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OSKAR AND ZOFIA HANSEN: ME, YOU, US AND THE STATE

In her polemical text "The Violent Consumer, or Waiting for the Goodies" (1974), Alison Smithson launched a bitter critique of the subjectivity created, in her estimation, by the postwar British welfare state, which valorized neither personal responsibility for the common good nor a sense of obligation and "reasoned" choice. Her criticism was directed at the very subjectivity of the "users" who vandalized the then recently opened Robin Hood Gardens housing estate designed by the Smithsons.¹ Alison Smithson argued that this "vandalism" was in no way a response to architecture but, rather, a symptom of the redistribution system of the welfare state that offered uniform solutions to a nonexistent collective and, in response, she proposed "to allow society to freely fragment, to become compartmented, group in its own loose way, seek difference in quality through effort in work... or not, as the case may be."²

In spite of these expressions that seem to feed into the neoliberal wave that was about to take over British politics, Smith-

¹ Alison Smithson, "The Violent Consumer, or Waiting for the Goodies," *Architectural Design*, May 1974, pp. 274–279. I would like to thank Aleksandra Kędziorek and Monika Stobiecka for their help in my archival research, and Jola Cola of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts Museum for making the archival materials available to me.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

son's dissatisfaction with the welfare state was informed by what she called a "socialist dream."³ Careful ambiguity was a part of political references in Team 10 discourse since the group began in the 1950s, and the "socialism" Smithson referred to would have more to do with Sweden of the 1930s, along with postwar Switzerland and the Netherlands, than with state socialism in Soviet-dominated Poland, where Oskar Hansen worked.⁴ Yet for Hansen, it was precisely the reality of socialism and, above all, the socialist state as the agent of the production of space, that allowed for a solution to the challenge of the "greatest number" in all aspects of the postwar societies identified within Team 10: technological advancement, personal mobility, the increasing importance of leisure, scales of human associations and multiple modes of belonging. While the laws of social development apply to both capitalist and socialist societies, it is only the latter that is able to apply these laws for economic coordination by the institutions of state planning—as was suggested by the Soviet scholar Iosif Paschawer in his *Law of Great Numbers and Laws of Mass Processes*.⁵

In this chapter, I will address the entanglement between architecture and the state in Hansen's work, and his rethinking of architectural agency in state socialism from within the project of the Linear Continuous System (LCS). This project, on which Oskar and Zofia Hansen worked in the 1960s and 1970s, was formulated in line with the theory of Open Form: a paradigm shift envisaged in the design of the built environment at every scale, which would "help us to define ourselves and find ourselves in the space and time in which we live."⁶ LCS was conceived as a model for the urbanization of socialist Poland by means of four large settlement strips stretching throughout the whole country: an alternative to traditional, concentric cities. [FIG. 1] The decision to scale the project in relation to national territory immediately reveals the essen-

³ Ibid, p. 274.

⁴ Dirk van den Heuvel, "Alison and Peter Smithson: A Brutalist Story Involving the House, the City and the Everyday (Plus a Couple of Other Things)," PhD dissertation, TU Delft, 2013.

⁵ Iosif Paschawer, *Prawo wielkich liczb i prawidłowości procesu masowego*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1967, p. 130.

⁶ Oskar Hansen, "Forma Otwarta," *Przegląd Kulturalny*, no. 5, 1959, p. 5, translated as "Open Form Manifesto," available at www.open-form.blogspot.com, date of access August 26, 2012.

tial entanglement between the Linear Continuous System and the Polish postwar state. The state was indispensable for the execution of Hansen's project; yet, far from being a "utopia in the service of the regime,"⁷ the project was not simply instrumental for the state, which needed to be radically transformed in order to execute LCS. Hansen's project was both a project "by" the state (to be implemented by the state) and "of" the state (of its modernization); in other words, Hansen aimed at rethinking the state and forms of statecraft as the subject of an architectural project.

LCS as a State Project

Dependent on the shifting political climate in socialist Poland, the work of Hansen was at times marginalized while in other periods, particularly the late 1960s to mid 1970s, he received funding and attention from Party technocrats looking for new models of socialist governance and economy. Hansen's reports to the ministerial planning committees, his memoranda to the Polish Academy of Sciences and statements published in planning and economic journals conveyed the idea of the Linear Continuous System as a model of urbanization suited to the socialist state. He wrote that "the realization of LCS is possible above all in a socialist state, which alone decides about land use, is responsible for the planning of building and controls funds and the construction industry."⁸ Hansen argued that LCS is an "anti-city," an alternative to both the feudal model of urbanization, built against an external onslaught, and the capitalist city, constructed against the enemy within: the working class.⁹ In this account, the socialist state is an avant-garde agent that replaces profit with an equal distribution of social welfare as the objective of the production of space.

Hansen did not withdraw from this opinion in the decades that followed. In an interview in 1977, when mocked by the

⁷ Hubert Mącik, "Utopia w służbie systemu?," in *Wobec Formy Otwartej Oskara Hansena: idea - utopia - reinterpretacja*, edited by Marcin Lachowski, Magdalena Linkowska, Zbigniew Sobczuk, Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2009, pp. 69–79.

⁸ "Antymiaasto – propozycje polskich architektów," typescript, Oskar Hansen Archive, Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts Museum.

⁹ "LSC czyli jak budować antymiaasta" (Interview with Oskar Hansen), *Życie Gospodarcze*, no. 9, 1969, pp. 1–2.

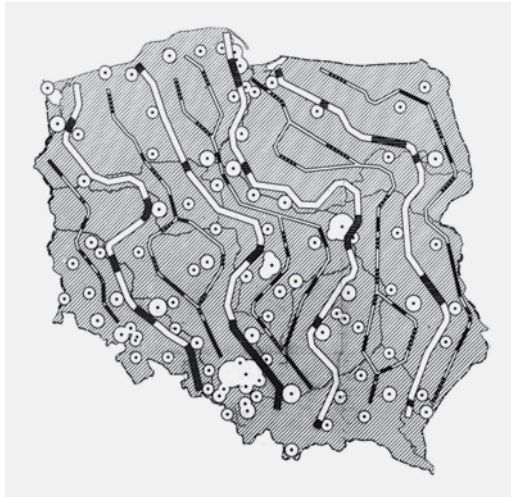


FIG. 1 OSKAR HANSEN AND TEAM, CONCEPTUAL DIAGRAM FOR THE SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND WITHIN THE LINEAR CONTINUOUS SYSTEM, 1972

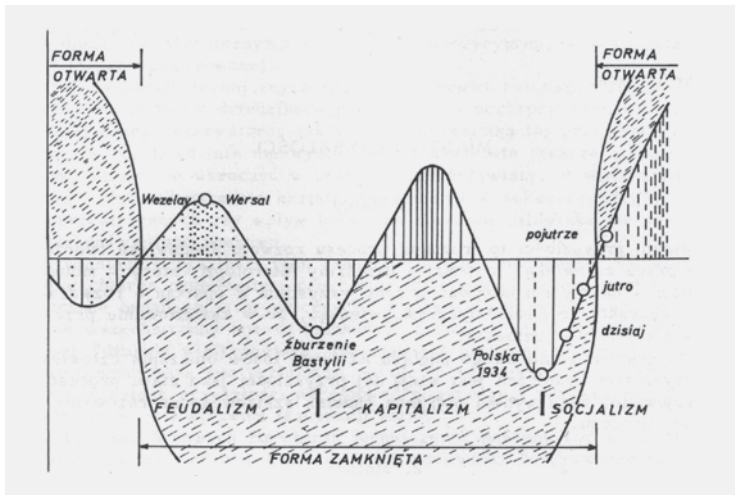


FIG. 2 OSKAR HANSEN, "DIAGRAM OF THE PULSATION PRINCIPLE OF CHANGES IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND SOCIAL PHENOMENA," 1974

architect and anticommunist activist Czesław Bielecki, who asked if "socialist architectural space" was not something like a "socialist square copy-book," Hansen confirmed that there is a strict "conformity" between space and social system.¹⁰ Even after the end of socialism, he argued, no doubt against the general climate of opinion, that socialist Poland offered opportunities for original solutions based on "holistic thinking"—which were impossible after Poland's return to peripheral capitalism.¹¹

The most explicit account of Hansen's thinking about the relationship between socialism and Open Form—and, by extension, of LCS—can be found in a diagram he included in a 1974 research report titled "The City of the Future."¹² [FIG. 2] This diagram shows two curves of historical development. The oscillating curve charts the progress of socioeconomic formations as theorized by Marx, from feudalism through capitalism to socialism. This curve illustrates the apexes of Marx's historical narrative with architectural examples such as the Vézelay Abbey and the Palace of Versailles, with the destruction of the Bastille as the turn to the new capitalist order. The year 1944, with the liberation of Poland from German occupation and its inclusion in the Soviet Bloc marks the shift toward socialism.¹³ Writing in 1974, Hansen marked the present moment on the ascending curve and in the accompanying text he suggested that the rise of socialism was the "kingdom of freedom": a direct reference to Marxian discourse.¹⁴

The second curve shows the movement from a period of Open Form to Closed Form and back to Open Form again. These spans of time are much greater than those of socioeconomic formations, and the period of "closed form" encompasses most of his-

- 10 See Czesław Bielecki, "The Pragmatism of Utopia / Pragmatyzm utopii," interview with Oskar Hansen, *Architektura*, 1977, no. 3–4, p. 22.
- 11 Hansen, letter to the organizers of the conference "Conceptual and Formal Motives in 20th century Architecture in Poland," March 5, 2000, typescript, Oskar Hansen Archive, Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts Museum, p. 1.
- 12 Hansen, "Miasto przyszłości," in *Miasto przyszłości*, no. 1, 1974, in the series *Polska 2000*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo PAN, p. 24.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 23ff. In the drawing, the date is 1934; this is corrected in the text, p. 34.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 38. Engels described the proletarian revolution in Hegelian terms as the "ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom," Friedrich Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, 1880, www.marxists.org, date of access August 1, 2013.

torical time, stretching from feudalism to capitalism and the “present” of socialism, as indicated by Hansen. In other words, the open form, and by extension the Linear Continuous System, are independent of the distinction between capitalism and socialism. This allowed Hansen to see his work within a broad genealogy of linear models of urbanization since the late 19th century, among which he included schemes by Arturo Soria y Mata, Nikolaj Milutin and Le Corbusier.¹⁵ In Poland, this pertained particularly to the work of Jan Chmielewski, who had developed linear models of urbanization since the 1930s, including the Functional Warsaw plan, presented together with Szymon Syrkus during the CIRPAC meeting in London in 1934.¹⁶ However, it was only after the Second World War that Chmielewski’s ideas were spelled out in the National Plan in the late 1940s (the unattributed drawings from the documentation of this plan were used by Hansen in his presentation of LCS [FIG. 3]).¹⁷ Chmielewski argued that socialism allows for integrated socioeconomic planning combined with spatial planning on regional, national and international scales, and that in the Polish condition the best solutions would be offered by linear urbanization systems¹⁸—the very arguments Hansen would repeat since the 1960s. [FIG. 4]

While Hansen’s diagram shows that tendencies toward Open Form and toward socialism are independent, it also suggests compatibility between them. Hansen argued that inherited planning doctrines should be replaced with Open Form theory, “compatible with the socioeconomic model of the current formation.”¹⁹ Otherwise the spatial structure of Poland would continue in accordance

15 Hansen, “Linearny System Ciągły,” *Architektura*, no. 4-5, 1970, pp. 125–136.

16 Jan Olaf Chmielewski, Szymon Syrkus, *Warszawa Funkcjonalna: przyczynek do urbanizacji regionu warszawskiego*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Stowarzyszenia Architektów Polskich, 1935.

17 Chmielewski, “Podstawowe problemy planowania przestrzennego obszarów odnowy i rozwoju sił człowieka,” *Problemy Uzdrawiskowe*, no. 1 (38), 1968, pp. 5, 9; for discussion, see: Sławomir Czeliński, “Miaśnotwórcza rola transportu w teorii urbanistyki,” *Czasopismo Techniczne. Architektura*, no. 1A (107), 2010, pp. 5–19.

18 Adam Kotarbiński, “Jan Chmielewski – sylwetka twórcy i zarys działalności,” in *Początki planowania przestrzennego w Polsce, Studia i Materiały do Teorii i Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki*, no. XV, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PWN, 1979, pp. 13–68.

19 Hansen, “Prognoza rozwoju układu osadniczego Polski w oparciu o Linearny System Ciągły,” Oskar Hansen Archive, Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts Museum, p. 1.



FIG. 3 OSKAR HANSEN, LINEAR CONTINUOUS SYSTEM IN THE SCALE OF POLAND AND EUROPE BASED ON THE DIAGRAM BY JAN CHMIELEWSKI AND TEAM

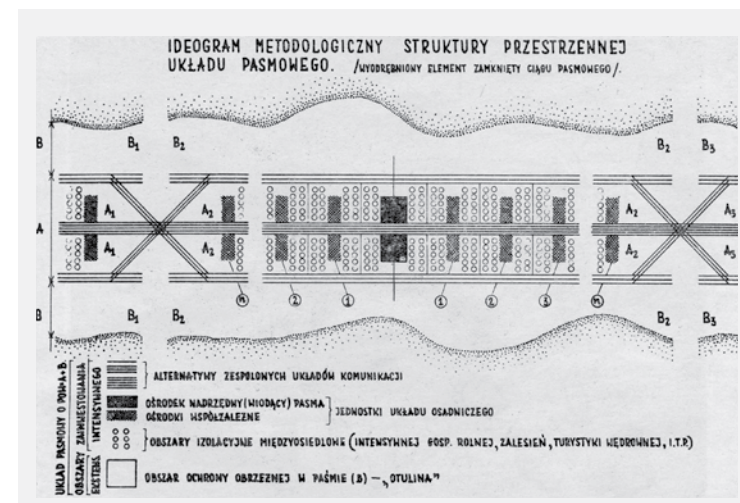


FIG. 4 JAN CHMIELEWSKI, “METHODOLOGICAL DIAGRAM OF THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF A LINEAR [URBANIZATION] PATTERN”, 1968

with patterns inherited from 19th century, the period of the emergence of capitalism in Polish territories, at that time annexed by the neighboring powers of Russia, Prussia and Austria.²⁰ Hansen's questioning of the relationship between urbanization models and social justice reflected debates on the intersection between architecture, urban planning and sociology in postwar Poland, pioneered by Helena Syrkus and Stanisław Ossowski during the war, and carried out in the work of the urban sociologist Aleksander Wallis.²¹ In his texts from the early 1960s, Wallis argued that the mechanisms of socio-spatial segregation, typical for capitalist urbanization, did not disappear in Polish cities, which in spite of fundamental socialist restructuring in the two decades after the war were generally characterized by the stratification of income and social privileges.²²

Gathering many of these arguments, Hansen claimed that the model of urbanization of Poland inherited from 19th century had three fallacies, and the LCS project can be reconstructed as a specific response to each of them. [FIG. 5] First, the disparity between life in the city and the countryside, which stems from inherited models of urbanization, contradicts the egalitarian character of socialism.²³ The then current urbanization of Poland did not advance a "model of time and space consumption" that could free the imagination of an egalitarian society from the capitalist model of consumption.²⁴ In response, LCS offered an alternative redistribution of times and places for everyday life: through binding parallel functional zones together, the system offered a balance between work and leisure, production and consumption, city and countryside.

Second, the historical model for the urbanization of Poland did not facilitate the integration of the country; it slowed the

20 Ibid.

21 For the bibliography of numerous papers on social neighborhoods from the 1940s by Helena and Szymon Syrkus, see: Józef Piłatowicz, "Poglądy Heleny i Szymona Syrkusów na architekturę w latach 1925–1956," *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, no. 3–4 (54), 2009, pp. 123–164, in particular footnote 33; Stanisław Ossowski, *Dzieła* vol. 3, *Z zagadnień psychologii społecznej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1967.

22 Aleksander Wallis, *Socjologia i kształtowanie przestrzeni*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971, in particular the chapters: "Socjologia miasta a planowanie urbanistyczne," pp. 11–40; and "Możliwości zastosowania socjologii w urbanistyce," pp. 41–62.

23 Hansen, "Pro domo sua," *Miesięcznik Literacki*, no. 6, 1971, p. 96.

24 Hansen, "Prognoza rozwoju układu osadniczego Polski," op.cit., p. 1.

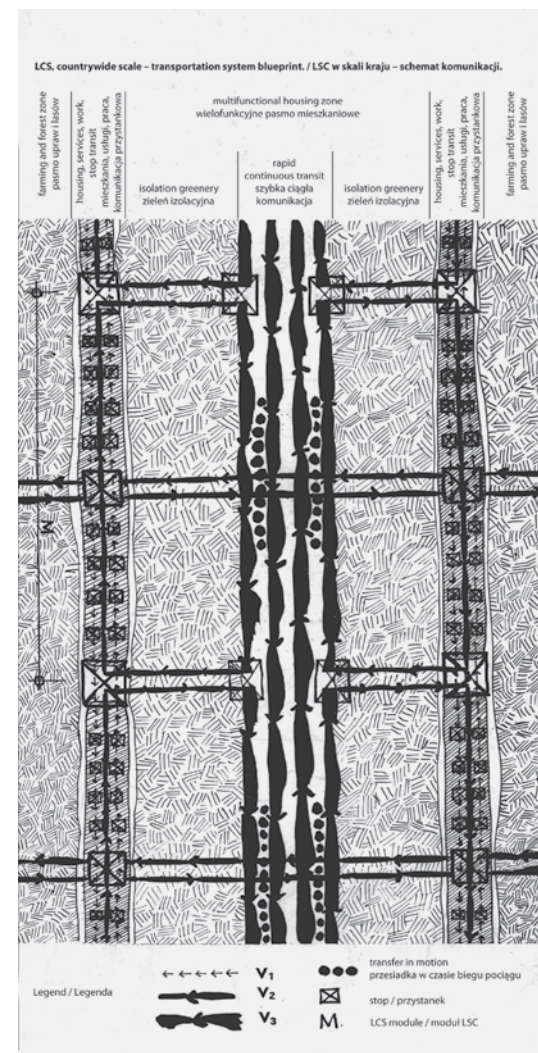


FIG. 5 OSKAR HANSEN AND TEAM, "LCS IDEOGRAM, MULTIFUNCTIONAL HOUSING ZONE SCALE"

emergence of new social bonds, and it prevented a holistic approach to the investment process in space production. By contrast, Hansen argued that the Linear Continuous System facilitated the “integration” of the country by enhancing the mobility of its citizens. This argument alluded to state discourse on the integration of national territory: the linear strips of urbanization stretching from the Tatra Mountains to the seashore “convey to the consciousness of the Polish inhabitant the image of a specific socio-geographical belonging, an image of Poland stretching from the mountains to the sea.”²⁵ Hansen wrote this passage in 1972, only two years after West Germany formally recognized the western border of Poland. In this sense, the Linear Continuous System subscribed to the official discourse of the socialist state about the “return” of Upper Silesia and Pomerania to Poland and can be seen as a counterproposal to the 1941 planning of occupied Poland during the Second World War by means of the central-places theory of the German geographer Walter Christaller.²⁶ [FIG. 6]

Third, according to Hansen the inherited model of urbanization did not adequately represent the socialist formation, as the egalitarian character of LCS would manifest.²⁷ He argued that the redistribution of times and places according to the egalitarian principles of socialism is not only the responsibility of the state but also fulfills propagandistic aims. Hence LCS would “show to the societies of the capitalist countries that a different form of social relationships can lead to a better life than in other [social] formations; in different, correctly composed spatio-temporal division.”²⁸

Biotechnological Urbanism

The Linear Continuous System was embraced by several intellectuals close to the regime in Poland. For example, in 1968 the poet Julian Przyboś wrote in the newspaper *Życie Warszawy* that Hansen’s project “can capture minds, rouse dreams, and stir energy,” and urged the delegates of the fifth congress of the Polish United

25 Ibid., p. 2.

26 Walter Christaller, *Die Zentralen Orte in den Ostgebieten und ihre Kultur und Marktgebiete*, Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag, 1941.

27 Hansen, “Prognoza rozwoju układu osadniczego Polski,” op.cit.

28 Hansen, “Pro domo sua,” op.cit., p. 99.

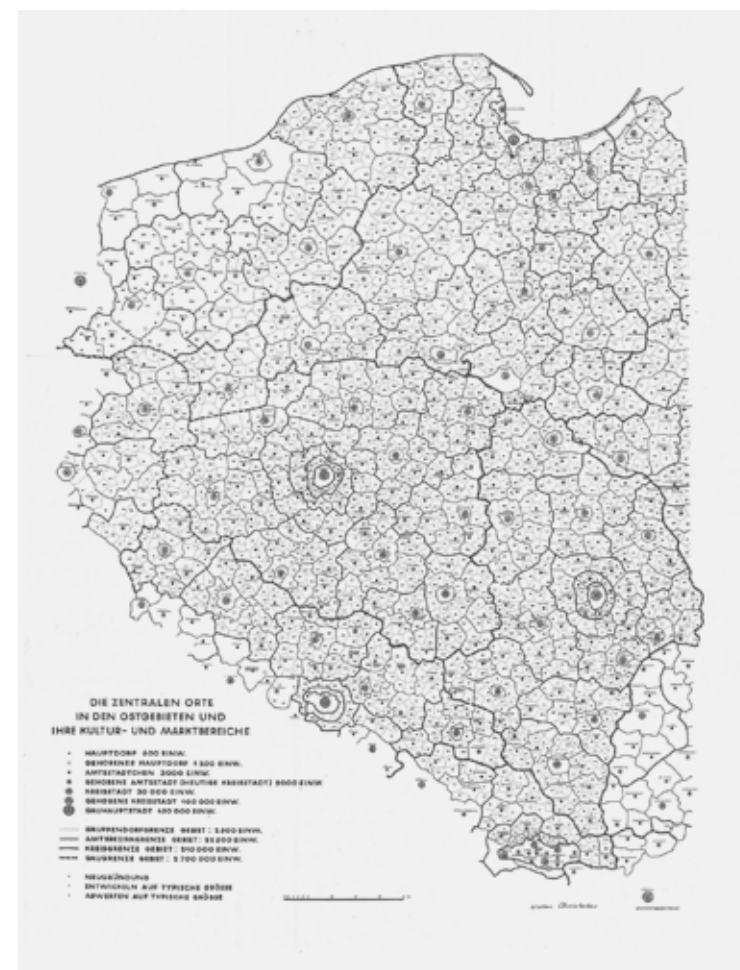


FIG. 6 WALTER CHRISTALLER, “CENTRAL PLACES IN THE EASTERN TERRITORIES AND THEIR CULTURAL AND MARKET ZONES,” 1941

Workers' Party (*Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza*, the ruling Communist Party) to study LCS.²⁹ LCS was not unnoticed by government agencies, and in the early 1970s the project was given support by various ministries, state planning offices, and the Polish Academy of Sciences. For a period of several years, Hansen's theory of Open Form seemed to fit into the "opening" of Poland under Edward Cierek, the first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party between 1970 and 1980. This included intensified international contacts and accelerating economic exchanges, in particular the import of technologies and consumer goods with loans from Western financial institutions. The mobility of Polish citizens was on the rise, with the first Polish Fiat leaving the factory in 1973 and with more people allowed to travel abroad, either as tourists or on export contracts, supported by the regime in its constant need for "hard" currency.³⁰

Hansen's project fed into what Cierek called a "second industrialization," with industrial modernization and large-scale infrastructure investments, including roads, rail and power stations, which have formed the backbone of the country to the present. This was paralleled by accelerated processes of urbanization and migration from the countryside to cities, and in 1978, for the first time, the number of people working in Poland in industry surpassed the number working in agriculture.³¹ The Linear Continuous System likewise responded to this tendency through attempting to accommodate the generation of baby boomers of the mid 1950s who entered the labor market in the 1970s, and the project of the efficient distribution of work and welfare answered to the effort of the state to grant them employment as well as social infrastructure.³² At the same time, Hansen's project reflected the shift in the spatial planning of the city of Warsaw, where he lived and worked. In the first half of the 1970s, previous de-glomeration attempts were abandoned and the city embraced speedy development and explosive investment pro-

29 Julian Przyboś, "Jak Polskę budować?," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 259, 1968, p. 3, quoted in Mącik, "Utopia w służbie systemu?," op.cit., p. 70.

30 Łukasz Stanek, "Miastoprojekt Goes Abroad. Transfer of Architectural Labor from Socialist Poland to Iraq (1958–1989)," *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 17, no. 3, 2012, pp. 361–386.

31 Krzysztof Rybiński ed., *Dekada Cierka: wnioski dla obecnego okresu modernizacji Polski*, Warszawa: Wyższa Szkoła Ekonomiczno-Informatyczna, 2011.

32 Ibid.

cesses, including the construction of the Central Railway Station, two large thoroughfares (Wisłostrada, Trasa Łazienkowska), several large-scale housing developments (Targówek, Ursynów, Gocław) and the reconstruction of the Royal Castle. This was accompanied by new visions of the metropolitan future of the capital, captured in the 1978 masterplan, which laid out the development of Warsaw within the region and privileged linear-urbanization patterns.³³

But the "opening" of Cierek also included a new vision of an "advanced socialist society." It was described by him in a 1973 speech as consisting of "educated and productive workers" who "multiply the legacy of past generations of the country while integrating their work into the efforts of the fraternal socialist nations."³⁴ This reverberated with Hansen's imagination about the society for which LCS was designed and that he described as a "postindustrial" society with its consumer needs fulfilled and plenty of free time at its disposal through the automation of production and services—an "active" society with the explosive rise of voluntary social contacts facilitated by mass information exchange.³⁵

As was the case with the project of the Workers' University by Radovan Nikšić and Ninoslav Kučan (1955–1961), aimed at the education of the masses toward self-management socialism in Yugoslavia,³⁶ so Hansen argued that Polish citizens needed to be educated toward the envisaged "advanced socialist society." He pointed out that this renewed collective subjectivity could be facilitated by the settlement network, turned into a "tool of the authority within a given socioeconomic formation to shape [...] the conditions of human life and psyche."³⁷ Statements like this puzzled several commentators, who perceived the Linear Continuous System as based on contradictory objectives. On one hand, the statement above suggested that LCS was intended to be a centralized project of social engineering; some commentators argued that when fully

33 Adam Kowalewski, *Warszawa: problemy rozwoju*, Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1981.

34 Quoted in Jan Filip Staniłko, "Tęsknota za 'drugą Polską,'" Rybiński ed., *Dekada Cierka*, op.cit., p. 51.

35 Hansen, "Miasto przyszłości," op.cit., pp. 38–39; Hansen, "Pro domo sua," op.cit., p. 97.

36 See the papers in this volume by Maroje Mrduljaš and Tamara Bjažić Klarin; as well as by Renata Margaretić Urlič and Karin Serman.

37 Hansen, "Pro domo sua," op.cit., p. 95.

realized it would be a total system.³⁸ On the other, Hansen constantly described LCS as allowing for “maximal individual freedom,” where inhabitants create their everyday space and architecture is but a background for the discharge of social energy.³⁹ In this instance, his favorite reference was the Rue Mouffetard in the 5th arrondissement of Paris, with its vibrant everyday life, social mixture and sociability: a “jewel” as Hansen said, where he had lived during his apprenticeship in the Pierre Jeanneret studio in the late 1940s.⁴⁰

Yet there is nothing contradictory about these two sides of Hansen’s project in the context of late 1960s and early 1970s Poland, when Party functionaries recognized the necessity of introducing mechanisms of innovation, responsibility and criticism into the bureaucratic apparatus and the increasingly ossified planned economy. Quite along the same lines, the “coordination” of individual initiative by “organizers of space” was the general aim of the Open Form theory.⁴¹ In 1974, Hansen wrote enthusiastically that “the tomorrow of our cities and villages has begun today” and several government activities are influenced by “thinking and acting according to the convention of open form, which to a large extent motivates the society to activity.”⁴² This aim of coordinating individual creativity was captured by Hansen’s description of architecture as “background” that puts individual actors to the fore but also links them into a collective Cestalt.⁴³

Hansen stressed that the Linear Continuous System combined the collective potential of the state with a “rational” mobilization of individual potential.⁴⁴ These statements come from his 1974 report “The City of the Future” that was delivered to the Poland

38 Mącik, “Utopia w służbie systemu?,” op.cit., p. 72.

39 Hansen, “Forma Otwarta,” *Polska*, no. 1, 1972, p. 48.

40 Hans Ulrich Obrist, Philippe Parreno, “Entretien avec Oskar Hansen, Szumin, 21 décembre 2003,” video in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw. Strikingly, the Rue Mouffetard was also a favorite example of Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauve in his discussions on the urban renewal projects in Paris of the 1950s, see: *Rue Mouffetard: À la découverte des français* 3, 1959, Archives INA / Paris.

41 Hansen, “W kierunku architektury ‘30 tysięcy cesarzy;” *Poezja*, no.6, 1966, p. 75.

42 Hansen, “Miasto przyszłości,” op.cit., p. 50

43 Hansen, “Studium humanizacji miasta Lubin,” typescript, Oskar Hansen Archive, Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts Museum, p. 3; Hansen, “Forma Otwarta,” *Polska*, op.cit., p. 48.

44 Hansen, “Miasto przyszłości,” op.cit., p. 43.

2000 Committee, a think tank at the Polish Academy of Sciences. The committee was created in 1969 in order to conceive of possible scenarios of socioeconomic development for Poland until the year 2000, both through theoretical speculation about the future of the society according to Marxist laws of historical development, and by means of specific research studies commissioned by government planning institutions.⁴⁵ Many proposals of the committee pointed out that the progress of socialism depended on the mobilization of the population to individual initiative based on the cybernetic processing of sociological data, stimulation of innovation and information feedback within the system. These proposals were a part of a general rethinking of socialist management by research institutes at the Polish Academy of Sciences, which included a project to introduce competition among small-scale state enterprises, along with a proposal to create of a group of 100,000 unemployed people in order to motivate those who were employed.⁴⁶ The idea that even unemployment must be planned in a planned economy was not appreciated by Party officials, but some other suggestions were accepted, including the administrative reform of 1975.⁴⁷ Aiming at a more balanced development of the country, this reform doubled the number of provinces, or voivodeships (*województwa*), and hence the number of regional centers that, one might speculate, would lend themselves to being connected with strips of urbanization, as foreseen by Hansen.⁴⁸

Among its various activities, the committee focused on national spatial planning, settlement structures and future housing standards. The conferences “Prognosis of Spatial Structure of the Settlement Network in Poland” (1970) and “The City of the Future”

45 Jan Danecki, “Prognozy rozwoju społecznego w pracach komitetu ‘Polska 2000’” in *Perspektywy rozwiniętego społeczeństwa socjalistycznego w Polsce (wybrane problemy)*, no. 2, 1971, in the series *Polska 2000*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo PAN, pp. 94–95.

46 Witold Kieżun, “Reforma powiatowa z 1975 roku,” in Rybiński ed., *Dekada Cierka*, op.cit., pp. 32–33.

47 Ibid.

48 Comp. Kowalewski, *Warszawa*, op.cit., pp. 61–63, see also the publications of Witold Kieżun, author of the administrative reform; *Autonomizacja jednostek organizacyjnych: z patologii organizacji*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1971; *Tendencje zarządzania w warunkach rewolucji naukowo-technicznej*, Rzeszów: Towarzystwo Naukowe Organizacji i Kierownictwa, 1973; *Elementy socjalistycznej nauki o organizacji i zarządzaniu*, Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1978.

(1973), with Hansen participating in both, as well as the symposium “Housing of the Future: the Function and Role of Housing in View of the Possible Standards of the Year 2000” (1972) gathered contributions of architects, planners, economists, sociologists, philosophers, administrators and Party officials.⁴⁹ For Hansen, the work of the Poland 2000 Committee, together with the employment of open prefabrication structures by the Polish construction industry, the integration of the country’s electricity infrastructure and country-wide water management were “kernels” of a new reality brought forward by socialist Poland.⁵⁰ He argued that the urbanization models connected to the railway network, as developed by the committee [FIG. 7, 8], and the construction of linear settlements in Warsaw (Legionowo, Ursynów) and in Poznań-Piątkowo were tangible examples of the paradigm shift in Polish planning that the Linear Continuous System would bring to completion.⁵¹

In his report to the committee, Hansen distinguished three phases of the realization of LCS, and his description reveals it as a biopolitical system of governance that activates the population according to a predefined norm established by the analysis of population groups. The first phase deals with “objective parameters at the scale of the country,” and the construction of “shelves,” or “racks,” for dwellings, that is to say large infrastructure that would accommodate housing projects. The second is a “specific public commission” developed at the scale of particular social groups, for example that of a housing corporation, which includes the planning of the number of apartments, their typology and allocation of plots. The third level is assigned to “subjective elements” and the realization of the apartment by the inhabitant either by commissioning a (state) enterprise, by participating in a housing cooperative, by self-help of prospective neighbors or by individual means. Besides economic gains, Hansen argued that the engagement of inhabitants in the creation of their everyday environment has an important pedagogical

49 *Miasto Przyszłości*, op.cit.; *Mieszkanie przyszłości. Funkcje i rola mieszkania na tle perspektywnego standardu w roku 2000*, no. 2, 1973, in the series *Polska 2000*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo PAN; *Prognozy rozwoju sieci osadniczej*, no. 2, 1973, in the series *Polska 2000*, op.cit.

50 Hansen, “Forma Otwarta,” *Polska*, op.cit.; Hansen, “Miasto przyszłości,” op.cit., p. 38.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

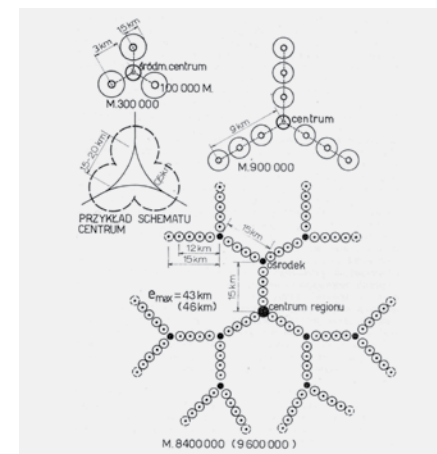


FIG. 7 SCHEMES FOR SETTLEMENT NETWORKS PLANNED ALONG THE LINES OF POLISH STATE RAILWAYS (THE ABBREVIATION “M” STANDS FOR INHABITANTS)



FIG. 8 “BAND AND NODE PATTERN, HYPOTHESIS 2000”

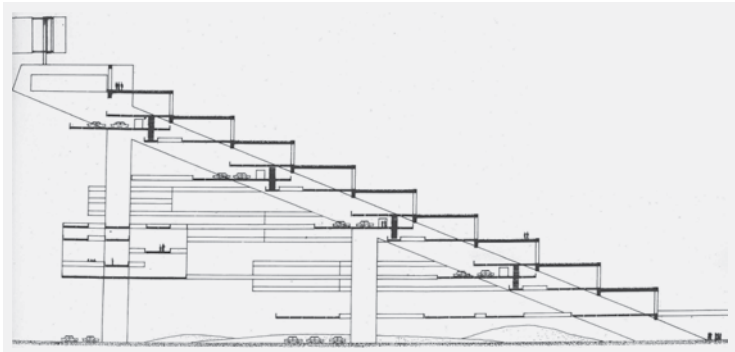


FIG. 9 SECTION THROUGH A HOUSING "RACK" FOR LUBIN IN WESTERN BELT PROJECT (II), DESIGN: OSKAR HANSEN AND TEAM, 1976



FIG. 10 MODEL OF THE SETTLEMENT STRUCTURE IN LUBIN IN WESTERN BELT PROJECT (II), DESIGN: OSKAR HANSEN AND TEAM, 1976

sense and includes a new experience of space and "new type of feeling" about the everyday life, "different from the capitalist model."⁵²

Hansen's project, which belongs among the clearest examples of the "biopolitics of scale" in European postwar urbanism,⁵³ was conveyed in his proposal for Lubin, designed as a part of the Linear Continuous System during the mid 1970s. This proposal offers a didactic image of a powerful state that provides a general framework to citizens while delineating specific spaces to be filled by individual initiative. In Lubin, an industrial town in Lower Silesia, Hansen suggested elevated terraces constructed by the state on the basis of the old mining infrastructure. [FIG. 9] Each family would be free to commission their house on the terraces or to build it by individual means. In this project, the central government was responsible for the construction of infrastructure and housing racks, various cooperatives decided about the quantity of houses and their types, and each family would be in charge of the construction of the individual housing unit. [FIG. 10] The latter one could imagine, perhaps, like Hansen's own house in Szumin, which he designed and built with Zofia, and their son, Igor, in 1968, only two years after the first proposals for LCS. [FIG. 11]

The Lubin study reveals that what was at stake was the mobilization of the inhabitants—their mobilization to creativity—within a framework provided by a strategically self-limiting state. While subscribing to the general Team 10 theme of designing the city in terms of permanent and temporary elements, or those offered to the inhabitants and those appropriated by them, it goes further by making the accommodation unit the subject of individual responsibility. This project has much in common with the resettlement studies of Charles Polányi in Ghana, which, like Hansen's, were above all projects of the state as an architectural agent where the main task of the architect was to draw the line between what is developed by the state and what is left to be constructed by the inhabitants by

52
53

Ibid. pp. 43, 46.
Stanek, "Biopolitics of Scale: Architecture, Urbanism, the Welfare State and After," in *The Politics of Life—Michel Foucault and the Biopolitics of Modernity*, edited by Sven-Olov Wallenstein, Jacob Nilsson, Stockholm: Iaspis, 2013, pp. 106–120.



FIG. 11 THE HANSENS' HOUSE IN SZUMIN, DESIGN: OSKAR, ZOFIA AND ICOR HANSEN, 1968

means of self-help.⁵⁴ Hansen called the performance of LCS “biotechnological,”⁵⁵ and this term communicates the stake of the project: the management of life by drawing a line between state governance, self-management and self-discipline.

Architectural Agency in State Socialism

Recalling his studies at the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts in the late 1960s, the artist Krzysztof Wodiczko said: “I was trained to be a member of the elite unit of designers, skillful infiltrators who were supposed to transform existing state socialism into an intelligent, complex and human design project.”⁵⁶ Wodiczko referred to Jerzy Sołtan as the dean of the academy, who had hired Hansen as an assistant in 1950, thus opening Hansen’s career path at the academy and to his becoming a professor in 1968.⁵⁷ While in Wodiczko’s recollection the Cierek era meant a shift to technocracy and consumerism,⁵⁸ Hansen’s engagements with institutions like the Poland 2000 Committee in the early 1970s point instead to the advances of such “infiltration” as conceived by the staff of the academy in the previous decade.

If it really was an “infiltration,” after all. Hansen’s various engagements with the regime cannot be captured by one metaphor, not only because of his constant readjustments in response to a meandering Party line, but also because the authorities’ responses to his proposals were themselves ambiguous. These responses straddled a whole spectrum: praise of Hansen’s “constructive criticism” that could be productive for the development of

54 Max Bond, J. Falconer, Charles Polónyi, “De la transformation à l’innovation,” *Le Carré Bleu*, no.1, 1968, unpag.; comp. Akos Moravánszky, “Peripheral Modernism: Charles Polónyi and the Lessons of the Village,” *The Journal of Architecture*, vol.17, no.3, 2012, pp. 333–359.

55 Hansen, “Pasma Zachodnie,” in Hansen, *Towards Open Form / Ku Formie Otwartej*, Warszawa: Fundacja Galerii Foksal, Muzeum ASP w Warszawie, Frankfurt: Revolver, 2005, p. 55.

56 Douglas Crimp, Rosalyn Deutsche, Ewa Lajer-Burcharth and Krzysztof Wodiczko, “A Conversation with Krzysztof Wodiczko,” *October*, vol. 38, Autumn 1986, p. 33.

57 Ibid., see also: “Chronology,” in Hansen, *Towards Open Form*, op.cit., pp. 168–241.

58 Crimp et al., “A Conversation with Krzysztof Wodiczko,” op.cit., p. 33; on Wodiczko and Hansen, comp. the paper by David Crowley during the conference “Oskar Hansen—Opening Modernism,” Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, June 7, 2013, www.artmuseum.pl, date of access August 1, 2013.

socialist Poland; suspicion toward his “reformism” that diluted the socialist project; his irresponsible “utopianism,” which might have led to squandering the resources of the state; condemnation of his stubborn “dogmatism,” which misunderstood the logic of the historical moment; his dangerous “revisionism” undermining the fundamentals of the Party; or political “dissidence.”

In the final part of this chapter, I suggest reading Hansen’s engagements with the state as an integral component of the Linear Continuous System, which was based on his rethinking of agency as an architect in real existing socialism. Consequently, it is his drawings more than his writings that convey an internal critique of the processes of urbanization in socialist Poland—while in his writings Hansen tended to omit structural antagonisms within the socialist system, these came to the fore in his specific proposals developed as facets of the Linear Continuous System.

For example, his proposal for Lubin aimed at alleviating the unbalanced development of the city caused by the domination of the copper mine and its supporting industries, while schools and kindergartens, commerce, services, transport and jobs for women were neglected. This condition resulted from specific antagonisms of political economy of space in state socialism. As was shown by the geographer Bohdan Jałowicki, the main actors in space production in Poland were political authorities, including the central planning committee and the territorial planning agencies and planning offices of respective industry branches.⁵⁹ While they were supposed to be coordinated centrally, the planning decisions were resulting from a struggle and competition between industry branches and large state enterprises, typically heavy industry. Not competing in terms of costs and quality of their products, the enterprises were struggling for the maximalization of assets that would allow them to sustain their monopolist position and to secure their political importance in relation to local and central authorities. Among these assets, space was one of the most important, and in Jałowicki’s account socialism is presented as a competition for space between enterprises that emancipate from the control of the

59 Bohdan Jałowicki, *Spoleczne wytworzenie przestrzeni*, Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1988.

central power and aim at securing a constant growth not only of the production plant, but also of its subsidiaries. These processes led to the phenomenon of “overindustrialization” in cities where one dominant enterprise and several complementary factories, constituting one productive entity, subordinated all investments in space: transportation, housing and social infrastructure.⁶⁰ This often had disastrous consequences for the environment and the well-being of people, as in Lubin, where the relatively high income of the inhabitants was combined with solitude, absence of social contacts and lack of identification with the city.⁶¹ That Hansen’s project conveyed a critique of the urbanization of socialist Poland did not go unnoticed by reviewers, and one of them argued that Hansen’s scheme “flawlessly captured the main drawbacks of the current urban structure in Lubin, which make it a city ill-disposed for inhabitation.”⁶²

In other words, while Hansen’s account of the urbanization processes in postwar Poland (restricted to factors of the socialization of land, capital and industry, and the centralization of planning) was fundamentally incomplete, he developed a critical rethinking of these processes from his specific interactions with actors of space production in Poland. They included research centers such as the Architecture and Urban Planning Institute, but also housing corporations, as was the case with the project for the Rakowiec neighborhood in Warsaw (1958), city councils including Lubin, Przemyśl and Chocianów, and state industrial enterprises.⁶³ His extra-academic employment included the Warsaw Housing Corporation (1958–1966), the Center for Building Research and Design in Warsaw (1966–1968) and the BIPROMASZ research institute in Warsaw (1973–1975).⁶⁴ This implied a collective mode of working with a range of collaborators, in particular with Zofia Hansen, his

60 Ibid.
61 Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, „Uwagi do projektu perspektywicznego zagospodarowania Lubina w aspekcie ‘humanizacja miasta’”, Warszawa, March 25, 1976, typescript, Oskar Hansen Archive, Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts Museum.
62 Ibid., p. 4.
63 “Miasto od Tatr do Bałtyku,” *Express Wieczorny*, no.9, 1969, p. 3, Hansen, “Studium humanizacji miasta Lubin”; Hansen, *Towards Open Form*, op.cit., pp. 225, 229.
64 Hansen, “Curriculum Vitae,” typescript, Oskar Hansen Archive, Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts Museum.

spouse, but also with other architects, sculptors, painters, planners, engineers, and specialists in hydrography, meteorology and climatology, traffic engineers, sociologists and economists. The teams headed by Hansen often included more than 10 people.⁶⁵ This interdisciplinary approach was a part of the design process of LCS. For example, before designing the Juliusz Słowacki Housing Estate (1963–1966) in Lublin in southeast Poland, the architects used a questionnaire developed by sociologists from the Housing Institute in Warsaw.⁶⁶ [FIG. 12] Also, the analysis of the economist Tadeusz Michalak of LCS supported yet another exemplification of this project, now in the district of Ursynów in Warsaw.⁶⁷

It is from such engagements that Hansen rethought the agency of an architect: working with local Party bureaucrats, housing corporations, building companies, construction industries, research institutes and administrative bodies. The housing project of Przychówek Grochowski in Warsaw is a case in point.⁶⁸ Designed by Zofia and Oskar Hansen and constructed between 1969 and 1973, Przychówek Grochowski is an ensemble of 22 separate blocs of flats that are joined by a gallery into a 1.5 kilometer unit. Due to the shape of the plot, the buildings meander with spacious courtyards and service areas in between, where the architects had foreseen a primary school, two kindergartens, nursery, trade and service center and administration office as well as a sports and cultural center. [FIG. 13]

Both Oskar and Zofia were highly critical of the realization of the project because of the fact that, among other things, the inhabitants were not allowed to choose their apartments, thus compromising one of the premises of the design philosophy. In retrospect Oskar Hansen said: “Why didn’t we back out [from the project] when we found out that in that housing estate the technological pressures would not let us build houses in agreement with dwellers’ own needs? Because in the Słowacki Housing Estate we have already

65 “LSC czyli jak budować antymiaście,” (Interview with Oskar Hansen), op.cit.; “Miasto od Tatr do Bałtyku,” op.cit.

66 Obrist, Parreno, “Entretien avec Oskar Hansen,” op.cit.

67 Hansen, “Miasto przyszłości,” op.cit., pp. 47ff.

68 Aleksandra Kędziorek, Łukasz Stanek, “Architecture as a Pedagogical Object: What to Preserve of the Przychówek Grochowski Housing Estate by Oskar & Zofia Hansen in Warsaw?,” *Architektura & Urbanismus*, no. 3–4, December 2012, pp. 2–21.



FIG. 12 JULIUSZ SŁOWACKI HOUSING ESTATE IN LUBLIN, DESIGN: OSKAR AND ZOFIA HANSEN, 1963 – 1966



FIG. 13 PRZYCHÓWEK GROCHOWSKI HOUSING ESTATE IN WARSAW, DESIGN: OSKAR AND ZOFIA HANSEN, 1968 – 1973

shown people how to build houses.” In contrast to the Lublin estate, Hansen explained that the stakes of the Warsaw project were different: “The spatial organization [of Przyczółek Crochowski] is based on the break with separate houses-objects. It is a structure operating by virtue of communicating vessels in the sphere of social services—circulation, lifts, chutes, etc.”⁶⁹ In this sense, one way of imagining architectural agency in Przyczółek Crochowski was to see the project as an experiment, a “trial run” as he put it,⁷⁰ one of many within a sequence. This provided an explanation—or an excuse—for the fact that Przyczółek Crochowski did not accumulate the gains of previous projects.

But besides being an experimenter, Hansen was, above all, an educator. This role was not limited to his tenure at the Academy of Fine Arts, and education needs to be grasped here in a broad sense and extended toward a fundamental understanding of the Open Form as a program of radical pedagogy, straddling both his contribution to education and his design work. This bridge was clearly formulated in Hansen’s vision of the pedagogical reorganization of the academy in the early 1980s, which he worded in the same way as he described his architecture. In an article published in a journal of the branch of the anticommunist trade union *Solidarność* (Solidarity) at the academy, he sketched a vision of “open education” that offered choice to the students in terms of the program, organization, timing and assessment, and would train “organizers of space” who coordinate “subjective elements” into larger wholes.⁷¹

Beyond the context of studio teaching, Hansen considered his architectural projects, plans, drawings and realized buildings as facets of a pedagogical experience, a part of the “building of imagination.”⁷² In response to the questionnaire from the Institute of Housing Management (1972) about the “housing of the future” he argued that in socialism, where housing is not a commodity but a tool of individual development, it is necessary to move away from capitalist, disposable “houses-objects” and to imagine an alternative

69 Bielecki, “The Pragmatism of Utopia,” op.cit., p. 24.

70 Hansen, “Miasto od Tatr do Bałtyku,” op.cit.

71 Hansen, “Czy potrzebne są zmiany w naszej uczelni?,” *Numer*, no. 1, 1981, pp. 20–21.

72 “LSC czyli jak budować antymiastr,” op.cit., p. 2.

everyday life. However, in Poland the past still weighs heavily on modes of thought, feeling, and ways of life.⁷³ Hansen expressed similar criticism in 1967 when looking back at the last 20 years of Polish architecture: “it does not show that it has been created in new social-economic conditions.”⁷⁴ He added that “we did not live up to the idea, we were unable to make use of the privileges and conditions, and create an ambitious oeuvre for today and a foundation for the future environment of socialist men.”⁷⁵ He blamed this disappointing development on entrenched models of thought based on closed form and the limited scale resulting from capitalist ownership. But he also pointed out that various actors of space production in socialist Poland did not rise up to the challenges and lost the initiative: housing cooperatives that more often than not forgot about the pioneering role of the Warsaw Housing Cooperative in the interwar period, working with avant-garde architects including Helena and Szymon Syrkus; the state construction industry, suppressed by bureaucracy and inefficient logistics; and architects, irresponsibly following fashions from historicist decoration to “modernism” and hence not deserving the confidence of society.⁷⁶

All these actors were targeted in Przyczółek Crochowski, which was designed to be a pedagogical experience for those involved. It was a training experience for the building industry in applying a more flexible prefabrication system: Hansen introduced a new precast building system named Żerań-brick that, after a series of adjustments coordinated with the factory, allowed for the cascading form of the building and facilitated a distribution of load-bearing walls that made possible future mergers of adjoining apartments.⁷⁷ [FIG. 14] It was a lesson for the architectural authorities facing a new type of design complexity, and resulted in intense negotiations, including those about the size and position of the galleries and their materials. It was a testing ground for the housing corpora-

73 Hansen, Letter to the Institute of Housing Management, Warsaw, January 2, 1972, unpag., Oskar Hansen Archive, Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts Museum.

74 Hansen, “Całość i detal,” *Architektura*, no. 3, 1967, p. 89.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid., pp. 89–90.

77 For discussion, see: Kędziorek, Stanek, “Architecture as Pedagogical Object,” op.cit.

tion to understand itself as a community, with numerous spaces envisaged to encourage social contacts and collaboration among the inhabitants, from the galleries to the cold-catchers shared by two neighbors. Finally, it was a demonstration of the architects' pragmatism and ability to compromise while keeping long-term goals in view. To understand the Hansens' architecture as a pedagogical object might explain the energy invested by Oskar and Zofia into a seemingly endless chain of negotiations, with small victories achieved at the price of substantial compromises, in which some of the main ideas of the project were spoiled, as Zofia pointed out.⁷⁸ They hoped these compromises would prove correctable in the near future by now-educated inhabitants, builders and administrators.

But if Przychówek Crochowski was a pedagogical experience, the lessons were hard to learn. The antagonisms of socialist urbanization not only prevented the realization of LCS, but some suggested that even when realized, the project would reflect these antagonisms—as early as 1968, Aleksander Wallis argued that even within LCS new social inequalities would emerge, at least those related to differences in education and professional life.⁷⁹ On several occasions, Hansen's overidentification with the socialist regime resulted in his design becoming a manifestation of the regime's contradictions. In retrospect he commented on the changed position of the galleries in Przychówek Crochowski, which prevented the privacy of the inhabitants. He stressed that this change was imposed on him. But he decided to carry on, justifying his actions as follows: "people will anyway find out which system was better—whether the authorities were right, or the authors."⁸⁰ Faced with the bureaucracy of the administration and building industry, Hansen reached for yet another hat—that of the polemicist.

It is through polemics, by trying out and debating various approaches, that architects can reclaim the role of "producers of space," he argued.⁸¹ Once again, his approach resembled that of Charles Polányi, who resigned from the idea of becoming a journal-

78 Joanna Mytkowska, Interview with Zofia Hansen, unpublished; Filip Springer, *Zaczyn. O Zofii i Oskarze Hansenach*, Kraków–Warszawa: Karakert, Muzeum Sztuki Nowoczesnej w Warszawie, 2013.

79 "Linearny System Ciągły," *Projekt*, no. 2, 1968, pp. 37–51.

80 Bielecki, "The Pragmatism of Utopia," op.cit., p. 25.

81 Hansen, "Całość i detal," op.cit., p. 90.



FIG. 14 CONSTRUCTION OF THE PRZYCHÓWEK CROCHOWSKI HOUSING ESTATE IN WARSAW, DESIGN: OSKAR AND ZOFIA HANSEN, 1968–1973



FIG. 15 OSKAR HANSEN, *A DREAM OF WARSAW*, 2005, FOKSAL GALLERY FOUNDATION, WARSAW, EXHIBITION VIEW EXHIBITION AT THE FOKSAL GALLERY IN WARSAW, 2005

ist and became an architect, just to discover that polemics is what is shared by both professions.⁸² Hansen's polemics spanned several decades and unfolded in weekly journals, economic magazines, art journals and the daily press. This understanding of architecture as a polemical event, which was meant to influence debate and bring the realization of LCS closer, became more and more characteristic of Hansen's later career. In a 1977 interview, he embraced his role of polemicist and he accepted that his projects were mocked:

The LCS model will not be realized in my lifetime, therefore, I must be *l'enfant terrible*, and do so-called utopian designs, so as to wake and shape social consciousness as early as today, in order that tomorrow LCS might become reality. The fact that people write about LCS, that we are talking about LCS now, can be seen as our success.⁸³

This polemic approach was conveyed by one of his last projects, "A Dream of Warsaw" (2005), conceived for the surroundings of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw, the high-rise designed by Soviet architect Lev Rudnev in the socialist-realist idiom (1955).⁸⁴ The Palace was for Hansen everything he protested against, a hierarchical structure that he saw as, by definition, "sociologically and economically incorrect in a socialist country."⁸⁵ Hence, in a conversation in 1968 he explained the Linear Continuous System by its opposition to the Palace: LCS was "not about the Palace of Culture and Sciences, around which everything rotates."⁸⁶ The Palace was a paradigmatic closed form and hence a pendant of dogmatic régimes, as Hansen suggested by juxtaposing in his last book (2005) a photograph of a 1960s celebration of Party leadership in front of the Palace and the celebration of a Catholic mass in the same place after the end of socialism.⁸⁷ In "A Dream of Warsaw," Hansen suggested constructing a tower with a contrasting, anthropomor-

82 Charles Polányi, *An Architect-Planner on the Peripheries: The Retrospective Diary of Charles K. Polányi*, Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó, 2000.

83 Bielecki, "The Pragmatism of Utopia," op.cit., p. 25.

84 Artur Zmijewski, *A Dream of Warsaw*, film, 2005.

85 "Linearny System Ciągły," *Projekt*, no.2, 1968, p. 45.

86 Ibid., p. 46.

87 Hansen, "Zobaczyć świat," Warszawa: Zachęta Narodowa Galeria Sztuki, Muzeum ASP w Warszawie, 2005, p. 103.

phic shape next to the Palace: a thin building with an elliptical head. [FIG. 15] Rather than destroying or covering the Palace, as was suggested by numerous proposals discussed in Warsaw in the course of the 1990s, he suggested that the new building ought to "polemize with it, like cultured people."⁸⁸

This project shows how Hansen's polemical approach was carried on after the end of socialism in Poland. Since he saw the distinction between open and closed forms as much more general than that between socialism and capitalism,⁸⁹ he continued advocating for his Open Form theory. In a 2005 interview, he commented on Przystółek Crochowski, in which the fallacies of the socialist building industry were exacerbated by the privatization of space and the processes of social segregation in post-socialist Warsaw. Hansen looked "to draw up a study of Przystółek's 'humanization'" and to restore "its original guiding principle," rather than its original form.⁹⁰ This would have required reclaiming the position of the architect in the processes of space production and embracing Przystółek Crochowski, once again, as an architectural project. Architecture understood in the broad sense that he advocated: starting with the fundamentals of the discipline—the perception of light and shadow, the relationship between the body and the mass, experiential scales—and extending them toward a project of experimentation, education, criticism and polemics.

88 Ibid.

89 Obrist, Parreno, "Entretien avec Oskar Hansen," op.cit.

90 Hansen, "In Conclusion. On the 'Humanization,' or, Basically, the Restoration of Przystółek's Public Space," in Hansen, *Towards Open Form*, op.cit., p. 100.