a shift from work to "nonwork," the latter understood as an activity that cannot be commodified.[26] Strategically linking his reading of Marx's revolutionary project with Nietzsche's subversive one, Lefebvre's theorizing of the relationship between work and nonwork resonated with numerous French activist groups throughout the 1960s. This included the Internationale situationniste and its condemnation of the "poverty" of the students' everyday life "considered in its economic, political, sexual, and especially intellectual aspects" as the title of their influential pamphlet (1967) went.[27] The opposition to communist asceticism was also conveyed by French counterculture around the journal *Actuel* that featured ephemeral groups such as the Dutch Provos and Kabouters, the U.S. yippies and Weathermen, and the members of the movement "Vive la révolution" from the Parisian suburb of La Courneuve who proclaimed that "doing a revolution in Europe is to find out if one can be happy in La Courneuve."[28]

In the interviews given by Lefebvre in *Actuel* in the early 1970s, he endorsed Nietzsche's "amendment" of the mechanistic and ascetic character

Cover of the tourist guide *Benidorm en color* by Vicente Ramos (1975). This tourist town developed from a small village was a focus of Gaviria's research.

of materialism, including Marxist materialism, and agreed with Octavio Paz's accusation of Marxism for its tendency to see the body as "a fragment of dead matter." Instead, Lefebvre suggested an understanding of the body as an ensemble of rhythms and called for a rhythmanalytical pedagogy of the body—a project advanced in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*.[29] At the same time, the images published in *Actuel* became sources of Lefebvre's references to architectural experiments of the period. They subscribed to a search for alternative ways of life, including the stacked structures of Habitat 67, funnel cities by Walter Jonas, the "center for sexual relaxation" by Nicolas Schöffer, but also landscape interventions by Haus-Rucker-Co and Hans Hollein, geodesic domes by Buckminster Fuller and Drop City, walking cities by Archigram, inflatable structures by Ant Farm, proposals for an appropriation of space by People's Architecture of Berkeley, and the bubble of Marcel Lachat attached to a facade of a housing estate in Geneva. Many of these ideas found their way to the "correction" of a contemporary mass housing project in the Quartier d'Italie in Paris, published by *Actuel* in 1971.[30]

It was against such architectural production as the new estates in the Quartier d'Italie that Gaviria suggested studying spaces of leisure. The starting point was his own studies of housing estates in Madrid: Concepción (1965), Gran San Blas (1966–67), and Fuencarral (1968). These studies were carried out by Gaviria in the framework of the "seminar in rural and urban sociology" and belonged to the first attempts outside France to test Lefebvre's theory of the production of space in urban research.[31] The studied estates shared many of the drawbacks of the collective housing estates constructed at this time in France, being not sufficiently connected to city centers by public transportation and inadequately equipped with facilities. However, Gaviria stressed the intensity of urban life in these estates, which was based on a "spontaneous urbanism" differing from that foreseen by the planners and yet "well understood by some street vendors who change positions according to times of the day and days of the week." In order to reveal it, the team mapped shops, services, clubs, and cafes as well as the routes of the vendors of candy, flowers, and shoe cleaning in the Concepción estate, and this was complemented by charting the paths of the pedestrians in Gran San Blas.[32] Besides participatory observation, the Concepción study was carried out by means of the analysis of design documentation, questionnaires, and nondirected interviews, as in the ISU studies.

a

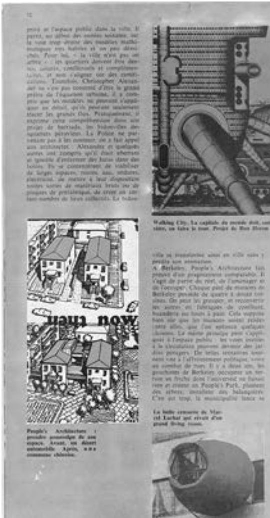
b

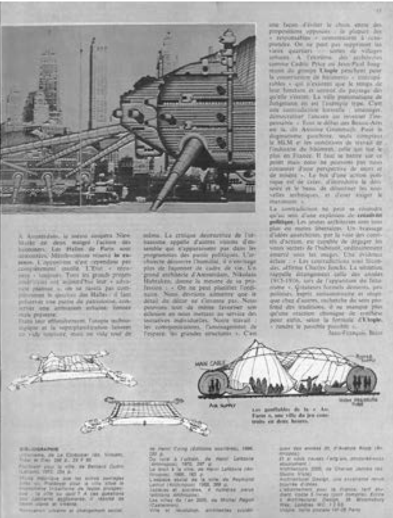
Il vaut mieux penser à mettre une porte, octogonale elle ne s'ouvre pas facilement, puis mettre une cheminée pour le chauffage sinon le logis risque de s'envoler, et alors adieu à notre...

DOME, SWEET DOME

Mode d'emploi

c





d

Projects by (a) Claes Oldenburg, Walter Jonas, Nicolas Schöffer; this project of a "center for sexual relaxation" by Schöffer was criticized by Lefebvre in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*; (b) Haus-Rucker-Co; (c) Moishe Safdie, Drop City; (d) People's Architecture, Marcel Lachat, Archigram, Ant Farm. Published in *Actuel* 18 (March 1972): 4–11. Lefebvre must have seen these illustrations, because *Actuel* published an interview with him in the same issue.

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MAIS, QUE VOIS-JE?
BONCH
BLANG
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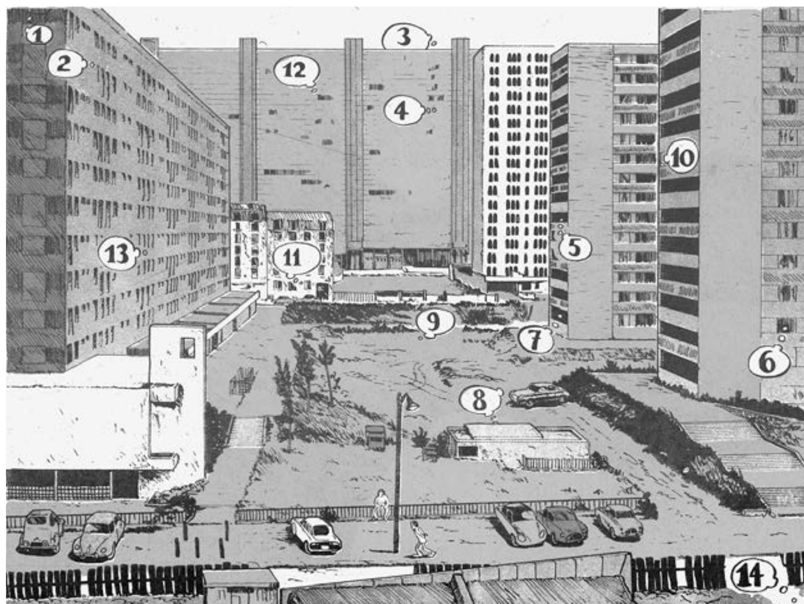
RAS LE BOL DE CETTE TURNE!
JE VAIS CHERCHER LE NIRVANA À DENFERT!



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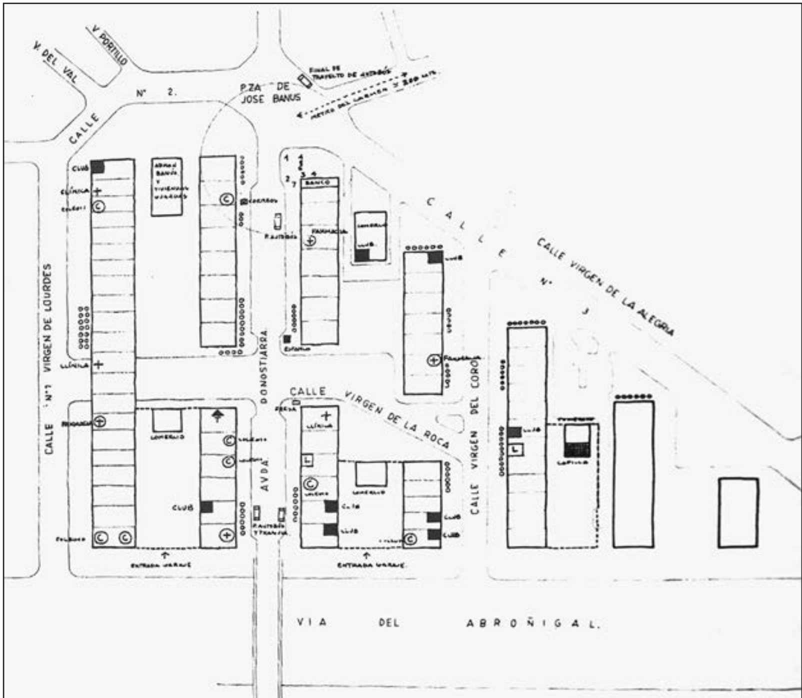
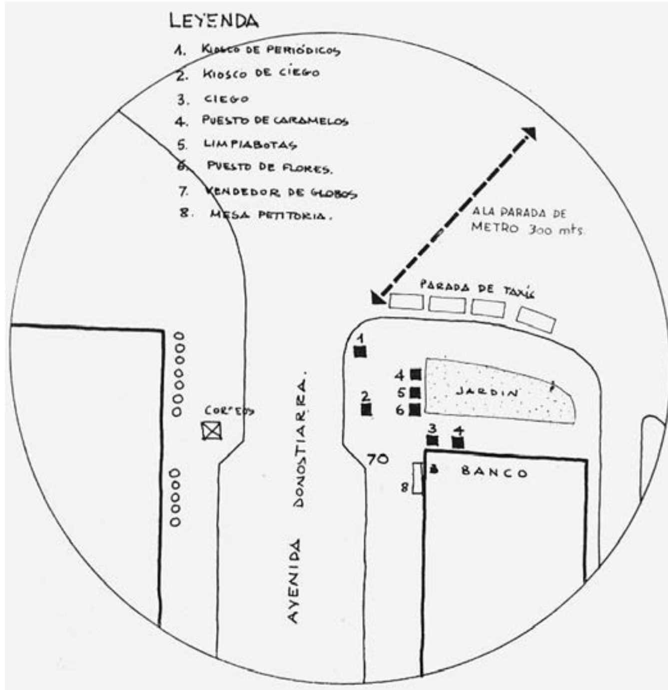
Left: The "revised and corrected" Quartier d'Italie, as depicted in *Actuel* 12 (September 1971): 40–41. These unsigned drawings show the rue du Château-des-Rentiers and the "Deux Moulins," part of the 1957–72 redevelopment project in the thirteenth arrondissement of Paris. The caption describes the proposed interventions, assessing their feasibility and cost: (1) a metal or plastic bubble attached to the facade; (2) a flexible tube; (3) a Swiss chalet; (4) a mural ("all tenants agreed"); (5) a raised platform linking the buildings; (6) a polyester toboggan; (7, 8) inflatable domes; (9) plastic tents; (10) a facade chosen by the inhabitants; (11) old house "belonging to die-hards who resist developers"; (12) hanging garden; (13) two emptied stories; (14) a pit with construction materials to be recycled, "like in Drop City, Colorado."



The Concepción estate in Madrid, designed by Lorenzo Romero Requejo, Francisco Robles Jiménez, Jacobo Romero Hernández, and Federico Turell Moragas, 1953–58. The mapping of the estate by Mario Gaviria and his team shows functions that contributed to its urban character: clubs, small shops, services, and gardens. From Mario Gaviria, "La ampliación del barrio de la Concepción," *Arquitectura* 92 (1966): 30. Courtesy of Mario Gaviria.



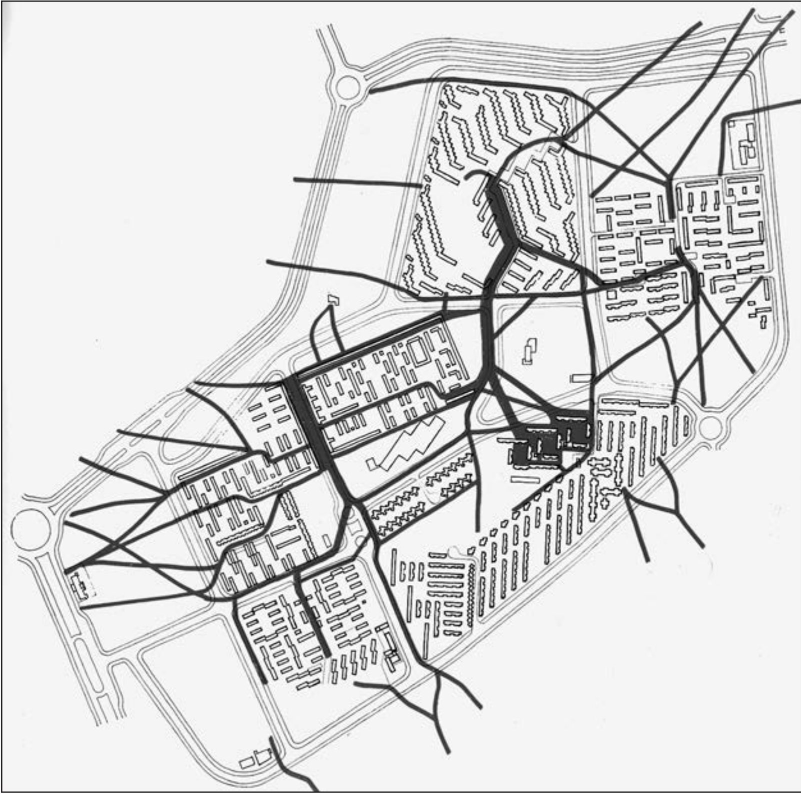
Detailed mapping of the Concepción estate, showing (1) newspaper stand; (2) national lottery stand (operated by a blind person, a tradition in Spain); (3) blind person; (4) candy stand; (5) shoe shiner; (6) florist stand; (7) balloon salesman; (8) petition point. From Mario Gaviria, "La ampliación del barrio de la Concepción," 30. Courtesy of Mario Gaviria.

Lefebvre's visits to Gaviria's seminar in Madrid were part of his exchanges with Spanish sociologists and architects, at the time when his ideas about the "right to the city" became particularly pertinent in the processes of urbanization in late Franco's Spain as it was dominated by speculation and the real-estate market, housing crises, and the absence of democratic procedures that would channel social demands on the municipal level.[33] "Based on the research by Henri Lefebvre concerning the street as structured and structuring element, we have developed a detailed study of the relationships between empty spaces and built structures in new peripheral quarters," wrote Gaviria in reference to Lefebvre's lectures in Strasbourg.[34] In view of the urbanization processes in Spain, Gaviria saw the critique of the Charter of Athens (1933, published in

1943) and its principle of division of urban functions into work, housing, leisure, and transportation as the fundamental contribution of Lefebvre.[35] Instead of reducing urban design to the factors of circulation, insolation, and formal composition, Gaviria embraced the complexity and ambiguity of urban life.[36] As he wrote in his introduction to the Spanish translation of *The Right to the City*, "it is easier to build cities than urban life."[37] He contrasted the sharply defined, contained, continuous, and visually linked spaces of traditional urbanism with the discontinuity of spaces of functionalist urbanism subscribing to the Charter of Athens and collaborated with architects on recommendations for urban designers.[38]

In view of these studies, new tourist towns appeared as strategic approximations of the "other" of postwar housing estates. As Lefebvre argued already in his 1960 study on Mourenx, functionalist ensembles

Aerial photograph of the Gran San Blas estate in Madrid, designed by Luis Gutiérrez Soto, Julio Cano Lasso, José Antonio Corrales Gutiérrez, and Ramón Vázquez Molezún, 1958–62. From Mario Gaviria, *Gran San Blas: Análisis socio-urbanístico de un barrio nuevo español* (Madrid: Revista Arquitectura, 1968), 7. Courtesy of Mario Gaviria.



Spontaneous pedestrian paths in the Gran San Blas estate. From Mario Gaviria, *Gran San Blas,* 83. Courtesy of Mario Gaviria.

were expressing the paternalism of the state and they were anachronistic, since they did not account for the society moving beyond Fordism, in which the urban space was about to replace the factory as the place of socialization, exploitation, and struggle.[39] Similarly, in his critique of housing estates at the peripheries of Madrid, Gaviria argued that they failed to adapt to the specificity of the Spanish cultural, social, economic, and even climatic context and were lacking architectural innovation—which, rather, can be found in tourist new towns.

For Gaviria, Benidorm was a case in point: developed according to a 1956 master plan drafted by the urban planner Pedro Bidagor, the basic unit of the city was an open block without height restriction but with a system of setbacks that accommodated shops, services, gardens, pools,

and parking spaces and contributed to the compact character of the city. Learning from Benidorm, Gaviria stressed density as an essential feature of urbanity at the same time rejecting the monofunctional character of this city—a critique raised by Lefebvre in his seminars held for Gaviria's team in Benidorm in 1972 and 1973.[40] Gaviria wrote that the architecture and urbanism of leisure are "differentiated forms of the occupation of space and everyday life," prefiguring "certain aspects of the society of leisure" that can be generalized beyond the Spanish context.[41] If in the late 1950s Lefebvre saw Mourenx as an "urban laboratory"—the site of emergence of new collective subjectivities—for Gaviria it was the tourist towns such as Torremolinos, Benidorm, Salou, and Platja d'Aro that became laboratories for the employment of free time.

The argument that the future of society will be defined by leisure was widely discussed in 1960s France, in particular by Joffre Dumazedier and his influential hypothesis about the "civilization of leisure."[42] At a time when the expenses for food of a workers' family dropped to less than half of disposable income, Dumazedier argued for the increasing importance of leisure, defined either functionally (as recreation, entertainment, distraction, and personal development) or negatively (in opposition to professional and domestic work, taking care of the body and mind, religious service, and education).[43] In this condition, leisure facilities became part of French urbanism and planning on every scale of the territory: neighborhood, city, agglomeration, and region. New spaces were created, such as national parks and large-scale tourist facilities in Landes and Languedoc-Roussillon, as well as new holiday villages (*villages de vacances*) in southern France and Corsica, and new skiing resorts.[44] The tourist town La Grande Motte in Languedoc-Roussillon created a man-made landscape populated by ziggurats, while Port Grimaud at the Côte d'Azur experimented with traditional urban morphologies. Leisure was at the center of international debates among architects across the Iron Curtain, with reviews of the journal *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* covering the facilities on the shores of the Mediterranean as well as those on the Black Sea coast.[45] The debate about spaces of tourism culminated in the congress on "architecture and leisure" organized by the Union internationale des architectes (UIA, International Union of Architects) in 1972 in the Bulgarian city of Varna.[46] Dumazedier, a participant of several UIA congresses, argued that models of holiday accommodation will influence the preference for housing, a clear tendency in French

architectural culture since the 1950s, when holiday villages had become an occasion for experimenting with new housing typologies by architects such as Paul Chemetov, Pierre Riboulet, and the partnership Candilis-Josic-Woods.[47] With tourist developments seen as fields of experimentation for future society, Dumazedier extrapolated his findings twenty years ahead and speculated about "housing and leisure in 1985": the kitchen becoming a poetic oeuvre (rather than a functional, laboratory unit); the replacement of the dining and living rooms by a multimedia "room of festivals and spectacles," where inhabitants watch self-produced movies; and the transformation of bedrooms into multifunctional, personalized spaces.[48]

Leisure spaces thus seemed to be the field where new tendencies of the production of space were surfacing, and this is why they were the focus of several research studies by the ISU as well as several dissertations supervised by Lefebvre.[49] These spaces, he argued, revealed a new division of labor emerging in Europe: that between the industrialized North and the perimeter of the Mediterranean, which became the space of non-work, including holidays, convalescence, rest, and retirement.[50] This argument was largely based on Gaviria's research, and in particular his "Ecologic study of urban concentrations created in Spain during the last years as centers for tourism" (1973), commissioned by the March Foundation of the March Bank of Mallorca,[51] for which *Vers une architecture de la jouissance* was written. Gaviria argued that the Mediterranean coast of Spain and the Canary Islands had become, since the early 1960s, a target of "neocolonial" urbanization by real-estate agents and tourist operators, mainly from industrialized countries in Europe. This urbanization was supported by the Francoist government seeking economic gains and state-guided modernization, but also by the consolidation of Spanish territory around the ideas of modern tourism.[52] These processes were facilitated by new means of transportation, the development of infrastructure, improved financial instruments, computer-aided data processing, and the tendency toward complete urbanization—as Lefebvre wrote in an introduction to one of Gaviria's books.[53]

If spaces of leisure are part of the simultaneously homogeneous and fragmented "abstract space"—the product, instrument, means, and milieu of postwar capitalism—they also require a range of new conditions: besides being accessible by private and public transportation and offering inexpensive land and labor power, fiscal incentives, and flexibility of

regulations, they also need, in Gaviria's mocking description, "few people on the beach, fishermen fulfilling their decorative mission in the old harbor, and indigenous folk who are kind and forthcoming to tourists."[54] While Lefebvre discussed the production of abstract space as predicated upon the creative destruction of the peculiarity of places, the experience in Spain pointed at "quality space" characterized by ecological, aesthetic, cultural, and historical values, which are necessary for the expansion of the leisure industry. In the words of Henri Raymond, Lefebvre's long-time collaborator, the "users" of tourist facilities expect a "somewhere else," a sphere beyond work. In a study about the French coast, Raymond argued that the sea and the beach are defined by symbolic practices of urban users: as both nonurban (the rhythms of leisure are opposed to the rhythms of work) and preurban (they symbolize nature). In order to produce this opposition, all technical means of the urban society need to be employed; in other words, the sea and the beach need to be completely urbanized in order to maintain their perceived, conceived, and lived opposition to urban space.[55]

For Lefebvre, spaces of leisure reveal the contradictions between abstract space and the possibility of its "other." He argued that they are sites where "the existing mode of production produces both its worst and its best."[56] Writing in 1973, the year of the oil crisis, and reflecting upon the modeling of economic and population growth scenarios with finite global resources in *The Limits to Growth* (1972), he saw spaces of leisure as exemplifying the technological capacities to make nature available for collective enjoyment and the destruction of nature by this very technology.[57] In his account, they are sites where the future is not yet decided and its various possibilities are taking shape; they share this potentiality with the street, the monument, but also the "urban" (the urban society) that, in a later text, Lefebvre would describe as "a sheaf of possibilities, the best and the worst."[58] Spaces of leisure are neither enclaves within the dominant mode of space production nor reflections of the interests of the dominant class; rather, they exacerbate the contradictions of the social totality, revealing the antagonistic forces operating within it. Spaces of leisure were for Lefebvre what the open-plan office was for Archizoom's "No-Stop City" (1968–71) or the Berlin Wall for Rem Koolhaas (1971): sites that condense the most extraordinary promises of modernity with the dangers of ultimate alienation.

If for Marx the past repeats itself as a farce, for Lefebvre the future is announced in a grotesque. Like the spaces of suburban houses examined by the ISU as an ironic answer to the demand for a sphere beyond work, in the tourist new towns the experience of the body beyond the division of labor is intermingled with its commodified images and fragmented gestures. The "total body" appears in a ridiculous, distorted, awkward form, as a part of "vacationland festivals" that "caricaturize the appropriation and reappropriation of space."[59] While Mario Gaviria was never tired of pointing out how traditional urban festivals become commodified by the tourist industry in Spain, he also pursued extensive research on the old center in Pamplona, the "space of festival and subversion," as a test case for the principles of the right to the city and the self-management of space by its residents.[60] In this sense, rather than contrasting "utopias" and "realities" in urban planning,[61] in Lefebvre's account utopia permeates tourist urbanism. As with Walter Benjamin's discovery that commodities convey the fantasy of social transformation in reified forms, the experience of spaces of leisure as detached from their conditions of possibility frees the references from their immediate context and reveals in the commodified images of the body, sun, and sea the promise of archaic symbols, at the same time illuminating the incompleteness of the social order.[62] Breaking away from the distribution of times and places that comes with the division of labor, in the landscapes of leisure "a pedagogy of space and time is beginning to take shape," writes Lefebvre, inspired by Jean-Antheleme Brillat-Savarin's egalitarian pedagogy of the sense of taste.[63]

The experience of spaces of leisure is hence not simply an instance of fetishism but conveys a hint of emancipation in the sense of overturning the social order that assigns groups to places of work and those of nonwork. In Lefebvre's view, this overturning is at the core of every "urban revolution," violent or not, including the 1936 electoral victory of the leftist Front Populaire, followed by the introduction of paid holidays that allowed for "the people of Paris and of France [to] discover nature, sea, mountains, and time that is available and free. They discover[ed] leisure and nonwork."[64] In this sense, spaces of leisure reveal a desire for another life and the anxiety never to live fully felt by those who are ready for it, and who have been ready for a long time. This anxiety, repressed in communist discourse, is what connects a worker locksmith writing in 1841 in a working-class newspaper that he would like to become a painter

since, in spite of the respect for his profession, "he seems not to have found his vocation in hammering iron," and the inhabitant of a new town interviewed by Lefebvre in 1960, who cannot wait to abandon the boredom prevalent in Mourenx.[65]

Negation: Concrete Utopia

Lefebvre's theorizing of emancipation in terms of redrawing the borders that divide everyday life allows him to uncover the place of architectural work that, in his words, has been "forgotten" and "obliterated."[66] Within his general rethinking of Marxism, in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* Lefebvre qualifies his earlier theorizing of architecture as a mere result, or an intermediate, of economic and urban planning defined as a "projection" of social relationships onto the territory.[67]

The latter position was conveyed by his critical accounts of architecture in many of his writings from the 1960s. For example, in Lefebvre's paper on Mourenx (1960), architecture appears as a transmitter of the division of labor in the factories and the respective social hierarchies: the management personnel would live in detached houses, the supervisors in towers, and the workers in blocks of flats. The doors and windows of white facades become dots and lines within a system of signs that make the socioprofessional status of the inhabitants transparent and commands their behavior.[68] Similarly, in his review of the new town in Furttal valley near Zurich (1961), Lefebvre saw architecture as reduced to one among many scales that are presumed to be vessels of preconceived social morphologies: the spatial sequence from the apartment to the city is isomorphic with the nested hierarchy of social bodies, starting with the family and ending with the urban community.[69]

The "forgetting and obliteration" of architecture as a self-sustained level of social practice in French postwar urbanization was a consequence, argued Lefebvre, of the principles of modernist architecture and functionalist urbanism and, in particular, of the "discovery" made by avant-garde architects of the 1920s that "(social) space is a (social) product."[70] While for late nineteenth-century psychologists and art historians, such as August Schmarsow, space was a result of a psychological process of associating the multiplicity of sensual impulses into an intentional object of aesthetic experience, the architects of the interwar period recognized in this labor of association a social and material process, rather than

restricting it to a psychological one.[71] Read today, Lefebvre's attribution to modern architecture of an "abstract" concept of space, at the same time homogeneous and fragmented, geometric, visual, and phallic, appears characteristic for 1960s French architectural polemics in which "Le Corbusier," "Bauhaus," "modernism," and "machine for living" were often used interchangeably. This was only exacerbated by the Cold War discourse, evident in Lefebvre's sources,[72] that eclipsed "other" modernisms: those politically on the Left, geographically in the East, and formally heretic when measured according to Le Corbusier's "five points of modern architecture." In particular, this account did not reflect the multiplicity of the avant-gardes' sociospatial imaginations that shared the discourse on "space" without a consensus concerning its meaning; these "spaces" were so diverse in their philosophical and artistic sources, images, and political objectives that trying to find their common denominator seems to be an impossible task.[73]

Lefebvre suppressed this heterogeneity within his overarching argument about the redefinition of architecture in terms of space as the main contribution of the avant-gardes. He argued that this redefinition, which was launched as a progressive program of the production of a "second nature," in the course of the 1930s began to facilitate the modernization of capitalism and the emergence of abstract space as a "concrete abstraction": at the same time a universal medium of production, consumption, and distribution; and a commodity, itself produced, consumed, and distributed.[74] For Manfredo Tafuri, whose arguments informed Lefebvre more than he would be willing to admit, this abstraction of space displayed the most advanced critical procedure that capitalism appropriated in order to displace its contradictions to a higher level of historical development. In the context of the debates on workerism in 1960s Italy, Tafuri might have seen the contribution of these avant-garde architects as confirming the workerist premise about the primacy of living labor over capital, both as a decisive element in the capitalist model of development and as a subversive political force.[75] However, Lefebvre argued that the understanding of "architecture as space" was followed by the subordination of the architectural project to urbanism and planning, and this resulted in the active forgetting of architecture deplored at the beginning of *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*. Accordingly, Walter Gropius's vision of the architect "as a coordinator who would unify problems, proceeding from 'a functional study of the house to that

of the street, from the street to the city, and finally to regional and national planning'" was reversed, wrote Lefebvre, and "structural planning subjected lower degrees and levels to its own constraints."[76]

The attempts to claim the concept of "architectural space" by postwar authors, from Bruno Zevi (*Architecture as Space*, 1948) to Christian Norberg-Schulz (*Existence, Space, and Architecture*, 1971), were a response to this subjugation and aimed at carving out a specific realm for architects.[77] Yet if there is any specific space of architecture, it is "a sheet of white paper," quipped Lefebvre in a 1972 debate with Tafuri; and in *The Production of Space* he argued that "[architects] raise the question of architecture's 'specificity' because they want to establish that trade's claim to legitimacy. Some of them then draw the conclusion that there are such things as 'architectural space' and 'architectural production' (specific, of course)."[78] However, these attempts only exacerbate the crisis of architectural discipline. On the one hand, if "architectural space" is one among many "spaces" produced by specific practices, their relationship reflects the power relations between their producers, and architecture is reduced to "one of the numerous socioeconomic products that were perpetuating the political status quo"—as it was put by the architect Bernard Tschumi in his 1975 reading of French urban sociology of the period.[79] On the other hand, if this "architectural space" is understood as somehow encompassing all others, subscribing to the vision of the architect as a "man of synthesis" connecting partial practices into temporary assemblages, architecture's disciplinary crisis is inevitable: since space is produced by many agents, architects arguably among the least influential, they will be held responsible for something they cannot control.[80]

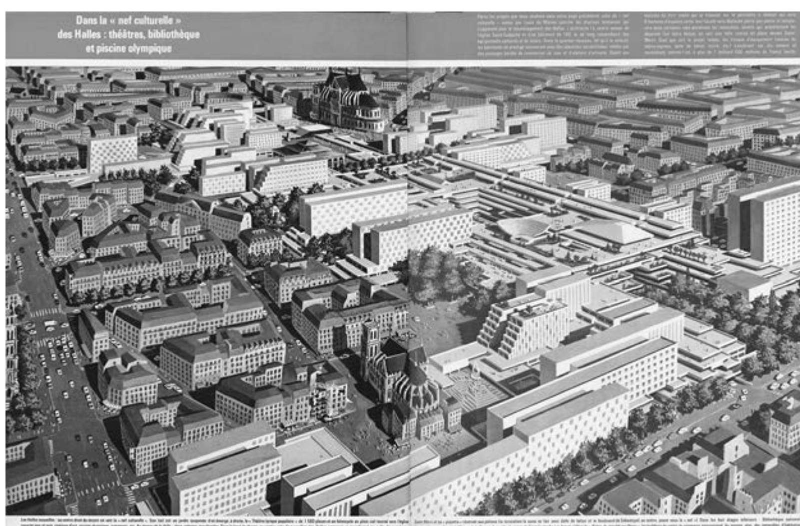
Along these lines, Lefebvre's discourse was extended by many around 1968 in order to demonstrate the impotence of architects within the current social division of labor. A case in point was the discussion about "Architecture and Politics" organized in 1969 by the main French architectural journal, *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui*, with the participation of the architects Jean Deroche, Georges Loiseau, Jean Perrottet, and Pierre Riboulet and the editor-in-chief of the journal, Pierre Vago. Lefebvre's vocabulary suffused the intervention of Riboulet, a member of the Atelier de Montrouge. Positioning himself as a critic of the profession, Riboulet declared architecture a "projection of the society and its mode of production," deploring the loss of the "use value" of the city taken over by its "exchange value" and demanding the "right to the city" for the subjugated

populations. Calling for a "political analysis of production of architecture" that would uncover architecture's implication into the material processes of economic production and social reproduction, Riboulet concluded that in order to change architecture it is necessary to change its mode of production.[81] "It would be illusory," he wrote in another text, "to imagine that architecture is done by architects."[82] While he admitted that the aesthetic concerns are specific for architecture, he refused to speculate about the possibilities of architecture after the social change since they are inconceivable with the conceptual and visual habitus of the current social regime; and hence he subscribed to the warning of Manfredo Tafuri not to anticipate an architecture for a "liberated society" but to introduce its class critique.[83]

In opposition to Tafuri—whose fierce critique of "architectural ideology" could hardly conceal his love for it—Lefebvre aimed at a different Marxist take on architecture. *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* and his later books open up a discussion of architecture not just as a "projection" of social relationships on the territory, but also as a medium by which the place of particular groups is defined, distinguished, and manifested within the social totality, and hence a site where collective subjectivities and their relative positions to capital and its various forms (financial, social, cultural) are negotiated. To envisage such repositioning is the task of an architectural imagination, developed from within the "near" order of everyday appropriation of space, which Lefebvre contrasted with the "distant" order of urbanism.[84]

In a 1967 debate with the architects and urban planners Michel Ecochard and Jean Balladur, Lefebvre compared the "macrosociological" perspective of urbanism to the "microsociological" one of architecture, which takes its clues from the practices of habitation.[85] The crux of this distinction is not the differentiation of scales, because just as architecture can be reduced to an instrument of urbanism, so is it also able to address a register stretching from furniture to gardens, parks, and landscape, writes Lefebvre.[86] (This is also how he theorized habitation in his reading of the ISU studies: as a practice reaching beyond the individual domicile toward the neighborhood and the urban territory.)[87] Rather, architecture and urbanism are distinguished by different modes of imagination: an opposition that comes to the fore in Lefebvre's distinction between "concrete" and "abstract" utopia.[88] While abstract utopia embraces current urbanization protocols and extends them into the future, concrete utopia "begins with jouissance and seeks to conceive of a new space, which

can only be based on an architectural project."[89] Mixing admiration and sarcasm, Lefebvre illustrated abstract utopia with the example of the forest of Tronçais where Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV, had oak trees planted in the year 1670 from which the French royal navy was to be built around 1900.[90] Lefebvre had much less sympathy for the abstract utopias of the postwar period, which he approximated with a "perfect city" of technocrats who believe in a possibility of a coherent and cohesive system of needs, services, and transportation.[91] One cannot help recalling the images published in 1967 by *Paris Match* about "Paris in 20 years," many of which became references in the architectural debates and a pool of raw materials for the subversive collages of the Utopie Group. They presented some sixty projects within the 1965 master plan of Paris showing the metropolitan territory extended by five new towns, connected by a rapid regional train network (RER), linked to large French cities (Le Havre, Orleans, Lyon, and Lille) by an "aérotrain," and embellished by the cultural center replacing the old market of Les Halles and by the "cybernetic tower" by Nicolas Schöffer paired with the Museum of the Twentieth Century designed by André Wogenscky based on sketches by Le Corbusier.[92]



Proposal for the development of the site of Les Halles in Paris into a cultural center with theaters, library, and an Olympic-size swimming pool. From *Paris Match* 951 (1967): unpaginated. Courtesy of Hachette Filipacchi Associés.

"Super Eiffel Tower of Paris in the year 1990," designed by Nicolas Schöffer. From *Paris Match* 952 (1967): unpaginated. Courtesy of Hachette Filipacchi Associés.

While abstract utopia is a "positive" extrapolation of the status quo, concrete utopia is "negative," that is to say it contradicts the premises of the current social order: the everyday defined by the division of labor, economy of exchange, and the state as the primary agent of economic regulation and political subjectivity.[93] This negativity is what Lefebvre found in the spaces of leisure that come with a hint of an everyday defined by nonwork rather than production, excess rather than accumulation, gift rather than exchange. But this was also the dynamics of habitation, studied by the ISU as a set of practices—sometimes material, sometimes discursive, sometimes imaginary—that appropriate everyday spaces by structuring them according to significant distinctions, in particular in opposition to the world of labor. While Lefebvre was among the first in France to show how everyday spaces become instrumental in capitalist reproduction, the studies by the ISU revealed to him that everyday habitation in the suburban house is lived "beyond" and "against" the routines of *métro–boulot–dodo* (commuting, working, sleeping).

Such understood practices of habitation are the starting point for Lefebvre's rethinking of architectural imagination. Like habitation, which the ISU studied as experienced beyond its socioeconomic conditions of possibility, in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* Lefebvre argues for a procedure that "suspends by means of thought," literally "puts into parentheses," the powers that "subordinate" the architect to the execution of a program defined on the level of urbanism and planning.[94] He writes that only by postulating architecture's "relative autonomy" is it possible to open up the architectural imagination rather than repeating that "there is nothing to be done, nothing to be thought, because everything is 'blocked,' because 'capitalism' rules and co-opts everything, because the 'mode of production' exists as system and totality, to be rejected or accepted in accordance with the principle of 'all or nothing.'"[95] Lefebvre argues that this "parenthesizing" is a "dialectical reduction," which contrasts with philosophical reductivism, and follows the procedure of Marx to "reduce in order to situate and restore."[96] Rather than "putting everything into your system"—as Lefebvre polemically responded to Tafuri—he counted architecture among "open" totalities, semiautonomous subsystems, and nonsynchronicities within French postwar society.[97]

The "negativity" of the architectural imagination is hence not a project of an exception to capitalism, let alone resistance to it by architectural means. The "parenthesizing" Lefebvre postulated is an attempt to

stake out a field of investigation for the architectural imagination, "to turn the world upside down using theory, the imaginary, and dream, to contribute to its multiform practical transformation, without being restricted to a limited form (political, 'cultural,' ideological, and, therefore, dogmatic)."[98] What appears as a withdrawal from a political engagement opens up a possibility of a political practice, since after the parentheses are lifted, the products of this investigation—concepts, images—would reenter social practice as projects and "counterprojects."[99]

Politics: Architecture of Habitation

The political dimension of Lefebvre's definition of architecture by means of habitation and the possibilities for a recalibration of the practices of architects along this definition become evident when *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* is read together with the Common Program: the coalition between the French Communist Party (PCF) and the Socialist Party (PS) signed in June 1972, thus around the time Lefebvre was beginning his work on the manuscript. In the context of the politicization of French urban sociology since the end of the 1960s and the introduction of questions of the city and urbanization into French politics, the Program posited habitation as the core of a comprehensive political project.

Many sections of the Common Program followed the postulates that Lefebvre had laid out for the PCF in the mid-1950s, and that had led to his suspension from the Party in 1958, followed by his exclusion. They entailed the demand of a collaboration among the Western European Left, learning from the Yugoslav experience of self-management, de-Stalinization, and a broad coalition of political actors gathered around the urban question.[100] The rapprochement of Lefebvre and the PCF began in the early 1970s, but direct exchanges did not happen until after the end of the Common Program in 1978 and the ascent to power of the socialist candidate François Mitterrand in 1981 ("on the ruins of its own ideology," as Lefebvre would comment).[101]

Without explicit references to Lefebvre's writings, the *Programme commun de gouvernement du Parti communiste français et du Parti socialiste (27 juin 1972)* (Common program of the government of the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party, June 27, 1972) included chapters on "urbanism, housing, and social facilities," "leisure," "urban planning,"

and "democratic planning," a concept that Lefebvre commented on in his 1961 review of Yugoslav planning.[102] Based on the demand of nationalization of financial institutions and major industry groups, and broader income redistribution, the Program postulated a "new urbanism" that aimed at the reduction of inequalities caused by excessive urban growth and the satisfaction of social needs by hierarchized and coordinated distribution of social facilities: "an urbanism for the people and not for profit of monopolies."[103] This required social control of the land market and speeding up of the construction of affordable housing (to seven hundred thousand units per year), which would include state-subsidized housing and renovations, integrated with places of work and leisure facilities. Under the broad concept of "advanced democracy," the Program postulated inhabitants' control over administrative councils of the public offices of subsidized housing (Habitation à Loyer Modéré, HLM) in which representatives of the collectives and tenants should be granted a voting majority. Much attention was given to transportation, socially managed and subsidized by the state and enterprises, but also to environmental issues, linking questions of ecological protection to the programming of free time. In general, the Common Program aimed at ameliorating the "environment of [everyday] life" *(cadre de vie)* within a vision of "unblocking" the human potential that is restrained in the current society; in the words of a historian, a "socialism of abundance and human self-realization" rather than a socialism of accumulation and austerity according to the Soviet model.[104]

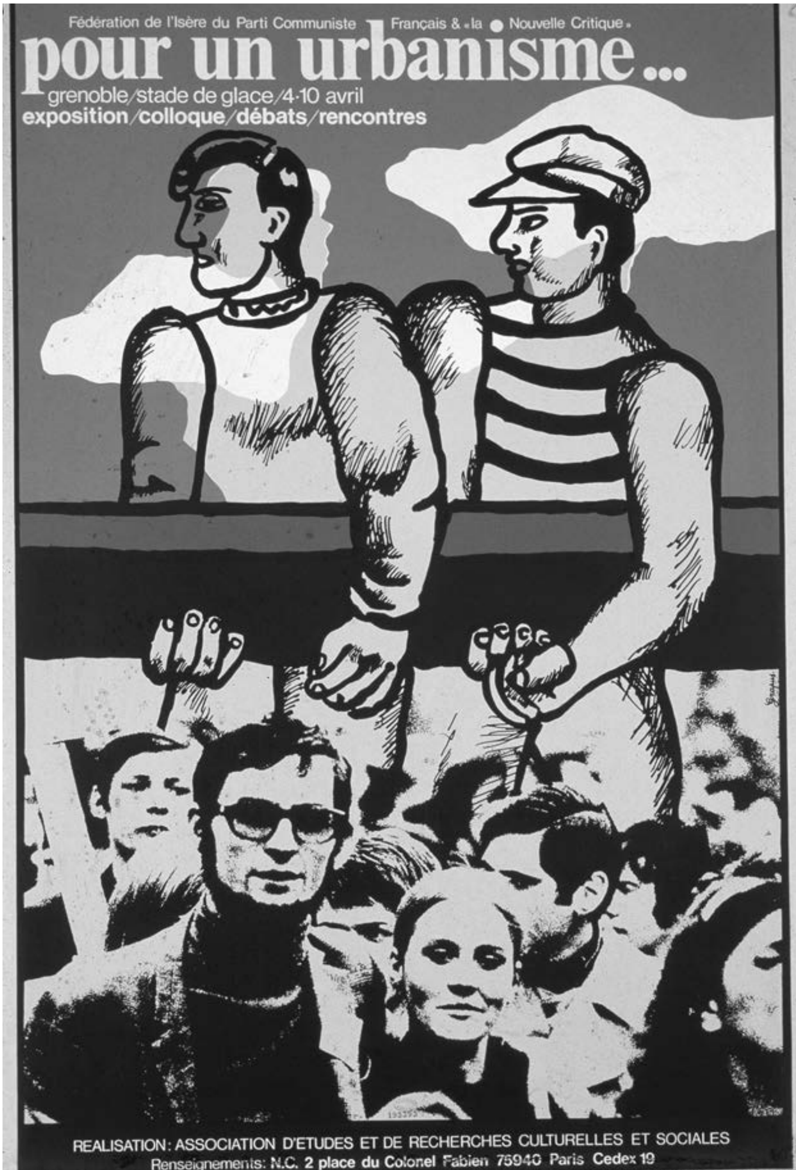
The consequences of the Common Program for architecture and urbanism were advanced by two colloquia. The first ("Urbanisme monopoliste, urbanisme démocratique" [Monopolist urbanism, democratic urbanism], May 12–13, 1973), held in Paris, developed the discussion beyond repeating the commonplace that capitalist urbanization is motivated by profit and the reproduction of labor power. It reinterpreted the discourse on the "pauperization" of workers—promoted by the PCF leader Maurice Thorez and clearly out of sync with the increase in living standards in postwar France—into a "pauperization of time and space" caused by long commuting hours, minimal housing norms, and the absence of green spaces and playgrounds.[105]

The second colloquium "Pour un urbanisme . . ." (For an urbanism . . .) took place in the city of Grenoble (April 6–7, 1974) on the invitation of the socialist mayor, Hubert Dubedout. It was prepared by the

Party's journal *La nouvelle critique*, which published its results.[106] In contrast to the academic constituency of the previous debates, the colloquium gathered elected officials from many suburban municipalities and some working-class cities controlled by the PCF. Among the 1,200 participants were mayors from cities such as Le Havre, Dieppe, and Nanterre, elected officials, and Party functionaries, but also social scientists, architects, and planners active in France's "red belts" as well as architectural historians and critics, such as Bernard Huet, Claude Schnaidt, or Anatole Kopp.[107] The poster for the conference, designed by the French collective Grapus, linked the image of workers, evocative of Fernand Leger, with a photograph of students, by this conveying the main promise of the Common Program: solidarity between workers and intellectuals.

Lefebvre was absent from Grenoble, but many of his colleagues from the ISU were there, and so were his ideas. In particular, his discourse on habitation as a practice straddling all scales of urban reality was employed in order to discuss the controversies around the production of space in communist-controlled municipalities. Were they enclaves "in advance of the current mode of production," where "millions of people live their everyday in rupture with the dominant ideology," as some speakers asked in Grenoble?[108] Or, as others argued, were they the last instances of municipal communism, increasingly obsolete in view of the limitations imposed on urban design by the central government and new regimes of financial regulation of housing and social facilities?[109]

These questions reflected the experience of "red" municipalities in France, such as Ivry, Aubervilliers, and Le Havre. But cities abroad were also reflected upon in Grenoble, in particular the decentralization of communist-governed Bologna, which included, since 1956, the establishment of the district as the center of direct democracy, with broad participation of the inhabitants in decisions concerning planning, urban renewal, and housing policy.[110] Introducing an issue of the Italian architectural journal *Parametro* in 1977, Lefebvre stressed the constant negotiation between various scales of governance in Bologna: the neighborhood, the city, the region; this negotiation took place in Bologna's civic centers, the very nodes of political debate, decision making, and enjoyment.[111] This was a recurring theme in his texts, and in a discussion about the Paris Commune (1871), he argued that the urban problematic consists in finding spatial units that can be self-administered and self-managed in both economic and social terms.[112]



Poster for the colloquium "Pour un urbanisme . . ." (Grenoble, April 6–7, 1974), which gathered officials, administrators, architects, planners, and sociologists to discuss the consequences of the Common Program for the production of urban space. Poster by Grapus. Archives Municipales d'Aubervilliers, France. Courtesy of Jean-Paul Bachollet.

Scales of urban politics were heatedly debated during the colloquium, in reference to the ongoing research by Marxist urban sociologists and geographers. In particular, Manuel Castells and his team had been demonstrating since the late 1960s that the urban region is the basic entity of capitalist production and reproduction, and hence the everyday life of inhabitants, fragmented into work, housing, leisure, and commuting, can be neither understood nor organized at the level of a neighborhood or a municipality.[113] This was also the conclusion of the ISU research project on four suburban cities within the Parisian agglomeration: Argenteuil, Choisy-le-Roi, Suresnes, and Vitry-sur-Seine (1967). With the increased mobility of the population and the fact that the institutions that influenced the life of the inhabitants now operated on a larger scale, the authors concluded that the scale of the neighborhood "does not offer a sufficient basis for collective life."[114] Rather, they envisaged a network of architectural objects binding together an urban territory and offering reference points for the inhabitants.

The construction of urban space by means of an architecture of habitation was the focus of the renovation of Ivry-sur-Seine, a communist-governed municipality in the agglomeration of Paris, one of the most discussed examples during the Grenoble colloquium. The project was presented as granting the working class and employees (constituting 72 percent of the population of this municipality) the "right" to live and to work in the center of Ivry. ("To live in Paris is more and more a privilege," said Lefebvre at that time: a "privilege" that was denied to him in 1990 when he was forced to leave his apartment on rue Rambuteau, followed by his move to Navarrenx.)[115] The renovation of the urban fabric in Ivry (since 1969), which included housing as well as public spaces, shops, and offices, was based on a close collaboration between the architects (René Gailhoustet and Jean Renaudie), the municipality, and the inhabitants—thus giving a hint of a different organization of architectural labor, to be generalized after the means promised by the Common Program would be made available.[116] This included rethinking the relationships between individual and team work, forms of remuneration, and the division of labor within the architectural office. In the perspective offered by the Common Program, the participants challenged the hierarchies between intellectual and manual labor and imagined an alliance between architects, planners, and the working class—a postulate considered particularly urgent in view of the 1973 law on the architectural

profession, privileging large offices and resulting in the fragmentation of the design process.[117]

Renaudie argued for the participation of inhabitants in design decisions: not as "users" *(utilisateurs)* but as interlocutors capable of experimenting, judging, critiquing.[118] Within the "new pedagogy" of the Common Program expected to create material and cultural conditions for the transformation of the society,[119] an architectural project could be perceived as a pedagogical experience for all those involved and required popular intervention at the level of programming, design, and realization. Hence, architects were supposed to transform their traditional competences, technical and cultural, and to renegotiate the understanding of the profession. What was at stake was less a new type of specialization, let alone a vision of architects as "specialists in the forms of jouissance" as mused by Paul Chemetov, but, rather, bridging the cultural gap between the architectural project and the population: this was the lesson to be learned from the aborted experience of the Soviet avant-gardes of the 1920s, as the editors of *La nouvelle critique* argued.[120] This pedagogical program might have motivated Lefebvre to postulate in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* the employment by architects of a multiplicity of codes "without privileging any of them," in line with the recent discussions in the semiology of architecture and the city.[121] It might not be necessary, at the beginning at least, to realize the vision of Marx and "to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner,"[122] but everybody needs to be able to converse beyond their immediate professional interests.

The consequence of such pedagogy would be a radical change of the conditions of the architectural commission *(commande)* and its relationship to the social demand *(demande)*. Clues came from institutional analysis, in particular that of Georges Lapassade, Lefebvre's colleague at Nanterre, and René Lourau, Lefebvre's doctoral student. In the course of the 1960s, Lapassade and Lourau carried out several analyses of institutions (enterprises, hospitals, universities) that, while commissioned by the management of the institution in question, were developed, primarily, as analyses of the commission itself, whether explicit or implicit. In contrast to the bureaucratized procedures of participation, which had become increasingly standardized in French urban planning during the 1960s,[123] the analysts aimed at creating self-managed situations in which the organization of time and space of the institution was decided

together with every other aspect of the analytical situation, such as the schedule and the payment of the analysts (who thus accepted the risk of not being paid at all).[124] In the words of Félix Guattari, an active participant in the debate, such analysis accounts for various discourses, not only theoretical ones but also those about everyday life and spatial relationships, articulating them together, without homogenizing or unifying them, and making them "communicate transversally."[125] In this way, the analysts sought to "liberate the social energy in the group" and mobilize its collective activities, "to make it circulate and to furnish it with occasions of investment."[126]

Intensity of social exchange was also the ambition of the project in Ivry, characterized by a great mixture of functions, diversity of housing typologies, and combination of ownership structures.[127] In the view of Renaudie, the overlapping of dwellings and the visual contacts between the inhabitants were encouraging relationships between them and facilitated collective activities. Since each dwelling is different, no social norm or convention would emerge according to which individual uses of the apartments were to be judged; at the same time, the choice of the apartment went with a sense of responsibility—speculated Renaudie.[128]

Without subscribing to this belief about an unmediated agency of architectural forms, Lefebvre described the architecture of Gailhoustet and Renaudie as preventing the isolation of an architectural object. Writing in 1984, six years after the end of the Common Program, he speculated about an architecture of habitation that would open up everyday practices to social life and the urban society. Such architecture "treats space as an articulation of several levels: the organization of territory, the broadest level, that of the site; the urbanistic plan, that of the city; the architectural project, that of dwelling."[129] Architecture of habitation, argued Lefebvre, needs to stress the interconnections and relative autonomy of these levels, and this is why in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* he opposed both the isolation of the bourgeois apartment, mocked as a small city (with the kitchen as a shopping center, the dining room as a restaurant, and the balcony as park), and the dependency of the Existenzminimum housing on external facilities, necessarily limited by the current mode of production.[130] Such understanding of habitation within the urban system implied a political program, that of urban self-management, as Henri Raymond pointed out in Grenoble.[131] This subscribed to Lefebvre's reinterpretation of the "right to the city" during the

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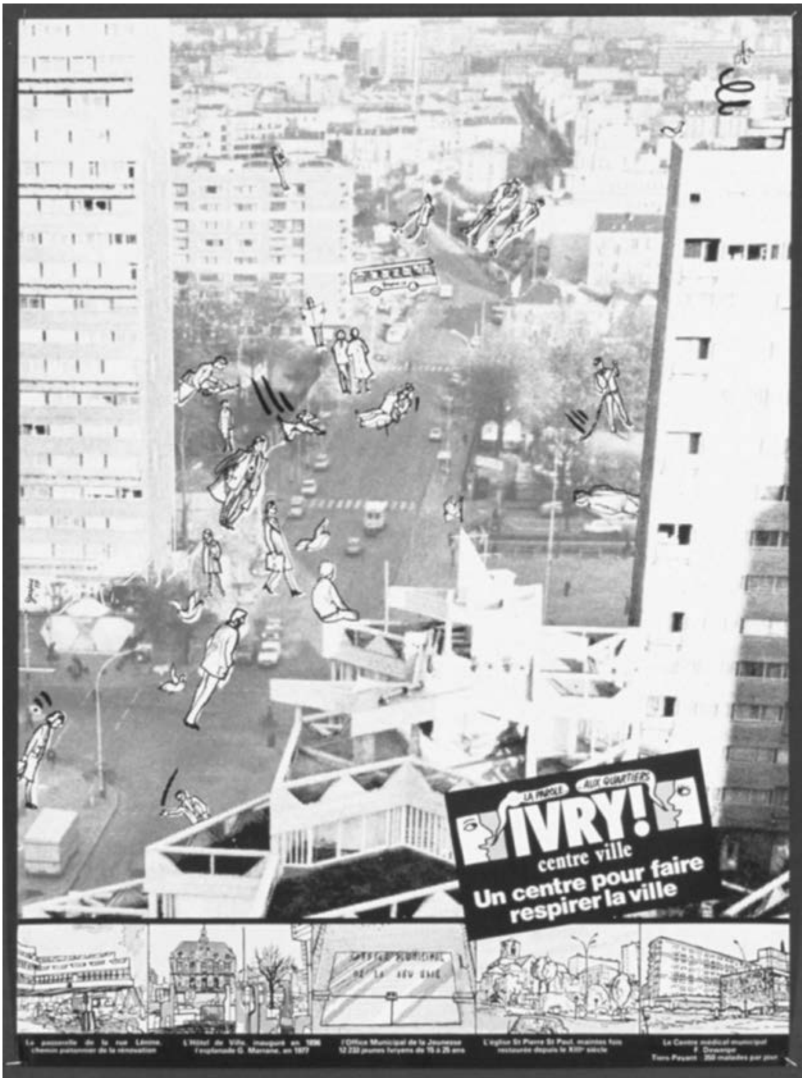


“Ivry! Centre ville” (1977), on the foreground the complex of housing, shops, and offices “Jeanne Hachette,” Ivry-sur-Seine, designed by René Gailhoustet and Jean Renaudie, 1969–75. Poster by Grapus. Archives Municipales d’Aubervilliers, France. Courtesy of Jean-Paul Bachollet.

1970s: not just the "right to dwelling" or the "right to social facilities" within the discussions about entitlements granted by the welfare state, but the "right to urban life" for those who inhabit, rather than for the global elite whose emergence Lefebvre sensed and whom he ironically called the "Olympians."[132]

Materiality: Spaces of Jouissance

"Cache-toi, objet" (object, hide yourself). When during May 1968 this graffito appeared in the stairwell of the Sorbonne, the architect Jean Aubert of the Utopie Group took it personally, as an attack on designers of objects: "we were the object, obviously."[133] The May uprisings originated at the campus of the university of Nanterre, and according to Lefebvre the university buildings were not only the site but also the target of the revolt.[134] This hostility toward the architectural object associated with the reproduction of social relationships was a constant reference in Lefebvre's work from this period, and it was reflected in much of the architectural experimentation around 1968. The possibility of an architectural practice that unleashes the flux of libidinal energy, rather than producing forms that ossify it, was sought by Constant Nieuwenhuys in his atmospheric New Babylon, drawn during his membership in the Internationale situationniste, and by Ricardo Bofill in the movie *Esquizo* (1970), which explored the production of space by means of transversal relationships between bodies, senses, emotions, and concepts.[135] This commitment to the ephemeral, buoyant, temporary, mobile was conveyed by Lefebvre's comments about the inflated structures of the Utopie Group, his account of the Montreal Expo 67, where the "everydayness was absorbed in festival," and his praise for the reappropriation of Les Halles in Paris, diverted *(détourné)* into a site of "permanent festival" during the three years before its demolition (1971).[136]

In these comments, Lefebvre seems to argue that the dynamics of the social production of space require a dissolution of architecture into a momentary enjoyment, a flash of desire, an ephemeral situation created by "activities of groups that are themselves ephemeral."[137] The consequences of such questioning of the ontology of architecture can be seen in the work of the Centre d'études, de recherches et de formation institutionnelles (CERFI), an extra-academic network of researchers and political activists, during its most active phase between the mid-1960s and

Graffiti on the wall of the staircase of the Sorbonne in 1968. In Jean-Louis Violeau, *Les architectes et mai 68* (Paris: Éditions Recherches, 2005), unpaginated.

the late 1970s, led by Félix Guattari and in exchange with Michel Foucault.[138] In spite of its polemics against Lefebvre,[139] CERFI shared his basic argument that the city cannot be conceived as a specific typology of settlement. Rather, the members of CERFI were convinced that the city is a metaphor. "When one speaks of the city, one speaks about something else," they wrote in the journal *Recherches*: about a process of gathering of heterogeneous, productive chains, including the knowledge of functionaries, the tools of artisans, the writing of the scribe, the spectacle of religion, exotic products, arms of the military apparatus, and so on.[140] Like Lefebvre, the cerfistes launched a critique of the concept of need, and in their numerous research projects on the genealogy of collective facilities since the eighteenth century they studied prisons, hospitals, schools, and housing not as satisfying a preexisting "need" (security, health, education, shelter) but, rather, as instruments of normalization of the population and its distribution throughout the territory.[141]

To this fiction of "need" CERFI opposed the reality of "desire." CERFI understood desire as a force working in the social and political domain, a flux between people and groups that is manifested in a negative way:

Still from *Esquizo,* 1970. Directed by Ricardo Bofill. Photograph by Taller de Arquitectura. Archive of Ricardo Bofill/Taller de Arquitectura, Barcelona, Spain. Courtesy of Ricardo Bofill.

as lapsus, revolt, refusal; but also as love, project, hope.[142] Desire was at the center of the work of CERFI starting with the first research projects of the group in the late 1960s, focused on the architecture of psychiatric hospitals and departing from Guattari's experience at the clinic of La Borde. Against the governmental proposal of gathering the patients of five Parisian new towns in one central psychiatric facility, the group recommended a network of smaller institutions and suggested reprogramming the relationship between the staff and the patients rather than focusing on the buildings. In a later contribution to the programming of the psychiatric institutions in the new towns of Évry and Marne-la-Vallée, the authors argued that a generic apartment of five rooms and a kitchen would be all that needed to be said in terms of the architecture of the envisaged facility.[143] It is this refusal to freeze the social dynamics by material forms that motivated CERFI to conceive public buildings or urban renewal projects as situations for the collective analysis of desire. In the introduction to the single published issue of the journal *Parallèles*, the editors called for an invention of "underground institutions" that would "reactivate the play of energies and collective knowledge," and thus the only architecture to be longed for is that "sweated by the body, continually disseminated by gestures, glances, and contacts."[144]

This view of architecture was conveyed by the most comprehensive engagement of CERFI: the rehabilitation of the Petit Seminaire (1975–86), a neighborhood in Marseille designed by the architectural partnership Candilis-Josic-Woods (1958–60). The researchers of CERFI-Sud (Marseille) mediated the process of redefining the boundary between private and public spaces, encouraged and sustained the speech of the inhabitants, and intervened on their behalf when the appointed technicians opposed design decisions collectively taken by the inhabitants.[145] The result was a modification of the layout of the apartments and a differentiation of the facades by means of decorative elements, which led both to their individuation and to the effacement of the original design, to the despair of architectural historians. Yet in retrospect, Anne Querrien, one of the leaders of CERFI, saw the failure of the project elsewhere: in the very fact of its ending and in the abandoning of the continuous programming of the social spaces in the neighborhood.[146] The colorful facades, the enhanced floor plans, even the arch dividing two rooms demanded by a Roma family that caused so much controversy[147] are all empty shells when they cease to spark interaction, debate, disagreement.

The experiments of CERFI shared the basic premise of Lefebvre's theory that social space is produced in social interaction. Yet they differed from it by contrasting this interaction with the material object, in particular the architectural object, seen as alienating, reifying, commodifying. Lefebvre resisted the Sorbonne slogan ("cache-toi, objet") from a materialist position and argued that material practices need to be analyzed as a part of the rhythmic continuum of the social production of space, including the slow rhythms of objects.[148] Slow, that is, in relationship to the body, which is the criterion for the rhythmanalysis of space. In line with the research of CERFI, which discussed the body between the extremes of discipline and transgression—the bodies of patients in a mental hospital, workers in miners' cities, or gay men cruising in the Jardin des Tuileries[149]—for Lefebvre the body is the very model of the production of space, at the same time material, experienced, represented, and imagined.

"To grasp a rhythm one needs to be grasped by it," and this is why rhythmanalysis begins with the individual experience of the body to be extended toward "enveloping spaces," "surroundings," and "landscapes."[150] Rhythmanalysis considers the body as an ensemble of rhythms traversing it: "the rhythms of my life, of night and day, of my fatigue and activity, individual, biological, and cosmic."[151] This is not a return to a supposed primordial authenticity of the body, but rather an attempt at grasping its social production by studying an interference of rhythms, whether cyclical or linear, repetitive or differentiated, singular or aggregated. It is the body that is the source of jouissance: "the body accumulates energy in order to discharge them explosively, by squandering, by a game, by a bursting; . . . the body disposes of an excess of energy in a useless expenditure that produces jouissance."[152]

This sense of orgasmic enjoyment, which is conveyed by *jouissance* in French, guided Lefebvre's analysis of the events of Nanterre in May 1968 and was captured in the title of his book about May: *The Explosion: Marxism and the French Revolution* (1968).[153] In direct relationship to Georges Bataille's description of Paris by the dynamics of repulsion and attraction, marked by the extremes of the abattoir and the museum, Lefebvre analyzed the performance of an architectural object in the urban territory as a dialectics of dispersion and gathering.[154] He argued that the "explosion" in Nanterre targeted the spatiotemporal distinctions on the campus, which were transformed into lived contradictions: between

work, housing, and leisure, private and public spheres, male and female students. "The university community in which the 'function of living' becomes specialized and reduced to a bare minimum (the habitat)—while traditional separations between boys and girls, and between work and leisure and privacy, are maintained—this community becomes the focus of sexual aspirations and rebellions."[155] In a TV interview shot in his office in Nanterre, Lefebvre pointed out the composition of slabs and towers around the green center adjoining the shantytown housing immigrants and argued that "in order to answer the question why it started here one should look outside the window."[156] For Lefebvre, the target of the revolt was less a particular building and more the equilibrium maintained between bodies, objects, activities, genders by the spatial layout of the campus. This equilibrium, to Lefebvre, reflected the general design approach in postwar urbanism in which each element is defined by its difference from all others—just like, he argued, the Charter of Athens conceptualized the city as a closed system of flows between production (work) and reproduction (housing and leisure).

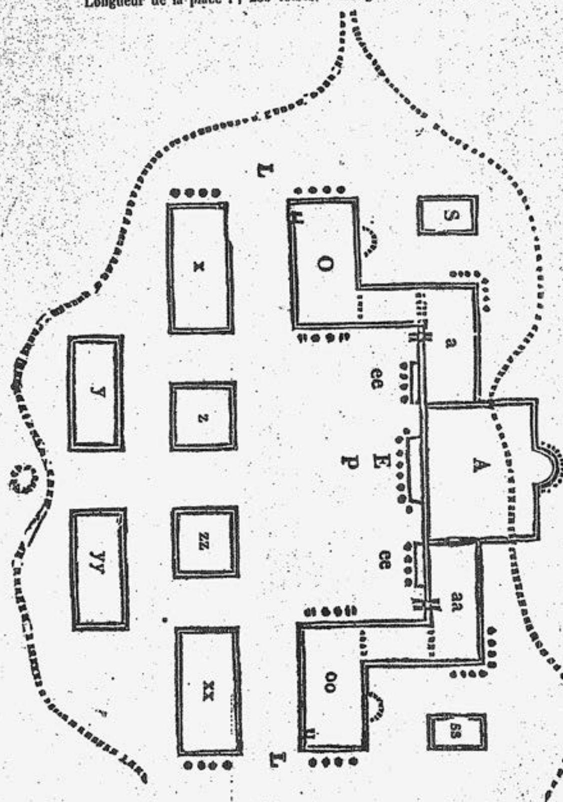
Much of Lefebvre's work since the 1960s was focused on debunking such understanding of society in terms of "systems of differences" posed by structuralist theorists, which he saw as subscribing to the capitalist exchange economy and, in particular, the "form of value" that, in the words of Marx, is never assumed by an isolated commodity, "but only when placed in a value or exchange relation with another commodity of a different kind."[157] It was against this reduction to the form of value of all levels of French postwar society—functionalist urbanism, modernist architecture, consumer culture, state bureaucracy—that the term *jouissance* was introduced in Lefebvre's book. Rather than being a technical concept clearly defined and consistently used throughout the text, *jouissance* is employed in order to lay out a broad field of investigation and is often used within and against a whole family of concepts such as *bonheur, plaisir, volupté,* and *joie*. The book is less a cumulative argument than a registration of a process of conceptual work in the course of which the relationships between jouissance, architectures, and spaces are approximated by a range of specific disciplinary discourses. This open-ended character of *jouissance* in Lefebvre's writings was conveyed in Donald Nicholson-Smith's 1991 translation of *The Production of Space,* where such concepts as *espace* and *architecture de la jouissance* were rendered as "space of gratification," "space of pleasure," "space," and "architecture of

enjoyment";[158] in this volume Robert Bononno prefers the latter in most contexts. This variation captures the ambiguity and richness of the French *jouissance,* meaning enjoyment in the sense of a legal or social entitlement, pleasure, and, in particular, the pleasure of sexual climax, while the stress of the Dionysian, rather than Apollonian, character of jouissance remains a challenge for the English translation.[159]

When opposed to the economy of exchange, jouissance stands in Lefebvre's text for transgression, expenditure, and excess: "jouissance . . . is merely a flash, a form of energy that is expended, wasted, destroying itself in the process."[160] This understanding of jouissance subscribed to the basic distinction in Lacanian psychoanalysis where jouissance is distinguished from both desire and pleasure: while desire is a fundamental lack, jouissance is a bodily experience of the limit point when pleasure stops being pleasure; it is a painful pleasure: "*jouissance* is suffering," writes Lacan.[161] In *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* this reference to psychoanalysis extends to Lefebvre's revisiting of other discourses, often alluding to the polemics developed in his other books.[162] He was inspired by the work of Roland Barthes, a close friend, and his description of the "text of bliss" (*texte de jouissance*) that "unsettles" the reader's historical, cultural, and psychological assumptions, the consistency of his tastes, values, and memories, and brings to a crisis his relation with language.[163] From anthropology Lefebvre takes the understanding of places as charged with affects, but such allocations never exhaust the meaning of these particular places, which are "overencoded" as semiologists would argue. The history of architecture and urban history clarify these experiences by focusing on the appropriation of space that is in excess over every specific practice and pertains to material practices as much as to imaginary and conceptual ones. One of the conclusions from Lefebvre's personal tour of Western philosophy is that joy, happiness, and jouissance, necessarily entangled with pain, cannot be produced like things. Consequently, architecture can neither produce nor signify jouissance; whenever architects functionalize the body in order to offer jouissance for consumption, they end up with such projects as the "center for sexual relaxation" by Nicolas Schöffer, which Lefebvre ridiculed as a fragment of a female body transformed into a technocratic machine of pleasure.[164]

Jouissance is not an "architectural effect";[165] architecture can at best sustain jouissance experienced by the body, and this is what guides Lefebvre through architectural precedence in *Toward an Architecture of*

Enjoyment. "I have always preserved a very strong sense of my own body," he wrote, and many pages in the book can be read as a registration of his travels through spaces of jouissance.[166] They included the visits to the Daisen-in temple in Kyoto, to the squares and palaces of Isfahan, and to the Alhambra and the Generalife gardens with Nicole,[167] but also oneiric journeys, triggered by images and texts by surrealist artists, science fiction novelists, and Renaissance writers, like François Rabelais and his description of the Abbey of Thelema, a community of people educated in pleasure, both carnal and intellectual.[168] While authors describing "queer space" defined it by the urban solitude of cruising,[169] Lefebvre is drawn to spaces where jouissance becomes a collective experience. This included an imaginary passage through the Baths of Diocletian in ancient Rome, seen as a "multifunctional architecture—polymorphous and polyvalent." The sequence of rooms serving the cultivation of body and spirit revealed a "space of jouissance" conveyed by the wealth of materials and finishing, architectural details, and works of art: a "luxury" from which "no one was excluded."[170] The baths prepared the body for an erotic experience, and Lefebvre goes on to describe the temples of Khajuraho in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh and the caves of Ajanta in Maharashtra, "erotic cathedrals" as they were called by Octavio Paz.[171] They represent the path toward divine love through the culture of the "total body" whose natural beauty is enhanced by splendid clothes and jewelry: a body that makes love, dances, makes music, and only rarely works.[172] Lefebvre wrote that the reality of the body is that of neither an archaic past nor a future revolution, but the "now," the lived experience; in the words of Paz, "the body has never believed in progress; its religion is not the future but the present."[173] On this path, Lefebvre revisited reformist proposals of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries: the Oikéma designed by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux as a part of the project of an ideal city in Chaux, and the project of the phalanstery by Charles Fourier, a "palace for the people" where different people would combine their passions and produce new constellations of love and labor.[174] (A photocopy of a phalanstery by Fourier was the only image attached to the manuscript.) Commenting on Fourier in a 1972 TV interview shot in the Palais-Royal in Paris, Lefebvre described the Palais as the model for the phalanstery: a place of theater, galleries, encounter, commerce, work, and leisure; he urged viewers to recognize in Fourier's dreams a "society of jouissance" becoming possible.[175]



Photocopy of Fourier's plan of a phalanstery, attached to *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*. Originally published in Charles Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire: ou Invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuée en séries passionnées* (Paris: Bossange père, 1829), 146. Archive of Mario Gaviria, Saragossa, Spain. Courtesy of Mario Gaviria.

Toward an Architecture

Time to wake up. In *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* Lefebvre confessed that the popularity of Fourier makes him "suspicious": Lefebvre is wary of Fourier's productivist vision merging passion and labor; he reads Fourier's combinatorics of passions as coming dangerously close to Barthes's and Jean Baudrillard's descriptions of consumption as a "communication" between signs.[176] No less troubling is Lefebvre's own ahistorical narrative of the Roman thermae or temples in India, not accounting for the systemic violence on which these experiences were based, and his orientalist contrasts between the "West" and the "East" that haunt the book—in spite of his genuine admiration for non-European art. If these descriptions were in tune with the theorizing of the architectural experience conveyed by postwar phenomenology of architecture,[177] they demonstrate, first of all, the limits to Lefebvre's procedure of "parenthesizing." While this procedure allowed him to discover condensed energy where others saw dead labor, it is necessary to ask what happens when the "parentheses," which protected Lefebvre's argument, are lifted. In other words, how do we read *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment,* an exercise in architectural imagination, together with *The Production of Space,* an analysis of space within the processes of capitalist reproduction, in which architects are assigned a restricted place?

Such reading needs to return to the status of *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* on the intellectual labor market: as a part of Gaviria's research report commissioned by the March Foundation. This status of commissioned research was shared with most of Lefebvre's empirical studies, which were commissioned by state planning institutions in France. Together with Gaviria, but also the members of CERFI and the institutional analysis group, since the late 1960s Lefebvre developed a range of strategies to deal with this changed position of critique resulting from processes of its normalization and institutionalization within the modernizing governance and economic systems of Western Europe. Hence, Gaviria's response to the research commission was a full-fledged critique of the capitalist production of tourist space, and the financing from the March Foundation was used to facilitate his activism against the construction of the highway at the Costa Blanca, a project in which the March Bank was an investor.[178] As for CERFI, the members of the group argued that in the wake of May 1968 the division between professional

and militant life was intolerable. They strategically overidentified with capitalism and bureaucracy and accepted state research contracts in order "to use [this] money as an instrument and as a principle of reality that connects us to the real mechanisms of capitalist society." Such "collective analytical undertaking" was considered by the cerfistes to be the "new ingredient of the activist ideal, although this makes most leftist activists sneer."[179] Similarly, René Lourau and Georges Lapassade, when contracted to carry out an institutional analysis of private enterprises and public institutions, aimed at a collective re-creation of the crisis situations that had triggered the commission in the first place—a strategy that had a lot in common with Lefebvre's "internal analysis" of the PCF in the mid-1950s.[180] Lefebvre's own polemical style of writing, with concepts constantly changing hands and ideological demarcation lines being shifted, responded to the incorporation of critical concepts into the increasingly self-critical French state planning discourse, including concepts that he himself coined or shaped, such as "centrality," "everyday life," and "the right to the city."[181] In *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* this strategy resulted in his recourse to concepts that he took over from his opponents on the left and on the right: polemicizing with voices of imagined interlocutors and possible critics, mocking advertising discourse, and parodying the normalized jargon of urban sociologists, architects, and planners, which he introduced in quotation marks ("users," "needs," "participation").

In other words, Lefebvre's decision to speculate, against the advice of Manfredo Tafuri, about the possibility of an architectural imagination beyond the architects' position in the division of labor was followed by him critically engaging with this division from within his own research commissions; this contrasted with Tafuri's shunning from "the danger of entering into 'progressive' dialogue with the techniques for rationalizing the contradictions of capital."[182] Evidently, the responses by Lefebvre, CERFI, Lourau, and Lapassade cannot be repeated beyond their historical conjuncture, marked by the establishment of research contracts between French state institutions and its ideological opponents, an opening whose limitations soon became apparent and led to an end by the mid-1970s. (The seizure of CERFI's issue of *Recherches* titled "Trois milliards de pervers" [Three billion perverts, 1973], followed by the prosecution of Guattari in criminal court in 1974 are just some examples of the limits to this opening.)[183] Yet what architectural practices can learn

from these experiences is how to formulate strategic interventions into processes of the production of space by responding to a specific commission while questioning the division of intellectual labor that this commission assumed. Read as a result and a notation of a co-opted research commission, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* inspires us to rethink the place of architectural labor within the processes of spatial production, and to renegotiate it.

This negotiation is facilitated by Lefebvre's broad theorization of space in *The Production of Space*, which extends from material spaces to ways of use, representations, concepts, and experiences. Such perspective allows us to recognize architecture's instrumentality as perceived individually and collectively, experienced, interpreted, contested, and appropriated. Within Lefebvre's theory of space, architectural practices are to be conceptualized as transversal, that is to say cutting across ontological categories and contributing to all stages of the production of space, from formulating a demand to the phases of research, programming, designing, construction, and the continuous appropriation of buildings. Architects today contribute to these processes by mobilizing and aggregating spatial agents, activating or deactivating networks of resources, and analyzing their interrelations within the comprehensive system of the production of space by an application of architectural tools of research, recording, visualizing, and mapping.[184] Within the context of an antagonistic view of politics, Lefebvre's ideas on self-management and the right to the city are developed into a discussion on urban citizenship, radical democracy, urban commons, reappropriation of collective facilities, and redistribution of resources.[185] This perspective facilitates an extension of the traditional products of architectural labor toward research methods, program briefs, conventions of representation, educational tools, public pedagogy, regulatory proposals, and the reprogramming of buildings after their completion.

Architecture as space, again? A return to the modernist vision of architects as "producers of space"? The answer would be Lefebvre's typical "no and yes."

No, as far as this concept of space produced by multiple, heterogeneous, and often antagonistic practices has nothing to do with a modernist understanding of space as the privileged medium of architecture and a specific mode of aesthetic perception. As it was argued by Mary McLeod against the consolidation of the architectural star-system in

the 1990s, Lefebvre's theory provides a powerful alternative not only to the "banality and mediocrity" of the generic built environment, but also to the modernist heroic discourse emulated by the neo-avant-garde.[186]

Yes, as far as Lefebvre believed in the progressive potential of the "discovery" that "instead of carrying on with the creation of isolated objects, separated from each other in space, modern society allows for the creation of space itself."[187] After attributing, once again, this "discovery" to the Bauhaus architects and Le Corbusier, in a 1972 interview in *Actuel,* he proposed "rationalizing this intuition and introducing the notion of the *production of space* as a fundamental concept." With the development of productive forces in the twentieth century it is possible to "take on and control consciously new forms of space production rather than getting locked in the repetition of mass social housing and highways."[188] In this sense, if the title of *Vers une architecture de la jouissance* appears at first glance as a polemical completion of Le Corbusier's 1923 manifesto *(Vers une architecture),* it can also be read as unforgetting the architectural imagination of the modern movement, which reconnects the means offered by technological modernization to political goals.[189]

Yet another of Lefebvre's definitions of *jouissance* as a "surplus" of use testifies to this complicated affinity with the ambitions of modern architecture.[190] Indebted both to the Marxist opposition between "exchange value" and "use value," as well as the juridical meaning of the French word *jouissance* as the "right to use,"[191] in *Vers une architecture de la jouissance* "use" is understood as a range of practices that assemble senses, forms, bodies, and images. Rather than subscribing to the functionalist understanding of use as a saturation of an isolated need, Lefebvre follows a different, more clandestine discourse on use in modernist authors, from Ernst Bloch's comments on "democratic luxury," through Le Corbusier's dialectics of architectural pleasure in *Une maison—un palais* (A house—a palace, 1928), to the understanding of luxury as an "excess in functionality" in Swedish modernism and as a "broadening of experience" by Siegfried Giedion.[192] In the course of the 1970s, such reading of modern architecture would reverberate with several younger architects, who discovered in this undercurrent a strategy for rescuing modern architecture from its reduction to the building production of the postwar welfare state. Hence, Rem Koolhaas recalled that within the "deep and fundamental hostility against modernity" emerging in the 1970s, he felt that "the only way in which modernity could even be recuperated was

by insisting in a very progressive way about its other side, its *popularity*, its *vulgarity*, its *hedonism*."[193] And it was in the mid-1970s, with the first indicators of the waning of the Western European welfare state, that a new generation of Italian and French architectural historians launched a series of research projects on architecture and social democracy in interwar Europe, focusing on "collective luxury" as social bond in French garden cities and as compensation for the Existenzminimum apartments in social-democratic municipalities in interwar Austria and Germany.[194]

With modern architecture being the kernel of the worldwide techno-cultural *dispositif* of global urbanization,[195] the relevance of *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* today reaches far beyond discussions about the European welfare state and points to the centrality of jouissance in the social production of space. For architectural practices, this requires extending the struggles for the "right to the city" toward equal access not only to land, public transport, and infrastructure but also to spaces of education and enjoyment. From this perspective, equality in urban space is measured not by minimal standards everybody can afford but by aspirations everybody can share. The economy of social space, in this way, is an "economy of jouissance," a use economy: rather than destroyed by its consumption, the use value of social space is enhanced by its intense, differentiated, and unpredictable use.[196] There is no shortage of examples of such practices, many of which—both established and proven, as well as experimental and promising—were launched by municipalities in the Global South, making it evident that the geographies of authoritative knowledge about processes of urbanization are being recalibrated.[197] Bypassing the dichotomy between generic architectural production and iconic buildings, these projects depart from an understanding of urban space as an economic, cultural, and political resource.[198]

In this sense, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* must be read together not only with *The Production of Space* but also with current experiences in architecture and urban design, which share Lefebvre's understanding that the paradigm of the production of space shifts from an "industrial" to an "urban" logic, that of habitation. To draw consequences from this shift is, in Lefebvre's words, architecture's "implicit" commission, delivered in spite of what is expected and sometimes against it—much like *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* itself.

NOTES

Translator's Note

1. Jacques Lacan, *Écrits*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 761. Fink discusses several key Lacanian concepts in his endnotes.

2. "The right to the use and enjoyment of another's property and its profits." See *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary of Law* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 1996), 519.

3. *Trésor de la langue française*, http://atilf.atilf.fr/. See the entry for *jouir*: "Éprouver de la joie, du plaisir, un état de bien-être physique et moral procuré par quelque chose."

4. "No one can doubt that what we are dealing with here [the translation of a text] is interpretation, and not simply reproduction. A new light falls on the text from the other language and for the reader of it. The requirement that a translation be faithful cannot remove the fundamental gulf between the two languages." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd rev. ed., trans. rev. by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York: Continuum, 1988), 386.

5. Tim B. Rogers, "Henri Lefebvre, Space and Folklore," *Ethnologies* 24, no. 1 (2002): 21–44, available at http://id.erudit.org/: "'the logic of space' (as we study it in the academy), with its apparent significance and coherence, actually conceals the violence inherent to abstraction."

Introduction

1. Jan Potocki, *The Manuscript Found in Saragossa* (London: Viking, 1995 [1847]). I would like to express my gratitude to Mario Gaviria for making the manuscript available to me, his permission to publish it, and our many conversations since 2008. I would also like to thank Nicole Beaurain for her support for this project, our conversations, and access to her photographic archive. My research on Lefebvre's manuscript was supported by a range of institutions. It was initiated at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich (ETH), Faculty of Architecture, Institute of History and Theory of Architecture, continued at the Canadian

Center of Architecture (CCA) in Montreal, and finished at the Manchester Architecture Research Centre (MARC), University of Manchester. Most of this research was carried out by me as the 2011–13 A. W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA), National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.; CASVA also supported me by covering the costs of the permissions for the publication of the illustrations. Draft versions of this introduction were presented at the aforementioned institutions as well as at Harvard University, Yale University, and University of Paris–Nanterre, and I am grateful to the participants of these lectures and seminars for their feedback. At various stages of my work on this introduction, it was read by Nicholas Adams, Neil Brenner, Thierry De Duve, Caroline Maniaque-Benton, Ákos Moravánszky, Therese O'Malley, and Christian Schmid, whom I would like to thank for their comments. Special thanks goes to Robert Bononno for our exchanges during his work on the translation. I am grateful to Pieter Martin of the University of Minnesota Press for his incessant support of the project, and to Deborah Oosterhouse for the copyediting of the book.

2. Henri Lefebvre, "The Right to the City" [1968], in *Henri Lefebvre: Writings on Cities,* selected, trans., and intro. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 63–182; Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution,* trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003 [1970]); Henri Lefebvre, *Du rural à l'urbain* (Paris: Anthropos, 1970); Henri Lefebvre, *Espace et politique: Le droit à la ville II* (Paris: Anthropos, 1972); Henri Lefebvre, *La pensée marxiste et la ville* (Paris: Casterman, 1972); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991 [1974]); Henri Lefebvre, *De l'État* (Paris: Union générale d'éditions), 4 vols: vol. 1, *L'État dans le monde moderne* (1976); vol. 2, *Théorie marxiste de l'État de Hegel à Mao* (1976); vol. 3, *Le mode de production étatique* (1977); vol. 4, *Les contradictions de l'État moderne: La dialectique et/de l'État* (1978). For complete bibliography of Lefebvre's texts on space and urbanization, see Łukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

3. Mario Gaviria, letter to Ernesto Udina, February 5, 1974, archive of Mario Gaviria, Saragossa. The Spanish translation of *Vers une architecture de la jouissance* by Ernesto Udina was delivered to Gaviria in 1974, but never published: Henri Lefebvre, "Hacia una arquitectura del placer," archive of Mario Gaviria, Saragossa.

4. The manuscript was typed by Nicole Beaurain on the basis of Lefebvre's handwritten notes.

5. Henri Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance,* archive of Mario Gaviria, Saragossa, Spain, 214; chap. 12 in this volume.

6. David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985);

Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989); Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Rémi Hess, *Henri Lefebvre et l'aventure du siècle* (Paris: Métailié, 1988); Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics* (London: Routledge, 1996); Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible* (London: Continuum, 2004); Christian Schmid, *Stadt, Raum und Gesellschaft: Henri Lefebvre und die Theorie der Produktion des Raumes* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005); Andy Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2006); Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, "Introduction. State, Space, World: Lefebvre and the Survival of Capitalism," in Henri Lefebvre, *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, ed. Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 1–48; Laurent Devisme, *Actualité de la pensée d'Henri Lefebvre à propos de l'urbain: La question de la centralité* (Tours: Maison des sciences de la ville, 1998); Chris Butler, *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial Politics, Everyday Life and the Right to the City* (New York: Routledge, 2012). For discussion and bibliography of Lefebvre's reception, see Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*.

7. Margaret Crawford, "Introduction," in *Everyday Urbanism*, ed. John Chase, Margaret Crawford, and John Kaliski (New York: Monacelli Press, 1999), 8–15; Mary McLeod, "Everyday and 'Other' Spaces," in *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, ed. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden (London: Spon, 2000), 182–202; Mary McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life: An Introduction," in *Architecture of the Everyday*, ed. Steven Harris and Deborah Berke (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 9–29; Iain Borden, *Skateboarding, Space and the City: Architecture and the Body* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Iain Borden et al., eds., *Strangely Familiar: Narratives of Architecture in the City* (London: Routledge, 1996); Dell Upton, "Architecture in Everyday Life," *New Literary History* 33, no. 4 (2002): 707–23; Sarah Wigglesworth and Jeremy Till, "The Everyday and Architecture," *Architectural Design* 68, nos. 7/8 (1998): 7–9.

8. Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919–1934* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999); Nancy Stieber, "Space, Time, and Architectural History," in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London: Routledge, 2006), 171–82; Łukasz Stanek, "Simulation or Hospitality: Beyond the Crisis of Representation in Nowa Huta," in *Visual and Material Performances in the City*, ed. Lars Frers and Lars Meier (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007), 135–53.

9. McLeod, "Everyday and 'Other' Spaces," 189.

10. Borden, *Skateboarding, Space and the City*, 1, 12.

11. Lefebvre, "Hacia una arquitectura del placer," 1; chap. 1 in this volume; Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 32; chap. 2 in this volume.

12. Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, vol. 1, *Introduction*, trans. John Moore (New York: Verso, 2008 [1947]); Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday*

Life, vol. 2, *Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday*, trans. John Moore (New York: Verso, 2002 [1961]); Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, vol. 3, *From Modernity to Modernism (Towards a Metaphilosophy of Daily Life)*, trans. Gregory Elliott (New York: Verso, 2006 [1981]); Antoine Haumont, Nicole Haumont, Henri Raymond, and Marie-Geneviève Raymond, *L'habitat pavillonnaire* (Paris: Centre de Recherche d'Urbanisme, 1966); Nicole Haumont, *Les pavillonnaires: Étude psycho-sociologique d'un mode d'habitat* (Paris: Centre de Recherche d'Urbanisme, 1966); Marie-Geneviève Raymond, *La politique pavillonnaire* (Paris: Centre de Recherche d'Urbanisme, 1966). For other works of the ISU and their discussion, see Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*.

13. For bibliography and discussion, see Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, chap. 1.

14. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 36; chap. 2 in this volume.

15. Alain de Botton, *The Architecture of Happiness* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006); Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2008 [1882]).

16. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 58.

17. Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution*, 160; for the development of arguments about the "second" or "secondary" circuit of capital, see David Harvey, "The Urban Process under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 3, nos. 1–4 (March–December 1978): 101–31.

18. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 353, 385.

19. Telephone interview with Mario Gaviria, March 2012.

20. José Miguel Iribas, "Touristic Urbanism," in *Costa Iberica: Upbeat to the Leisure City*, ed. MVRDV (Barcelona: Actar, 1998), 108.

21. Jacques Rancière, *Proletarian Nights: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France* (London: Verso, 2012 [1981]); Jacques Rancière, "Good Times or Pleasure at the Barriers," in *Voices of the People*, ed. Adrian Rifkin and Roger Thomas (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988), 45–94.

22. Herbert Marcuse, "On Hedonism," in *Negations: Essays in Critical Theory* (London: Mayflybooks, 2009), 119–49.

23. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1999); Christina Kiaer, "Rodchenko in Paris," *October* 75 (1996): 3–35; Werner Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, trans. W. R. Dittmar (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967 [1913]).

24. David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, eds., *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2010); Łukasz Stanek, ed., *Team 10 East: Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Modernism* (Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw/distributed by University of Chicago Press, forthcoming in 2014).

25. Václav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," in Vaclav Havel et al., *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens Against the State in Central-Eastern Europe* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1985), 38.

26. Paul Lafargue, *The Right to Be Lazy* (Chicago: C. H. Kerr, 1975 [1880]); Pierre Naville, *Le nouveau Leviathan*, vol. 1, *De l'aliénation à la jouissance: La genèse de la sociologie du travail chez Marx et Engels* (Paris: Anthropos, 1967), 489.

27. L'Internationale situationniste, *De la misère en milieu étudiant considérée sous ses aspects économique, politique, psychologique, sexuel et notamment intellectuel et de quelques moyens pour y remédier* (Paris: C. Bernard, 1967).

28. "V.L.R.: Peut-on être heureux à la Courneuve?," *Actuel* 7 (April 1971): 4–7.

29. "Henri Lefebvre," *Actuel* 26 (December 1972): 7–8; see also "Henri Lefebvre sur la guérilla urbaine," *Actuel* 7 (April 1971): 10–11; Henri Lefebvre, "La dictature de l'oeil et du phallus," *Actuel* 18 (March 1972): 48–53.

30. Jean-Francois Bizot, "Les villes brûleront," *Actuel* 18 (March 1972): 2–11; "Avant-Après," *Actuel* 12 (September 1971): 40–41; for a discussion of the journal *Actuel* in relationship to architecture in France, see Caroline Maniaque-Benton, *French Encounters with the American Counterculture, 1960–1980* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2011).

31. The seminar took place at the Centro de Enseñanza e Investigación, Sociedad Anónima (CEISA); see Mario Gaviria, "La ampliación del barrio de la Concepción," *Arquitectura* 92 (1966): 1–41; Mario Gaviria, *Gran San Blas: Análisis socio-urbanístico de un barrio nuevo español* (Madrid: Revista Arquitectura, 1968). In his paper "Les nouveaux quartiers périphériques des grandes villes espagnoles" (*L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* 149 [1970]: 17–21) Gaviria announced the publication of the Fuencarral study, but this publication was not carried out and both existing copies of the study were lost (telephone interview with Mario Gaviria, August 2012). For a discussion, see Charlotte Vorms, "Les sciences sociales espagnoles et la ville contemporaine," in *Sortir du labyrinthe: Études d'histoire contemporaine de l'Espagne*, ed. Xavier Huetz de Lemps and Jean-Philippe Luis (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2012), 457; Victoriano Sanz Gutiérrez, *El proyecto urbano en España: Génesis y desarrollo de un urbanismo de los arquitectos* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2006), 75.

32. Gaviria, "La ampliación del barrio de la Concepción," 28–32; Gaviria, "Les nouveaux quartiers périphériques," 20.

33. Henri Lefebvre, "Intervention au séminaire de sociologie de Madrid" [1968], in Lefebvre, *Du rural à l'urbain*, 235–40. Gaviria was instrumental for the Spanish translation of *The Right to the City* (1968) and of *Du rural à l'urbain* (1970); see Céline Vaz, "'Les Pyrénées séparent et relient la France et l'Espagne': Henri Lefebvre et la question urbaine espagnole à la fin du franquisme," *L'homme et la société* 185–86 (2012): 83–103. In the wake of 1968, Lefebvre gathered a large audience in Spain. The symposium in Burgos (September 1970) organized by José Vidal-Beneyto and Mario Gaviria, which focused on Lefebvre's ideas about the city, language, and everyday life, gathered more than 120 intellectuals, including several architects such as Ricardo Bofill, Juan Antonio Solans, Manuel de Solà-Morales, and Óscar Tusquets (see Eduardo G. Rico, "Henri Lefebvre: Symposio

en Burgos," *Triunfo* 433, September 19, 1970). Lefebvre's exchanges with Spanish architects included the collaboration with Bofill on the "City in Space" project (Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space,* chap. 4) and his exchanges with the "Laboratory of Urbanism" at the architecture school of Barcelona (Vorms "Les sciences sociales espagnoles," 457; e-mail exchange with Manuel de Solà-Morales, November 2011). Other architects close to Lefebvre in Spain at that time included Fernando Roch and Ramón López de Lucio. Discussions with sociologists were another important conduit for Lefebvre's presence in Spain, including the 1974 international symposium of urban sociology in Barcelona, with Lefebvre's assistant and PhD student Jean Baudrillard and Manuel Castells, his colleague at Nanterre, present (Henri Lefebvre, "La production del espacio," *Papers: Revista de sociologia* 3 [1974]: 219–29). These exchanges resulted in papers circulating in academic networks, but also interviews and polemics in broadly accessible press ("15 preguntas a Lefebvre," *Triunfo* 341, December 14, 1968).

34. Gaviria, "Les nouveaux quartiers périphériques," 18; see Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution,* chap. 1.

35. Mario Gaviria, interview for "Profils perdus: Henri Lefebvre [2]," France Culture, March 10, 1994, Inathèque de France, Paris.

36. Gaviria, *Gran San Blas,* 2.

37. Mario Gaviria, "Prólogo," in Henri Lefebvre, *El derecho a la ciudad* (Barcelona: Península, 1969), 10.

38. Gaviria, "Les nouveaux quartiers périphériques," 20.

39. Henri Lefebvre, "Les nouveaux ensembles urbains (un cas concret: Lacq-Mourenx et les problèmes urbains de la nouvelle classe ouvrière)" [1960], in Lefebvre, *Du rural à l'urbain,* 122; Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space,* chap. 2.

40. Interview with Mario Gaviria, Saragossa, September 2008; Iribas, "Touristic Urbanism." Gaviria contradicts the statements repeated on the Spanish Internet that "according to Henri Lefebvre Benidorm is the best city built since the Second World War"; see, e.g., http://www.hosbec.com.

41. Mario Gaviria, "Dos proyectos de investigación," in *Campo, urbe y espacio del ocio,* ed. Mario Gaviria (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores, 1971), 183–84; Mario Gaviria, "Urbanismo del ocio," in Gaviria, *Campo, urbe y espacio del ocio,* 141, 143.

42. For Lefebvre's comments about Dumazedier, see his "Besoins profonds, besoins nouveaux de la civilisation urbaine" [1967], in Lefebvre, *Du rural à l'urbain,* 199.

43. Joffre Dumazedier, *Vers une civilisation du loisir?* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1962).

44. Joffre Dumazedier and Maurice Imbert, *Espace et loisir dans la société française d'hier et de demain* (Paris: Centre de recherche d'urbanisme, 1967).

45. See *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* 147 (1969–70), 162 (1972), 175 (1974).

46. *L'architecture et les loisirs: Documents du congrès / XIème Congrès mondial*

de l'Union internationale des architectes, Varna, September 1972 (Sofia: Section nationale bulgare de l'UIA, 1975); see also *L'UIA, 1948–1998* (Paris: Epure, 1998).

47. Joffre Dumazedier, "Logement et loisir en 1985," *Cahiers du Centre paritaire du logement,* December 1964/January 1965, 14–17; Jacques Lucan, *France, architecture 1965–1988* (Paris: Electa "Moniteur," 1989).

48. Dumazedier, "Logement et loisir en 1985."

49. Antoine Haumont and Henri Raymond, *Les équipements sportifs dans la région parisienne* (Paris: Institut de sociologie urbaine, 1968); Henri Raymond, *Espace urbain et équipements socio-culturels* (Paris: Copédith, 1976); A. Y. Solinas "Essai d'organisation touristique à Castel Sardo [Sardaigne], Italie" (master's thesis, Institut d'urbanisme de l'Université de Paris, 1967); Robert Cattiau, "Histoire générale des festivals et essai d'une phénoménologie des festivals français" (master's thesis, Institut d'urbanisme de l'Université de Paris, 1967); see also Agnès Villadary, *Fête et vie quotidienne* (Paris: Éditions ouvrières, 1968).

50. Lefebvre, *Production of Space,* 58; see also Stefan Kipfer and Kanishka Goonewardena, "Henri Lefebvre and 'Colonization': From Reinterpretation to Research," in the forthcoming volume edited by Ákos Moravánszky, Christian Schmid, and Łukasz Stanek (Aldershot, England: Ashgate).

51. "Adjudicación de los programas de la Fundación Juan March," *A. B. C.*, March 8, 1972, 51; Mario Gaviria, *España a go-go: Turismo chárter y neocolonialismo del espacio* (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1974); Mario Gaviria, *El Turismo de playa en España: Chequeo a 16 ciudades nuevas del ocio* (Madrid: Editorial Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1975); see also Mario Gaviria, *El escándalo de la "Court Line" (Bancarrota del turismo español)* (Madrid: Editorial Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1975); Mario Gaviria, "La producción neocolonialista del espacio," *Papers: Revista de sociologia* 3 (1974): 201–17. See also the video "Entretien avec Mario Gaviria, par Łukasz Stanek, Zaragoza, 2 février 2013," on http://www.henrilefebvre.org.

52. Eugenia Afinoguénova and Jaume Martí-Olivella, "A Nation Under Tourist's Eyes: Tourism and Identity Discourses in Spain," in *Spain Is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity,* ed. Eugenia Afinoguénova and Jaume Martí-Olivella (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2008), xix.

53. Henri Lefebvre, introduction to *Libro negro sobre la autopista de la Costa Blanca,* ed. Mario Gaviria (Valencia: Editorial Cosmos, 1973), xiii–xiv.

54. Lefebvre, *Production of Space,* chaps. 4–6; Gaviria, "La producción neocolonialista del espacio," 202–4.

55. Henri Raymond, "Le littoral et l'usager: De la mer considérée comme monument historique. Interview de Henri Raymond, sociologue," *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* 175 (1974): 28–30.

56. Lefebvre, *Production of Space,* 385.

57. Donella H. Meadows et al., *The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind* (New York: Universe Books, 1972).

58. Pierre Guilbaud, Henri Lefebvre, and Serge Renaudie, "International Competition for the New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement" [1981], in *Autogestion, or Henri Lefebvre in New Belgrade*, ed. Sabine Bitter and Helmut Weber (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2009), 1.

59. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 58; Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution*, 97; see also Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, "La especulacion del paisaje," *Construcción, arquitectura, urbanismo* 1 (1970): 25, and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, "Los ritos de la fiesta o los estuches transparentes," *Construcción, arquitectura, urbanismo* 4 (1970): 47–49.

60. Antonio García Tabuenca, Mario Gaviria, and Patxi Tuñón, *El espacio de la fiesta y la subversión: Análisis socioeconómico del Casco Viejo de Pamplona* (Donostia, Spain: Lur, 1979).

61. See Françoise Choay, *L'urbanisme, utopies et réalités: Une anthologie* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965).

62. Benjamin, *Arcades Project*; Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the "Arcades Project"* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989); see also Benjamin's comments about Ibiza written during his prolonged stay on this Balearic island in 1932 and 1933: Walter Benjamin "Spain, 1932," in *Selected Writings*, vol. 2, *1927–1934*, ed. Michael W. Jennings et al. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1999), 638–52.

63. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 384; Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 53–58; chap. 3 in this volume; Jean-Antheleme Brillat-Savarin, *Brillat-Savarin's Physiologie du goût: A Handbook of Gastronomy* (London: Nimmo & Bain, 1884 [1825]).

64. Henri Lefebvre, "Autour de deux dates 1937–1957," in *Paris–Paris 1937–1957* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1981), 404; Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 69–70; chap. 3 in this volume.

65. Jérôme-Pierre Gilland quoted in Rancière, *Proletarian Nights*, 3; Lefebvre, "Les nouveaux ensembles urbains."

66. Lefebvre, "Hacia una arquitectura del placer," 1; chap. 1 in this volume.

67. Lefebvre, "Les nouveaux ensembles urbains," 119.

68. Ibid.

69. Henri Lefebvre, "Utopie expérimentale: Pour un nouvel urbanisme" [1961], in Lefebvre, *Du rural à l'urbain*, 133. For the illustrations and discussions of these two projects, see Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*; see also Henri Lefebvre, "Bistrot-club: Noyau de vie sociale" [1962], in Lefebvre, *Du rural à l'urbain*, 141–43; Henri Lefebvre, "Propositions pour un nouvel urbanisme" [1967], in Lefebvre, *Du rural à l'urbain*, 183–95; Henri Lefebvre, "Thèses sur la ville, l'urbain et l'urbanisme," in "Spécial Mai 68," supplement to *AMC* 7 (1968): 3–7.

70. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 26.

71. See August Schmarsow, "The Essence of Architectural Creation," in *Empathy, Form and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics (1873–1893)*, ed. Harry

Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art, 1994), 288–89.

72. See, for example, the catalog of the exhibition "50 Years of Bauhaus" prepared by the Württembergischer Kunstverein, *Bauhaus, 1919–1969: Musée national d'art moderne, Musée d'art modern de la ville de Paris, 2 avril–22 juin 1969* (Paris: Les Musées, 1969). In *The Urban Revolution* (193) Lefebvre refers to this exhibition shown in Paris among other cities, which, as a contemporary critic noted, distorted the view on Bauhaus by omitting its internationalism, its interdisciplinarity, its social program, and its political orientation (Jean-Pierre Cousin, "Quel Bauhaus? Apropos d'une exposition," *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* 143 [1969]: lxvi).

73. Ákos Moravánszky, ed., *Architekturtheorie im 20. Jahrhundert: eine kritische Anthologie* (Vienna: Springer, 2003); Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000).

74. Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, chap. 3.

75. Gail Day, *Dialectical Passions: Negation in Postwar Art Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 70–131.

76. Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution*, 99; Walter Gropius, *Apollon dans la démocratie* (Brussels: La Connaissance; Paris: Weber, 1969 [1968]), 159.

77. Bruno Zevi, *Architecture as Space: How to Look at Architecture* (New York: Horizon Press, 1974); Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Existence, Space, and Architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1971).

78. Léonie Sturge-Moore, ed., *Architecture et sciences sociales: Séminaire annuel, 22–26 juin, 1972, Port Grimaud* (Paris: Centre de recherche sur l'habitat, 1972), 18; Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 104.

79. Bernard Tschumi, "The Architectural Paradox," in *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996), 32.

80. Łukasz Stanek, "Architecture as Space, Again? Notes on the 'Spatial Turn,'" *Spéciale'Z (École Spéciale d'Architecture à Paris)* 4 (2012): 48–53.

81. See the comments by Pierre Riboulet during the debate "Architecture et politique," *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* 144 (1969): 9–13; for the general context, see Jean-Louis Violeau, *Les architectes et mai 68* (Paris: Éditions Recherches, 2005).

82. Pierre Riboulet, "Éléments pour une critique de l'architecture," *Espaces et sociétés* 1 (1970): 37.

83. Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), iii.

84. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 4; chap. 1 in this volume; see also Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 206–8; chap. 11 in this volume; Henri Lefebvre, "Espace architectural, espace urbain," in *Architectures en France: Modernité/Postmodernité* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1981), 40–46.

85. "L'urbanisme aujourd'hui: Mythes et réalités. Débat entre Henri Lefebvre, Jean Balladur et Michel Ecochard," *Cahiers du Centre d'études socialistes* 72–73 (1967): 7.

86. Lefebvre, "Hacia una arquitectura del placer," 1; chap. 1 in this volume; see also Lefebvre's preface to Haumont et al., *L'habitat pavillonnaire*, 23.

87. Lefebvre, preface to Haumont et al., *L'habitat pavillonnaire*.

88. This opposition comes back to Ernst Bloch, based on the Hegelian understanding of "abstract" as impoverished, one-sided, and isolated, and "concrete" as embedded in the world of related and interacting things; see Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986 [1954–59]); Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, chaps. 3 and 4.

89. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 217; chap. 12 in this volume.

90. Henri Lefebvre in "Fables pour le futur," France 2, June 19, 1970, Inathèque de France, Paris.

91. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 217; chap. 12 in this volume.

92. See *Paris Match*, nos. 951 and 952 (1967).

93. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 217; chap. 12 in this volume.

94. Lefebvre uses such expressions as "mettre en suspense par un acte de pensée" and "mettre en parenthèses"; see Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 77, 4.

95. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 3; chap. 1 in this volume; cf. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 35–36; chap. 2 in this volume.

96. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 82; chap. 4 in this volume.

97. Léonie Sturge-Moore "Architecture et sciences sociales," 4; see Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, vols 1–3.

98. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 36; chap. 2 in this volume.

99. On "counterprojects," see Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 381–83.

100. These postulates were among the reasons leading to Lefebvre's expulsion from the PCF, a process that can be reconstructed on the basis of the PCF archives. First, Lefebvre's travel to Yugoslavia while disobeying the contrary recommendation of the Party (1956) resulted in his public denunciation by Maurice Thorez, the general secretary of the PCF (see note by Victor Michaut, December 12, 1956, dossier Commission Centrale de Contrôle Politique [CCCP], 261 J 6/9, Seine-Saint-Denis, Archives Départementales; "Réunion du Comité central du PCF, 14/15 février 1957, Ivry, intervention Maurice Thorez," audio recording, 1 AV/ 7024–7031, CD: 4AV/ 3714, Seine-Saint-Denis, Archives Départementales). Second, Lefebvre's anti-Stalinist publications of 1957–58 were condemned as "revisionist" and "ignoring the contributions of Lenin" and "some valuable passages" of Stalin (see Henri Lefebvre, "Marksizm i myśl francuska," *Twórczość* 4 [1957]: 9–32, translated as "Le marxisme et la pensée française," *Temps modernes* 137–38 [July–August 1957]: 104–37; Henri Lefebvre, *Problèmes actuels du marxisme* [Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1958]; note of Jean Suret-Canale, dossier CCCP, 261 J 6/9, Seine-Saint-Denis, Archives Départementales). Finally, Lefebvre's participation in the Club de gauche and his attempts at establishing a new journal were seen as "fractional activity," and the CCCP recommended his

"public exclusion [from the Party] for one year," which was never suspended (see memoranda of the CCCP to the Secretariat of the Central Committee from April 4, 1958, and May 27, 1958, dossier CCCP, 261 J 6/9, Seine-Saint-Denis, Archives Départementales).

101. Henri Lefebvre, "Une vie pour penser et porter la lute de classes à la théorie," *La nouvelle critique* 125 (1979): 44–54; see also Henri Lefebvre, "Quo vadis?," *Révolutions* 236 (1984): 9–12; Henri Lefebvre, "Penser à contre-courant?," *Autogestions* 14 (1983): 99.

102. *Programme commun de gouvernement du Parti communiste français et du Parti socialiste (27 juin 1972)* (Paris: Éditions sociales, 1972); Henri Lefebvre, "La planification démocratique," *La nouvelle revue marxiste* 2 (1961): 71–93.

103. *Programme commun*, 65–66.

104. François d'Arcy and Yves Prats, "Les politiques du cadre de vie," in *Traité de science politique*, ed. Madeleine Grawitz and Jean Leca (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1985), 4:261–300; George Ross, *Workers and Communists in France: From Popular Front to Eurocommunism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 241–42.

105. *Urbanisme monopoliste, urbanisme démocratique* (Paris: Centre d'études et de recherches marxistes, 1974), 365–66.

106. "Pour un urbanisme: Rapports, communications, débats. Texte intégral du colloque, Grenoble, 6–7 avril 1974," special issue, *La nouvelle critique* 78 bis (1974); François Ascher, Jean Giard, and Jean-Louis Cohen, *Demain, la ville? Urbanisme et politique* (Paris: Éditions sociales, 1975).

107. See Jean-Louis Cohen, "Grenoble 1974: Pour un urbanisme. . . .," in *Organiser la ville hypermoderne: François Ascher, grand prix de l'urbanisme 2009*, ed. Ariella Masboungi and Olivia Barbet-Massin (Marseille: Parenthèses, 2009), 58–59.

108. Comments by Manuel Castells and François Hincker, in "Pour un urbanisme," 312, 310.

109. "Exposition d'urbanisme," Fonds Francis Cohen, 354 J 84–85, Seine-Saint-Denis, Archives Départementales.

110. Max Jäggi, Roger Müller, and Sil Schmid, *Das rote Bologna: Kommunisten demokratisieren eine Stadt im kapitalistischen Westen* (Zürich: Verlagsgenossenschaft, 1976).

111. Henri Lefebvre, "Spazio urbano e questioni di democrazia," *Parametro* 8, no. 61 (November 1977): 6.

112. Henri Lefebvre, "La Commune et la bureaucratie," in *Le centenaire de la Commune de Paris: Le socialisme français et l'Europe Centrale* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1972), 53–54.

113. Manuel Castells, Francis Godard, and Vivian Balanowski, *Monopolville: Analyse des rapports entre l'entreprise, l'État et l'urbain à partir d'une enquête sur la croissance industrielle et urbaine de la région de Dunkerque* (Paris: École pratique des hautes études, 1974); for discussion, see Éric Le Breton, *Pour une critique de*

la ville: La sociologie urbaine française, 1950–1980 (Rennes, France: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012).

114. Monique Coornaert, Claude Marlaut, Antoine Haumont, and Henri Lefebvre, *Le quartier et la ville* (Paris: Les Cahiers de l'IAURP, 1967), 44.

115. "Henri Lefebvre sur la guérilla urbaine," 11. Lefebvre moved to 24 rue Rambuteau with Nicole Beaurain in 1965; they moved to no. 30 at the same street in 1971. After the split with Nicole in 1975, Lefebvre lived in this apartment with Catherine Régulier until 1990 (e-mail exchange with Nicole Beaurain, March 2013; e-mail exchange with Thierry Paquot, May 2013); see also Mario Gaviria, radio interview for "Profils perdus," France Culture, March 10, 1994, Inathèque de France, Paris.

116. Marc Mann, "La rénovation du centre-ville d'Ivry," in "Pour un urbanisme," 209–12.

117. Jean-Louis Cohen, "Giscard l'architecture," *La nouvelle critique* 85 (1975): 60–63.

118. Jean Renaudie in the debate "L'architecture parle-t-elle politique?," *La nouvelle critique* 73 (1974): 71.

119. Jean Giard, "Rapport final," in "Pour un urbanisme," 316.

120. Paul Chemetov and the editors (Jean-Philippe Chimot, Jean-Louis Cohen) in the debate "L'architecture, parle-t-elle politique?," 65, 72.

121. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 222; chap. 12 in this volume.

122. Karl Marx, *German Ideology* (New York: International Publishers, 2004 [1846/1932]), 53.

123. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 41; chap. 2 in this volume.

124. Brian Newsome, *French Urban Planning 1940–1968* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009); René Lourau, *L'instituant contre l'institué* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1969); René Lourau, *L'analyse institutionnelle* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1970); René Lourau and Georges Lapassade, *Clefs pour la sociologie* (Paris: Seghers, 1971). For Lefebvre's comments on institutional analysis, see his *La survie du capitalisme: La reproduction des rapports de production* (Paris: Anthropos, 2002 [1973]), 51–52; and the postface by Rémi Hess, "La place d'Henri Lefebvre dans le collège invisible, d'une critique des superstructures à l'analyse institutionnelle," 197–214.

125. Félix Guattari, "Entretien (1)," in *L'intervention institutionnelle*, ed. Jacques Ardoino et al. (Paris: Payot, 1980), 123.

126. Georges Lapassade, "L'intervention dans les institutions d'éducation et de formation", in Ardoino et al., *L'intervention institutionnelle*, 186–87.

127. Pierre Joly, "Rénovation du Centre d'Ivry: La ville est à réinventer," *Oeil* 220 (1973): 52–59.

128. Renaudie in "L'architecture parle-t-elle politique?," 69.

129. Henri Lefebvre, "Constituez vous en avant-garde," *Archivari* 4 (1984), unpaginated. This review discussed the projects in Aubervilliers (René Gailhoustet, 1975–86), Givors (Jean Renaudie, 1976–82), and Saint-Martin d'Hères (Jean Renaudie, 1974–82).

130. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 4–6; chap. 1 in this volume.

131. Henri Raymond, "La qualité du logement," in "Pour un urbanisme," 109–13.

132. Lefebvre, "The Right to the City," 158–59.

133. Jean Aubert in Jean-Louis Violeau, "Utopie: In acts . . .," in *The Inflatable Moment: Pneumatics and Protest in '68*, ed. Marc Dessauce (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 50.

134. Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion: Marxism and the French Revolution*, trans. Alfred Ehrenfeld (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969 [1968]), 104.

135. For discussion, see Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, chap. 4.

136. Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution*, 131; Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 167.

137. Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution*, 98–99.

138. For an introduction, see the dossier on CERFI in *Site Magazine* 2 (2002), 10–20.

139. "La ville-ordinateur," in "Les équipements du pouvoir: Généalogie du capital 1," *Recherches* 13 (1973): 18; "La ville-métaphore," in "Les équipements du pouvoir," 47–48.

140. "La ville-métaphore," 35ff.

141. See François Fourquet. "L'accumulation du pouvoir ou le désir d'État: CERFI, 1970–1981," *Recherches* 46 (1982).

142. Le Breton, *Pour une critique de la ville*, 143.

143. Ibid., 147.

144. Isabelle Billiard, "Editorial," *Parallèles* 1 (1976): 3; Anne Baldassari and Michel Joubert, "Architectures," *Parallèles* 1 (1976): 48; see also Liane Mozère, "Projet d'hôtel d'enfants," *Parallèles* 1 (1976): 69.

145. Michel Anselme, "Le petit Séminaire, chronique raisonnée d'une réhabilitation singulière," in *Droit de cité: À la rencontre des habitants des banlieues délaissées*, ed. Albert Mollet (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987), 105–48. See also the account of CERFI's participatory research on the temporary use of a building in Sèvres, in *Recherches* 19 (September 1975).

146. Interview with Anne Querrien, Paris, July 2012.

147. Anselme, "Le petit Séminaire," 144–45.

148. Henri Lefebvre, "Éléments d'une théorie de l'objet," *Opus International* 10–11 (1969): 20.

149. "Trois milliards de pervers: Grande Encyclopédie des homosexualités," *Recherches* 12 (March 1973); "Les équipements du pouvoir"; Lion Murard and Patrick Zylberman, *Ville, habitat et intimité: L'exemple des cités minières au XIX siècle, naissance du petit travailleur infatigable* (Fontenay-sous-Bois, France: CERFI, 1976).

150. Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (London: Continuum, 2004 [1992]), 27; Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 220; chap. 12 in this volume.

151. "Henri Lefebvre," 7.

152. Ibid., 8.

153. Lefebvre, *The Explosion*.

154. See Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, chap. 4.

155. Lefebvre, *The Explosion*, 105.

156. Henri Lefebvre, interviewed in "Enquêtes sur les causes des manifestations," broadcast on Canal 1, May 11, 1968, Inathèque de France, Paris.

157. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974 [1887]), http://www.marxists.org. For bibliography and discussion, see Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, chap. 2.

158. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 52, 167, 212, 380, 410; Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Anthropos, 2000 [1974]), 65, 194, 245, 438, 439, 442, 471.

159. Stephen Heath, "Translator's Note," in Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 9. A footnote about the difficulties of translating *jouissance* into English has long been a genre in itself. While in this introduction I am following the solution preferred by most translators of academic texts—leaving the word in French—in the following text by Lefebvre *jouissance* was translated as "enjoyment" in order to stay faithful to the general character of his book, which was written in an accessible language for the French reader. "Enjoyment" was preferred over several candidates, including "bliss," which was used in the translation of Roland Barthes's *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975 [1973]). However, "bliss" lacks an effective verbal form (in contrast to French *jouir*) and connotes religious and social contentment (Heath, "Translator's Note," 9). "Pleasure" would be the simplest choice, but it was particularly unhelpful, since Lefebvre himself changed the title from *Vers une architecture du plaisir*, suggested by Gaviria, to *Vers une architecture de la jouissance* (interview with Mario Gaviria, Saragossa, September 2008). Another reason was that in psychoanalysis and in particular in Lacan, which reverberates in Lefebvre's text, jouissance is contrasted to pleasure; Lacan himself was aware of the problems and suggested a combination of "enjoyment" and "lust," but most of his translators did not follow his advice and left the word untranslated; see Néstor A. Braunstein, "Desire and jouissance in the teachings of Lacan," in *The Cambridge Companion to Lacan*, ed. Jean-Michel Rabate (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 103; Jane Gallop, "Beyond the Jouissance Principle," *Representations* 7 (1984): 110–15.

160. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 172; chap. 8 in this volume.

161. Jacques Lacan, *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis, 1959–1960* (New York: Norton, 1992), 184; Dylan Evans, *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis* (London: Routledge, 1996), 93–94. For Lefebvre's reading of Lacan, see Steve Pile, *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space, and Subjectivity* (London: Routledge, 1996), 145–69; Derek Gregory, "Lacan and Geography: The Production of Space Revisited," in *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity*, ed. Georges Benko and Ulf Strohmayer (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 203–31; Schmid, *Stadt, Raum und Gesellschaft*, 240–43.

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162. See the following books by Lefebvre: *Métaphilosophie* (Paris: Éditions de minuit, 1965); *Le langage et la société* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966); *Position: Contre les technocrates* (Paris: Gonthier, 1967); *Manifeste différentialiste* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970); *Au-delà du structuralisme* (Paris: Anthropos, 1971); *La survie du capitalisme* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2011).

163. Barthes, *Pleasure of the Text*, 14.

164. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 68–69; chap. 3 in this volume.

165. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 221; chap. 12 in this volume.

166. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 47; chap. 3 in this volume.

167. When interviewed about the manuscript, Nicole Beaurain recalled that "in the summer of 1973 Henri was writing a book about gardens, in particular about the Generalife" (interview with Nicole Beaurain, Paris, September 2011).

168. Henri Lefebvre, *Rabelais* (Paris: Éditeurs français réunis, 1955), 156–58, 204–5; Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 68; chap. 3 in this volume.

169. Aaron Betsky, *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-Sex Desire* (New York: William Morrow, 1997).

170. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 202–3; chap. 11 in this volume.

171. Octavio Paz, *Conjunctions and Disjunctions*, trans. Helen R. Lane (New York: Arcade, 1990), 55. Lefebvre and Nicole Beaurain visited India in 1967; the route, including the visit to Agra, was suggested to them by the French scholar of religion and Indologist Charles Malamoud (e-mail exchange with Nicole Beaurain, March 2013).

172. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 205bis; chap. 11 in this volume.

173. Lefebvre, "Le philosophe et le poète," *La quinzaine littéraire* 139 (1972): 21; Paz, *Conjunctions and Disjunctions*, 131; for a reading of Paz, see Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 184, 201–2, 259–60; for discussion, see Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre*, 113.

174. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 210–11; chap. 11 in this volume; see Anthony Vidler, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux: Architecture and Social Reform at the End of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990), 356; Charles Fourier, *Des modifications à introduire dans l'architecture des villes* (Paris: Librairie Phalanstérienne, 1849); Edouard Silberling, *Dictionnaire de sociologie phalanstérienne: Guide des oeuvres complètes de Charles Fourier* (Paris: Librairie des Sciences Politiques et Sociales, 1911).

175. "Un certain regard: Charles Fourier," Chanal 1, September 6, 1972, Inathèque de France, Paris.

176. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 104; chap. 5 in this volume; Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990 [1967]); Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* (London: Verso, 2005 [1968]). For discussion, see Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space*, chap. 2.

177. See Norberg-Schulz, *Existence, Space, and Architecture.*

178. Gaviria, *Libro negro.*

179. "Présentation," in "Les équipements du pouvoir," 5.

180. Hess, "La place d'Henri Lefebvre," 209.

181. For bibliography and discussion, see Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space,* chap. 1.

182. Manfredo Tafuri, "Towards a Critique of Architectural Ideology," in K. Michael Hays, *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998 [1969]), 22.

183. "Trois milliards de pervers."

184. Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider, and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2011).

185. See "Espectros de Lefebvre," special issue, *Urban: Revista del Departamento de Urbanística y Ordenación del Territorio* 2 (2011); and "Right to the City," special issue, *Architectural Theory Review* 16, no. 3 (2011).

186. McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life"; see also Upton, "Architecture in Everyday Life"; Crawford, "Introduction," 12; Wigglesworth and Till, "The Everyday and Architecture."

187. Lefebvre, "La dictature de l'oeil et du phallus," 52.

188. Ibid.

189. See Le Corbusier, *Toward an Architecture,* trans. John Goodman (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007 [1923]).

190. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance,* 89–90; chap. 5 in this volume. For a discussion on Marx's value theory and its relationship to Lefebvre's theory of production of space, see Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space,* chap. 3.

191. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance,* 89–90; chap. 5 in this volume.

192. Ernst Bloch, *The Spirit of Utopia,* trans. Anthony Nassar (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 15; Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, *Une maison—un palais: À la recherche d'une unité architectural* (Turin: Bottega D'Erasmo, 1975 [1928]); Helena Mattsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein, eds., *Swedish Modernism: Architecture, Consumption and the Welfare State* (London: Black Dog, 2010); Siegfried Giedion, "The Dangers and Advantages of Luxury," *Focus* 3 (1939): 38.

193. "Finding Freedoms: Conversations with Rem Koolhaas," *El Croquis* 53 (1994): 18.

194. Marco de Michelis and Georges Teyssot, *Les conditions historiques du projet social-démocrate sur l'espace de l'habitat* (Paris: Institut d'études et de recherches architecturales et urbaines, 1979); Ginette Baty-Tornikian and Marc Bédarida, *Plaisir et intelligence de l'urbain: Architecture et social-democratie* (Paris: Ministère de l'urbanisme, du logement et des transports, 1984); Ginette Baty-Tornikian, *Un projet urbain idéal typique: Un social-démocrate, Henri Sellier* (Paris: Institut d'études et de recherches architecturales et urbaines, 1978); Catherine Bruant,

ed., *Une métropole social-démocrate, Lille, 1896–1919–1939: Gestion urbaine et planification* (Paris: Institut d'études et de recherches architecturales et urbaines, 1979); see also Manfredo Tafuri, *Vienne la rouge: La politique immobilière de la Vienne socialiste, 1919–1933* (Brussels: P. Mardaga, 1981).

195. Łukasz Stanek, "Second World's Architecture and Planning in the Third World," *Journal of Architecture* 17, no. 3 (2012): 299–307; Łukasz Stanek, *Postmodernism Is Almost All Right: Polish Architecture after Socialist Globalization* (Warsaw: Fundacja Bęc-Zmiana, 2012).

196. Lefebvre, *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 199; chap. 10 in this volume.

197. Ananya Roy, "The 21st-Century Metropolis: New Geographies of Theory," *Regional Studies* 43, no. 6 (2009): 819–30.

198. *A cidade informal no século 21* (São Paulo: Museu da Casa Brasileira, 2011).

1. The Question

1. [I would like to thank Donald Nicholson-Smith for his translation of the first two pages of the manuscript, which exist only in Spanish. —Trans.]

2. [Presumably Lefebvre is referring to the daughter of Caecillius Metellus Creticus, a Roman consul (69 BC). Her tomb, now a famous tourist site, is located on the Appian Way. —Trans.]

3. Octavio Paz, *Conjunctions and Disjunctions*, trans. Helen R. Lane (New York: Arcade, 1990), 54–55.

4. Martin Heidegger, *Off the Beaten Track*, trans. Julian Young and Kenneth Haynes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 20–21.

5. The bonzes, philosophers, and Buddhist theologians (Zen or otherwise) I tried to question did not respond to my queries. Either they failed to understand them or simply disdained to answer.

6. See Octavio Paz, "The Other Mexico", in *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, trans. Lysander Kemp, Yara Milos, and Rachel Phillips Belash (New York: Grove Press, 1985), 303–4.

7. See G. R. Hocke, *Labyrinthe de l'art fantastique: Le maniérisme dans l'art européen*, trans. from German by Cornélius Heim (Paris: Gonthier, 1967); and Claude Arthaud, *Enchanted Visions: Fantastic Houses and Their Treasures* (New York: Putnam, 1972).

8. [Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, trans. William Stewart Rose (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968 [1532]). —Ed.]

9. [*Oeuvres complètes de Stendhal*, ed. Henri Martineau (Paris: Le Divan, 1937), 10, no. 5, 63. —Ed.]

10. [Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1970 [1624]). Wotton rephrased the Vitruvian triad: "All . . . [buildings], must be built with due reference to durability, convenience, and beauty." Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morris Hicky Morgan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914), 17. —Ed.]