

NEIGHBORHOOD SELF-DEFINITION

AND DESIGN IMAGERY:

CASE STUDIES

by

Deborah Walne Poodry

B.A., Rice University, Houston
(1973)

B.Arch., Rice University, Houston
(1976)

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Signature of Author


Department of Urban Studies
Department of Architecture

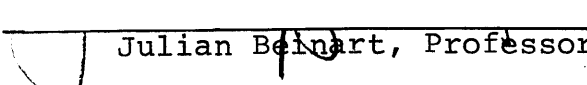
Thesis Supervisor


Tunney Lee, Associate Professor

Chairman, Department Committee


Ralph Gakenheimer, Associate Professor

Chairman, Department Committee


Julian Beinart, Professor

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and Design Imagery: Case Studies

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture
and the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an investigation of the phenomenon of neighborhood self-definition in two publicly assisted housing developments, one in Rome and one in Boston. Neighborhood self-definition is the interactive, resident-initiated process of integrating a social community with a physical one. Definition involves the modification of imagery, function and control of the total environment so that physical and social structures complement and reinforce one another.

Social meaning is a key factor in encouraging, reinforcing, and communicating the content and process of neighborhood self-definition. The physical environment is considered to be a carrier of social meaning -- which is in turn made up of physical association and symbolism as well as the interpretation of that imagery through the economic, class, normative and associational filters of perception. Participation in the creation of this meaning is a third factor affecting content of the message.

Two cases are discussed as examples of the process. In both cases the social and physical communities have been brought together, but the methods and imagery used in each are quite different.

In Tiburtino IV, residents moved into a completed project, built in the vernacular Neo-Realist style, but without direct user participation. A combination of factors made this a fortuitous match, and residents were able to fit the project to their needs and desires through modification of physical space. Redefinition of group and sub-group boundaries in reaction to site conditions is the major result of this process of inhabitation. Combination of a rural Italian vernacular design vocabulary with rationalist physical design standards and a culturally derived site organization provided a mixed message accurately reflective and supportive of the resident's social conditions.

At Villa Victorias a Puerto Rican tenants group has been able, during the past 10 years, to organize, acquire the necessary political and financial resources, construct, and control housing developments suited to their needs. By using the physical location and conditions as a base, taking political and financial control of housing resources, and simultaneously building a strong social community, they have transformed the meaning and

reality of their physical environment. The mixture of a market housing design vocabulary with Puerto Rican site planning precedents accurately conveys the social meaning of the group's achievements and aspirations.

The thesis concludes that for a socio-physical synthesis to occur, residents must have significant control over the function and imagery of their spaces, and that this control can be achieved and manipulated in many different ways. Providing supports for the creation of a valued community through neighborhood self-definition requires that planners and designers understand the social meaning implications of their plans, which in turn requires attention to the unique circumstances and constraints of each case.

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Introduction

FRAMEWORK OF INVESTIGATION

Neighborhood self-definition is basically a political, social, and physical matter. It implies the necessity of users taking control over environmental decision making. Its theoretical basis is in the theory of participatory democracy and related social psychological theory. In his paper presented at the third International Architectural Psychology Conference, Peter Stringer discusses the basis of participatory theory:

"The theory of participatory democracy is built around the central assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation from one another. The existence of representative institutions at national level is not sufficient for democracy; for maximum participation by all the people at that level, socialisation, or 'social training' for democracy must take place in other spheres in order that the necessary individual attitudes and psychological qualities can be developed. This development takes place through the process of participation itself. The major function of participation in the theory of participatory democracy is therefore an educative one, educative in the very widest sense, including both the psychological aspect and the gaining of practice in democratic skills and procedures. Thus there is no special problem about the stability of a participatory system; it is self-sustaining through the educative impact of the participatory process. Participation develops and fosters the very qualities necessary for it; the more individuals participate the better able they become to do so. Subsidiary hypotheses about participation are that it has an integrative effect and that it aids the acceptance of collective decisions"...

"Several other features of participatory democracy should be highlighted. In Rousseau's theory (1) the main concern is with the psychological impact of social and political institutions on the individual, and their capacity for educating him to more responsible and direct action. The citizen's principal lesson is to learn to distinguish between his own private interests and the public interest and to understand the extent to which the two must be linked if he is to gain co-operation from his fellow-citizens without making unequal demands of them. The acquisition of this understanding promotes a feeling of belonging to the community, and the integration of individuals into the institutions which enable them to act." (Stringer, 1976, p.128)

Three basic assumptions are derived from this theory. The first is that active involvement in the political process is required from groups and from individuals. Second, taking control over one's environment is an educational process for all involved, and increases individual competence.

Third, the benefits of this increased competence, understanding and activity will be extended to all spheres of an individual's life.

Social psychological theory seems based in the theory of individual psychological processes, which are then extrapolated and expanded to describe group action. Stringer describes three major branches of social theory -- behaviorally based, role theory based and relational models of action. (1)

The relational model is the one most appropriate to participatory processes. This model takes...

"the basic assumption that "a self can arise only where there is a social process within which this self had its initiation. It arises within that process". Man is not conceived of as a bundle of traits or other properties, but as his social relationships. Man is the sum of his social interactions. Throughout his constant interaction with others his self is continually changing. Interaction is fully reciprocal. Neither individual nor social processes are given priority.

A relational theoretical position has not been very much followed in political studies, possibly because it appears to be less consistent with the dominant view on representative democracy than with participatory democracy. (7) Its peculiar appropriateness to the latter system rests on three facets. Firstly, the development or education of the individual and of the social group are common, interdependent processes. The social environment is the setting for all individual acts; but the acts cannot thereby be purely individual acts because they implicate other members of the group. Political identities and political institutions develop simultaneously and integratively. Secondly, process or change is involved, both in the relational model of Man and in participatory theory. The experience of participation was held by Rousseau to be self-reinforcing, to generate a demand for more participation. It creates the qualities in citizens that are required to sustain it. This is not a self-reinforcement that produces stability or equilibrium, since participation crucially involves (psychological) change." (Stringer, 1976, p. 132)

When this participatory state, as a political process and model of social interaction, runs into the question of private property then boundaries take on an additional importance. Their definition at both individual and group levels is a prerequisite for and an essential quality of social relations. One's identity and place in the network of social relationships is defined substantially by control over resources -- which is often expressed

by the extent and type of boundaries one is able to erect around those resources. This expression is not confined to control of financial assets but is also expressed in the control of physical space. Both control of construction decisions and control of the image conveyed are expressed through physical space and form. Together they make up a message which may be considered the social meaning of a socio-physical environment. This meaning is perceived by people within and without the boundary-making group as an expression of that group's position in society.

These boundaries come in different forms. In one case presented -- Tiburtino -- walls, fences and other overt boundary mechanisms are used, together with more subtle marking and personalization techniques, to differentiate gradations of privacy. The ability to set these privacy boundaries -- from the individual to sub-group and larger group levels -- is an expression of control over the housing and space resource of the project. In the other case, Villa Victorias, the boundary setting takes a more symbolic form. The inclusion in design of symbols and space use patterns tied to the cultural identity of the dominant organizing group performs two functions. It reinforces the identity and expresses the effectiveness of that group, thus serving as a focus for continued involvement by group members. The physical product also expresses to non-group members that group identity and achievement.

Physical form which has been shaped by a social group, in other words, serves as part of the iterative definition of relationships through which both the group and its member individuals are defined, and through which they order their perceptual worlds.

The educative and integrative benefits of participating in the structuring of one's socio-physical world can, and should, be reaped by

people at all levels of society. Active participation in decision making is especially necessary to those groups and individuals whose real economic or political resources do not allow them to meet their social and functional needs through the usual method -- i.e., purchase of the desired social definition in the form of market rate housing. In these instances, as at Tiburtino and Villa Victorias, neighborhood self-definition is a way of overcoming and redefining the group's social position.

A way of looking at this process of self-definition is through considering the interactions of participation and imagery as exercised at the neighborhood level by people who begin with a node of commonality from which to define a group. At Tiburtino this common experience is migration from a rural agricultural setting to the Tiburtino project on the outskirts of Rome. At Villa Victorias the common elements are Puerto Rican ethnic definition and residence on a particular urban renewal parcel. Having discussed the nature of social meaning in the physical fabric, and suggested the importance of its role in aiding neighborhood self-definition it is worth trying to make the workings of social meaning clearer. This is the focus of the cases to be discussed.

Comprehensibility, the effective communication of meaning, is necessary as a working notion. Comprehensibility provides a lever for actors in the building and inhabitation processes to intervene in areas other than their specialties. It may be used as a basis from which to counter-balance intellectual or political excess, and from which to build the educative process necessary to long term full participation. If people find their spaces comprehensible and meaningful, then they will presumably be more willing to take an active role in the manipulation of that environment, and will develop a sense of control over their spaces. In other words,

environmental comprehensibility may be a prerequisite for action. The message comprehended may be negative -- as in Villa Victorias where the existing environment was bad enough to elicit substantial action to produce a more accurate and sympathetic framework. The message may already be supportive of the group -- as in Tiburtino and in housing purchased by those with the resources to choose their house and neighborhood.

The actions of professionals in the production of the physical environment strongly affect the image, and thus part of the meaning, of housing. This is again particularly true of subsidized housing residents. The building process as generally practiced and professional norms about role and formal quality have often contradicted provision of supportive and comprehensible environments in which residents could take a positive role.

The process of building has within it series of actions and usual control relationships within which users and producers of physical space operate. Giancarlo di Carlo has categorized these. See Fig. 1. He points out that the steps 1-3 "powers of decision" are generally held by investors, the public sector, etc. Architects generally make the major decisions in phases 4, 5 and 6. Residents are in control of parts of phases 7 and 8. Phases 9 and 10 being far along in the project's life, fall into a variety of actor's hands. The process of taking control over the physical fabric can happen at a number of stages. The most common is at the inhabitation phase, as at Tiburtino, although for more substantial control the resident group must be involved far earlier in the process. This can be done by cooperation with the architect and planners and by gaining, through political or economic leverage, control of the major decisions usually made in phases 1-3.

The architectural planning roles in this sequence are generally acted

STEPS IN THE BUILDING PROCESS

1. determination of purpose
2. choice of siting
3. collection and investment of resources
4. definition of organizational system
5. form-giving
6. technological solutions
7. use
8. management
9. recycling for change in use
10. demolition

(Giancarlo di Carlo, ILAUD
2nd Residential Course, 1977,
p. 6)

Figure 1

out in service to the paying clients -- usually the institutional and corporate decision-makers. This puts an obvious tension on designers and raises the familiar division of design responsibility between client and user. Users have traditionally lost out in this conflict of priorities. Professional response to this dilemma has taken two general forms. Denise Scott-Brown characterizes the concern underlying the frequent defensive response when professional formal judgements are questioned.

"Architects are afraid that if they are forced to pay attention to the aesthetic preferences of people and groups different from themselves they will lose aesthetic control. For the architect, the sensation induced by the loss of aesthetic control is one akin to drowning." (Scott-Brown, 1976, p. 110)

She goes on to comment on another view, that

"Designers should be encouraged to maintain their skills in translating physical and social requirements into physical form, but to hone these skills to a new edge of social relevance. The architect who brings a social rhetoric to a citizens' meeting brings coals to Newcastle. Community groups know it all and can do it better. But she or he who brings a usable skill in the relating of need to form, is a valued collaborator. It should be that architects best serve their society through the use of their own architectural skills." (Scott-Brown, 1976, p. 112)

Another has been to leave architecture/planning for more direct action to transform the community-building process. Stephen Kurtz states this position:

"Although some traditional jobs and professions lend themselves to radicalization, architecture, through its economic base, is particularly obdurate to social change. Consequently, there tends to be considerable continuity between generations of architects. The true measure, therefore, of the effect of the cultural revolution on architecture would not lie in the radicalization of professionals (a very small percentage) but in the numbers of architects who left the profession and of those who changed their plans to join it." (Kurtz, 1973, p. 7)

He goes on to outline the expanded skills necessary for professional action:

"The disintegration of urban life can only be countered by the increased participation of people in directly fulfilling their most basic needs, so that a new citizen emerges who is more complete, more self-sufficient than his predecessors. The architect who furthers this process must necessarily share in this expanded self-definition. Thus he must be



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able to work with people of all sorts -- not only with those whose similar education and background permit easy communication. He must have a working knowledge not only of advanced techniques but equally of the most elementary ones that can be mastered with little training. It is not, to borrow a phrase from the Venturis, the either/or of exclusion (or specialization) but the both/and of inclusion (or completeness) that is called for. Both a designer and an engineer, a space planner and a carpenter, a sociologist and an aesthetician, a teacher, a lawyer, a plumber, a group worker, economist, and bookkeeper. Any architect (and such people now clutter the field) who is exclusively concerned with design and disdains the rest ought to become a sculptor." (Kurtz, 1973, p. 78)

The cases to be examined point up that an understanding of the social meaning of imagery, participatory process and community must be added to this list. Social meaning is a way of building communication bridges between users and providers of the built environment. Occupants of the positions -- provider and user -- may change over time, but the bridges will still be needed. By adopting a more flexible, comprehensive and responsive notion of built form and people's relations to it, the traditional building/planning professions can contribute effectively to the continuous process of social change. It must be clearly stated that the physical fabric is not connected to social structure in a causal way -- but a relational one. A great many physical, social, economic, political and cultural factors interact continuously to produce the broader environment.

Before looking at the cases, clarification is needed of three elements which are in part responsible for the generation and application of social meaning to the physical environment. These three -- design imagery, participation and neighborhood -- have the additional advantage of being frequently within the designer's field of influence.

DESIGN IMAGERY: memory
marketing
design theory

NEIGHBORHOOD: physical fabric
social orgainzation

PARTICIPATION: through purchase
inhabitation
design

Figure 2

DESIGN IMAGERY

The images of the physical environment -- spatial, formal and iconographic -- are the primary carriers, through memory-based reference, of meaning. Images are in part real, visible objects and in part mental constructs. For the purposes of this study, the creation and transformation of imagery in and for the built environment is of interest. This process of image change is considered to be an iterative interaction of Memory, Marketing and Design Theory.

These are clearly not Muses with independent existences, but are shorthand notations for sets of attitudes shared at different times by sets of actors in the process of image and urban development. Actors in this process include most parts of society. No-one using or occupying the built environment is a non-participant in the development of its significance. Images have a life-cycle in relation to their meanings, and it is this constant process of re-definition and social re-signification which gives imagery its power. This section will expand briefly on these ideas.

Memory is the shared repository, among all actors, of past associations of personal and social meanings with form, space and icon. It is the base from which transformations are made to existing image-meaning associations, and from which new images draw their significance.

There are two broad lines of thought about the sources of memory-based meaning. One proposes that there is an innate set of meaning structures in the mind, an inherent symbolism of form and icon. This is most clearly set forth in Jungian notions of archetypal symbolic structures, which can then be traced through to Neo-Platonist excursions in iconography. (2)
Recent work has proposed that the recently discovered left brain / right

brain distinction between different types of mental activity is connected to the retention of environmentally connected symbolic associations. (3)

The second attitude toward the sources of meaning, and the one to be taken in this thesis, is that memory is precisely what it appears to be. Meaning is attached to physical, graphic and activity patterns through association. It is culture specific, and changes take place within a culturally continuous milieu. The association of old symbols with new meanings is one of the clearest ways of creating complex symbolism. It is done by adopting old icons, which have lost their earlier meanings, or whose meanings have been forgotten, to new purposes. This association may be through adoption (self-association) of symbols. The association may be a product of imposition from above, or simple cultural inheritance of associations. Cultural inheritance includes a lot of types of associations, including old adoption and imposition connections; personal/ idiosyncratic meanings and memories; and small group or in-group associations.

Design theory is a product of internal professional discussion among architects, planners and critics, in which memory and marketing are combined with previous theories and other non-professional inputs to generate professional norms about what imagery and function should be and do independently and in relationship to each other. The process of design theory development, and the resulting theories about physical space, provide a model for action to people professionally involved in generating new images for the built environment. It is clear that effective images -- as those which last and/or are powerful in their effect -- are synthetic creations which reflect and express their socio-cultural context, and that they are therefore subject to all the vicissitudes affecting that context. (4)

Marketing is the dominant means by which the distribution and generation

of images are supported. It is also the means through which images are assigned a social rank through manipulation of their economic and class associations. Marketing is the arena in which non-commercially generated images, e.g., those resulting from design theory or individual action, are "tested" for acceptability, and the rate of innovation or change in meaning is moderated.

There are two general attitudes dominating the approaches to marketing. The approaches are intertwined and not particularly different in final effect, but are used by different groups and in different ways.

The first of these is the "give them what they want" attitude. This is particularly popular with speculative developers, some participatory design supporters, and with other sections of society not directly connected with physical construction, e.g., TV producers, product development people for large organizations, car makers, etc.

The second major attitude is that of "educating" the tastes, desires, and needs of the consuming population to accept what the marketer has to sell. TV programmers and car makers are coming around to this position because of changes in resource availability and market demand changes, but it is an old standby with architects, planners and some (by definition) "enlightened" developers.

Having considered the components of imagery, the following comments are offered on its interrelationships with meaning.

Buildings, infrastructure and other parts of the physical fabric are rather crude, large-scale carriers of messages, as they require considerable energy and expense to modify, and have long useable life-spans. Over the 40 to 200 year life of a building, the meanings it conveys will change considerably. The physical fabric is most accurate as an indicator

of social meaning in three contexts.

Inhabitation -- the fine-tuning changes residents make to fit spaces to their needs, is potentially the most accurate source of information about the use and meaning of physical form. Inhabitational changes are generally small scale, personal and temporary in the sense that each occupant of a given space re-modifies it.

The second condition in which buildings carry meaning is through new building and re-use. These instances require greater investments of time, money and effort. As a result, the character of a new building or major renovation is important to the client. In addition to being the occasional showcases for the latest in design theory, new buildings are likely to reflect the self-image and aspirations/beliefs/world view of the client.

The third indicator is found by observing which old buildings, monuments, spaces or other physical manifestations people choose to preserve. The justification for keeping such monuments is generally overtly symbolic, and this symbolic purpose is allotted enough significance to occasionally overcome other pressures for change. The preservation of the Old State House -- a colonial three-story brick building in the midst of Boston's skyscraper district -- is an example of this. The building's historical and political significance is valued above the potential office rental available through re-development of the site. This set of choices is clear. However, there are also commonly unstated social agendas and meanings in such decisions.

These three levels of message-carrying also happen on the neighborhood scale. Inhabitation appears as an aggregation of individual and small group actions. Tiburtino is one example of this; gentrification, as in the South End, is another. Planning, rather than design ideas, are likely

to dominate the form of new neighborhoods -- but these are no less clear statements of content. The urban renewal plans of the 1950's, such as the one examined in the Villa Victorias case, are examples. Neighborhood preservation also occurs. In some instances it is intended as preservation of the physical fabric, in others the social life is the focus of concern.

Environmental imagery also carries messages concerning the social order and world view of the society for which it has meaning. The environmental image, as a totality, is reflective of the social order of the people occupying that environment. There is therefore some consistency to be expected between environmental and built space images, and meanings, at different levels of aggregation of environmental units, e.g., the region, the city, the neighborhood, the block, the house. In iconography/iconology this is the principle of transference, which allows a great many meanings to be associated, through each other, with a single icon. (5)

The skyscraper CBD, accompanied by suburban bedroom areas and serviced by freeway transportation, is a crude but consistent pattern associated with a particular system of production and set of social patterns. In cities such as Houston, which have no other precedents, and which are without topographic limitation, the consistent expression of this social order is clear.

It is also the case that a society's world view is reflected in the images it projects of itself through built form. Even fragmented social order can be read. The world view, however, is not always so clear. Images developed as the expression of a social consensus about the nature of the universe, (most examples are from traditional or peasant societies), can be retained and reassigned different meanings, or simply have their meanings forgotten then be reassociated with other meanings, under the

impact of social change. The images used in Tiburtino are an example of this, and will be considered as such. The classical vocabulary of the post-middle ages is another example of this almost random re-definition of the social meaning of form.

Breaking loose of this process of re-adaption of old symbols leading to expression of a new world view through newly appropriate symbols does not happen until that world-view is broadly accepted, or assumed, in a society. The modern movement in design is recognized as a near-perfect expression of the world view developed under industrial capitalism. Heroic modern design, with its rejection of the vocabulary of earlier times, did not really get under way until 1915 - 1925, about 100 to 150 years after capitalism was postulated, and roughly 75 years after it became a reality in England. The present wide-spread reaction against the machined industrial imagery, rationalist spatial organization, and hands-off technology of 'modern design' is another branch of the reaction against the de-personalization and alienation in social relations brought on by the change in the relations of production. The more interesting effect is that the proliferation of the physical embodiment of those relations of production has helped accelerate and widen dissatisfaction with them.

The various components of imagery interact throughout the life-cycle of a physical form. Selling ideas and imagery to "market leaders", those with "powers of decision", by designers is the dominant mode of imagery selection for use in the built fabric. These ideas and the resulting images are then repeated elsewhere by speculative developers in the residential market (Frank Lloyd Wright and the split level ranch house) or by other developers, designers and speculative builders in the commercial markets, (Louis Sullivan and Early Gropius versus Emery Roth).

As these images spread through the ranks of professional designers and into and through the speculative construction market, the physical characteristics take on self-perpetuating associations within their original client group, and are given other meanings by those outside the client group. The skyscraper in steel and glass is a perfect example. By the mid-sixties commercial clients were asking for business-like, corporate, modern, wealthy (more likely "affluent") spaces, and what they meant were the neo-ville radiouse and broadacre city suburban speculative development freeway office parks, mirror glass and bronze glass skyscrapers, and helvetica medium graphics. About the same time, these physical idioms were assigned other meanings by groups critical of the activities of the corporate clients. The images of the corporate headquarters were recognized as carriers of social meanings, and were used in the negotiation of social order.

Another aspect of the same process at work is the "class" transition made by the same set of corporate physical idioms. When Lever House or the Seagram building went up, they were the manifestations of the upper reaches of corporate success. By the late sixties, every dentist in Houston had a six to eight story mirror glass freeway sited office building for investment purposes. This is perhaps the republicanization of corporate images, now available to the bourgeoisie in addition to the full scale capital-holders. Development of a new set of idioms for major corporate expression cannot be far off. Fashionable design is the basis not only of maintaining class distinctions, but also, along with building obsolescence, of maintaining the usefulness of architects, urban designers and other professional image makers.

Marketing of designs to market leaders, usually by professionals -- architects, etc. -- is often the entry point of a set of images into the

the building vocabulary of a group of people. After this original "sale" the images begin to pick up associations and social meanings. These interact with internal and external factors and as the image is used in different situations, the associations are enriched, carrying, after a time, quite complex sets of alternate layered meanings. The classic Greek facade, in its many revivals, is a physical form which has undergone this process. Most images introduced are not as long-lived as the Greek temple facade. They are likely to carry meaning for far shorter periods of time before either being totally forgotten or kept on only for historic value, rarity, not because of any broadly understood social meaning, or communicative power, or symbolic significance they carry.

Choices of images are determined by different actors in different situations. The actors making decisions at a particular time and project tend to reflect their versions of world-view and social meaning.

Part of the usefulness of images in participatory processes comes from their ability to serve as focus points for negotiation. The things being negotiated are often technical or, on occasion aesthetic matters, but much of what is happening is communication of different participants' perceptions of themselves and of other groups. Their world views and impressions of the social structure, and of social relations in a general sense, are often known, not in an intellectual or verbal way, but in a set of images. These are complex images made up of sets of formal and spatial relationships, materials, signs of inhabitation, icons, activity levels, age and condition, history and past association. These are known through experience, or through expected association, e.g., through advertising, television, reading, education, stories heard from others. When a physical proposal is presented it communicates from preparer to viewer

a set of images about the structure of the social and physical environment. Each viewer perceives a set of social meanings in that proposal. When perceptions of that meaning are non-congruent or incompatible, the negotiation which follows simultaneously draws from and modifies the original meaning, as well as affecting the outcome of the proposal.

PARTICIPATION

The second element to be considered is participation. For the purposes of this discussion, people are considered to participate in the manipulation and choice of their space in three basic ways: The first is through purchase of housing and of neighborhood "location" on the private market, without benefit of direct or interest subsidies. Purchase is, in general, the most common form of participation by building non-professionals in the housing market.

The second is through inhabitation of house and neighborhood, without considering the means by which residence was acquired/established. Inhabitation refers to the changes in form, decoration and use that users make in their environment in the process of using it. It can happen at a number of levels, but those of primary concern to the cases are the sub-neighborhood scale activity pattern changes and the manifestations of use connected to them; and the physical changes people make to the functional and symbolic content of the exteriors of their units and the private open spaces related to them. Everyone who uses built space makes some sort of inhabitational impact on it, so this is in general terms the most universal form of participation. Not all of these impacts however, are of significance to the study of building / design beyond the individual unit level.

The basic notions behind most conceptions of inhabitation concern the establishment of group or individual identity and ownership of space.

A. Moles, in his article on the "Psychological Aspects of Space Appropriation" discusses some of the mechanisms used in the process.

"In order to build a "place" the individual has to give identity to it (Proshansky), i.e., to make it perceptively different from any other, and then to appropriate it, to exert some control on it; the notion of space appropriation is connected to a phenomenological study of the

behaviors of the individual in space, in places. It appears that this drive towards space appropriation is to a large extent, attached to the basic core of drives of the being (Kernfunktion, Kernwesen).

For defining space appropriation, Man has first to differentiate the place he is from the one where the others are. (1) Partitioning space, i.e., enhancing this differentiation by perceptual cues is the first step toward recognizing "here" and "there". A partition is the artificial increase of the gradient of sensory perception -- whichever perception is considered -- at some point in space. Walls shall be defined as some type of combination of various ways of partitioning concentrated at the same point. (2) The second factor for space appropriation, or creation of the point "here", is closure, as indicated by the basic laws of Gestalt: enclosing topologically a part of the space, by building a "continuous" barrier in perception, in K. Lewin's sense. The degree of closure will be another quantitative factor contributing to the establishment of point "here", the most conventional one for the architect. (3) The very existence of the partition or wall induces "frontier phenomena" and the idea of projection activity of the individual on the partition (e.g., the ceiling conceived as a projection of the sky, or the wall as a place for hanging things). (4) The legal partitioning function is a way of introducing "invisible walls" (Cowan) which become operationally manifest in the process of trespassing, and which contrives, just as the other sensory functions, to the building of space identity.

The second group of laws connected to the appropriation phenomena is centered on the behavior of the individual as differentiated from one place to another. (5) This is in particular the mechanism of installing objects or things and increasing their density in the place "here" versus the others ("there"). (6) The pregnancy of the Gestalt: place is a function of the number of actions (density of actions) performed by the individual in that place. Taking roots is an active behavior and the place appropriation is an increasing function of the length of the "line of universe" of the individual in that particular place. (7) The place is as much defined as it is cognitively better mastered (memory, knowledge of particulars, etc.) by the mind of the individual. (8) Finally a place, as rooted in some part of the world, exists by its cognitive presence in the social system at large as well as the individual, i.e., the frequency of its being referred to by a name, this can be measured for instance by content analysis of its frequency of occurrence in the collective or personal flow of utterances (Austin)." (Moles, 1976, pp. 78 and 79)

Many of these mechanisms are apparent at Tiburtino, as in most other housing environments. Their significance, and the uses to which their existence has been put by architects and environmental psychologists is another matter. Becker discusses the significance of such inhabitation at the individual level.

"In general, personalization makes manifest individual or group differences and reinforces one's sense of individual or group identity; it

increases the complexity of the environment and fulfills the need for exploratory stimulation; and it facilitates the development of a sense of competence and mastery, which is important for personal growth.

Personalization may also be an important coping mechanism, reducing dissonance elicited by a discrepancy between one's actual and ideal residence. The person who wants a prefab house or mobile home to be associated with a colonial mansion may use simulated antique lights, slate-patterned vinyl floor coverings, and oak beams made of styrofoam to create particular associations. These kinds of changes can be construed as environmental euphemisms which enable residents to think of their housing in terms closer to their ideal housing image." (Becker, 1977, p. 15)

Both of these points clearly feed into the notions of social meaning -- in its foundations in participatory democratic theory and the use of imagery to define a social identity.

In architecture the idea of inhabitation as expressive of individual and group perceptions has been used in both negative and positive senses. A number of studies, including Oscar Newman's Defensible Space and Robert Sommer's Tight Spaces, have looked at the physical manifestations of inhabitants as evidence of mismatches between resident use patterns and needs, and the physical form provided for them. Sets of rules have been extracted to guide designers in creating physical settings which better match actual user needs.

Inhabitation has also been seen in a positive sense as a behavior to be elicited through design and management. A group headed by Donlyn Lyndon, in their Powers of Inhabitation report, set forth a set of design principles intended to encourage resident inhabitation. These are based on the notions of identity and personalization discussed earlier. The principles include:

1. People should be able to recognize their own place.
2. People should be able to invest care.
3. People should be able to modify their relationship to others, climate and light.
4. People should be able to choose conditions of enclosure.

5. People should be able to connect to a larger, more enduring order. These principles, though extremely vague, are potentially supportive of a self-defined neighborhood and living unit. However, the problem of taste again arises. The only contemporary example used in explication of these principles is from Sea Ranch -- a development clearly reflective of upper-middle class housing imagery -- which is accepting of architectural standards of good taste. Application of images inappropriate to the future residents is highly possible within these principles -- and is in fact a common result of architect designed subsidized housing.

The counter-trap to this is, however, more insidious. Participation which produces images acceptable to the resident group and leads to incorporation of these in a final design must be accompanied by additional efforts to promote development of a social group in that development -- a social group which has substantive control over the future functioning and appearance of the project. Without this, the designer is simply acting as advocacy imagemaker. The ability to live in a physical space sympathetic to one's group image or self image has sometimes been provided for residents of subsidized housing. This brings these residents to the same status as market housing residents. Such imagemaking does not necessarily lead to a socio-physically integrated and self-controlled community any more than purchase of a ranch house does. It can, however, be a basis for development of such a community -- as is the case at Tiburtino; or can reinforce creation of such a community -- as at Villa Victorias.

Management is also seen as a field in which tenant inhabitation can be encouraged. Sommer recommends:

"...provision for group alteration of the environment is necessary for the development of a spirit of community among the residents. Authority over various environmental elements, including such items as washing machines, flower beds, and swimming pools, is vital for the communal spirit. Giving

the residents themselves a say in the landscaping through some form of tenant advisory council may result in some unaesthetic arrangements, but the provision for resident-initiated and directed change will permit improvements when things appear unsatisfactory. Such a state of affairs is superior to one in which the environment is fixed permanently at the outset and no change is possible. There must be buildings and rooms that provide occupants with the feeling that they have had some stake in their surroundings and that there is the possibility of altering things when they are unsuitable." (Sommer, 1974, p. 107)

The potential for token control is evident in this statement, and is a substantial problem when attempting to foster a self-controlling community. Cox, in The Public Dimension, discusses the pitfalls and potential misuses of participatory processes. These problems are critical to an attempt to organize and create a community, but play a smaller role in analysis of the case studies presented.

The third form of participation is that which happens during the design phase of planning for construction and/or rehabilitation of buildings and neighborhoods. This type of participation implies involvement of designers and planners with users, and has been the subject of much debate within the professions. The various ways proposed for user involvement fall into two major strands.

Advocacy, is a politically based approach which aims to increase user control by equalizing the users' position with that of the providers in terms of availability of technical assistance.

The second major approach is professional "devolution". This attempts to directly give users control over parts of the built fabric by leaving many decisions unmade at the time users take over the building. Habraken's notion of supports is perhaps the best known example in architecture, and is paralleled by the sites-and-services approach in planning for urban expansion. There is of course the traditional architect-to-individual client relationship, but that is rarely operating at the neighborhood level.

There are also sets of techniques for use in various phases of the architect-user relationship, but they are not the primary subject of concern here. It is recognized that facility in using an effective set of techniques is basic to the successful realization of any participatory effort in design, but before one accumulates or applies techniques, it is essential to clearly understand and set out the limits and objectives of the process. (7)

NEIGHBORHOOD

This third element is yet another often discussed subject. The most likely source of the confusion regarding the definition of neighborhood, and clouding the discussion about it, is the mixture of spatial, physical social and psychological, economic and political elements which go into the common perception of the meaning of "neighborhood".

The physical planning idea of the neighborhood and the intentions behind its use are summarized by Suzanne Keller:

"The two elements on which planners found themselves most in accord were the small size and relative self-sufficiency of such a unit, modified only by its dependence on a larger urban network. Perry, somewhat reluctantly, had proposed as an optimum unit 5,000 people centered on a primary school of 600 pupils serviced by local shops and a local assembly area within walking distance. Ring roads for vehicular traffic providing both the physical boundary as well as the link to the wider world were to encircle the entire area. Several of these neighborhood units were to comprise a community. Thus, size was to be estimated on the basis of the number of families needed to provide the target number of local primary school pupils; distances were to be determined by the criterion of pedestrian access to all essential facilities; and the number of facilities was to be based on existing standards of resident's needs and desires for shops, churches, movies, parks, and clinics near their homes...

Specifically, the neighborhood unit was to do the following: (1) introduce a principle of physical order into the chaotic, fragmented urban aggregate; (2) reintroduce local, face-to-face types of contacts into the anonymous urban society, thereby helping to regain some sense of community; (3) encourage the formation of local loyalties and attachments and thereby offset the impact of extensive social and residential mobility; (4) stimulate feelings of identity, security, stability, and rootedness in a world threatening such feelings on all sides; and (5) provide a local training ground for the development of larger loyalties to city and nation." (Keller, 1968, pp. 126, 128, 129)

This physical planning idea is complemented by the sociological study of communities. This work was largely initiated by the Chicago school sociologists in the 1920's. Its main features are summarized in Symbolic Communities which re-examines the work done during that period and the changes in subject communities during the intervening 50 years.

"There are two basic dimensions to the definition of "community" which emerges from the literature -- the ecological and the normative. Ecological,

of course, refers to the selective spatial distribution of populations and functions and to interaction mediated through the spatial and physical environment. The normative may be further subdivided to include, first, normative social interaction and resulting social structure and, second, the cultural and symbolic elements of community -- shared collective representations and moral sentiments. Although different writers may leave out or selectively emphasize one or more of these three elements, they are found in the most widely accepted definitions of community." (Hunter, 1973, p.4)

The neighborhood planning idea is an attempt to put together the social and physical aspects of community, and is based on recreation of the social patterns and neighboring relationships characteristics of traditional small towns. The fact that urban neighborhoods are not small towns, and are therefore subject to different forces, has meant that neighborhoods planned according to neighborhood theory have often not fulfilled the expectations held for them.

"Concentration on the local area, no matter how imprecisely defined, seems to be most strongly correlated with a lack of alternatives. This applies, for example, when town centers are too distant, their facilities too costly, or not appealing due to unfamiliarity or ignorance. It also applies when isolation is due either to local self-sufficiency or to strong ideological and social pressures. That is, where a solidary local network of close economic, cultural, social, and physical ties already exists, there local loyalties and activities will be strong. This does not, however, mean that the provision of local services will by themselves stimulate the desired local loyalties and sentiments in areas lacking the social and historic preconditions for such solidarity.

Today, it seems that local self-sufficiency and self-reliance are diminishing everywhere. Even remote villages are linked to the urban-industrial world via mass transport and mass media of communication, local branches of national associations, and personal use of urban centers for amusement or learning. The utility of the neighborhood conception has in consequence been reexamined by many planners who increasingly find it wanting." (Keller, 1968, p. 116, 117)

What needs to be dismissed in the idea of neighborhood is the physical determinist assumption that provision of a set of facilities will cause development of the desired community relationships. The planning specifications for a neighborhood are too vague. They do not take into account the need for physical form to be meaningful, comprehensible to future residents.

Additionally, the model of social relationships to be achieved is out of date.

"No term which might have had a useful role to play has been more beaten into senselessness than 'community'. And especially so when what is meant is a small section of a city. Much of the difficulty arises because the idea of "community" has a remarkably wide appeal. It has an honoured place in both the conservative and the socialist traditions in political thought. 'I believe', writes Robert Nisbet, 'that community is the essential context within which modern alienation has to be considered.' In this sense, the word implies a high degree of solidarity based upon common interests, experiences and relationships. Tonnies's *Gemeinschaft* was community based on kinship, locality or friendship. But he contributed to the debasing of the term by using it to characterize an entire form of society, setting it over against *Gesellschaft*. The relationship between 'community' in this sense and a particular locality within a city is fairly remote. To most citizens, their family, work, recreational and other interests have much more to do with their relationships than the territory of their residence. An area may be inhabited by people sharing similar values, but for the most part these are likely to relate to sources external to the locality as such. Many people in cities, particularly the more mobile, are members of, at best, what Pahl calls a 'community of limited liability', where they may exercise many freedoms not open to the lifelong inhabitant of, say, a small country town, knowing that when they leave the area they take their social mistakes with them. Those who bemoan the loss of 'community' do not emphasize the involuntary commitments, the pressures on the non-conforming, the lack of means of wiping slates clean, that tend also to be part of the package." (Cox, 1976, p. 208)

The integrated socio-physical community remains a valid and necessary part of urban life, but for such communities to come into existence, control over the definition of their form, image, and type of social structure must be vested in the potential members of those communities. Professional planners and designers can provide essential assistance in organizational and technical development of these self-defined neighborhoods, but the inadequacy of top-down imposition of an idealized community form is evident in the failures of the many communities built on the basis of professional neighborhood theory.

CASE STUDIES

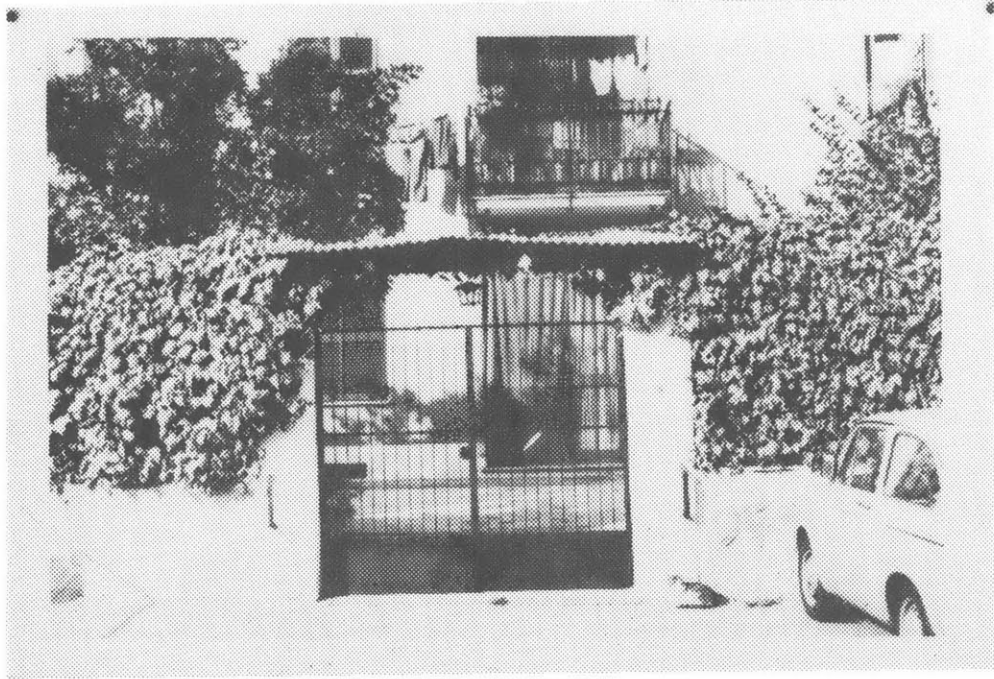
The two cases explore different parts of the elements just discussed. Both cases are relatively successful by the various standards of judgment commonly applied to them.

Tiburtino, a public housing project, is fully occupied, with a highly stable population, little vandalism and substantial physical improvement, and well related to the social institutions around it.

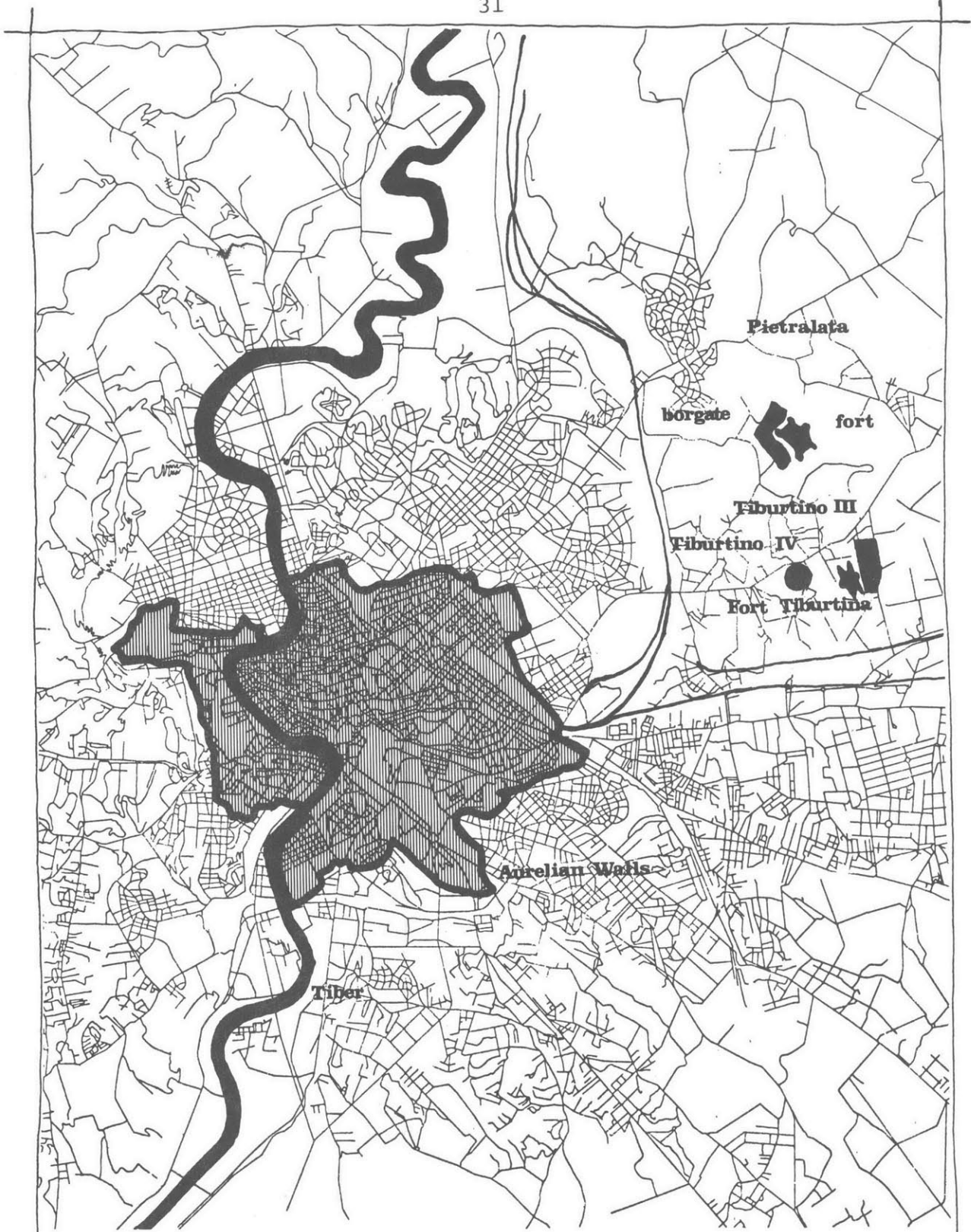
IBA-Villa Victorias, a publicly subsidized community-based development designed by an advocate architect for an ethnic minority group, has been successful in providing new and rehabbed housing and social services for its constituents and expanding its development and social services programs while maintaining community control.

It is difficult to isolate one, or even a few factors responsible for these various successes. This is in part because several series of complex factors must fall into place for any of these successes to happen. The environment operates on a dynamic, relational model, rather than a causal or heirarchical one, so it is not always necessary or possible to find a small set of explanations.

The cases to be discussed are, additionally, not scientifically comparable in any strict sense. This is not inconsistent with the subject matter, however. Cities, societies, and neighborhoods are all made up of non-comparable parts. The differences do not negate the existence or "validity" of cities or actions, and are in fact the basis for negotiation of meaning, control, resource utilization and other parts of the urban equation.



Tiburtino IV



PROJECT LOCATION

Figure 3

The first case used to explore these issues is the Tiburtino IV development in the periphery of Rome. Built in 1950, it is the most perfect expression of Italian Neo-realism, and as such addressed directly the problem of building a sympathetic socio-physical environment for its residents. There was no direct participation in design.

At Tiburtino IV, participation has taken place primarily through inhabitation--the modification of the completed physical environment by the residents. Design imagery, in this case, is the result of a deliberate experiment in vernacularism, within the design ideology of Neo-realism. The planned pattern of neighborhood and community was founded on adaption of traditional rural villages in central Italy combined with the town planning ideas current in the 1940s. It is an instance in which application of neighborhood theory was accurately attuned to the realities of the particular resident group occupying the project.

The amount, type and location of the resident-initiated modifications in physical and use patterns provide evidence of the designers' substantial success in providing a physical framework of image and organization which has been supportive of household and community activities. The neighborhood intended by the designers, and the sub-neighborhood actually built, have served as the basis for definition and reinforcement of community by the residents through

inhabitation.

The project has always been controversial within the profession, and has been a focus for criticism of design which does not adhere to the norms of modern architecture with its demands for pure form and structural integrity. Most of the Roman publicly-assisted housing has been rationalist and neo-rationalist in form, with the result that most of the publicly assisted housing in the periphery is readily recognizable as such--there is little ambiguity about its social meaning.

Recent shifts in the political composition of Roman government (early 1970s) and corresponding shifts in the interests of the profession have led to a resurgence of interest in inner-city housing rehabilitation and, as a complement, re-examination of the conditions which have resulted from 100 years of experimentation in the periphery. Accompanying these shifts is a turn away from the mega-structural attitudes of the recent past, and a new interest in the problems of housing users. Neo-realism, a design movement most effectively embodied in Tiburtino IV, is the product of similar attitudes 25 years ago, and an examination of the aims, successes, and failures of the project may cast some light on the current debate in Italian architecture.

Design reflects the political positions and social sympathies of the designers producing it. The reiteration of archaic physical forms, and the social and associational

content which they embody, is reactionary unless these forms can be re-synthesized with contemporary social and symbolic patterns to create a meaningful popular architecture. This difficulty plagues both Tiburtino and contemporary American designers and theorists.

At Tiburtino, resolution of the problem was attempted by re-working a formal vocabulary familiar to the potential residents and applying it to a more innovative physical organization. The result, as indicated by the inhabitation study, was a comfortable living environment. The stringent criticisms directed at Tiburtino, both by professionals and younger residents, reflect the failure of the Neo-realist approach to create a lasting "meaningful popular architecture" as an alternative to traditional professional attitudes. This is deceptive, however, as traditional professional attitudes require following the winds of political power and economic resources. To the extent that this is true, it is unreasonable to expect that design or planning will be able to achieve more than the ameliorative effects found at Tiburtino until the development of "meaningful popular politics and economics."

The following sections will examine the background and history of the project; its form and organization at site, block, and unit levels at completion in 1950; modifications at each level as of 1978; interpretation; and conclusions.

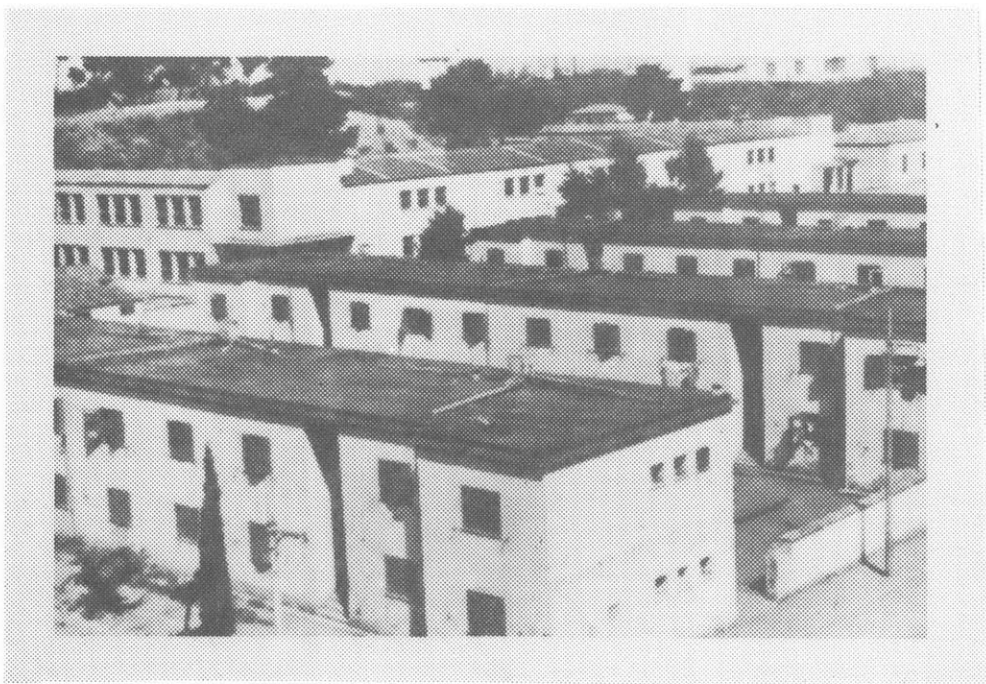
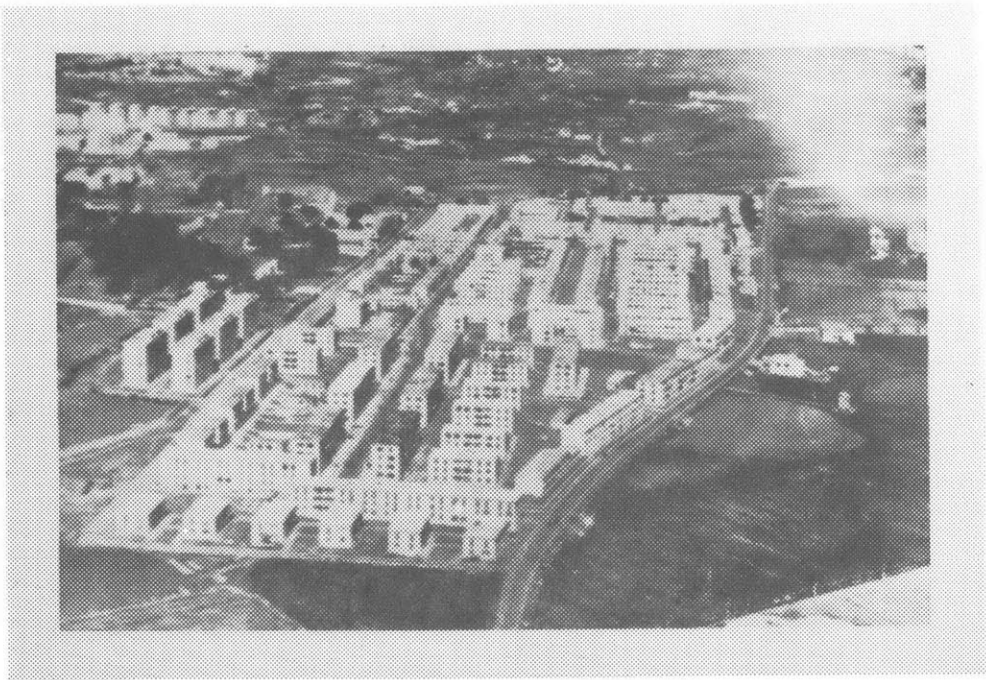
Project History and Background

Tiburtino IV is an INA-Casa project of approximately 684 housing units, located along Via Tiburtina in the periphery of Rome (see Figure 3). The housing now occupied is most of a larger plan designed in 1950 by a team of architects under the direction of Ludovico Quaroni and Mario Ridolfi.

A number of issues current in the late 1940s come together at Tiburtino IV. The country was attempting to recover from the war and from Fascism. Rome was undergoing massive in-migration of rural workers attracted by promise of opportunities resulting from industrialization. The pressures for development of the periphery and for accommodation of the in-migrants led to development of Tiburtino IV and other projects, public and private.

1. Tiburtino sector development, borgate housing programs, Fascism to 1946 (1)

Tiburtino IV is in the eastern sector of the Roman periphery, in an area also known as Tiburtino. The periphery is the area outside of the Aurelian walls and, until 1915, was agricultural land. The area is now densely settled, primarily with eight-to-ten story apartment buildings housing middle- and lower-middle income families. The population includes both renters and apartment owners; however, tenure laws and continuing housing shortages lead most residents to stay permanently, whether or not they own. Most of Rome's public housing projects are also in the periphery. Although over two million people live in the



Rationalist Borgate, Tiburtino III

Figure 4

periphery, it is not well provided with transportation, infrastructure or institutional facilities.

Tiburtino IV was part of a series of efforts by various Italian governments to provide public housing in the periphery. The most notable of these were the Fascist borgate. Central city clearances for social control and archaeological reasons left the Fascist governments with a substantial population of artisans to be rehoused. The problem was solved by building a series of minimum standard units near the existing military installations in the periphery. In the Tiburtino sector, San Basilio was constructed in 1928, Pietralata in 1936, and Tiburtino III in 1936-1940. The units were quickly overcrowded, conditions deteriorated, and the residents remained a social control problem, though at a distance of 5 km from the center city without public transportation. Most of these early borgate were destroyed during the bombings of World War II, leaving the new civilian government with a similar rehousing problem. Some of these approximately 30,000-40,000 residents were included in the Tiburtino IV project.

Little other development occurred in the sector until after the war, when a series of new public programs and another rapid growth period, supported in part by American reconstruction money, led to rapid, often speculative, development of the periphery. Tiburtino IV was constructed in the period of economic and spiritual recovery between the transition from Fascism to civilian government and the

start of the "economic miracle."

2. Institutional Framework: INA-Casa

A number of national public housing agencies had been set up over the years since unification. In 1949, two were established to help deal with the post-war housing crisis. UNRRA-Casas, funded substantially by American reconstruction money, was not particularly active in the Tiburtino area. INA-Casa, developer of Tiburtino IV, was quite active in Rome and in other parts of the country.

The INA-Casa program attempted to use housing construction to provide jobs and housing simultaneously for the urbanization of rural and southern workers. As a result, labor intensive designs which could utilize the abundant traditional artisan skills of the incoming population were strongly favored. This complemented the Neo-realist intentions and vocabulary of the Tiburtino design team. The usefulness of vernacular building idioms was further supported by the shortage of modern building materials and the weakness of Italian industry at the time--both factors substantially due to the post-war economic crisis.

The agency is a branch of the Istituto Nazionale per l'Assicurazione, INA, a semi-public social security agency. INA-Casa is funded by a small tax on workers' incomes, as it is intended to provide both jobs and housing through its activities. These included full responsibilities from finding sites through construction. Projects were managed by two other agencies after construction--INCIS and/or IACP.

Sites for the projects were chosen on the basis of economics--i.e., cheapest available land. Large landowners, who could profit by the increase in value of adjoining properties after the INA-Casa projects had financed infrastructure and services, were often willing to sell appropriately sited pieces of land to the agency for low prices.

Services provided with the projects were generally minimal. Social services, commercial, and recreational facilities were often drawn on plans, but not provided until years later, often as a result of resident demands. This, combined with the isolation resulting from the projects' site selection process and the continuing inadequacy of the public transportation systems into the center city, meant that residents were housed, but little more, until the private sector developments grew up around the INA-Casa projects and brought with them shops and small businesses.

The director of the INA-Casa program was an architect and teacher at the University of Rome, Arnold Foschini. He selected designers for the INA-Casa projects from former students and others who had not been involved in the Fascist rationalist movement. This resulted in a predominantly Neo-realist cast for the Roman INA-Casa projects.

The people expected to occupy the project were a mixture of those displaced by urbanization and by Fascist urban renewal. Most came directly from small country towns, a few from cleared areas in central Rome. For most, Tiburtino was housing in a time when units were scarce and was an oppor-

tunity for ownership. 50 per cent of the units were rented; the rest were available for 25-year lease-purchase, an option that has been widely exercised.(2)

3. Neo-realism.

Neo-realism was a celebration of the common people and the simple, traditional life. After the excesses of Mussolini's grandezza and of war, there was a desire to leave behind technological determinism and rationalism, to return to the spirit of the paesani--the peasants--and to the earlier social order.

Film was the dominant medium, with Rossellini, Pasolini and Fellini expressing most powerfully the Neo-realist message. Moravia and Vittorini, among others, produced Neo-realist novels, and Quaroni and Ridolfi produced the two major Neo-realist architectural projects. One was Tiburtino IV, the other the La Martella project in the southern farming region near Matera.

In architecture, Neo-realism was short-lived, but it can be seen as part of a continuing dialogue between what Scully calls Romantic-naturalists and Romantic-classicists. In Italy, this dialogue contrasts the rationalists who have dominated Italian architecture most of the twentieth century with the Neo-realists and perhaps with those supporting the current interest in urban revitalization.

The early borgate were designed on rationalist principles and were devoted to the maximization of worker productivity through rational functional housing. The rational-

ist forms were well suited to the social control agendas of those borgate. Further, the rationalist images were translated into institutional and commercial work, absorbed by the Fascist movement, and came to embody the message of the Mussolini government.

After the fall of this government in 1945, the intellectual currents shifted away from rationalist images. The political writings of Antonio Gramsci, founder of the Italian Communist Party, contained the notion of a nationalist-populist culture in which the arts were the expression of the people as a whole, rather than of an elite. The Neo-realist movement drew much of its intellectual basis from these writings and from the resurgence of communist and socialist party activities, as well as from the general national need to recover from the frantic years of turmoil. As it became increasingly clear that the left parties were to have no part in government and that the socio-economic structure of the country was not changing, Neo-realism lost much of its political content and became a primarily aesthetic movement.

As might be expected from a movement whose slogan was "Culture Takes Power," intellectuals were dominant in the group. One of the most powerful issues of the entire period, as well as of Neo-realism, was the transition of country people from their neo-feudal agricultural villages and production systems to the developing urban industrial societies. In the design of Tiburtino IV, Quaroni and Ridolfi address

the problem literally, attaching a rural vernacular design vocabulary to a garden-cities rationalist site organization.

After Tiburtino IV and La Martella, there were no major Neo-realist projects built in Italy. The economic miracle came into full swing, and the capability of rationalist design to serve the needs of industrial capital reduced the need and desirability for Neo-realist projects.(3)

Project Description Before Inhabitation - 1950

The program, summarized in Figure 5, called for housing approximately 5,000 people in a variety of unit sizes, with supporting facilities. Common laundries, shops and community facilities, some parking and some common green space were added in the design.

Construction, in keeping with the job-creation goals and in harmony with the Neo-realist formal vocabulary, was simple and traditional. The project is concrete frame construction with masonry infill, colored stucco exterior finishes, and tile roofs. Ventilation tiles, heavy ironwork railings, traditional shuttering for windows and doors, and a wide variety of paving treatments and materials further enhance the similarity to traditional village physical fabric. Buildings are usually three or four stories, with a few seven story towers. The ground plan and entry areas were given considerable attention, and although few of the planned siteworks were completed, low walls, benches and boundary gates in a number of areas have acted as a nucleus for resident additions.

At the time of design, no other buildings were in the immediate area, and the only remarkable site conditions were the hill (which was accidentally razed during construction), the road (which was also moved after project completion, thus altering the effectiveness of some planning ideas used), and a major underground aquaduct which could not be built over.

TIBURTINO - PROGRAM

1. Site Area 88,000 m² (21.7 acres)

 Density 203 ppa

 Population 4400

2. Land Use

 Housing and Buildings 4 acres

 Roads 3.6

 Walks 2

 Public Green Space 11.8

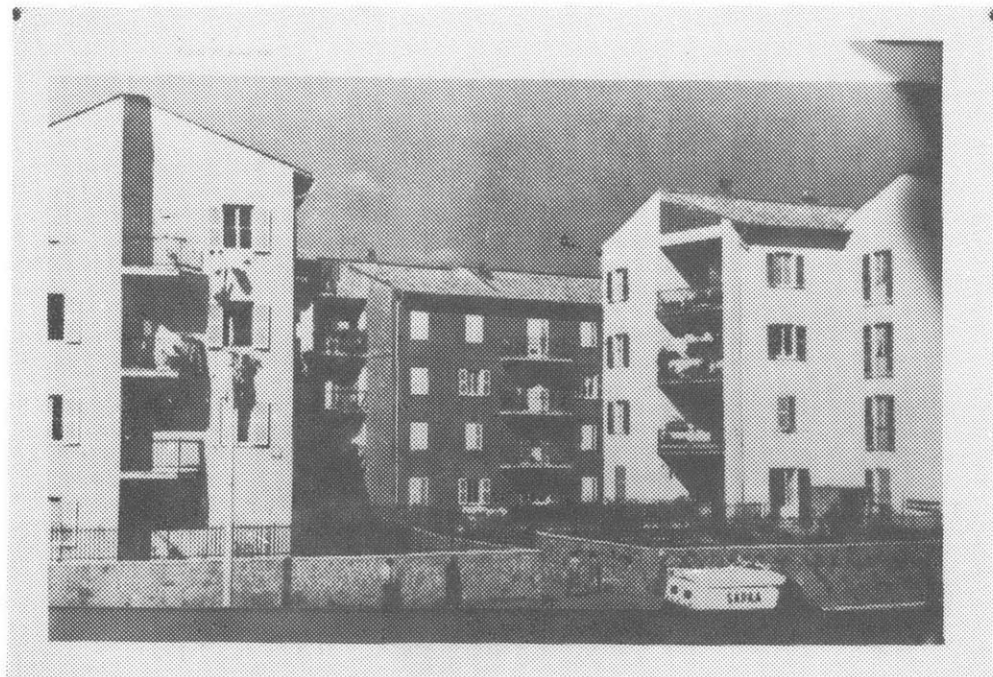
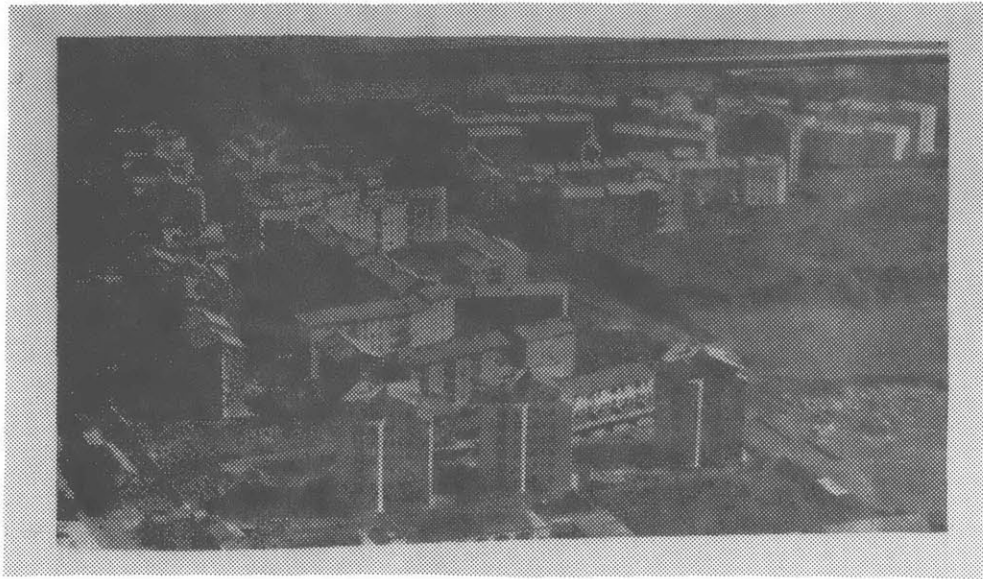
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3. Unit Breakdown

Habitable Rooms/Unit	No. Units
1	2
2	44
3	454
4	148
5	36

(Casabella 215, 1957)

Figure 5



Design Process

The design process, sources of imagery, and manipulation of imagery to produce a physical product are of particular interest in this case, perhaps because it is rather typical of the way "popular design" and imaginary participation often take place. Quaroni and Ridolfi had disassociated themselves from the earlier and larger Tuscolano INA-Casa project to wait for one that they could do in their preferred vernacular Neo-realist style. When Tiburtino IV came along, the preparation time was very short.

In interviews in November 1978, Quaroni described the process. To make the vernacularist approach valid, there should be communication between the designers and future residents. In the case of Tiburtino IV, the residents were not known--only their approximate social class and original locations. Further difficulties arose from institutional strictures and the short time schedule. In response, the designers made up an imaginary population for an imaginary village, which they named Barocci. This was modeled on the traditional villages of Lazio in functions, social structure, use patterns and appearance. By constant reference to this imaginary town as a basis for gaming, or role-playing out problems and situations, Tiburtino IV was built to house the population of this town in the Roman periphery. Quaroni pointed out that as Ridolfi was of peasant background he was their main source of validation.

Combining rationalist and garden-city derived ideas

about density, orientation, typological and organizational factors with the social structure and design vocabulary elements of the traditional model, an overall plan of the quarter and a work method were developed. The 14 architects were divided into 6 teams. Ground rules were established for massing, formal vocabulary, unit mix and distribution, accompanying uses, circulation and other major elements, and each team then designed its part of the site within those rules. (See Figure 6)

Among the buiding principles established was the desire for maximum possible variety in all aspects of the project-- appearance, approach sequence, mixing of units and facilities, and detailing. Sub-teams made full use of the freedom available within the agreed design vocabulary, developing distinctive combinations of form, organization and detail which augment the divisions made by project layout. Mixing of housing typologies within sub-neighborhoods further enhanced the similarities between the complex village model and the reality of Tiburtino.

Organizing Principles and Design Techniques

The project took from the traditional town an overall organizational model including a large central piazza fronted by commercial and residential uses serving smaller sub-neighborhoods.

Sub-neighborhoods

The second scale of organization was the sub-neighborhood. The site was divided into six sections, each including

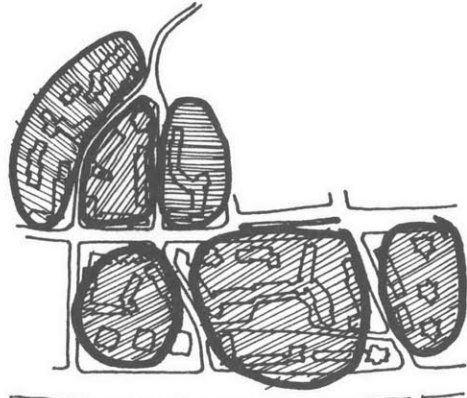
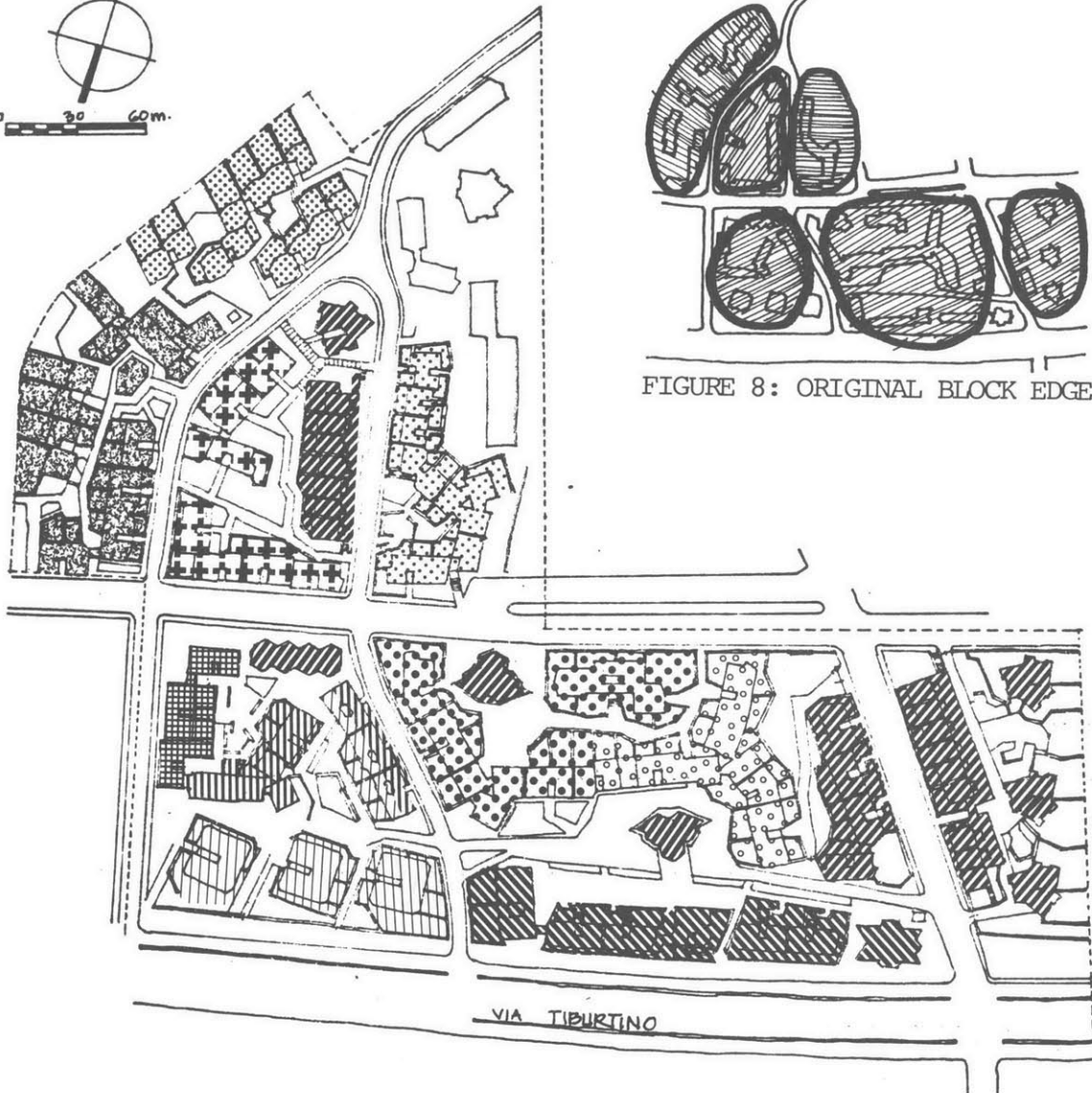
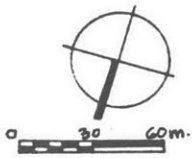
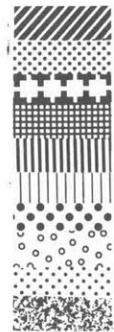


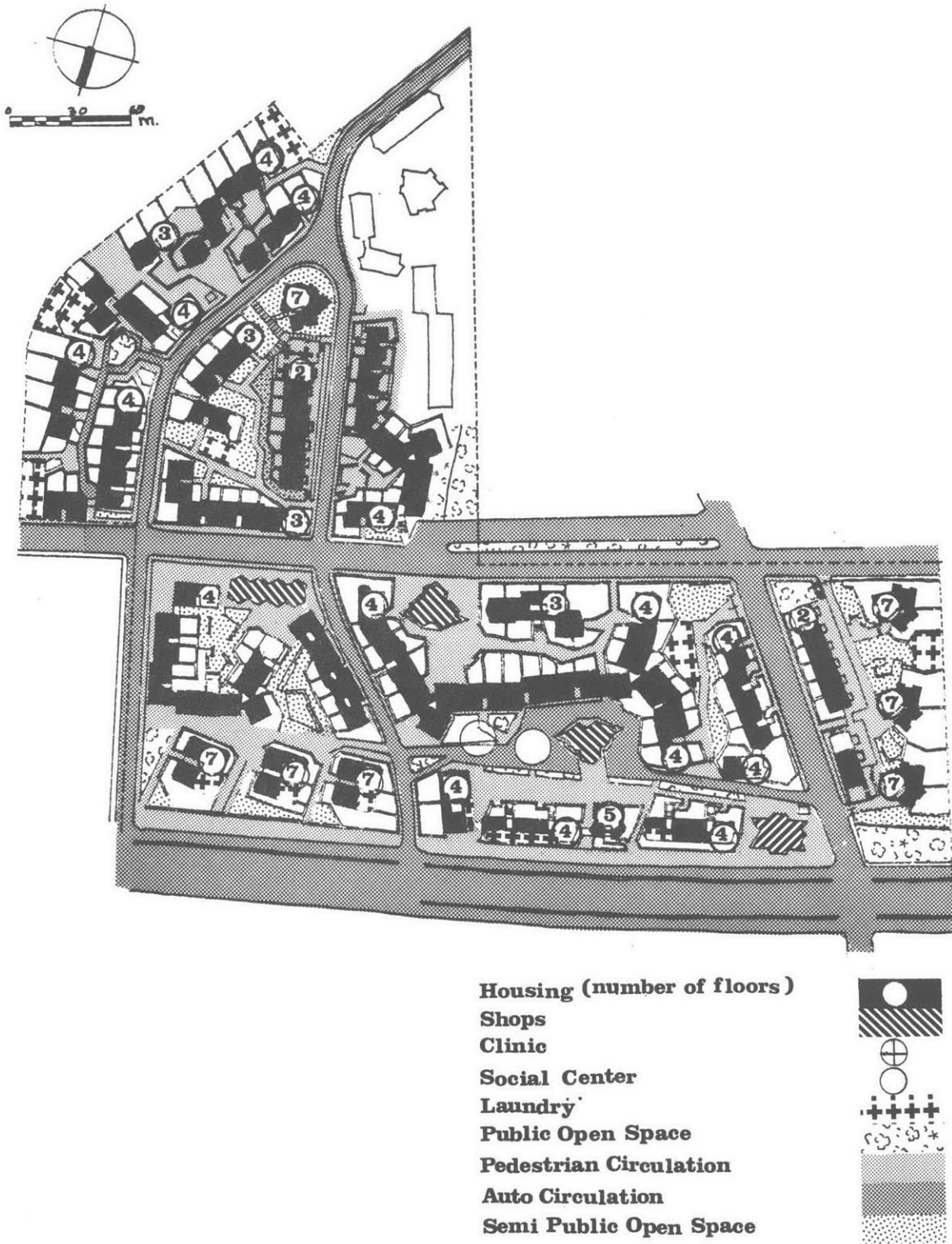
FIGURE 8: ORIGINAL BLOCK EDGES

- Ridolfi
- Gorio
- Menichetti
- Melograni
- Valori
- Lugli
- Quaroni
- Fiorentino
- Gorio & Rinaldi
- Aymonino, Chiarini,
Lenci & Melograni



DESIGN RESPONSIBILITIES

Figure 6



1950 SITE PLAN

Figure 7

between 90 and 220 dwelling units, common laundry facilities, auto and pedestrian circulation, public and private open space, and sometimes parking or commercial space. These areas were set into the site organizing elements--square, market, major circulation--and intended as the framework for sub-neighborhood development.

The major element around which each sub-neighborhood operates is an off-street sequence of spines and squares, usually with clearly demarcated entries, well separated from the street and inaccessible to cars. As distinct from the public streets which pass through the development, these can be considered semi-public spaces, serving primarily the ± 100 households making up the neighborhoods.

Sub-neighborhoods, in the real case of rural Italian villages, are a basic level of community socio-psycho organization. They have identifiable boundaries, distinct physical characters, and often complementary class and political unity. They are an association of families around common facilities, a focus for group identity, for common action in management and use of shared facilities, and are identifiable components of the overall village.

Use of this model has both physical and social implications. Distribution of the project's built and open space, community facilities and services, tends to be even among sub-neighborhoods. Each sub-neighborhood is a roughly similar mixture of elements. This reflects and supports the design notion and inhabitants' memory of a community

socially and spatially integrated at each level of aggregation. By adapting the model for use at Tiburtino, the designers provided a physical framework sympathetic to continuation and recreation of sub-neighborhood social organization.

Units

Distribution of varied building types irregularly through the site helps give identity to specific locations in the network. Careful consideration is given to the organization and functional requirements of unit interiors. In certain cases, the formal language appears to dominate the units' spatial configuration, while in other cases the internal organization and functional needs are precedent to the form. The interplay of these trade-offs is evident in the richness and diversity in unit design solutions: non-repetitive and irregular floor plans, vertical and horizontal layering of space and function, and unique responses to special site conditions.

Garden spaces and patios are provided on the ground floors, balconies on the upper floors. Front and back yards are provided wherever possible and yard sizes are limited by site boundaries and circulation paths. The result is a range of sizes and shapes, presenting irregular patterns of private open space. An attempt is made to create level changes between adjacent yards and between private yards and more public spaces: sidewalks, streets, and paths.

The majority of units above ground level are provided with non-adjoining balconies. Most of these are oriented towards the south and east, though in the tower and in some low rises, balconies are located to relate to activity centers. The most striking examples are on facades facing into the central square. They receive minimal sunlight but are used to break up flat facades and extend unit activities into the square.

The private open spaces are easily adapted to changes such as enclosures, built additions, planting and landscaping. It is this attention to private open spaces which most clearly reveals the designers' attunement to the inhabitants' rural-based way of life. The models for the private spaces are the adjoining areas of a farmhouse: the areas where laundry is dried, bird cages hung, flowers and vegetables grown, and where storage, work, and informal family activities can occur.

Each building type has a distinct design vocabulary used in the detailing of elements such as entrances, paving, brick motifs, and exterior freestanding walls. The differences between building vocabularies is easily perceived in spite of the standardization of many building components.

Hardware provided is basic, but suggestive of many use interpretations. Enclosed railings on the balconies, for example, can hold plants and small container storage, and railings on semi-public access ways are sometimes used as laundry line connections or for drying vegetables.

Summary

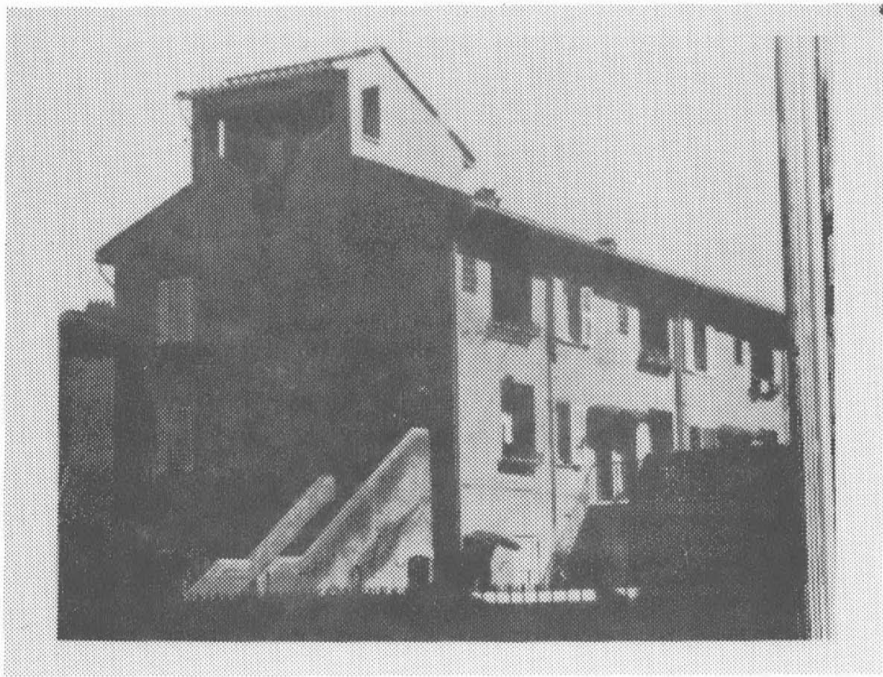
The designers' intentions, in summary, were to balance the needs of the inhabitants, a primary concern, with the capability of the available technology, vocabulary and organization, while dispensing with a rigid design vocabulary, monotonous repetition of forms and plans, and unquestioning adherence to cost-efficiency standards and minimum requirement housing.

The formal vocabulary used at Tiburtino is complementary to the village model. The familiar building forms had acquired over time meanings and associations which contributed to the continuity and coherence of residents' relations with the physical environment. Re-use of traditional forms at Tiburtino was provided in almost the same spirit as provision of laundries or gardens or market areas. The need for a formal environment comprehensible and meaningful to the residents was respected, and a serious attempt made to provide it.

Reflecting on the project in 1957 in an article entitled "The Country of Barocchi," Quaroni stated that the design of Tiburtino was the product of a mood, a statement of reaction against rationalism. He goes on to discuss the difficulties of designing a project based on mood with 14 designers, and the intention of the statement to be heard in the world of Italian architecture, rather than in the world history of architecture as art.(4) He is right that the project had, and continues to have, an impact as the best

architectural expression of that cultural moment in Italy, and that it did not start a new movement in international design circles. Observing the present condition of the development, however, it appears that the project has elicited from its residents a highly active, generally positive response, and it seems to be a good place to live. The criticism leveled against many Neo-realists--that their products were about rather than from or for the honored common people--finds a basis in Quaroni's apparent rejections of the success of his project at Tiburtino.

Success is, of course, measured in many ways. The basic notion of inhabitation is that people can and do fit their physical environments to their needs, in large and small ways. By looking at the ways they modify their spaces in form and use, it becomes somewhat clear where the misfits are between residents' needs and the physical setting's capacity to meet those needs. Looking at Tiburtino in this light, as the following analysis does, may reveal another perspective on the success of the project and on what meanings it conveys to the (non-rationalist) residents.



Introduction to Analysis

In this section, the evidence from inhabitation at Tiburtino will be considered. The sub-neighborhood, or block level, and the unit level are the scene of most inhabitation, but the use patterns at the neighborhood level are also revealing.

The level of inhabitation at Tiburtino IV is considerably higher, over the whole site, than the surrounding areas of speculative housing, and is also higher than the level of modification found at Tiburtino III. The distribution of this inhabitation implies that the differences between rental and lease-purchase tenure forms was not significant in affecting the amount of modifications residents made in their spaces. It should be noted that throughout the periphery, people tend to stay in units because of the difficulty of getting any housing. Turnover in general is low.

The relevance of the character of the physical environment at Tiburtino to the substantial modification is further supported by the distribution of physical signs of inhabitation over the site. As the accompanying maps show (see Figs. 15,16,19), the distribution is generally even, varying primarily with boundary conditions and detailed design variations. If tenure were the dominant factor affecting residents' decisions to improve or affect their space, the 50 per cent of the units which are rented should be clearly identifiable by the lack of, or substantially lower level of, inhabitation. In fact, far less than 50

per cent of the units show the reluctance to invest usually assigned to renters, and the units which are neglected or ignored by their residents tend to be in locations where a number of factors affect the extent to which it may be desirable to modify them.

This project has to be seen in contrast to the use of neighboring speculative private development, where the absence of physical modification, limited visible activity, and retention of the anonymous repetition of form and vocabulary make a striking contrast to Tiburtino.

At Tiburtino, two factors seem to have been important in affecting the way the project has been modified. One factor is the rural design vocabulary. The second is site organization and massing. The following analysis looks at the correlations between different aspects of site organization and massing in relation to the type and amount of modification, as well as in relation to the activity patterns on site. The question of vocabulary is discussed later. Additional analysis for physical factors is presented in the appendix.

Data

The major types of evidence listed below include information which often overlaps categories. Evidence was interpreted based on what was and was not done in relation to the location and apparent function of a modification. Consideration was also given to whether or not a modification seemed to remedy a deficiency in project design, or was an addition/

elaboration of use.

There is an approximate base level of physical evidence which one finds in every occupied housing group in the periphery, regardless of location, tenure or housing type. Balconies without a few plants, laundry and some storage are sufficiently rare to be signals of exceptional circumstances.

The accompanying photographs of speculative housing in the sector, Tiburtino III and Tiburtino IV, are indicative of this level. This analysis is primarily concerned with resident activity which departs from this norm.

Data Types

Neighborhood level: presence and condition of facilities serving larger population--social services, commercial, transportation, institutional, recreational.

Block level: block facilities, semi-public and semi-private spaces.

1. Physical Modifications--

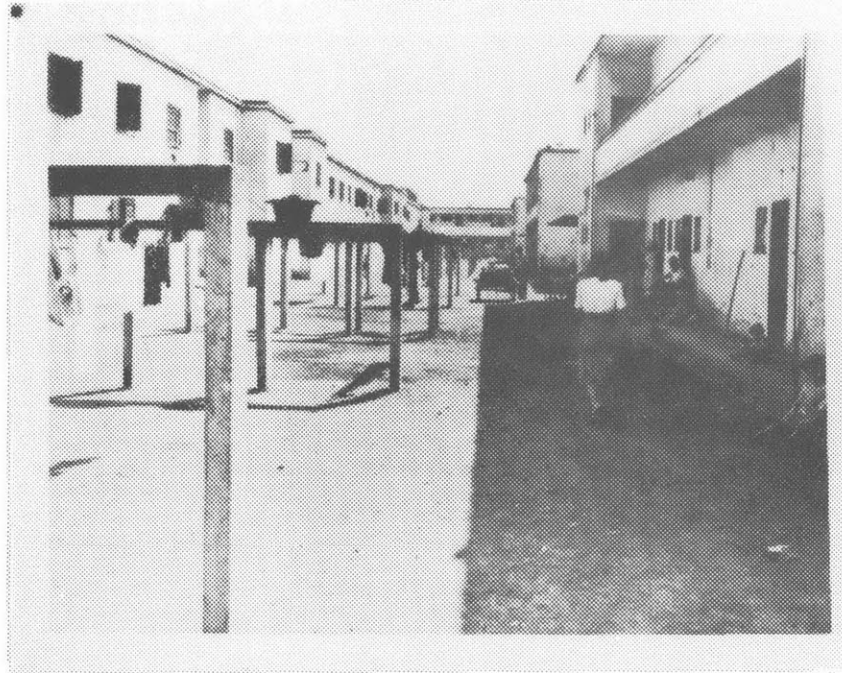
Building: construction and permanent additions to walls, gates, pedestrian and auto paving, fences, windows

Maintenance: presence and condition of vegetation, mailboxes, litter, graffiti; repair of physical stock, cleanliness

Personalization: personal effects displayed, photos, crafts; nameplate additions, hardware and color changes, planting

Signs: posters, shrines, graffiti

2. Activity Patterns--



Tiburtino III



Market Housing near Tiburtino (also see p 71)

Figure 9



Tiburtino IV

Evidence of use: private laundry lines, tools, furniture, toys, private use of public space

3. Observed Behaviors

Units: treatment of private open spaces, entrances and facades. Unit interiors were not studied.

Uses: drying of laundry, fruit and vegetables, work spaces, storage, plant growing, bird cages, leisure activities, and communication with neighbors, parking

Artifacts: furniture, tables and chairs, work and kitchen equipment, laundry lines and racks, storage cabinets, decorative wall hangings including pictures, plaques, and religious symbols, sheds, building materials, planters

Modifications: enclosures--plastic and board placed on railings to protect plants and children; curtains added to increase privacy and provide temperature control in summer; wood and steel frames with glass panels used to block wind and negative effects of some orientations; plastic and corrugated metal sheeting used for balcony roofing material, usually on roof level balconies; installation of car access ramps, paving tiles and pathway paving, landscaping, planting, and construction of level changes by means of low walls, raised planting beds, etc.; laundry drying lines and garages have been constructed in some private open spaces, others have been fully or partially enclosed with roof and walls, and in other cases

public spaces adjoining yards have been taken over (through enclosure) for private use.

Facade treatment: the most common modification is painting and tiling of walls within the balcony area--paint is sometimes the same color as the original facade, but is often contrasting, e.g., purple, light blue, white against brown or beige stucco; others changes include addition of built-in storage space.

Boundary definition: installation of stone, wire and metal fences, addition of barbed wire to heighten existing fences and walls, broken glass embedded in tops of stone walls, addition of metal gates to open space entries, painting or resurfacing of walls and gateposts, hedge planting to reinforce visually penetrable walls, gates pushed through walls to give access from garden areas to sub-neighborhood spines.



Figure 10

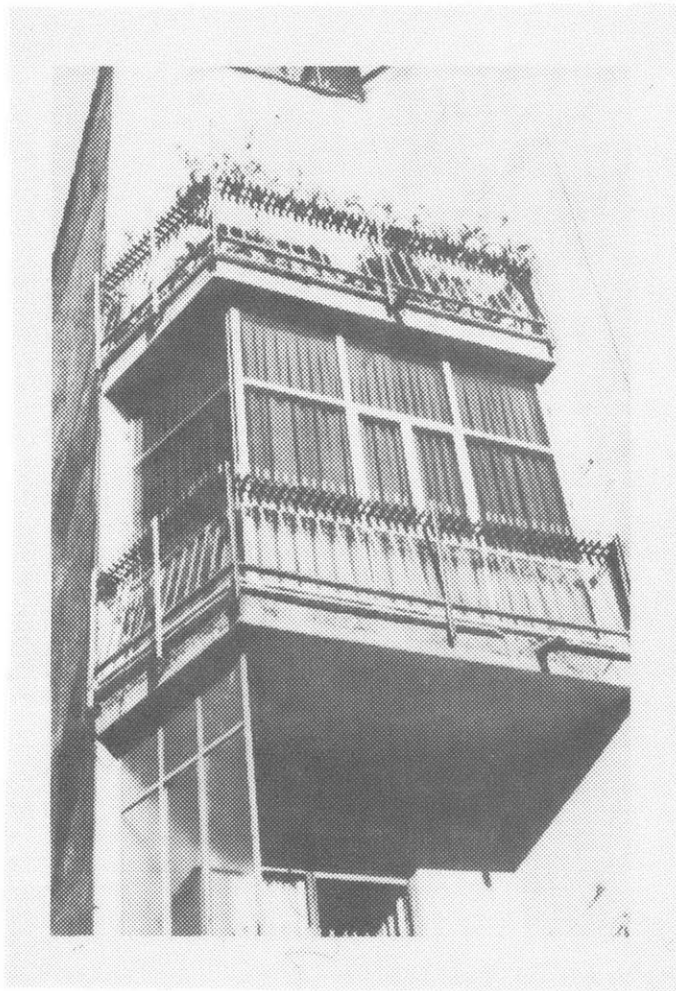


Tower Entry



Semi-Private OpenSpace used for Parking

BLOCK RESPONSES

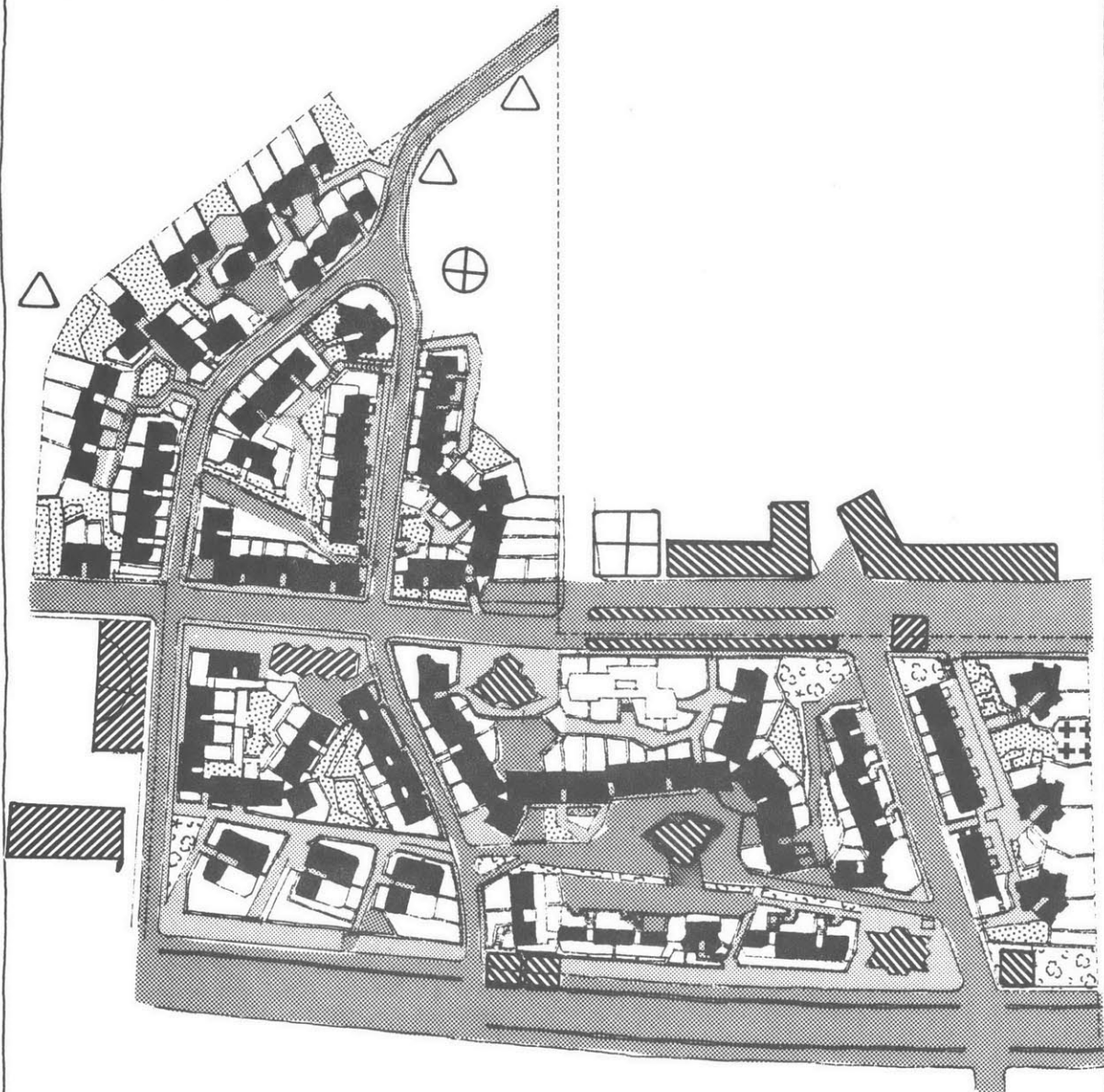


Project Description and Analysis - 1978SITE ANALYSIS

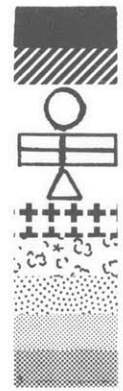
Rather than the first phase of a complete design project making up a new community, Tiburtino IV has become a sub-neighborhood in a sea of private development. The original plans called for a series of housing and social service projects to augment the core project which was constructed. From the start, the designers knew that this construction would be done by other, unknown, groups. The central square at Tiburtino IV was to serve as the central piazza of the larger area, and project services were to be augmented by later Neo-realist developments.

Development around the project has not followed these plans. The vast majority of residents near the project, and in fact throughout the sector, live in privately developed apartment houses. These form an eight-to-ten story mat over the sector and around the INA-Casa project. They are built up to the lot lines in many cases; balconies are provided for all the units; the newer projects include some parking, often underground; and all the buildings have commercial space on the ground floors. Minute areas are left at entries of some blocks as semi-public landscaped spaces. There are no visible physical differences between the rented, condominium, or cooperatively-owned buildings.

Tiburtino IV, though physically very different from these developments, is part of a neighborhood dominated by them.



- Housing**
- Shops**
- Clinic**
- Church**
- Recreational Facility**
- Laundry**
- Public Open Space**
- Semi Public Open Space**
- Pedestrian Circulation**
- Auto Circulation**



1978 SITE PLAN

Figure 11

the isolation discussed earlier as a result of the site location and program restrictions was not resolved by any public action. Private development around the site (made possible substantially by the infrastructure provided by the public sector for Tiburtino's development) provided commercial services and the additional population to support schools and transportation facilities. The political activism of the PCI and PSI, which established offices in the area very soon after Tiburtino was occupied, have been substantially responsible for the introduction of social services and other unprofitable amenities.

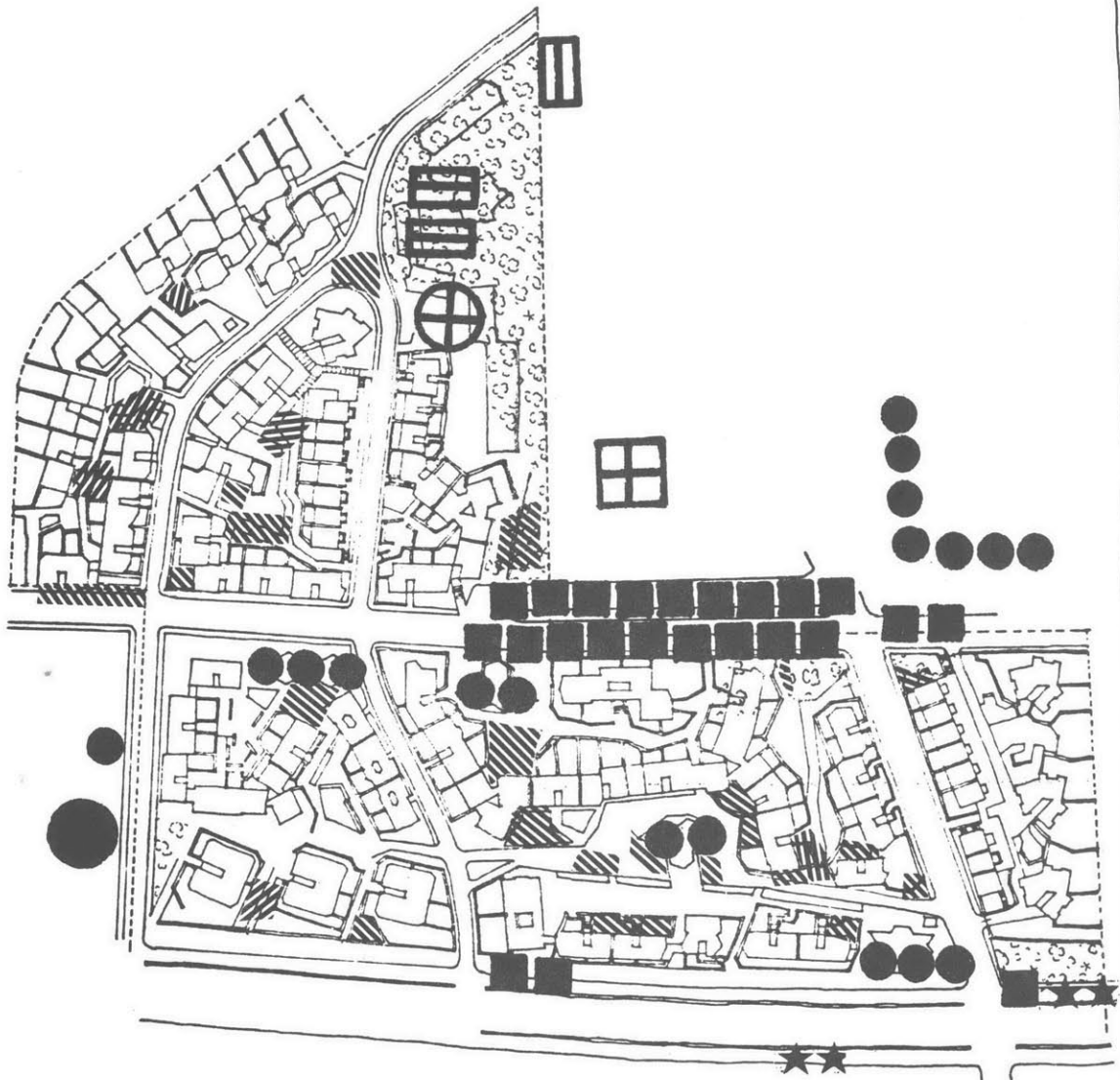
Within the project boundaries, which are the limits of this analysis, the effects of these alterations in use from what was intended by the planners are evident in two ways:

1. Conditions along the boundaries of the project often reflect the relative clarity of boundary self-definition and the intrusions of external activities into the Tiburtino site; and
2. Those elements of the plan intended to serve as facilities for a larger neighborhood have atrophied and/or been transformed for other, more local uses.

The central square is a good example of these processes at work. Although the square has not served its planned purpose as the meeting, market, and festive center of the development, it has not become a wasteland. Failure to implement the square's planned clinic, retail shops and meeting center during construction, and the subsequent relocation of all facilities except the shops to the project's edges, left the square without activities to crystallize its role in the development and the community.

The linking of block circulation spines and individual unit accesses to the central square provided that space with a complex mixture of residential and neighborhood functions. When the neighborhood level activities failed to materialize in the square during the early years, the residential activities remained. As a result, the central square now functions like the other block spines, and is dominated by semi-public and semi-private activity, rather than the intended range from public festival to private access.

The movement of most shops and services out of the interior of the project to peripheral locations is an indicator of the strength of definition of the Tiburtino project as an identifiable turf, although it does not qualify as a "neighborhood" in the usual planning definition of the idea. The surrounding speculative developments have thriving, well-equipped shops all along their bases--even when on small side streets far from the main roads. At Tiburtino, however, only the shop spaces on the project boundaries are intensively used. Street access is available through the central square, where the majority of commercial space and facilities were to be located, the available spaces are at ground level, and the complex is only a few hundred feet from the Via Tiburtino thoroughfare. These conditions compare favorably with those under which other area shops flourish; however, in the square one commercial space is unoccupied, one has recently been occupied by a new beauty salon, and the third



- Market Stalls
- Commercial Space
- Bus Stop
- Clinic
- Bocce Court
- Church
- Parking
- Public Open Space

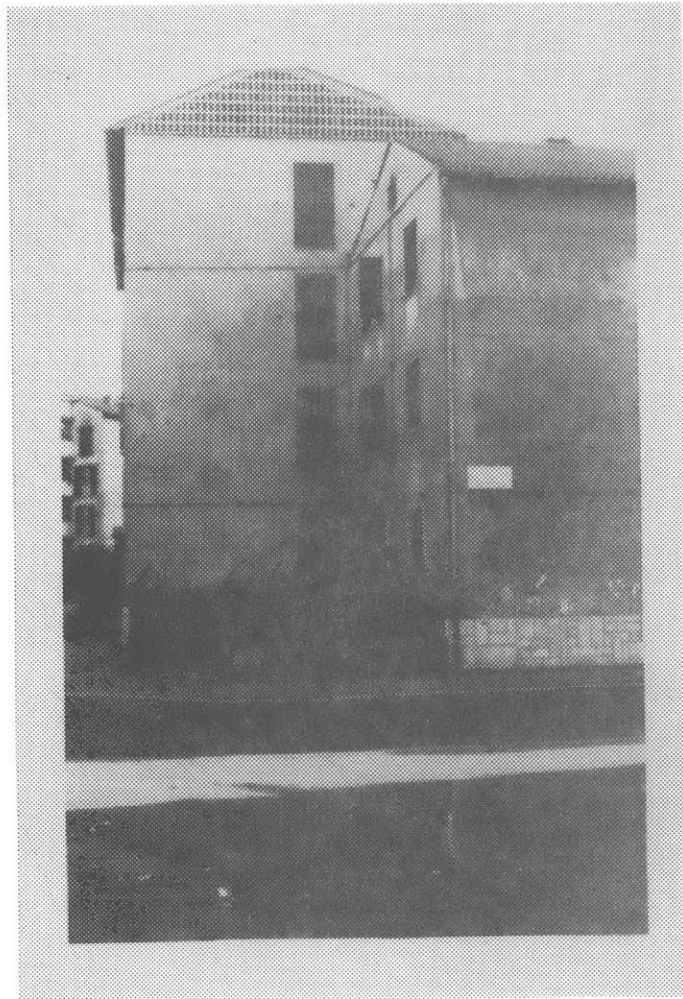


FACILITIES LOCATION - 1978

Figure 12



SITE EDGE
L. PUBLIC OPEN SPACE
NEW MARKET AND
PRIVATE HOUSING



2. RESPONSE TO SITE
EDGE CONDITIONS
FENCING AND EXTERNAL
NEGLECT

holds a one-man auto repair shop open only in the mornings, three days a week.

It seems likely that the sharp physical differentiation of the project from its neighbors and its isolation for several years as the only housing in the area have contributed to development of strong project boundaries and the low-level utilization of facilities within the project for neighborhood functions.

BLOCK ANALYSIS

When we look at phenomena below the neighborhood and site levels, the boundaries and functions evident in the original organization of the site are not reflected accurately in the use and form of the present sub-sub-neighborhoods, or blocks. The inhabitation through which these changes have been made provides evidence of residents' adjustment of their social space and spatial organization to reflect their needs, and of their willingness and ability to take control over the spaces allocated to them. Inhabitation indicates not the success of neighborhood but perhaps the success of community, especially at block level.

Yet this inhabitation is in part the result of the physical framework provided at Tiburtino. Familiar imagery and materials and sympathetic spatial organization were supportive of residents' activities. The primary evidence of this is in re-definition of block boundaries through change in space privacy and use patterns. This analysis is presented in the following pages and is based on space



BLOCK BOUNDARIES AND CENTRAL SPACES - 1978

Figure 13

condition, use pattern and signage data, which is presented in an appendix.

Modification and use of private open spaces does not vary in the same way as does the modification of non-private spaces. The factors which seem to most strongly affect modification of both types of spaces are the pedestrian activity and noise generated by the market place. The physical arrangements made in the original design have provided the basis for modification responses. These factors are also discussed.

Comparison of Figure 8 and Figure 13 contrasts the intended with the evolved block boundaries. The shift is indicative of the level and type of self-definition which has taken place. Tiburtino now breaks down into approximately 11 blocks based on analysis of present use, inhabitation and physical organization patterns. Some blocks are more clearly distinguishable than others, and many of the points about their use are common to several areas. The analysis is based on observed modifications made since 1950 in the degree of privacy attributable to public spaces and the relationships between distribution and amount of block modifications, physical features, and private open space modification patterns.

Privacy Classifications

Spaces other than units and private yards/balconies were classified as either semi-private, semi-public or public.

The distinction between categories is based on physical accessibility of the space, the types of uses opening onto the area, and the amount of traffic associated with them. Private areas are spaces physically bounded by walls or fences restricting access, and to which access is controlled by one household. Semi-private areas are those meeting the above description, except in that access is controlled by more than one household. There is a range within the semi-private spectrum of greater and lesser accessibility. Some of the spaces classified this way are in fact rarely closed off; others are almost permanently inaccessible to non-residents. Semi-public areas are those which are clearly associated with a housing group and are not fully in the public domain, but which depend on physical clues, rather than physical restrictions, to filter access to the areas. Public spaces are without perceptual or physical barriers to entry of any sort.

Block Space Changes: Amount of Modification

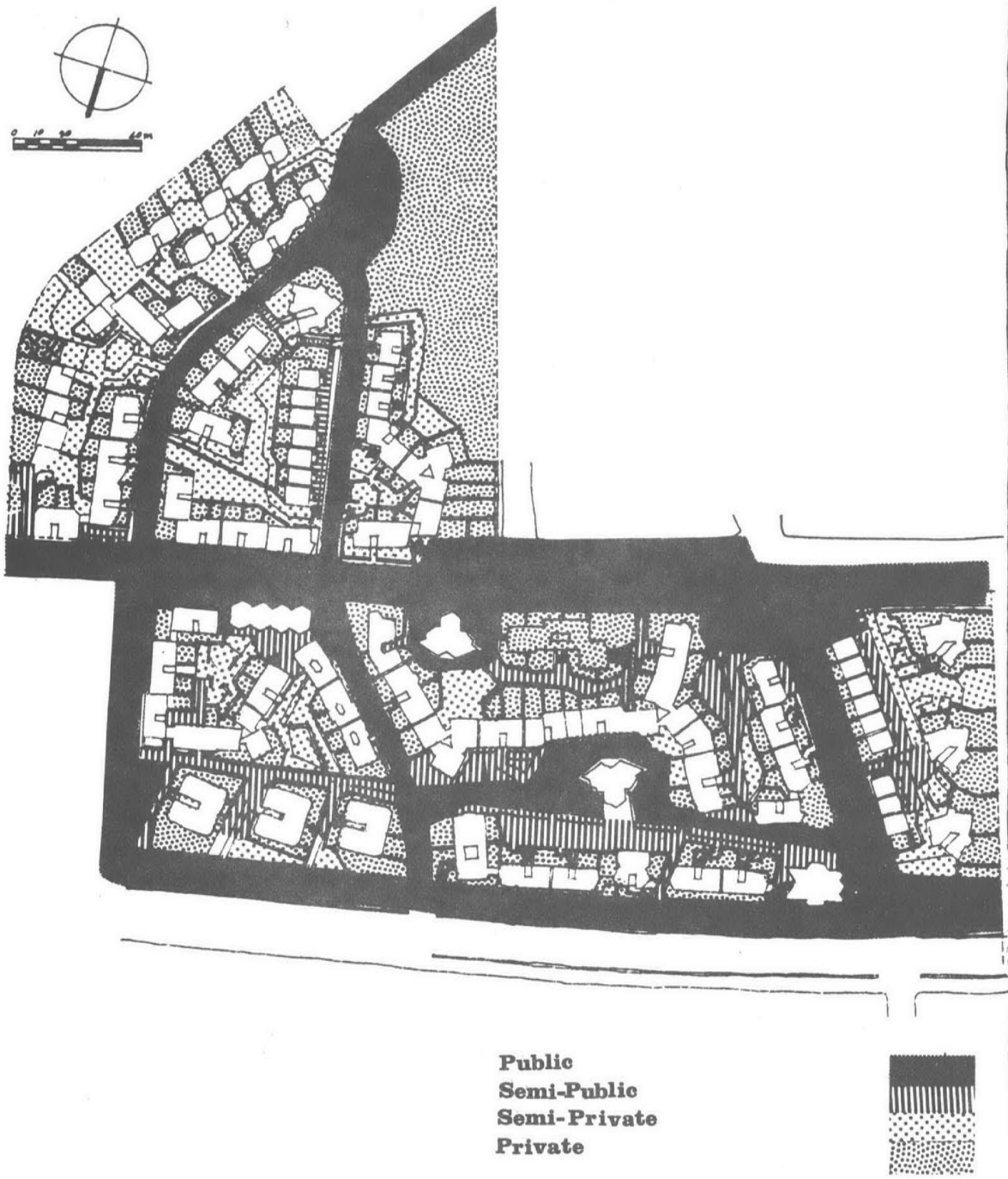
The classification of spaces as in the 1950 plan is shown in Fig. 14. As is evident, most of the ground level spaces are private and semi-public areas, except in the central blocks, where public access is dominant, with little transitional space provided.

Activities, signage and condition are part of the definition of changes in space category since 1950 (see appendix for discussion). The accompanying Fig. 15 shows space classification in 1978. Changes are effected in two ways.



1950 SPACE PRIVACY CLASSIFICATION

Figure 14



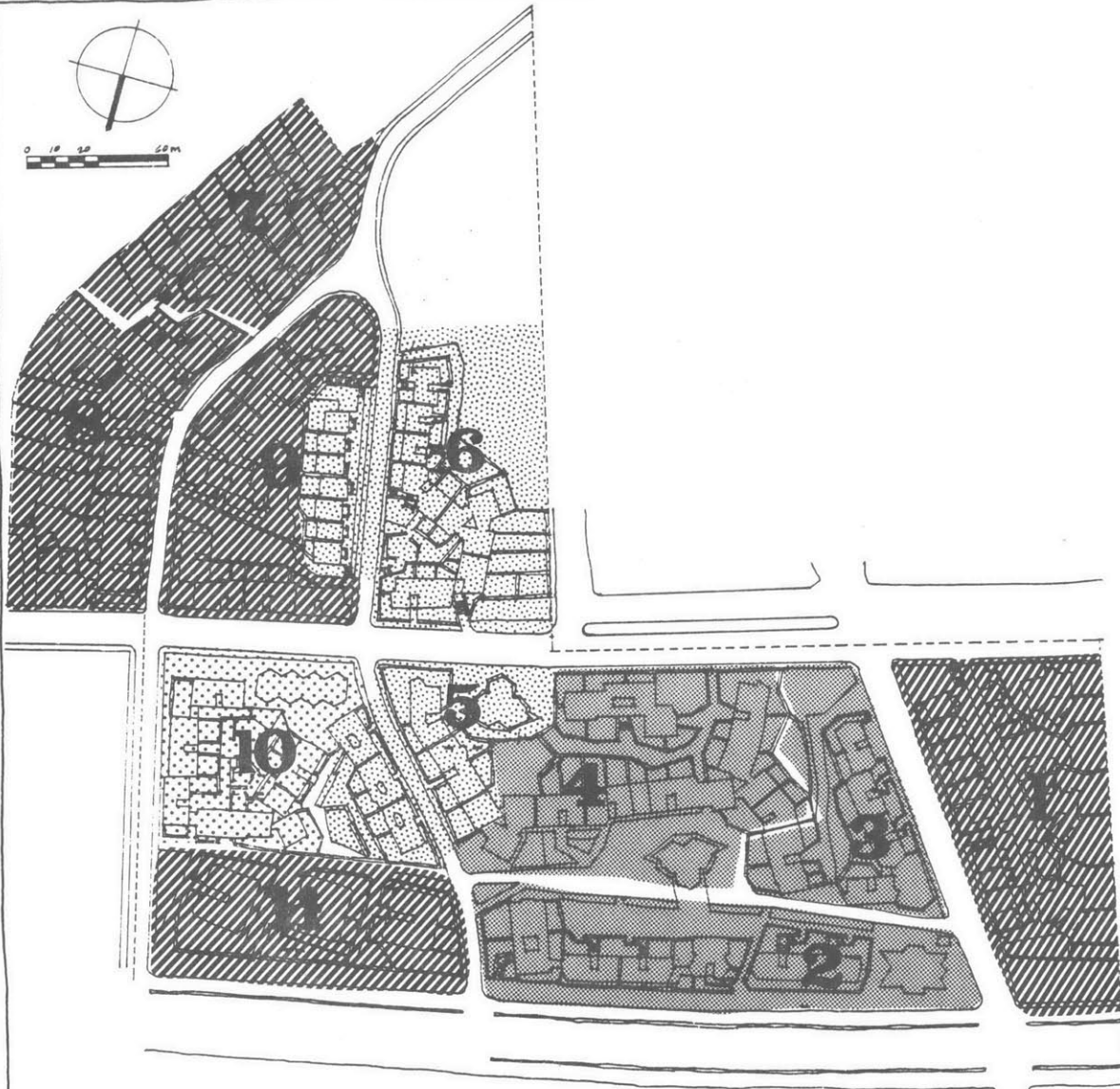
1978 SPACE PRIVACY CLASSIFICATION

Figure 15

Subdivision of original spaces by erecting walls and fences has increased the number of distinct ground level spaces since 1950. The number of spaces has increased different amounts in the different blocks. Block 7 had no increase due to subdivision; block 10 increased its number of spaces by 55 per cent. The range of relative changes is shown on Figure 16. This sort of change is the result of resident modification, and is therefore a partial measure of inhabitation.

The second sort of change in space category has been caused not by increasing the number of spaces, but by transforming the access and use characteristics of an entire space. In block 7, again, the entire semi-public space has been provided with gates, thus converting it to semi-private space. In block 3, private open spaces have been opened partially for parking use by a number of households, thus converting these to semi-private spaces.

Fig. 17 and Fig. 18 summarize the changes in category over the site and by block. Generally, most spaces changed to the next more private category, with a few reverse modifications. The number of private spaces changed in every block, while in only two blocks did the number of public spaces change. Overall, private space was the only category to show a net gain in number of spaces, and the transitional categories both showed significant losses to more private categories. Semi-private space was the most "soft" in terms of being often changed from its original classification.



Block Number	% Change
10	55
6	33
5	31
4	26
3	25
2	20
11	18
8	16
9	15
1	15
7	0

AMOUNT OF SPACE CLASSIFICATION CHANGE
BY BLOCK

Figure 16

BLOCK	PUBLIC		SEMI-PUBLIC		SEMI-PRIVATE		PRIVATE	
	A #	B %	A #	B %	A #	B %	A #	B %
1	0	0	1	33	0	0	4	20
2	0	0	-1	-25	-15	-100	+20	+100
3	1	100	4	200	-4	-50	+4	+40
4	0	0	2	100	4	400	1	4
5	0	0	0	0	2	100	3	25
6	0	0	-5	-83	-10	-60	+28	+175
7	0	0	0	0	-2	-100	+2	+13
8	0	0	-11	-85	+7	+350	+8	+36
9	0	0	-13	-100	+7	+87.5	+10	+91
10	-2	-50	+3	+100	+1	100	+8	+75
11	0	0	0	0	-2	-40	+5	+45
<hr/>								
C#	-1		-20		-12		+93	
D#	2		8		10		11	
E%	18		73		91		100	

A = absolute number of spaces changing category

B = percentage of spaces changing category

C = absolute growth of category

D = number of blocks making changes in each category

E = percentage of blocks making changes in each category

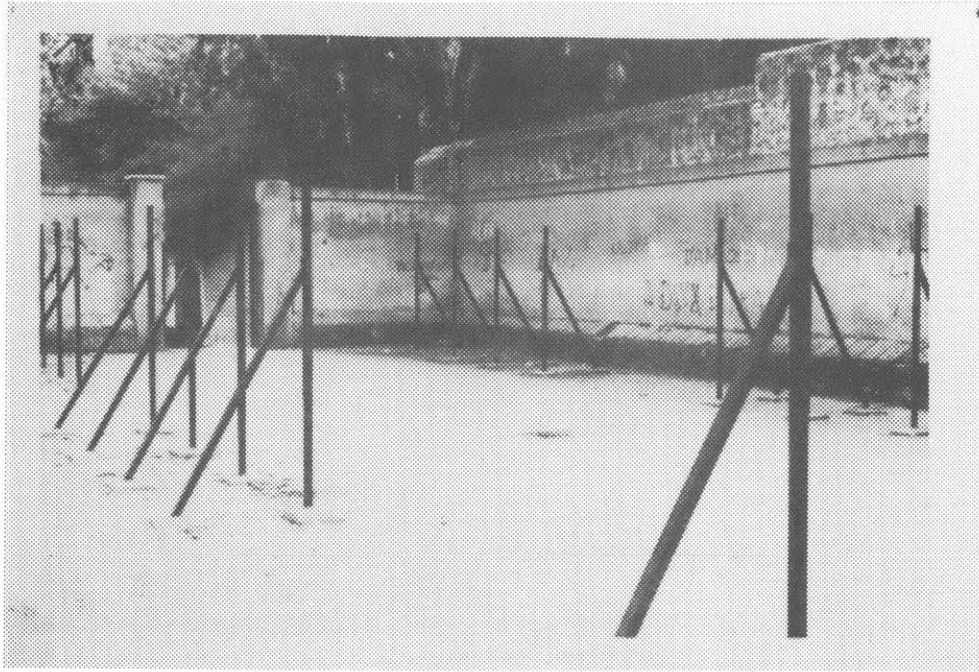
negative changes are losses of spaces from each category

spaces without sign existed in 1950 and have changed category

positive spaces have been subdivided from 1950 spaces

CHANGE IN SPACE CATEGORIES BY BLOCK
1950 - 1978

Figure 17



Abandoned Laundry Yard-Block 7



Transformed Transitional Spaces

BLOCK MODIFICATION

Figure 18

Reasons for Change

One way of examining this information for potential significance is through examining for correlations between physical features and the amount of change made in non-private spaces. Most of these attempts in fact produce negative results. Diagram A shows the distribution of various block organization types, as discussed in the project description. Comparison of this with the amount of modification summary, Figure 16, does not provide evidence of any clear correlation between particular types of site organization and the frequency of modification by residents.

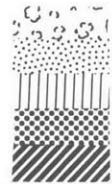
It is also noteworthy that amount of modification in public spaces does not vary consistently with the amount of modification in private open spaces (see Fig. 16 and Fig. 19). There is variance of unit level inhabitation with site conditions, as will be discussed in considering the impact of the market on adjoining blocks, and there is consistently less modification of unit level exterior spaces in the tower buildings than in any other housing type on the site.

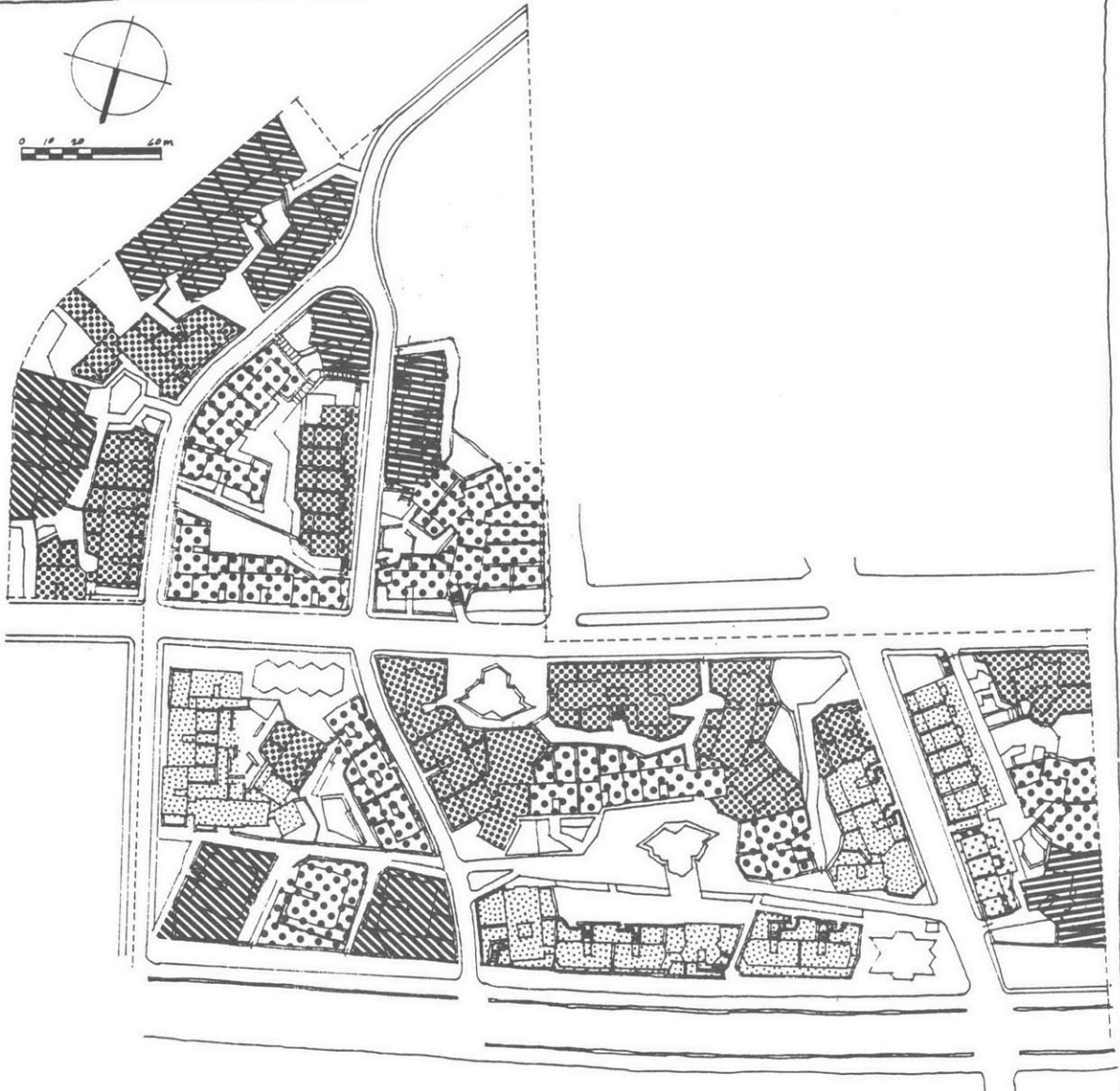
INTERPRETATION

Changes made to each type of space are in response to the particular physical and activity conditions affecting the space. The idea that all the people in one block are more actively controlling their personal and common space, as opposed to residents of another block, who feel less control over their space or have a weaker sense of territory



Court-Internal
Linear Spine-Internal
Linear Spine-External
Double Spine
Court & Spine Sequence





Highest	330.2 +
	297.5 - 330.2
	264.7 - 297.4
	231.9 - 264.6
Lowest	1.99 - 231.8



PRIVATE OPEN SPACE MODIFICATION BY BUILDING

Figure 19

and therefore do not modify their spaces as much; it is not useful in explaining the variations observed. Tiburtino residents do not, in other words, have a consistent set of responses to physical forms or a yes-no attitude towards making changes in their physical environment. There are some possible explanations for the variation, however. One centers on the influence of the market as a major source of activity and pedestrian traffic, and therefore as an influence in the modifications needed in surrounding private and non-private spaces. The second possible explanation looks at the effect of physical techniques for unit and block access in affecting the type of response to pressures from public pedestrian traffic.

The market, rather than the central square, is the dominant pedestrian activity center. The inhabitation patterns at the unit and block levels reflect, in a rough way, the influence of this center. Non-private spaces in the blocks closest to the market are predominantly semi-public, in contrast to the more peripheral blocks, where these spaces are preominantly semi-private. Further, the transitional spaces in the blocks closest to the market are more likely to be in moderate to poor condition, and generally do not show the high level of maintenance and improvement apparent in the other block spaces. The improvements made in these central blocks is often structural and defensive--walls, fences, and gates to enclose the spaces. On the unit level an opposite pattern appears. The private open spaces serving

the buildings close to the market are generally more highly modified than those in other parts of the site.

The outer edges of the site, by comparison, show a much lower level of private open space modification and a strong tendency for non-private spaces to be semi-private. These semi-private spaces are not necessarily well-maintained or gardened, they are simply more private. The laundry houses which lie on the outer edges of these edge blocks are neglected and vandalized, and the entry courts are the focus of activity.

Blocks at intermediate distances from the market show, as one would expect, a combination of these characteristics. The most striking difference is that the non-private spaces, which are a mixture of semi-public and semi-private, are more likely to be actively gardened by groups of residents, and generally to show the most physical evidence of group activity directed toward physical improvements of the common space.

The activity and presence of additional pedestrians resulting from the market, and to a lesser extent from Via Tiburtino on the other side of the site, has led to active reinforcement of block boundaries in those areas near the market. Though this has been effective in reducing public access to the space serving these blocks, it has not been able to make the non-private space semi-private. In these areas, the private spaces take on an additional importance, as the possibility of spilling acti-

vity out into transitional spaces is much reduced. In contrast, those blocks furthest from the sources of public intrusion show the least private space modification, accompanied by active use of the semi-private spaces.

The clearest example of this conflict between the public and semi-public functions of the block are found in blocks 3 and 4. In one case, residents have responded with neglect; in the other, they have clearly asserted control over the contended space.

The spine sequence in block 3 was intended to be much like the one in block 1--closed at both ends by a wall and gate, providing primary access to some units and secondary access to others, and including common open space and laundry drying yard. The wall and gate which were to separate the semi-private block spine from the market area were built. The former semi-public open space, now vandalized and un-maintained, is a fully public adjunct to the market. The drying space built to serve block residents is slightly separated from the spine by a level change and iron fence, but is not used. The green edgings of the spine are unkempt and the area is one of the few in Tiburtino where one does find litter, broken benches and lamp posts, broken glass, and the other stigmata of a neglected public space. This neglect level decreases as one moves toward the court end of the spine, and near the one gate separating the spine from the central square, the space has a much more private character. A well-tended vegetable garden has been carved out

of the public space along the spine by the addition of a low wall topped with iron fencing and barbed wire. Private open spaces along the spine are actively used, but all are protected by iron fences and gates topped with barbed wire. In this instance, the lack of effective differentiation of public from transitional space has resulted in relative abandonment of the spine by residents.

A similar set of tensions have resulted in an opposite response--group action to reinforce the semi-public nature of the spine in block 4. Block 4 lies between the market area and the attractions of the main Tiburtino square and Via Tiburtino. A pedestrian underpass near the east wing of the long building provides a connection between these attractions, using the block 4 spine as a main public path. Resident modifications to the spine have been relatively effective in closing off this connection, making the spine again a transitional rather than public space. Gates were added at one end of the spine and a series of walls constructed at the end of the space, cutting away space from the market and enclosing it for use as semi-private parking and circulation. There is very little barbed wire on private or transitional spaces in the spine and the area is well maintained, but the little common space remaining is used only for circulation.

CONCLUSIONS

In looking at Tiburtino as a whole, the inhabitation patterns show direction of resident activity toward two things: 1) resolution of site and block boundary tensions; and 2) utilization of the physical fabric's sympathetic functional and image character to support the activities and identities of block and household.

The block appears as the dominant level of affiliation and joint action by residents, thus supporting those who feel that the block level is the only valid point of congruence between the physical neighborhood and the social community, especially in new housing.

Modifications were most frequent on the unit and block levels, and were primarily in response to site-wide and neighborhood level pressures, especially those concerning the amount of private characteristic of a given space.

The physical form of Tiburtino was clearly highly supportive of extensive resident modification. The materials and scale of the project made modification easy and an effective means of changing the character of a localized area. Small-scale, or building-scale, design techniques did not appear to directly affect the amount or type of modification; however, the broader, site-level decisions regarding form, organization and vocabulary were crucial to attainment of Tiburtino's present conditions.

These broad design decisions were primarily the result

of the design team's attachment to a Neo-realist ideology, as previously discussed. Although Neo-realism as a theoretical movement was meaningless to residents, the forms and materials were familiar from their rural homes; the complex, non-Cartesian spatial organization familiar from their towns and villages. The social meaning carried by this vocabulary and organization in the context of Tiburtino is substantial.

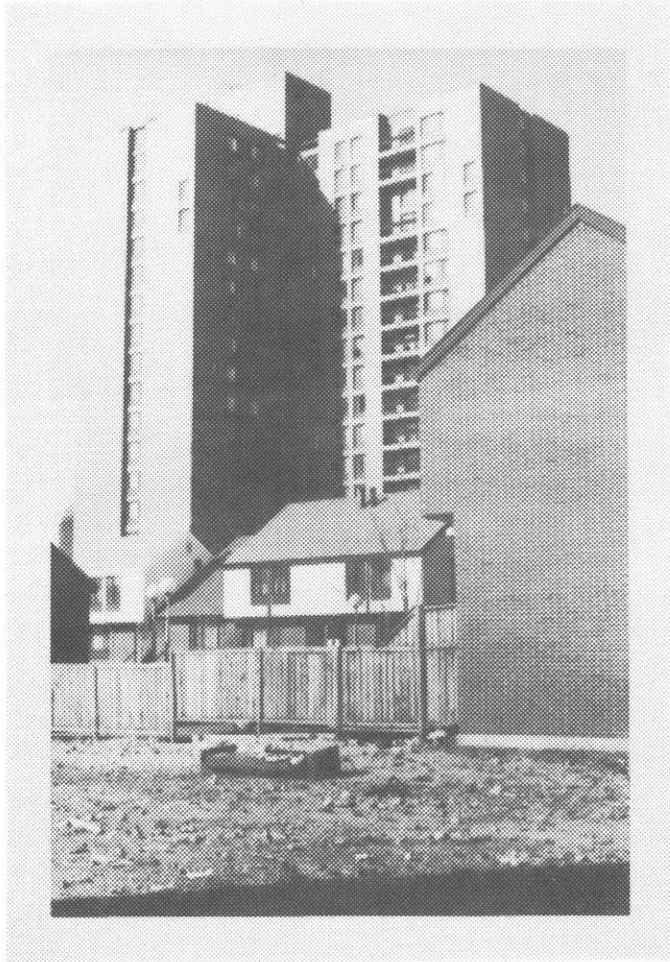
The rural design vocabulary had its roots in feudal and neo-feudal agricultural relations of production. For the peasants making up the population of Tiburtino, the memory of that social system was not particularly pleasant and the move they made to Rome was in part an escape from the rural oppression and poverty resulting from the socio-economic system whose message is embodied in that formal vocabulary.

The meaning carried does not result simply from an ancient economic order, however. Although many of the traditional forms used at Tiburtino have their origins in the feudal towns, the forms tended to be redefined with each generation of change in the power structure. Feudal lords were replaced by the Church in many parts of Italy and the symbols of the landed aristocracy were adopted and reformed by the new powers. Through this and later shifts of power, the peasants tended to remain peasants, and the forms of their housing remained rather consistent. The meaning of those forms in comparison/contrast to forms symbolizing the upper reaches of the power structure, remained

quite constant. During those centuries, however, the rural forms took on associational meanings not related directly to the grand movements of political transformation or the pressures of production and topography, but to the smaller scale, personal traditions of family, town and province.

Use of this traditional vocabulary at Tiburtino was a hangover, a reminder, of a socio-economic system being left behind in the move to urban industrial capitalism. It was also a reminder of a known social and familial order, and of competence at handling social relations within that order.

Tiburtino is not a copy of a traditional village; it is a transitional juxtaposition of peasant vocabulary and garden-cities spatial organization. It was a transitional reality for a transitional population. The individualized design and careful detailing of the complex unit and site conditions may have been a helpful antidote to the standardization of industrial life, but they were certainly directly contrary to the rationalist efforts to house this same population in projects which reiterated the standardization, simplification, and mechanization characteristic of the desired industrial economy. The relatively low density, presence of private open spaces, and close relationship of units to the ground, all supported by the more relaxed land economics accompanying public subsidy, also supported the possibility and probability of inhabitation.



Villa Victorias

The second case to be considered is the Villa Victorias development program in Boston's South End. The program consists of a series of five housing and commercial development projects on a 35-acre section of the South End urban renewal area. Organizers, developers, managers and residents of the projects are the members of IBA, a community owner and controlled housing development organization.⁽¹⁾ Since 1969, the group has been involved in the renovation, construction, and management of approximately 650 units in their area, and remains one of the few community-based development entities to be consistently successful in both retaining real control and continuing to produce housing.

This case is not presented as a point by point comparison with Tiburtino, but as an investigation of other aspects of the concepts of imagery, participation and neighborhood self-definition as outlined earlier.

Ethnicity was the node of group definition existing prior to involvement with the physical area of this case. Group self-definition has been based on and reinforced through both the design of the physical fabric and the development of an organizational structure which forms the base for a social community tightly integrated with the physical neighborhood.

One of the most remarkable and problematic issues for the group has been its successful progression from dependence

on advocacy expertise in most areas to its present full resident control over major and minor decisions regarding all aspects of the group's operation. Full participation by residents is a reality. Another aspect of participation which is of interest in this case is the continuing and direct participation of residents in the design process. This began with the first plans prepared for the group and has continued with the same designer for ten years. Inhabitation, in the Tiburtino sense, has not been a significant type of involvement. Community rules and efforts concerning maintenance and modifications have been built into the ETC Management structure, which is controlled by the tenants.

Design for the Villa Victorias projects has not sprung from any formal design ideology, as was the case at Tiburtino. It has instead been a responsive synthesis of the desires of residents, the constraints of rehabilitation and government programs, and the need to create a physical fabric characteristic of the distinct community housed within it.

Most of the community-based housing organizations started in the late sixties have failed in one of many sense, some giving up control in order to produce housing, others being forced into the role of slumlord by housing economics, others simply disintegrating through lack of leadership or expertise. The clear and continuous physical base and the structure of the IBA-ETC organizations is key in understanding IBA's longevity and success. The two fac-



PARCEL 19 BEFORE REHABILITATION

Figure 20

tors are interlinked in such a way that land and physical form have been the foundation of social organization, political control over resources, and participation in the total life of the community.

This chapter will look at the developmental history of the IBA program and organization as a basis for discussion of the issues central to this thesis.

Social and physical conditions in the South End and the Puerto Rican sub-community, the peregrinations of the urban renewal program up to 1965, and the proposals for the Parcel 19 sites are outlined as background. Organizational development of IBA/ETC and the building carried out by them is broken into two phases: 1965-1969, Reaction; and 1969-1979, Incorporation and Development. Interpretation and conclusions follow.

BACKGROUND

The area containing most IBA projects is a group of urban renewal parcels, designated on the 1965 plan as numbers 19a,b,&c; PB6,7,8,10,&11; R6; and E. The group as a whole is referred to as Parcel 19. Some sites were vacant when planning began, but most were covered with the three and four story brick rowhouses characteristic of the South End. Some of these were abandoned: the rest were predominantly rooming houses and apartments.

The South End was developed in the late 1800s by speculators as an upper income area for former Beacon Hill

SOUTH END HOUSING AND POPULATION DATA - 1960-19701. POPULATION

1a. <u>Population By Household Type</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
Total Population		
Families	22,334 (64%)	15,184 (67%)
Individuals	12,665 (36%)	7,574 (33%)

1b. Ethnic Composition

	<u>1960</u>		<u>1970</u>		<u>Pop. Change</u>	
	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
Whites	19,866	57.0	9,212	41%	10,654	-16.0
Black	13,673	39.3	8,904	39.1	4,769	-0.2
Hispanic	424	1.2	1,645	7.2	1,221	6.0
Chinese Etc.	858	2.5	3,002	13.2	2,144	10.7
Total:	34,821		22,773		-12,048	-35.0

(Mendes, 1973, p. 6)

Spanish-speaking in the South End make up 17% of all Spanish-speaking households in Boston (Aronin & Gianturco, 1973, p.3)

1c. <u>Household Composition</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
Families	6,440 (34%)	3,952 (34%)
Individuals	12,612 (66%)	7,574 (66%)

2. INCOME

2a. <u>Median Income</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
	\$ 3,615	\$ 6,464

(increase partially due to reverse filtration near Copley Square)

2b. 1970 Distribution of Family Income by Ethnic Groups

	<u>All Families</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Chinese et al</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
Under \$5,000	40%	24%	37%	41%	62%
\$5,000-\$10,000	35%	31%	38%	36%	33%
\$10,000 plus	25%	45%	25%	17%	5%
Median Income	\$6,426	\$9,212	\$6,666	\$5,312	\$4,038

Figure 21

- 2c. 40% of all families in the South End had incomes below \$5,000.
31% of all families were below the poverty line, as opposed to
16% for Boston overall.

3. HOUSING

total no. of units - 13,900

3a. Town House Stock

<u>Units</u>	<u>Standard</u>	<u>Substandard</u>	<u>Total</u>
Dwelling Units	4,650 (64%)	2,600 (36%)	7,250
Lodging House Units	1,800 (51%)	1,750 (49%)	3,550
<hr/>			
Total Units	6,450 (60%)	4,350 (40%)	10,800

3b. Subsidized Stock

Low-income	2,631
Moderate	1,758
Market	47
<hr/>	
Total units	4,436

3c. Renter's Income

	<u>\$5,000 or less</u>	<u>\$5-10,000</u>	<u>\$10,000+</u>
South End	62.3%	27.3%	9.9%
Boston	41.0%	35.1%	23.0%

- 3d. 75% of all South End households eligible for subsidized housing.
10% of all units owner-occupied.

residents. Although the area rapidly declined, and before the turn of the century had already acquired a low-income population and a bad reputation, the housing stock was desirable and in the mid-1960s began undergoing renovation by upper-middle class "gentrifiers." The influx of this population has led to some of the more serious tensions in the neighborhood now, primarily around issues of racial and socio-economic balance.

It is a relatively new set of issues, since the South End has for 100 years been characterized by poor housing conditions; transient, minority, low-income and immigrant populations; a high crime rate; and inadequate services. The immigrant groups and some other enclaves have provided the nucleus of a stable low-income population. The numerous churches and settlement houses in the area provided assistance to these groups and were instrumental in the community organization that led the IBA's establishment.

The population of the South End in 1950 was about 57,000. The decline in population, shift in racial balance, size and condition of housing stock, and income/family characteristics for the neighborhood in 1960 and 1970 are outlined in the following tables. As is evident, both white and black populations have declined in proportion to the Hispanic and Chinese groups.(2)

The Hispanic group in the South End is, effectively speaking, IBA. Concentrated before the 1960 Census on the Parcel 19 area, growth of the dominant Puerto Rican popu-

POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS OF SPANISH-SPEAKING IN CENSUS TRACT
705 (APPROX. PARCEL 19) IN COMPARISON TO THE WHOLE TRACT

	SP-SP		TOTAL TRACT	
Total Population			5,051	
Spanish Speaking	665		665	
Puerto Rican	592		592	
% of Tract SP-SP			13%	
<u>HOUSEHOLDS</u>				
Families				
Husband/Wife	105		643	
Male Headed	---	<u>143</u>	62	<u>829</u>
Female Headed	38		124	
%Female Headed	27%		15%	
Individuals				
Primary	52		1,029	
In Group Quarters	35	<u>87</u>	565	<u>1,594</u>
Household including those in group quarters	195		1,858	
Family % of Households	62%		34%	
Individuals % of Households	38%		66%	
No. Persons per Household	3.23		2.41	
<u>AGE DISTRIBUTION</u>				
	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>%</u>
Under 24 years	368	55	1,840	37
25-45	155	23	1,262	25
45-60	104	16	926	18
60 and over	38	6	1,023	20
<u>FAMILY INCOME</u>				
Under \$5,000	81	57	288	35
\$5,000 - \$10,000	53	37	322	39
\$10,000 plus	9	6	217	26
<u>TOTAL HOUSING UNITS</u>				
Occupied Units	198		1,858	
% Occupied by SP-SP	10.7%			
Owner-Occupied Units	12		252	
% Owner-Occupied by SP-SP	1%		14%	

Figure 22

	SP-SP		TOTAL TRACT	
	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>HOUSING CONDITION</u>				
Persons per room				
1.01 and no plumbing	8	(4%)	44	(2%)
Not overcrowded but no plumbing	29	(15%)	540	(29%)
<u>HOUSING COST</u>				
Median gross rent	\$90		\$80	
Median size unit (rooms)	2.3 rooms		2.9 rooms	
Persons per household	3.23		2.41	

(sepac report, pp. I-10, I-11).

lation rose rapidly in the late 1960s and has continued to rise in the same part of the neighborhood. Residence on the parcel before 1969 is a qualification for a high priority on the IBA housing waiting list, and quite a few of the households described here are now IBA residents. The following tables set out a statistical picture of this group before IBA housing became available, though after incorporation.

Most of this population growth has been due to immigration from the rural areas of Puerto Rico. Before IBA's entry into the housing market, the Parcel 19 area seems to have served as a first-stop neighborhood for immigrants, with most then moving on to Dorchester and other parts of Boston. Perhaps in reaction, one of the dominant goals of ETC organizers was to create at Villa Victorias a stable and self-controlling community.(3)

The notion of stable has to given its accurate definition for this group. What appears statistically as immigration is often, in Puerto Rican terms, commuting. As U.S. citizens there are no restrictions on movement between Puerto Rico and Boston, and that section of the Puerto Rican population engaged in agricultural labor can easily and profitably move between the two areas following the harvest seasons from Puerto Rico to Western Massachusetts. For non-agricultural workers, it is also desirable to have a base in both places, so that while Villa Victorias is a stable community by any definition, with many permanent

residents and a predominance of families, it also has an additional population of extended family members, neighbors and friends who spend periods of time there.(4)

The final piece of background necessary is an overview of those City of Boston's urban renewal activities which led to the formation of IBA and other, similar groups in the neighborhood.

The first phase of urban renewal projects in Boston included total clearance of the West End, a largely Italian working-class neighborhood, and its replacement with luxury high-rise condominiums. Another project was clearance of the New York Streets, a problematic area in the northern corner of the south End, and replacement of the housing with light industrial property. A wave of negative response followed the clearance of the West End and, in combination with the example of New York Streets, made clear the effect that urban renewal would have on any low-income residential neighborhood.(5)

In 1960, Mayor John Collins announced a new policy direction for the urban renewal program. The theme was to be rehabilitation of neighborhoods rather than clearance, and planning with people rather than for them.

An issue central to the program was providing substantial rehabilitation, while keeping enough affordable housing available for low-income former residents. The original intention was to spend \$90,000,000 for the entire city, but, in fact, by 1975 more than that amount had been spent in the

South End alone. (6)

By 1962, a new set of renewal plans had been prepared by Boston Redevelopment Authority planners for the entire South End. These called for clearance of a substantial part of the traditional South End (the part north of Mass. Ave.) and replacement of housing by commercial and institutional investment. A ceremonial park-and-transportation axis was to unite these new facilities, while the low-income housing was to be concentrated in that northern section of Roxbury now included in the South End because of the location of the proposed Inner Belt Freeway. (7)

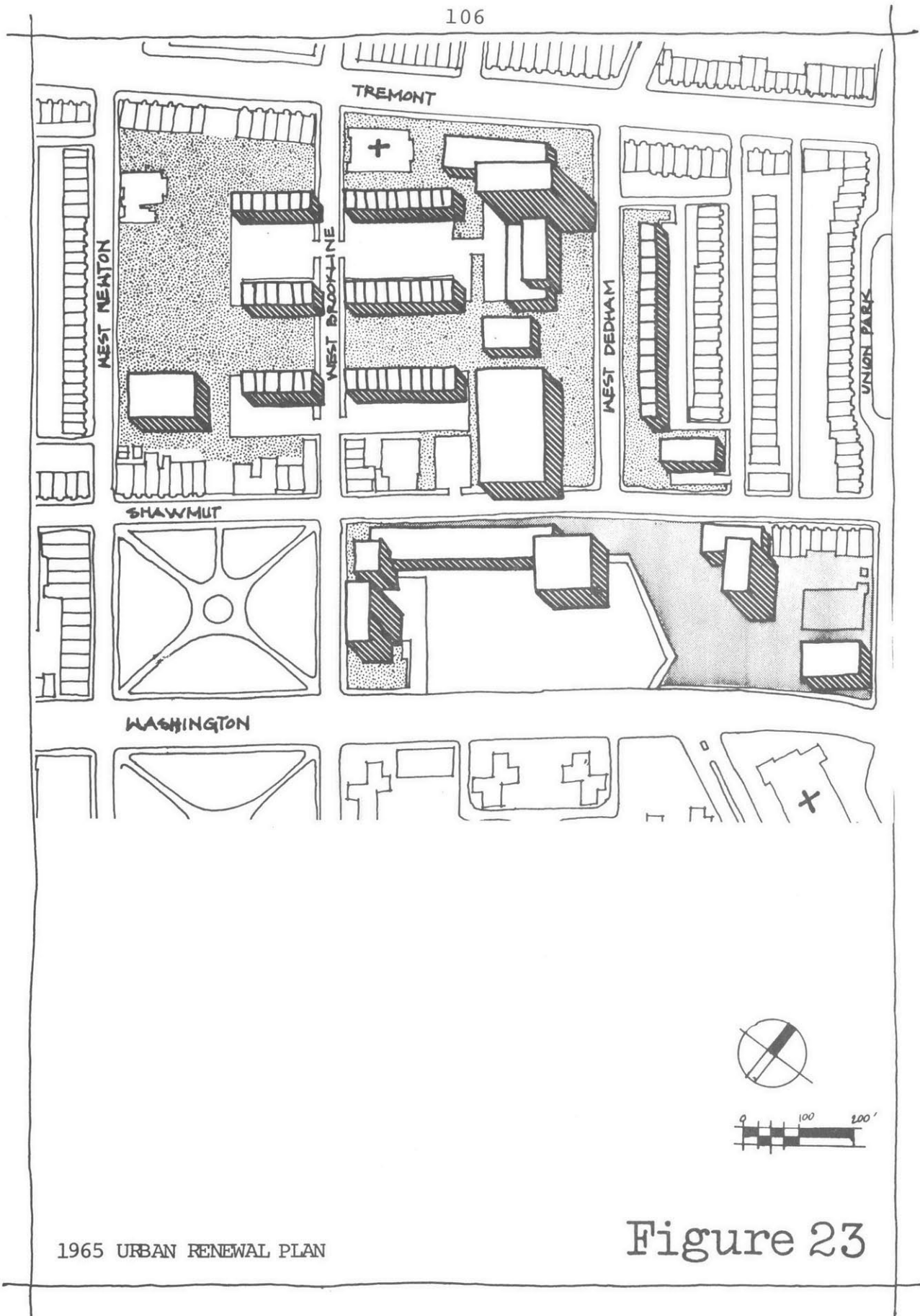
Although a blue-ribbon committee of institutional and resident representatives had been consulted on plan development, the 1962 proposal met with substantial resistance from the community when it was presented to them by the BRA. The plan was withdrawn in 1963 and a new series of planning processes were started. This time, BRA planners worked with the 16 individual neighborhood organizations to develop plans for each sub-neighborhood area. The major issues were around the question of who would profit from redevelopment and whether the original community members would be financially able to remain.

Although relocation plans and assistance were theoretically available, the people displaced by earlier projects had received practically no assistance, and had moved on to private housing in other parts of the city. For the South End, 3,550 households out of the neighborhood total of

11,526 would have to be relocated, including 77 per cent of those on Parcel 19. Although special legislation was passed to boost the amount of assistance available to households relocated under the 1965 plans, the removal of low-income groups and individuals from the neighborhood remained an almost inevitable consequence of the renewal plans as structured in the early 1960s.(8)

The difficulty of permanent relocation in the area arose from two main sources, both economic. Redevelopment attracted middle- and upper-middle-class income groups to the area for shopping and office , if not for residential purposes. This "economic bulldozer" effect caused taxes, rents and expenses in the area to rise, forcing out low-income tenants as landlords improved or sold their holdings. The escape from this situation was supposed to be provided by government subsidy programs of various types. The amount of subsidy necessary to keep these running was, and still is, immense. Even with subsidy, programs had to be piggy-backed to bring rent levels low enough to keep the former residents in the area. The problems of inflation and rocketing fuel and maintenance costs, which have since led a number of South End projects into default, were not apparent at the time.

The 1965 plan for the South End was a composite of the sub-neighborhood plans and made an overall commitment to keep as many as possible of the local residents in the area after rehabilitation. This reinforcement of the



1965 URBAN RENEWAL PLAN

Figure 23

South End as a series of enclaves provided a bureaucratic demand for action by the sub-neighborhood groups. Parcel 19 residents, like many other groups in the neighborhood, were to an extent pushed into awareness of themselves as a group by the planning and renewal boundary definitions which became central to the 1962-65 planning process.

IBA Development - 1965-69

Although the overall process and plan were an improvement, the Parcel 19 residents were not amused. All the Villa Victorias area was to be cleared and developed into community facilities and commercial space serving the larger neighborhood. The housing to be included, predominantly high rise, would serve the elderly and the increasing numbers of middle-income residents--in any case, it would not serve the existing Puerto Rican population well at all.

The original organization, Emergency Tenants Council (ETC), was formed in protest to the 1965 plan. The impetus for organization came from Reverend William Dwyer, of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, which was located on the property, and Helen Morton, an area resident. Initial organizing was done on a door-to-door canvassing basis.

Major issues in this canvassing were: removal from the neighborhood, rent increases, poor housing conditions, inadequate provision of social services, welfare, and language problems. The social service problems were included as they were major concerns for residents, 90 per cent of whom were on at least one form of public assistance and most

of whom had language difficulties in dealing with government agencies. The housing and neighborhood issues were sufficient impetus for most residents to be willing to organize and take action, but others felt that if they were to be relocated by the BRA, they might get better housing. The process of educating residents to the benefits of group membership, the improbability of spectacular BRA rehousing schemes, and the feasibility of group action took three years of lobbying and small-scale meetings among neighbors.(9)

Throughout this first phase, the residents were quite dependent on "outside" and advocacy help. The Church played a critical role in starting and supporting the organizing effort. The first executive director, Richard Lampert, and most others involved in the early workings of ETC were non-Puerto Rican. IBA histories credit Rev. Dwyer with having the foresight and personality to support the development of broad-based resident leadership, with the continuing intention of withdrawal of outside advocate support. The organizational structure of ETC was also put together by this non-resident group and the transition in goals from resisting the BRA plan to taking control of area rehabilitation came from this same source. In order to do this, it was decided that the group should make an alternative proposal to that of the 1965 BRA plan and should develop the capability to control development of that plan on the site.

During 1968 and 1969, while the small group organizing

continued, considerable technical assistance was provided through the efforts of the Cooperative Christian Ministries, Urban Field Service, VISTA, and Urban Planning Aid. A planning team of residents, students, and consultants worked on data collection, analysis of the neighborhood's problems and potentials, and implementation of the counter-proposal strategy.

In 1968, ETC was incorporated as Emergency Tenants Council of Parcel 19, Inc., and the directorship of the organization passed to Israel Feliciano, an area resident. From this point on, resident control became increasingly significant in the operations of the organization, though outside help continues up to the present.

The plan of action under the first Hispanic director, Feliciano, was two fold. Short-term needs of residents were addressed both as a means of ameliorating some problems and as a way of consolidating and expanding ETC's membership base within the community. The second tack was working to gain development authority over the site.(10)

During 1969, John Sharratt, an architect from Urban Planning Aid, worked full time with ETC to develop the plans and designs with which they intended to counter BRA proposals. Between February and November 1969, the ETC plans were designed and passed through the numerous public and internal reviews necessary. ETC was designated as developer of the Parcel 19 site, and approved as such by SEPAC, the South End residents group which had veto power over BRA

designation of developers in the neighborhood.

Implementation of the plan approved at that time has been the major focus of ETC IBA efforts for the past ten years. Although the physical plan will be discussed in some detail, it should be noted that the ETC agenda included not only housing, but also statements about education, social services, economic development, commercial facilities, traffic, transportation, and security. Most of these concerns have been addressed in the resulting developments and activities.

Incorporation and Development - 1969-79

ETC/IBA activities since 1969 and the issues they address can be examined by looking at the development of the plan, of the organization, and at the questions facing the group through its development. The design features requested, the design process, and the resulting series of plans are the basis for discussion of the physical generation of Villa Victorias. The resulting design is a combination of market imagery and Puerto Rican precedents which together project a unique physical identity for Villa Victorias residents. The combination of implied market entry capability and celebration of ethnic identity are embodied in the physical fabric and, given the participatory character of the design process, one can assume that the resulting image is that desired by the group as the expression of its needs and identity.

The reinforcement of a social community living with this

environment for a period of time and the iterative relationship between the definition of that group and the physical environment has been substantially affected by the activities and structure of IBA as an organization. Membership in the group is defined by residence on the parcel and by participation in control over group resources. Organizational structure seems to have been the key in allowing Villa Victorias to escape the two major areas of failure common to community-based development programs: economic failure of the housing and loss of resident control. The structure, control mechanisms, policies, internal and external leadership, and organizational futures will be discussed.

THE PLAN

Resident Design Guidelines

The plan for Parcel 19 was to be a counter-proposal to the plans to the BRA. As such, it had a mandate to grow out of the future residents' perception of a physical framework supportive of their needs. Site organization inputs focussed on three aspects--density, traffic and the plaza.

Most ETC members were accustomed to low-rise, single-family, detached residential areas in Puerto Rico and considered this an ideal pattern. Although this could not be duplicated in the South End, they strongly favored a low-rise, low-density development. The high-rise towers possible under the BRA guidelines could have housed about 15,000 people on the site: the present project will house

about 5,000 at completion. The need to accommodate families with children and the strong desire to have gardens available for most families contributed further to the need for lower-density development.

Prevention of through traffic was another major goal. In addition to the problems, shared by much of the South End, of heavy commuter traffic on residential streets, there was a desire for a physically connected pedestrian pattern as an adjunct to the functioning of the plaza.

The plaza itself was the major request from the ETC group. Modeled on the plazas of Puerto Rico, this space was considered essential to the identity and functioning of the group. By their own definition they would not be a permanent settlement, would have no identifiable presence as a group, could not present themselves to the world adequately, and would not have a heart without a plaza.

The Puerto Rican town plaza has a very particular set of uses and activities associated with it. There is a church and a seat of local government, some houses and perhaps stores. There are no bars on a proper plaza, but they are always just around the corner. The space is used for festivals and ceremonial events as well as for informal meeting and recreation.

On the building level there were also requests. The requirement for separate entrances to each dwelling unit was based on the belief that private entrances "make good neighbors." The need for large units which could accommodate

families, "...not census tract families, but our kind of families, ten people or so..."(12) and for a mix of unit sizes to accomodate the wide range of household types--elderly, single migrant workers, young families, mature and extended families--shaped the program.

Other requests included use of varied colors on facades, avoidance of flat roofs, and a strong emphasis on warm, well-insulated units to counteract the effects of the unfamiliar northern cold. They also did not want to "look like a project," projects being characterized as dark, looming, and massive.(13)

The result of these requests is illustrated in the accompanying photographs and following plans. The overall image of the housing is quite similar to that of townhouses developed for the middle-class suburban market. The staggered facades, multi-level entrances and sharply angled roofs, horizontal and vertical mixture of materials and colors on facades, and careful landscaping successfully counteract any "project" image. The use of ETC development income to selectively provide luxury touches--such as oak parquetry flooring, wall-to-wall carpeting and other such features--further enhances the speculative market image of the Villa Victorias housing. The non-subsidized or market image is set by private developers who provide this uneven quality of finishes and amenities as a cost efficient means of attracting exactly the market they aim for--balancing the optimum number and character of amenities with the costs

of each and the rent increment each produces. The suburban townhouse and Villa Victorias images are very close.

Parcel 19 is now dramatically different from the surrounding physical fabric of the neighborhood. Its dominant image does not blend with that of the adjacent dense brick row housing, oriented to city streets. Both site organization and the market image design vocabulary separate Villa Victorias from the South End and from its subsidized status. The factors together imply that the residents have market entry capability and that they are a particular ethnic community united around common spaces and common social patterns.

Design Process

The design process is and has been based on direct meetings between the residents, the ETC executive board, and the designers. Many of the original requests were put forth by Feliciano, then the early proposals were circulated extensively among groups of tenants for comment and revision. The guidelines and plan which emerged from this were translated into the 1969 overall development plan. The plans have changed over the years, but the continued meetings between users and designers, as well as the wide agreement with original requirements, have aided consistent development.

ETC organizational rules require that the elected board of directors approve every physical decision, including minor changes. This is obviously a time-consuming process

for the board and the architect, but is felt to be the only way of maintaining direct control by the client group. This works in this case for a number of reasons related to the relative permanence of the people involved: residents, administrators, and designer.

Authority is delegated from the residents to the board, whose members are elected from the group of current residents. Expertise in making decisions on physical issues can accumulate in the group of residents as a whole in part because of the turnover of board members. The continuing involvement of residents--requesting physical features, then living with them during development of later phases--allows these later phases to be better fitted to resident needs. The second phase of the Viviendas project, for example, has had substantial program revisions made on the basis of resident feedback. The upcoming construction will be predominantly townhouses rather than the mid-rise walk-ups considered earlier. In effect, a continual post-occupancy evaluation is built into the design process as a result of the effective communications between residents and designer.

This linkage, combined with the fact that residents control the major building/resource allocation decisions, provides the basis for ETC's effectiveness. Physical decisions are linked with economic development opportunities; piggy-backed with a multiplicity of uses and a variety of funding sources; weighed in terms of social and economic costs-and-benefits; and in other ways are made with the care

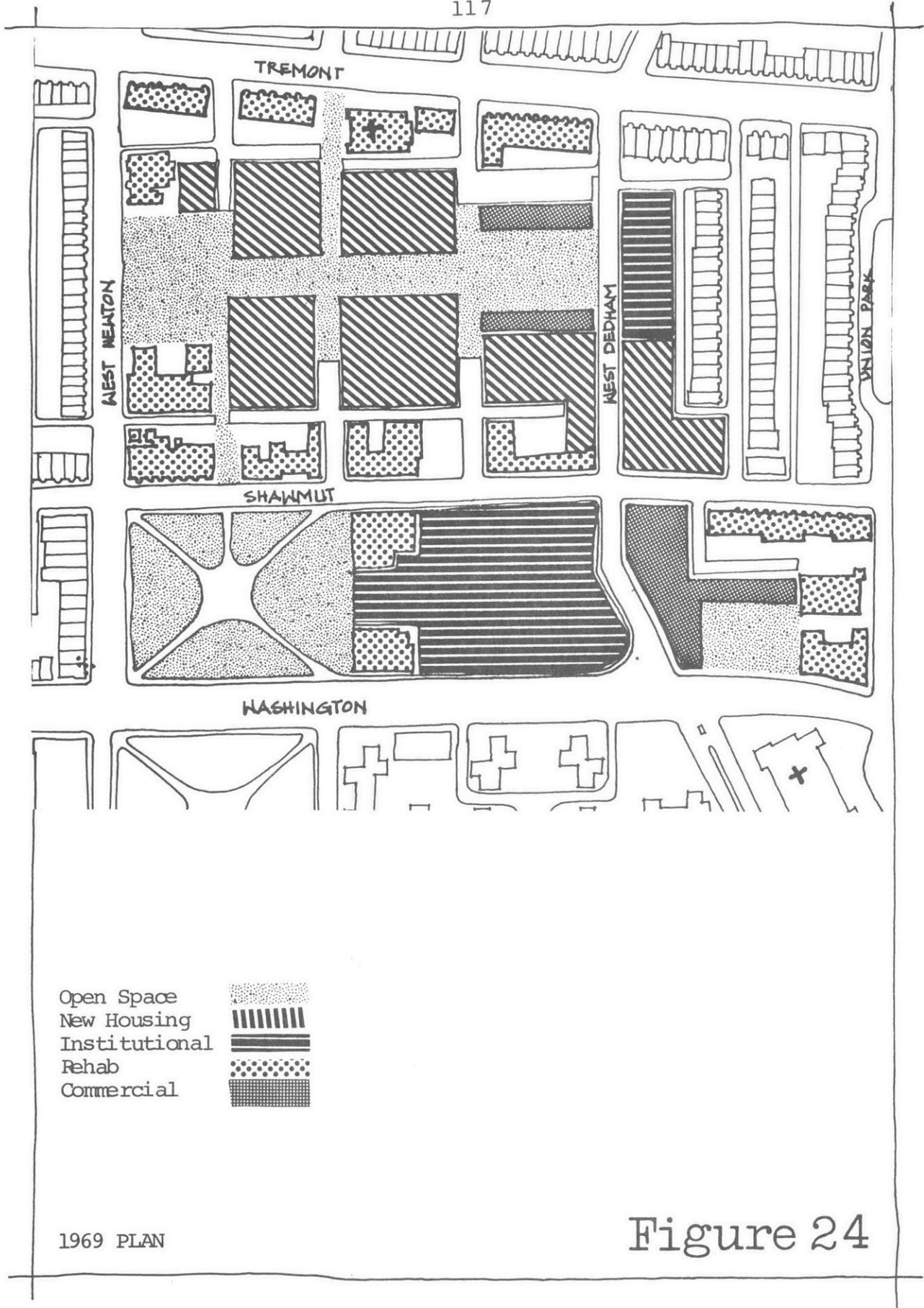
of people who have to live with their decisions.

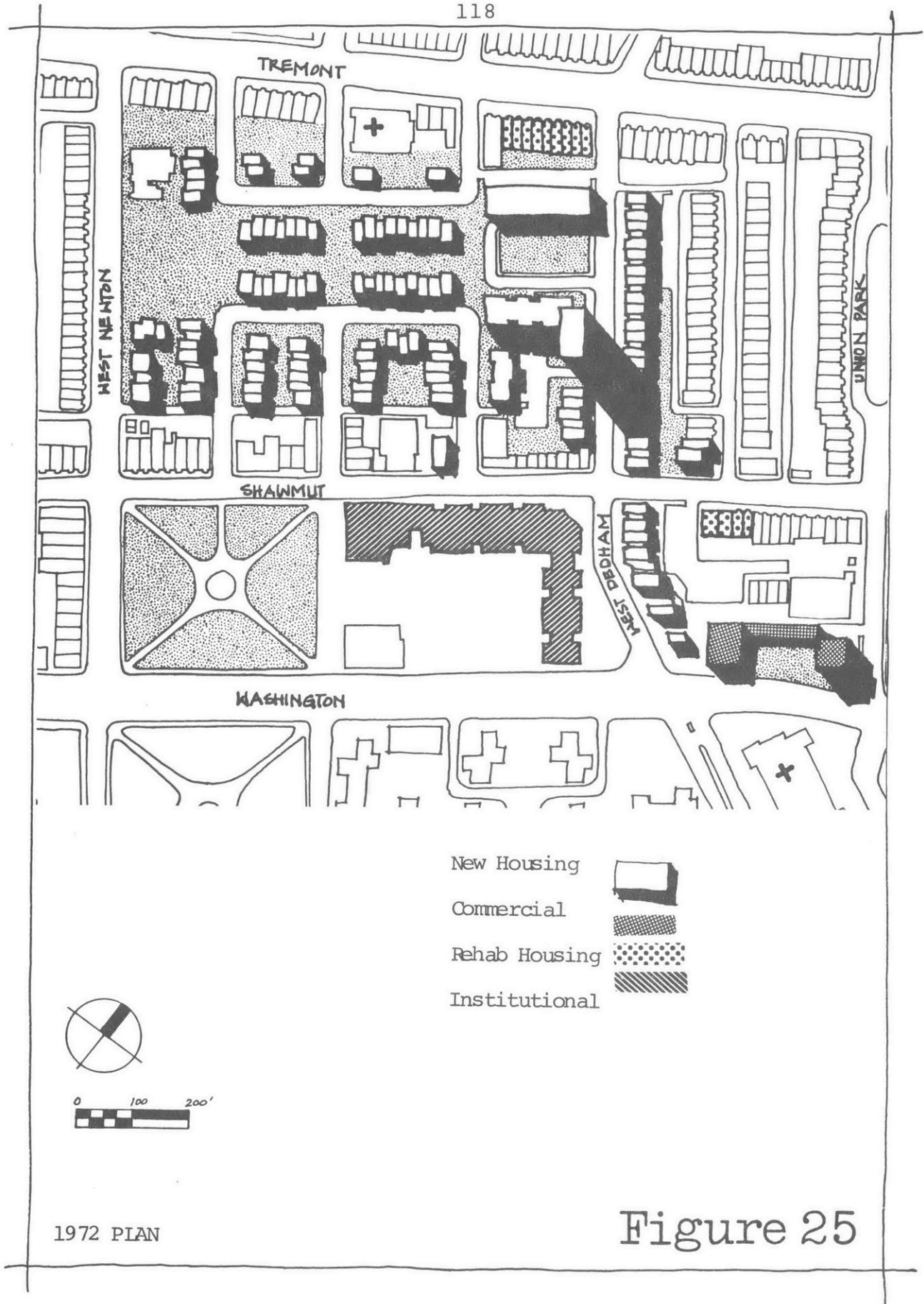
Plan Development

The 1965 BRA redevelopment plan for Parcel 19 required change in the street pattern to produce three large blocks on which neighborhood recreational facilities were supplemented by some housing, commercial space, and infrastructure. The intricate scale of the South End's physical fabric was abandoned, replaced by tall slab buildings in a field of open space. The limited amount of residential space planned was predominantly high rise.

The IBA counter-proposal plan of 1969, designed by Sharratt, Feliciano and the BRA neighborhood planners, was quite different. High-rises were eliminated, the amount of housing increased and distributed around a pedestrian axis. Closing of an additional street, West Brookline, allowed this axis to connect the new plaza to the playground at the opposite end of the parcel. The swimming pool and most other neighborhood recreational uses were dropped in favor of housing and the ETC-oriented plaza. The new infrastructure elements were eliminated and the commercial space pushed to the outer edge of the parcel. A significant number of existing housing units were set aside for rehabilitation rather than demolition, and the unit size and mix specifications were changed.

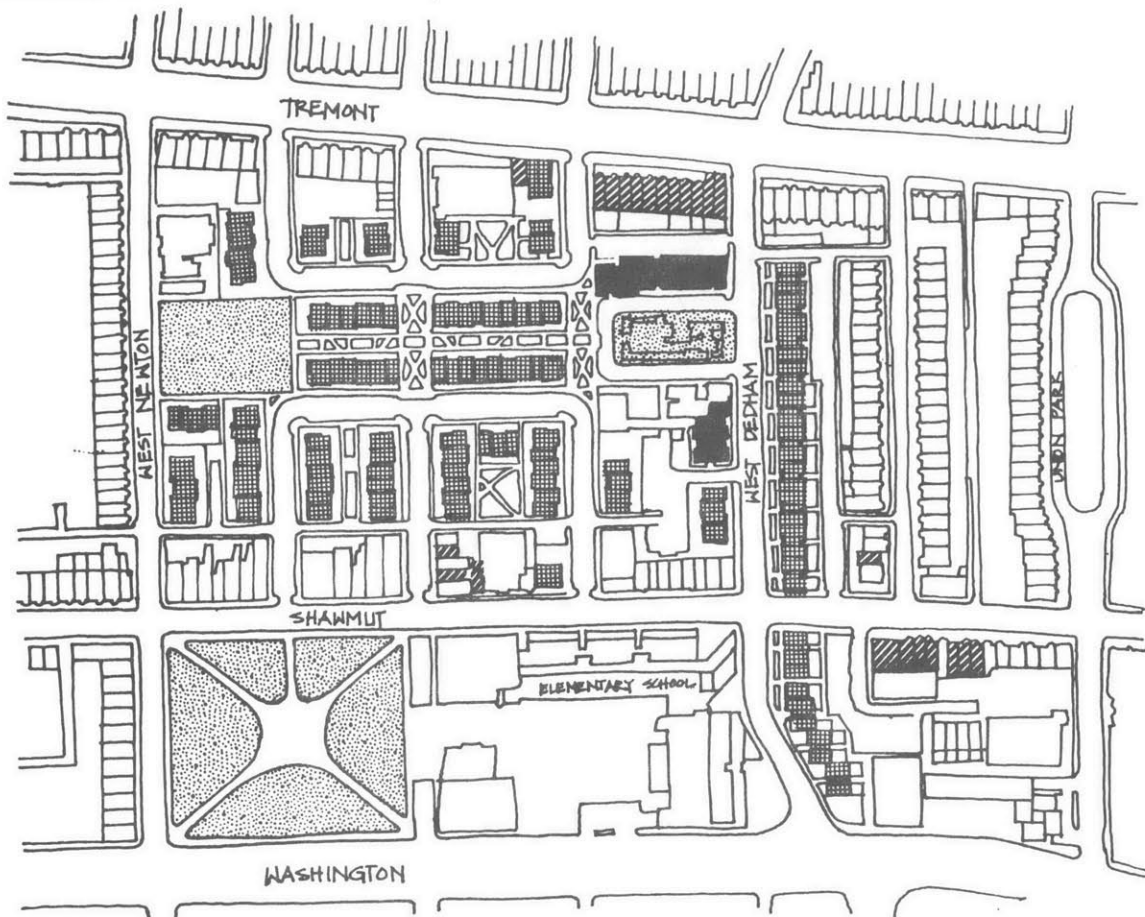
This early proposal was more of a use plan than a physical design, although physical images were generated to make the ideas understandable.









1972 PLAN

Figure 25



- Tower Housing 
- Rehab. Houses 
- Open Space 
- New Townhouses 

1978 PLAN

Figure 26

The 1972 plan was yet another stage in the refinement of the ideas, as well as refinement of the negotiations for use of the land. Building forms appeared on this plan, and streets were looped to approximately their present form, thus connecting auto circulation with the pedestrian axis. The space allocated to institutional use was dropped and replaced by housing, and the elderly housing tower located.

At present, the elements remain basically the same, but are more refined as a group. Most of the intended program has been completed. The second phase of the Viviendas townhouses is scheduled to start construction soon, leaving only the commercial space unbuilt. Completion of the townhouses will extend the pedestrian axis and draw together the whole site. The elderly housing tower has been moved from the West Dedham townhouse row to one side of the plaza and has been reduced in height. The West Dedham townhouses have been redesigned to accommodate an elevated walkway along the street, providing safe sidewalk play area for small children. Part of this townhouse row also includes covered parking, some of which is to serve as incubator space for car repair training programs, which in turn can provide the trained personnel for starting up community-based firms.

This series of transformations in use and scale was a shift from a South End service-oriented program and professional design norms to a design specifically reflecting the programmatic needs and physical ideals of the ETC membership.

This physical transformation produced a neighborhood, but it was also necessary as part of the process that a community be consolidated to use, demand, and shape the physical development. This consolidation has its basis in the tight-knit organization of IBA and the control mechanisms which tie residence, control and social networks together.

A number of other community-based housing projects were started in the aftermath of the 1965 redevelopment plan, most--including Roxse Homes and Methunion Manor--have failed, generally because of economic collapse or loss of community control over decision-making. The bottom line for these projects has been that operating and maintenance expenses have grown to the point that rental income plus subsidy are insufficient to cover both operating and debt service costs. In some cases this is due to poor quality construction or poor management, both of which are in turn reflective of lack of expertise in handling housing development. Energy costs have also added to the problem but do not seem to be the overriding cause of default.(14)

The five completed IBA projects, in comparison, are all producing surplus income. 45 per cent of their rental income is provided by resident payments and 55 per cent by subsidies--now almost exclusively Section 8. The tenants continue to be predominantly low-income and no family earning more than \$16,000 per year can live there. The successful continued manipulation of public subsidy and private funding has contributed significantly to this state

<u>Project</u>	<u>No. Units</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>I BA Involvement</u>	<u>Dates</u>
ETC Associates	71	rehab. family	develop and manage	1970 - 71
West Newton Street	136	rehab. family	manage and tenant selection	1970 - 73
Unity Tower	204	new elderly	develop and manage	1972 - 74
Plaza	---	open space	" "	1974
405 Shawmut	---	rehab. office	" "	1974
Viviendas I	181	new family	" "	1975 - 77
Casas Borinquen	36	rehab. family	" "	1975 - 77
IN PLANNING: Viviendas II	207	new family	" "	1979 - 81
Total Units	835			

PLAN REALIZATION 1969 - 1979

Figure 27

of affairs. A summary table of the development program is included here, and more detailed information on financing is available in the appendix.

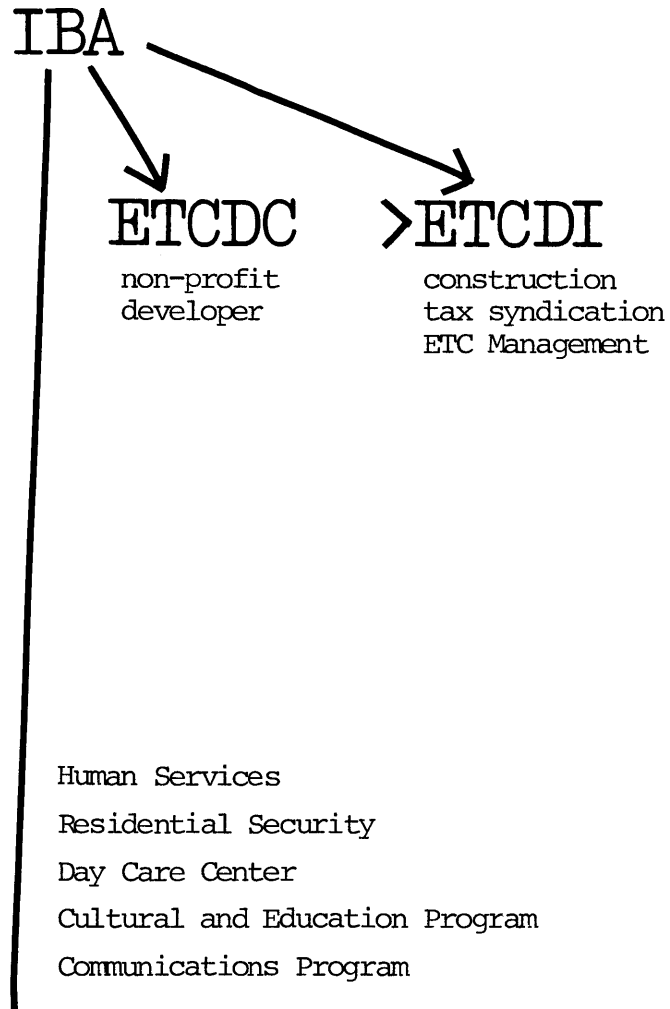
There are a number of softer factors which have undoubtedly also helped. Management control of the properties has been retained by the tenants, but is handled and paid for on a professional basis. The projects are an important symbol of community and personal achievement and commitment. This presumably makes a difference in the care people take of their spaces, which feeds back into the amount of maintenance required.

THE ORGANIZATION

Organizational Structure

Figure 28 details the overall organization of the IBA companies. IBA is a holding company which also provides a series of human services and economic development programs, as shown. It is a non-profit organization made up of a Board of Directors, an Executive Director and staff. The board members must be Spanish speaking: their primary responsibilities are to set policy for the organizations' activities and to oversee the execution of those activities. Members of IBA as a whole must be residents of Parcel 19.

ETCDC, Emergency Tenants Council Development Corporation, is a non-profit development company whose board is identical to that of IBA, with a development specialist staff as back-up. ETCDC is able to receive subsidized seed money



grants, donations, and to tap other funding sources not available to profit-making or limited-dividend developers. The development package is fully prepared by ETCDC before being turned over to ETCDI for construction, management and maintenance.

Emergency Tenants Council Development Incorporated is a for-profit development firm which sells tax shelters on IBA projects, handles construction of the projects, and then turns over the projects to ETC Management Inc., which manages and maintains them. ETCDI has often done business as a partner with other investors in IBA projects, generally forming subsidiary corporations for these specific cases.

The payroll of IBA is presently about \$750,000 annually. 50 per cent of its employees are Parcel 19 residents, most of the others are from surrounding parts of the South End, almost all are from Boston.

Access to Decisions

Formal control of the group's resources and policies is provided through the IBA board of directors. They must be residents and are elected by a general vote of the membership. To be able to vote requires that one be a member of IBA, which requires Parcel 19 residence, payment of \$1 annual dues, and agreement to the organization's rules. Informal communication is the real means of control. It is a relatively small community (approximately 3,500 people) for the size of its resources, so these informal networks can work. Most of the staff and board are residents and the

numerically dominant resident sub-group brings from Puerto Rico a cultural tradition of personal politics: both of these factors also influence the effective reinforcement of formal decision-making with informal discussion.

Access to IBA housing is based on a priority system for working through the waiting list. The qualifications, in order of importance, are:

- * residence on Parcel 19 before 1969
- * residence in other parts of the South End before 1969
- * need--this is determined by social service agencies, often used for large families
- * position on the waiting list, if all else is equal
- * must be under the \$16,000 annual family income limit.

Resource Utilization Policies and Procedures

The client group for IBA has consistently reflected an awareness of the limitations of its own expertise, and has worked carefully and experimentally to expand that expertise.

Income from the developer's role, played by ETCDI, from partnership in development projects, and from management activities is plowed back into IBA investments rather than being directly distributed to members. In some instances, this income has been used to purchase better finishes for the houses, to cover operating or rental income shortfalls, to build the plaza, to add to an endowment fund for IBA (which now totals \$500,000), and to support human services or other programs.

A relatively complete set of services are provided to residents, as listed in the organizational structure diagram. Every program or investment is required to employ and serve residents first, as much as this is possible within the constraints of leveraged public and private money. The residential security program is an example. Funded by CETA and drawing 50 per cent of its employees from Villa Victorias, the rest from the immediate neighborhood, it provides a private security force for all the residents, jobs for some in security, for others in administration, and adds to IBA's already substantial track record in management and development. (15)

Leadership

Since 1969, IBA's leadership has been Hispanic. The position of Executive Director is the dominant one. It is the most powerful full-time staff position in the combined organizations, and since the charismatic Israel Feliciano established the post it has also carried a leadership responsibility beyond the confines of the job description.

In 1973, Feliciano was replaced by Luz Cudrato, a professionally trained planner. Under Luz, ETC became IBA and the Hispanic staff members assumed increasing amounts of the technical support positions. Also during this period, ETC/IBA's financial and political dealings became more sophisticated.

One observer of IBA's development over the years commented that the organization had always managed to get the

right type of leadership at the right time. The present director of IBA is a Harvard-trained planner, whose training is considered well matched to IBA's increasingly sophisticated level of involvement in more complex issues.(16)

It is also worth noting that IBA seems to pick up a considerable amount of trained assistance from Hispanic people who come to the Boston area to study or for professional reasons and affiliate themselves, often permanently, with the organization.(17)

Use of Advocacy Assistance

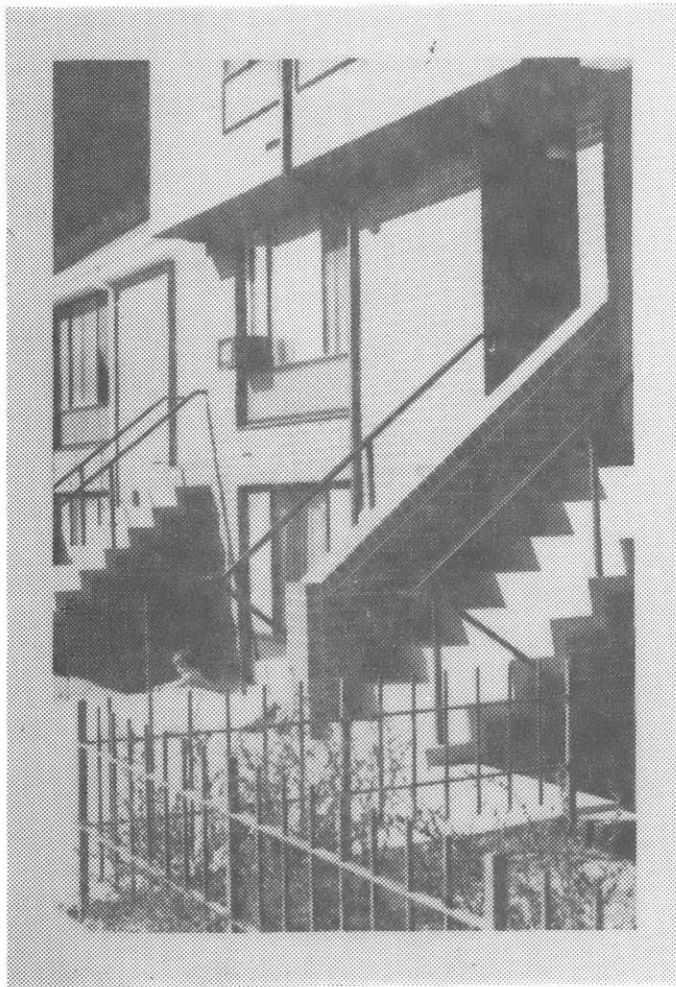
As mentioned in the discussion of ETC's development the early organizers were exclusively non-Hispanic, usually social workers and advocate planners, architects and lawyers. This assistance was essential to the creation of IBA, but it is further interesting in the way these relationships have evolved. Some of the original volunteers have stayed on to run parts of the ETC corporate structure. The professional assistance has generally become a semi-paying proposition. IBA, the non-profit organization, still gets free legal advice from its former advocate lawyers. The law firm also is commissioned to do the legal work necessary for the ETCDI developments, for which they are paid.

The relationships between IBA and Sharratt has followed a somewhat similar course. The participatory design process demands more time than the normal client-architect relationship. This is recognized by IBA staff and is perhaps reflected in the smaller amount of such work undertaken now



Villa Victorias and Adjoining Areas

Figure 29



Villa Victorias

by Sharratt, who continues the process and the work with IBA.

The architect "...is always very laidback with us..., most architects have preconceived ideas and try to fit the client into them...Sharratt took the client's needs as the most important...he was never manipulative or imposing...now he is a commercial architect and has to eat and pay his draftsmen, but he is still this way with us."(Rodrigues interview)

CONCLUSIONS

In 1965 there was a small concentration of unorganized, poor, badly housed, and culturally isolated Puerto Ricans on Parcel 19 in the South End. In 1978 there is a larger, low-income, multi-ethnic community on the same parcel. They live in new housing built to their specifications, control over \$100,000,000 in mortgage and other physically based assets, provide themselves and their neighbors with employment and social services, are a nationally recognized example of successful community building with community control.

Neighborhood and group self-definition at Villa Victorias is the product of political acquisition of resources. Those resources have been used to establish a permanent physical presence, expressive of the identity and under the control of the group.

Resources were acquired over a 10-year period through political organizing and negotiation with public authorities. The group's physical images and requirements were translated into physical design through a process of communication and negotiation with the architect. The organiza-

tion's resources and political skills were utilized to construct the plan, by now reflective of residents' needs and precedents. Through this process a social network was created and strengthened, producing in the end social services as well as housing, community as well as neighborhood.

The clearly defined physical base, serving as a focus for self-definition and organization, has been essential to the identity, structure and success of IBA as a group. The physical conditions and threat of removal from the land were the original focal points of group organization and have remained the continuing central concern. Full membership in the group, including political enfranchisement giving access to control over policy-making and resources, is available only to those who live on that precise piece of land. The group's expertise and resources are concentrated on the development, management and control of their physical space.

This control acts as a sort of urban scale inhabitation, in addition to the small scale control available within the project. ETC's gradual takeover of the Parcel 19 section of the South End has been legitimized, after the fact, by public authorities and by other neighboring community organizations.

The actual physical product of all this effort does in fact reflect the complex meanings and associations relevant to the group. The group social memory is evoked by the plaza

and site organization, and by a few design vocabulary elements. The present status and achievements of the group are conveyed by the addition of market imagery to the evocation of socio-cultural memory.

Acquisition of control over resources required to build the IBA housing is an achievement reflected in the use of market housing images--images associated with a social class also able to acquire the self-image they desire through their control over more than minimum resources. The market imagery conveys a message of economic independence--an illusion which is not generally available to people with the incomes and backgrounds of IBA members. IBA members have substituted political resources for economic ones in order to purchase the message of independence conveyed by the market design vocabulary.

Site planning and organization features have also been tailored to support the social patterns of the group. Density, height, use distribution patterns, and the plaza all reflect these concerns. The plaza, an imported ceremonial space based in cultural precedents, is clearly the most symbolically significant part of this.

The combination of these physical factors has produced a physical fabric at Villa Victorias which is distinctly different from the surrounding neighborhood. This is again a factor contributing to the clarity of group self-definition. It is not crisp boundary definition, as the new construction is ringed by rehabilitated housing which still

looks like the rest of the neighborhood. Instead, the plaza and the new housing are the center and the symbols of the community which has defined itself on Parcel 19.

Conclusions

The thread of study through this thesis has been concerned with the factors which support neighborhood self-definition. This develops over time as a congruence between social community and physical fabric. It is the product of a social group acting to manipulate space, imagery, and social relations to produce a satisfying fit.

Neither previous studies nor this thesis define an algorithm for the generation of a self-defining neighborhood. From the evidence in these two cases, the lesson may be that approaching the problems of neighborhood design from a set of universally applicable design or social science principles may be exactly the wrong approach. In both the cases considered, attention to the unique circumstances of each case seems to have been responsible for the respective successes of Tiburtino and Villa Victorias.

At Tiburtino, residents were involved only after the completion of the housing project. Their basis of action was self-initiated modification of the completed environment--made easier through the designers' use of malleable materials and supportive design organization and vocabulary. The end result has been realignment of group boundaries at the block and unit levels, reinforcement of some site level boundaries, and reallocation of certain peoples' right to use certain spaces--i.e., change in the privacy gradations throughout the site. Special conditions which reinforced the creation of this sympathetic environment and

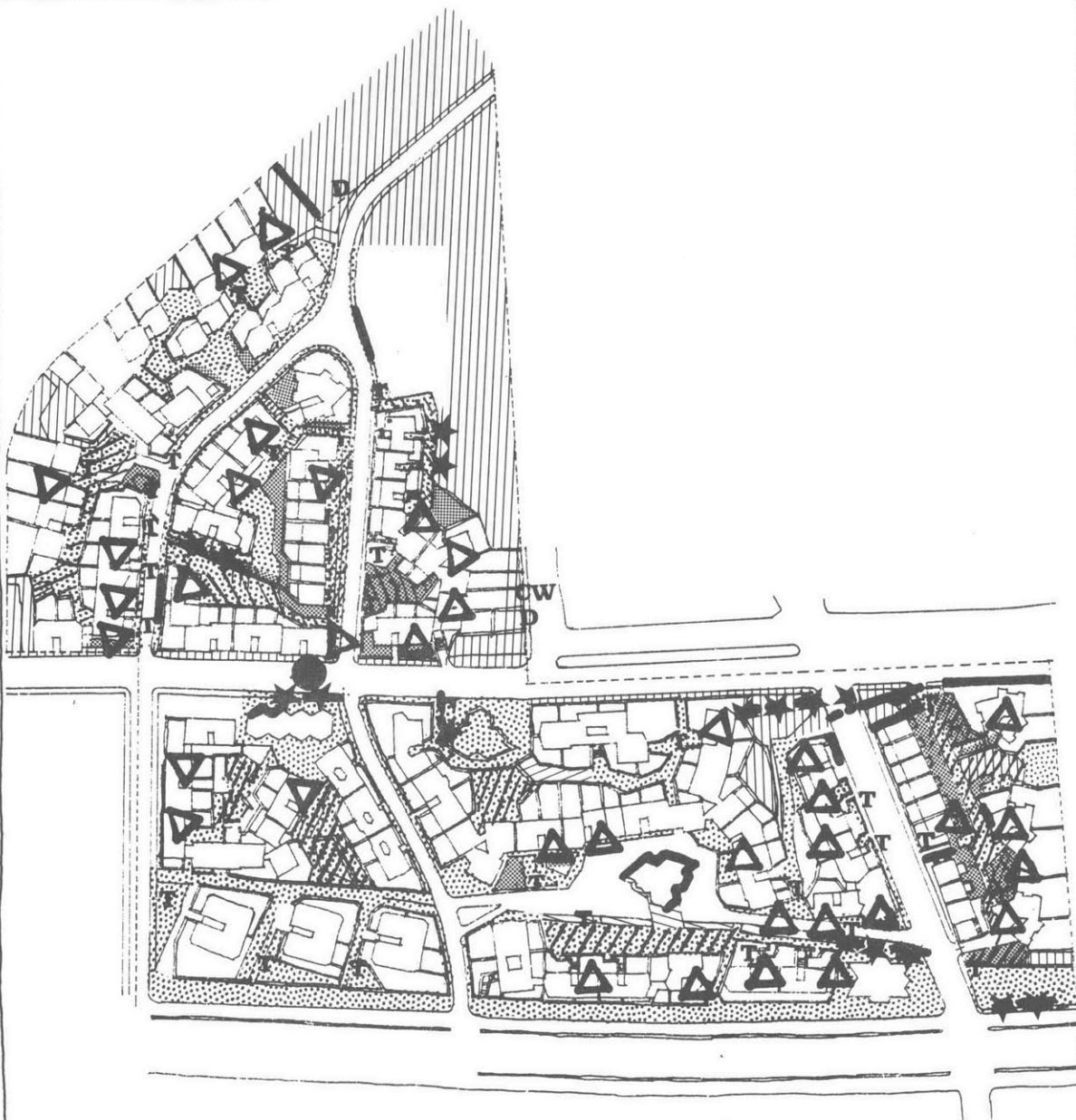
the residents' freedom to modify it include: relative permanence of resident households, regardless of tenure due to the lack of other housing alternatives; and the "cultural moment" which brought together the design ideology of Neo-realism, the INA-Casa program, and the urbanizing population still accustomed to physical modification of spaces as a way of accomodating needs.

A very different set of conditions led to a similar congruence of social group and physical fabric at Villa Victorias. Here the basis of action was acquisition of resources in order to provide for the group both the physical environemnt and the social services necessary to their existence. Their participation was expressed as direct control of resources and decision-making power in design and policy. The result was provision of housing and services under resident control and the creation of a functional and symbolic heart--the new townhouses and plaza--which marks the group's identity and power within the complex urban fabric of the South End. The special conditions necessary to this chain of events were: the pre-existing ethnic cultural identity of the group; the urban renewal process as a powerful, poitically controlled, bureaucratic structure capable of responding to group pressures; and the "cultural moment," which made available the advocacy assistance essential to the political organization, technical competence, and process sensitivity displayed through the IBA development program.

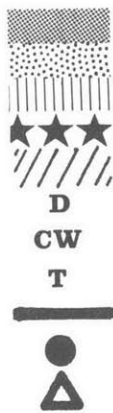
For the socio-physical synthesis apparent in both cases to take place, it is necessary that residents of the neighborhood have both some control over and some affiliation with the place. This can be done through modification of a prepared environment if the physical forms and materials are malleable, the imagery is comprehensible to residents, and, again, if they are there long enough to fit the environment to their needs.

The designers of both these cases actively attempted to make the projects comprehensible and serviceable to users. In both cases, the groups were able to understand the messages put out by their spaces and to transform those spaces; to better express the meanings conveyed by those spaces; to control the images they wished to project as physically-based social groups; and to fit their functional needs better.

Appendices



- Gardened / Improved**
- Maintained**
- Neglected**
- Hangout**
- Play Space**
- Trash Dumping & Burning**
- Car Washing**
- Trash Pickup**
- Graffiti**
- Poster Wall**
- Ina Casa & Church Signs**



SPACE CONDITION AND ACTIVITY PATTERNS

Figure A1

APPENDIX 1: TIBURTINO IV

The following discussion describes the signage, activity pattern and maintenance conditions used in some of the case analysis. Map 1 documents location of this data.

Looking first at the present maintenance level or condition of non-private spaces, the pattern of upkeep is not particularly surprising. The areas not connected with access-ways to building entrances and the areas furthest from the market area and/or Via Tiburtina are the areas most likely to be neglected. Improved areas are indicative of common action by neighbors to upgrade, or maintain at a high level, the condition of the space. In Blocks 9 and 1, for example, semi-private medians and green spaces are actively gardened by residents. Food and ornamental plants have replaced the original grass cover, edging and low fencing have been added, and weeding and watering is kept up. In these blocks, the areas thus modified fall into the more public end of the semi-private spectrum. In Block 6, however, a group of residents have fenced in a portion of the large unused southern portion of the site, planted several vegetable gardens, and secured the area from entry by everyone not actually working the gardens. Like most other subdivisions of larger spaces, this one filled in a crook in the ground plan, fully enclosing a space already defined on two edges. This sort of common effort, confirmed as such by conversations with residents on site, is indica-

tive of the development of some spatially based social organization on the site.

Activity patterns and signage reinforce the points of connection between block spaces and the site level distribution of activities.

Children's play space is concentrated on the network of central spaces in each block. Groups of children ranging up to about 15 years of age were frequently observed using the semi-private and semi-public spaces internal to the block as playgrounds. The groups generally did not extend their activities beyond the boundaries of their block.

Adults, on the other hand, concentrated their activities on the edges between blocks or in public areas external to block organization. Teenagers and young adults concentrated on the corners of major streets, near coffee bars. The elderly hang-outs were behind commercial buildings fronting onto the main streets and in the public open spaces near the market. Few middle-aged adults were observed hanging out.

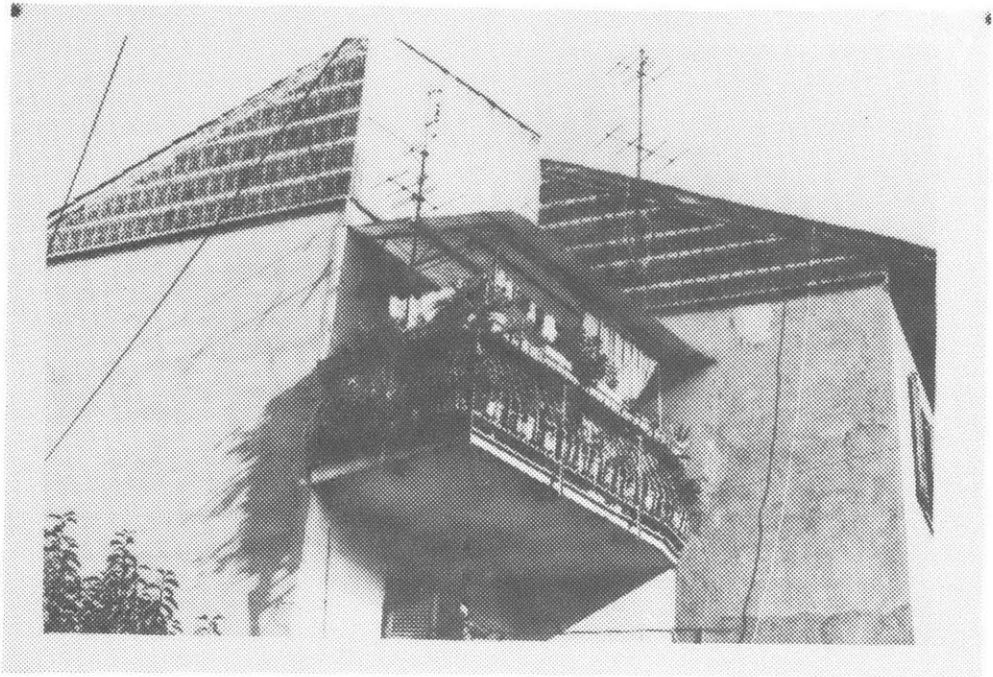
A number of other gathering places were observed. The bocce courts on the south side of the site were usually well populated by a few men and boys playing bocce and many others observing. The southwestern edge of the site hosted a number of activities--car washing, dog walking, trash dumping and parking. This and the other dumping area are both on little used parts of the site, well separated from housing by walls or grade separation and far from Via

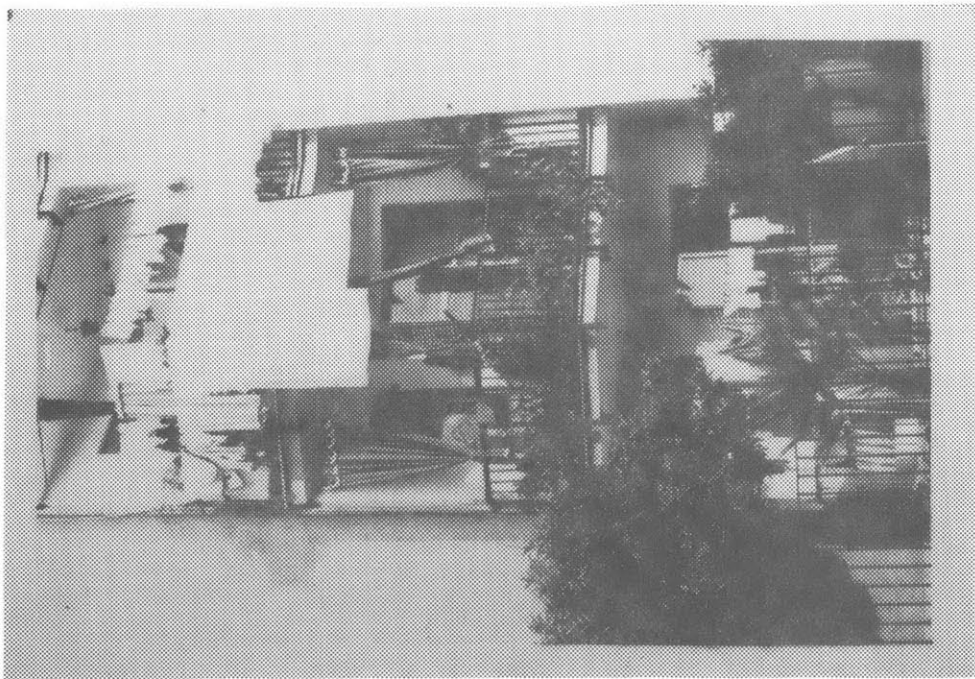
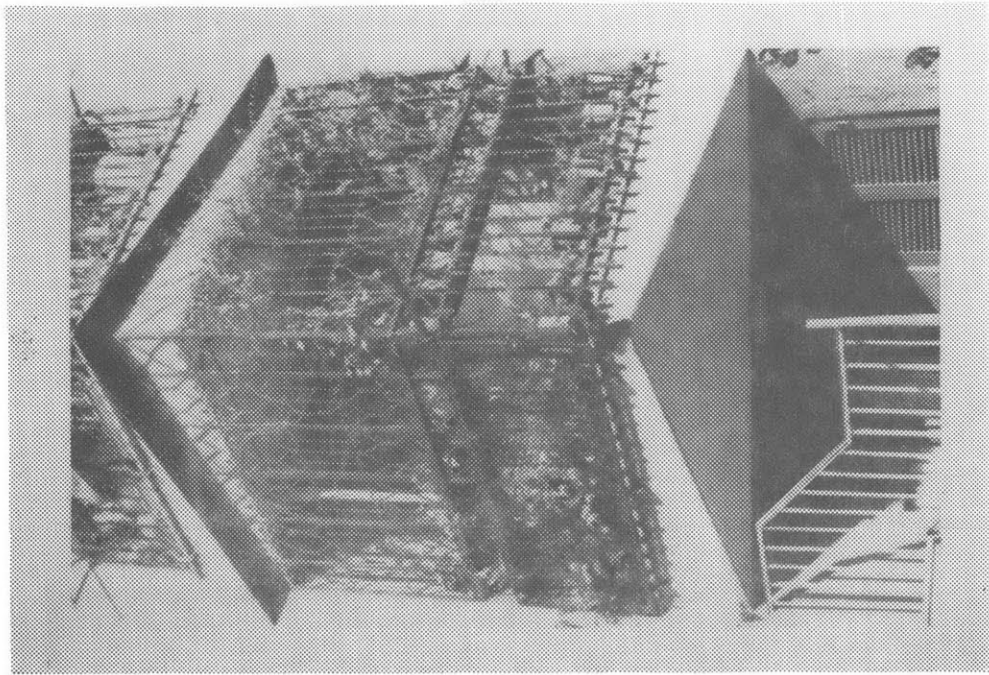
Tiburtina, but both are within sight of major activity centers.

Signage at Tiburtino is both institutional and private. INA-Casa plaques were installed on most of the buildings during construction and serve to further define the distinctiveness of the area from its neighbors, whose sponsors are anonymous. The building forms make this somewhat redundant as a statement of differentness, but the identification with INA-Casa may have some further social meaning.

At the crossroads of the site's two major streets, a shrine is built into a wall facing the crossing and the wall is covered with a variety of posters. This shrine was apparently put in as part of the original design and reflects again a common practice in Italian cities and towns of all sizes--the major spaces of a neighborhood are marked by individual, or successions of, shrines. One tower building in Block 9 has a shrine installed by residents over the lobby entry and many of the private open spaces have family shrines built into walls or gardens.

Graffiti is the most telling form of signage at Tiburtino. It is located exclusively at the outer faces or boundaries of blocks and in public spaces. Semi-public and semi-private spaces are free of graffiti.





APPENDIX 2: VILLA VICTORIAS

The following tables, distributed by IBA, summarize the details of their development program.

PHASE ONE DEVELOPMENT

Type of Work: Housing and Commercial
REHABILITATION 1 OF VILLA VICTORIA

Location: Boston's South End: 610,612,614,616,618,620,624,
626 Tremont Street; 336,338,340, and 346 Shawmut
Avenue

Owner: ETC and Associates

Developer: ETC Development Corporation, a subsidiary of
Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion

Contractor: Sydney Construction Company, Brookline, Mass.

Scope of Work: Renovation of existing brick town houses into
71 units of housing, 14-OBR, 71-1BR, 9-3BR, 1-4BR

Completion Date: 1972

Area of Site: 22,440.55 sq. ft.
Gross Floor Area: 71,557. sq. ft.
Net Rentable Commercial:

Financing:

Construction:	First National Bank of Boston
Permanent:	First National Bank of Boston
Subsidy Program:	HUD Section 236 Interest Subsidy
Construction Cost:	\$1,018,770 6/77
Development Cost:	\$1,311,900
Construction Cost per sq. ft.	\$4.24
Development Cost per sq. ft.	\$18.33

Rents:

Management: ETC Management Inc.

Parking: Street Parking

Construction: Existing brick load-bearing walls with wood
floor and roof framing, brick interior

Amenities: Exposed brick walls, wood floors, dishwashers,
disposals

Architect: John Sharratt Associates

PHASE TWO DEVELOPMENT

Type of Work: Housing and Community Space

Location: 80 West Dedham St., Boston, MA.

Owner: Boston Housing Authority

Developer: ETC Developers, Inc.

Architect: John Sharratt Associates

Contractor: Peabody Construction Co.

Scope of Work: New construction of 204 units of elderly housing in a 19-story structure; 86-1BR, 117 studios, 1-2BR, Community Space, Management Spaces and formal plaza

Completion Date 1974

Area of Site: 62,000 sq. ft. (including 17,000 sq. ft. plaza)

Gross Floor Area: 127,262 sq. ft.

Parking: 41 spaces adjacent to building

Financing:

- Construction: Mass. Housing Finance Agency
- Permanent: FHA/HUD Turnkey sale to local hsg. auth. by ETC
- Subsidy Program: Turnkey Management Contract to ETC

Construction Cost: \$3,774,842 (M)

Development Cost: \$4,617,562

Rents: 25% of tenant's income

Management: ETC Management Inc.

Construction: 19-story steel frame with precast plank floor

Amenities: Community rooms (special handicap provisions), disposals, large plaza with extensive landscape, balconies, roof terrace and greenhouse

PHASE THREE DEVELOPMENT

Type of Work: Housing and Commercial
VIVIENDAS (MID-RISE AND TOWN HOUSES) OF
VILLA VICTORIA

Location: Boston South End: between West Dedham Street,
West Brookline Street, Shawmut Avenue and Tremont
Street

Owner: Viviendas Associates

Developer: ETC Developer, a subsidiary of Inquilinos Boricuas
en Accion

Architect: John Sharratt Associates

Contractor: CBI-Oxford Construction, Boston

Scope of Work: New construction of 181 units: 11 studios, 52-1BR,
64-2BR, 26-4BR, and 4-6BR

Completion Date: 1976

Area of Site: 128,219 sq. ft.
Gross Floor Area: 193,374 sq. ft.
Net Rentable Residential 161,368 sq. ft.
Net Rentable Commercial 3,310 sq. ft.

Financing:
Permanent: Freedom Federal Savings & Loan
Construction: MHFA
Subsidy Program: HUD Section 236 interest subsidy
Construction Cost: \$4,448,020
Development Cost: \$5,600,000

Rents: 71 units, Low Income: 25% of tenant income
109 units, moderate income: 25% of tenant income

Parking: 160 spaces

Management: ETC Management Inc.

PHASE FOUR DEVELOPMENT

Type of Work: Housing and Commercial
CASAS BORINQUEN OF VILLA VICTORIA

Location: South End, Boston
10 Upton Street, 75-79 W. Brookline Street,
628-30, 638 Tremont Street 328, 330, 334,401
Shawmut Avenue

Owner: Borinquen Associates

Developer: ETC Development Corp., a subsidiary of Inquilinos
Boricuas en Accion

Contractor: James O. McFarland, West Roxbury, Ma.

Scope of Work: Renovation of nine existing brick town houses
into 36 units of housing, 18-1BR, 6-2BR, 7-3BR,
5-4BR

Completion Date: May, 1977

Area of site: 23,278 sq. ft.

Gross Floor Area: 50,463 sq. ft.
Net Rentable Residential: 48,163 sq. ft.
Net Rentable Commercial: 2,300 sq. ft.

Parking: Street parking

Financing:
Construction: Mass. Housing Finance Agency
Permanent: Mass. Housing Finance Agency
Subsidy Program HUD Section 8, Rent subsidy
Construction Cost: \$ 969,386
Development Cost: \$1,220,717

Management: ETC Management, Inc.

Construction: Existing brick load-bearing walls with wood
floor and roof framing, brick exterior

Amenity: Exposed brick walls, wood floors, and carpeting,
disposals, air conditioning

Architect: John Sharratt Associates

PHASE FIVE DEVELOPMENT

Type of Work: Housing and Community Space
(PROPOSED) VIVIENDAS LA VICTORIA II

Location: South End, Boston, Mass.
Site divides generally into two principal sections: one bounded by W. Dedham Street, Drapers Lane, Ivanhoe Street and Shawmut Avenue, and the other bounded by W. Newton Street, W. Brookline Street, Ivanhoe Street and Newland Street

Developer: ETC Development Corporation, a non-profit, wholly-owned subsidiary of Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion (IBA)

Architect: John Sharratt Associates

Packager: Greater Boston Community Development

Legal Council: Palmer and Dodge

Seed Money Donors: United Catholic Conference Campaign for Human Development
Episcopal City Mission
Greater Boston Community Development

Scope of Work: New construction of townhouse units, and of one four-story building with commercial on the first floor. Total units of housing 194.

Financing: 221(d) (4) mortgage insurance from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; with Section 8 subsidy from the same source

Amenities: Disposals, community space at 4-story building, laundries, private yards for townhouses, off-street and covered parking, extensive landscaping, tot lots, victory gardens

Proposed Construction Start: Summer 1978

APPENDIX 3: FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. "Within social psychology, behaviouristic theories are oriented principally to the individual, and in a passive or mechanistic mood. For example, social learning theory (e.g. Bandura, 1971) attempts to explain the processes by which an individual acquires behaviour patterns and attitudes in the context of relations with other persons. The focus of interest in studies of socialisation is on the end-state of the learning process in the developing individual. The process is typically analysed in terms of reinforcement contingencies. In exchange theory (eg. Thibaut & Kelley, 1959, Blau, 1964) social interaction is explained through concepts of 'reward,' 'cost,' 'outcome,' and 'comparison level.' The former two terms are familiar behaviouristic notions. The theory is presented in terms of two-person interaction in a dyad. But generally it is the behaviour of each individual and the outcome for him which is examined, rather than the dyad as a total system. Although trait theories of personality (eg. Cattell, 1950) have a mixed parentage, incorporating psychoanalytic as well as behaviouristic elements, they can also be considered in the same light. They tend to have biological overtones, with personality defined in terms of an inner, essential aspect of man. Traits, like the acquired behaviour and attitudes which social learning theory seeks to explain, and like the given dyadic situations of exchange theory, have an air of stability and finality. Despite their predictive goals, behaviouristic theories deal essentially with the past of psychological phenomena rather than the present or future.

These three theories are inevitable candidates for application in political psychology. Indeed, socialisation and personality, including the closely related approach through 'needs,' have been used as core concepts (Knutson, 1973; Lane, 1969). Even the discussion of participatory systems leans heavily on socialisation as the route to political efficacy.⁽⁵⁾ And although there has been a lack of precision in specifying which aspects of personality are to be developed by experience of participatory democracy, there has been no positive avoidance of the concepts of trait and need. Behaviouristic theory, however, is an inappropriate framework for a discussion of participation because of its undue attention to the passive individual and to static conditions of equilibrium.

The second type of social psychological theory, role

theory, needs only a brief description (cf. Sarbin & Allen, 1968):

'Man has certain positions within the social system and related to these positions are normative expectations concerning the individual's behaviour and concerning relevant attributes. Positions are independent of a specific occupant. The same is true of the expectations directed towards a position; they are defined as the role of the incumbent of a position' (Israel, 1972, p. 140).

Once again role theory has obvious application within political psychology wherever there is an interest in administration and the organisational arrangements subserving it. Leaders, holders of political office, and attitudes and behaviour towards them have been viewed through the framework of roles (cf. Sears, 1969). No doubt one might even envisage a participatory system structured so as to include roles. (6) But the concept is basically at variance with the participatory ideal. Cole, for example, made it clear that in the participatory workplace there would no longer be a group of 'managers' and a group of 'men,' but one group of equal decision-makers. The strong social orientation of role theory, to the exclusion of the individual's active interests, is an equally anti-pathetic element. The integration of the individual and the social group is proposed as one of the three main functions of participation by Rousseau, J. S. Mill and Cole. This cannot be achieved by the individual submitting passively to the influence of social or political institutions as role theory tends to assume he will. (Streiger, pp. 130 & 131)

2. See E.H. Gombrich, Symbolic Images; and C. Norberg-Schultz, "Meaning in Architecture," in Meaning in Architecture, Jencks & Baird, eds, for discussion of this point.
3. See The Syntax of Cities, P.F. Smith; and R.L. Gregory, Eye and Brain for discussion.
4. See Mario Gandelsonas, editorial, "Neo-Functionalism" in Oppositions 5, Summer 1976, pp. 1-2, for a summary of trends in design theory. Also see "History as Myth," Charles Jencks, in Meaning in Architecture.
5. Gombrich, op. cit., p. 8.
6. Also see Becker, 1977, pp. 15-16 for discussion of the relative social meaning of personalization in high and low income housing.

7. See Participation and Democratic Theory, Carole Pateman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) for discussion.

Chapter 2: Tiburtino IV

1. "The Periphery of Rome: Development and Inhabitation," MIT Department of Architecture Report, June 1979, Gordon King and Christine Cousineau.
2. Interview, November 1978, Lucovico Quaroni.
3. Mark Isaacs, "Design Ideology in the Peripheria," in The Periphery of Rome: Development and Inhabitation, op. cit.; also Quaroni interview, November 1978.
4. "Unita residenziale al Km. 7 della Via Tiburtina," Casabella continua 215, Aprile-Maggio 1957, p. 18#43.

Chapter 3: Villa Victorias

1. The organization was originally named ETC--Emergency Tenants Council. The name was changed in 1973 to IBA--Inquilinos Boricuas Accion, meaning Puerto Rican Tenants in Action.
- 2, "SEPAC Housing Report," 1973, South End Project Area Committee, Boston; "South End Neighborhood Report," Boston Redevelopment Authority, Boston, June 1975.
3. ABCD report, p. 17.
4. Interviews: Luis Rodrigues, March 1979; and John Sharratt, February 1979.
5. See The Urban Villagers, Herbert Gans (New York: The Free Press, 1962).
6. "The 90 Million Dollar Development Program for Boston," reprint from City Record, 24 September 1960.
7. SEPAC report, op.cit., pp. B-4 & 5.
8. Ibid., pp. B-5-7, B-11; IBA Development, unpublished ms. Dalidia Colon, 1979, p. 34.
9. IBA Development, op. cit., pp. 34-36; Interview, Luis Rodrigues, March 1979.
10. IBA Development., op. cit., p. 38.

11. Ibid., pp. 40, 42 & 45.
12. Rodrigues Interview, op. cit.
13. Interviews; Rodrigues, Sharratt, and Colon, op. cit.
14. Community Housing Development Corporations: The Empty Promise, The Housing and Community Research Groups, (Cambridge: Urban Planning Aid, Inc., 1973).
15. Interviews; Rodrigues and Colon, op. cit.
16. Interview; Sharratt, op. cit.
17. Interview; Rodrigues, op. cit.

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