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HABITAT AS A TERRITORIAL FORM

HABITAT JAKO FORMA TERYTORIALNA

Abstract

The territory forms the relation between spatial arrangement and social structure, and thus constitutes the “social logic” of a space. Three main stages were distinguished in the discussion on the transformation of urban form: the city itself as a territorial form, the search of an alternative to the urban space, and finally the re-search of the habitat.

Keywords: habitat, territory, urban form

Streszczenie

Terytorium tworzy relację między układem przestrzennym, a strukturą społeczną i stanowi „społeczną logikę” przestrzeni. Omawiając transformacje form urbanistycznych wyróżniono trzy główne etapy: miasto jako forma terytorialna, poszukiwanie alternatywy dla przestrzeni miejskiej i ostatecznie formowanie habitatu.

Słowa kluczowe: habitat, terytorium, forma urbanistyczna

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1. INTRODUCTION

The built environment, the individual's space of life, is a complex reality allowing various attempts at explanation and interpretation. Territorial issues deserve particular attention while considering environment in the context of a place to live. The diversely defined affiliation of a certain person or community to a certain space is the nature of a territory's aspect. The territory forms the relation between spatial arrangement and social structure, and thus constitutes the "social logic" of a space. It is the condition of creating a habitat – a housing environment with which residents can feel connected and for which they take responsibility¹.

Spatial forms divide space and determine territories in different ways and to different extents.

This essay aims to trace the historical process of changes of forms in urban development with particular attention to territorial issues. Out of necessity, it is only an outline of these extensive problems and an introduction to further research.

Three main stages were distinguished in the discussion on the transformation of urban form. The first one takes under consideration the period when the city itself is a territorial form, and subsequently, as a result of historical processes, ceases to be one. The next stage includes the search for an alternative to the urban space – different forms of a new prosocial space. This stage ends with the realization of a modernist concept of a total space. The third stage is the period of re-search of the habitat and an attempt to the contemporary interpretation of traditional patternp.

2. THE CITY AS A TERRITORY

Determining the territory of a community is one of the important objectives of urbanization. Lewis Mumford claims that the main reason for a mediaeval city to be formed was the need for protection, carried out by means of allocating safe enclaves. Economic and cultural activities were developing within the boundaries and around the enclaves. In the restless, poorly populated, and politically decentralised Europe of the early Middle Ages, monasteries, followed by towns, were considered such enclaves². Settling in the city was connected to a change of status in the emerging feudal structure and exclusion from the burden of *laws* resulting from the attachment to the land. The city formed an elite and privileged community, conditioned by separation from the surroundings, demonstrated by a defined spatial structure. The wall that surrounded the city was not a secondary addition, constructed solely for military purposes, but a constitutive element for the entire socio-spatial organism. Apart from defending, it performed the role of administrative demarcation – marking out the limits of the applied privileges and the area of special taxation for the founder of the city. The mediaeval city constituted – with respect both to space and community – a strongly situated and rooted existence, creating clear opposition between *here vs. there* as well as *us vs. them* (III.1).

¹ Z. Bać, *Habitat – wybrane problemy organizacji przestrzeni zamieszkania*, w: *Habitat w regionie*, Z. Bać (ed.), Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, Wrocław 1998, p. 31–33.

² L. Mumford, *The culture of cities*, Secker Warburg, London 1945, p. 13–70.

In contrast to the outside manifestation of the defensive appearance of the mediaeval city, internal affairs developed in another way. The urban community formed a strongly consolidated egalitarian society with democratic public life. Considering later relationships, wealth differences were relatively slight and did not disturb the social solidarity. It was protected by a powerful guild organization, holding the entire community together by means of corporate connections, as well as deeply professed religious and ethical ideals limiting economic rivalry. Belonging to the bourgeoisie also implied an involvement in the life of autonomous political community of the city and a contribution to the culture, e. g. through the participation in guild mysteries and processions. All these specifics had their equivalents in the spatial form of the city. A distinctively formed public space was, apart from the wall, the basic and particular part of the mediaeval city. The streets of the mediaeval city created a non-hierarchical spatial network system, providing uniform availability of all places. Houses were situated directly on the street, opening to it with big windows and representative facades. A burgher's house was at the same time the house of his family and members of his workshop, a master and a journeyman. They ate meals, prayed, and sometimes even slept in one chamber together. The street belonged equally both to a rich member of the merchant guild and to a representative of the guild of beggars.

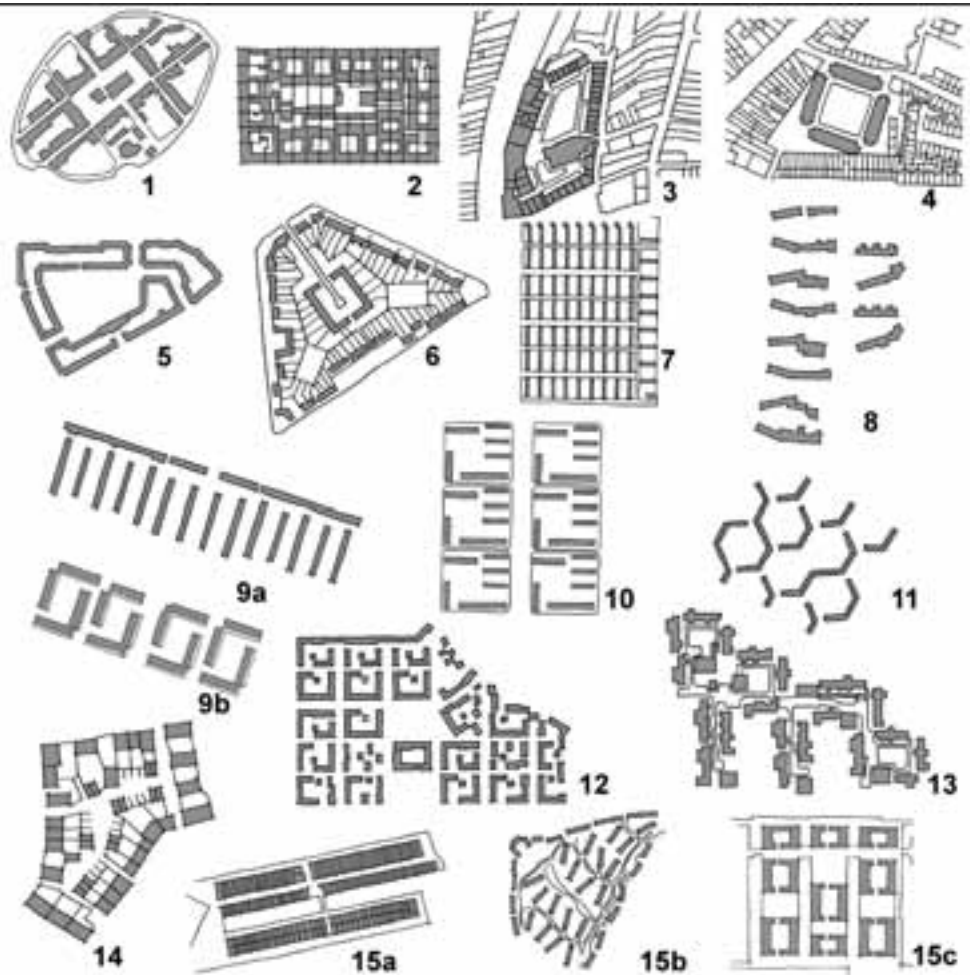
In the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, the culture of cities underwent significant transformation. This was facilitated by undermining the civilization foundations of the mediaeval society – the unity in the religious and ethical area and decentralized political organization. Power, previously dispersed in autonomous duchies and districts, was concentrated in the hands of rulers. At the same time, the crisis of the idea of religious and moral supervision of the Church over economic reports increased competition and caused the commoditisation of employment. Capitalism was born, and, along with it, an economic stratification and weakening of bonds in local communities took place. Cities lost the political independence, guilds failed, and internal relationships moved towards oligarchy. The dominating class of patricians as well as an urban proletariat deprived of the means of production, arose from the relatively egalitarian community of the mediaeval city.

Initially, all the epochal changes did not influence the physical structure of cities, which remained in the late-mediaeval form. Together with the growth of population, existing urban centres became overcrowded. Bourgeois parcels were entirely built up, the height of tenements rose, and buildings were divided into separate units rented for profit. Living conditions in cities deteriorated. Even though the urban planning form stayed mostly unchanged, as Mumford writes, the European city on the threshold of the Industrial Revolution remained only a “blown egg” of a former social organization which had led to its creation³. The space of the city lost its primal function of a “safe space” – the domain of an autonomous community.

At the start of the Industrial Revolution, the “corset” of fortification was removed and a boundless spatial expansion began. The city was no longer a closed territorial form.

The fall of absolutism opened a path to liberal ideology, condemning all forms of state intervention. Private initiative and land speculation played leading roles in shaping the form of the city. Urban regulations were restricted only to the division of new grounds for private investments. The density of developments was unlimited. Only in the second half of

³ *Ibidem.*



Ill. 1. The mediaeval city as a territorial form (author's drawing) Ill. 2. A tenement development – Berlin, the second half of the 19th century (author's drawing) Ill. 3. Beginage in Amsterdam submerged in the urban fabric – present day (author's drawing) Ill. 4. The courtyard, Peabody Foundation, England, the second half of the 19th century (author's drawing) Ill. 5. Workers' housing – Spandammerburt, Amsterdam, planned by H.P. Berlage in 1917 (author's drawing) Ill. 6. New forms of the neighbourhood space in the projects of garden cities (author's drawing) Ill. 7. Zeilenbau system in the Westhausen housing estate in Frankfurt. The project of Ernst May from 1929 (author's drawing) Ill. 8. Charlottenburg housing estate in Berlin, the project of Hans Scharoun (A) and the prewar Siemensstadt project (B) by the same architect (author's drawing) Ill. 9. The post-war expansion of Amsterdam, Sloterveer district – early phase (A), late phase (B) (author's drawing) Ill. 10. A fragment of the Klein Driene estate in Henglo, Jaap Bakema (author's drawing) Ill. 11. A fragment of the Bijlmermeer development in Amsterdam (author's drawing) Ill. 12. Nya Bruket housing development, by Ralf Erskine (author's drawing) Ill. 13. Tingarten housing estate, designed by Tegnestuen Vandkunsten (author's drawing) Ill. 14. Poundbury block, designed by Leon Krier (author's drawing) Ill. 15. Diverse forms of housing in Dutch ViNeX locations, 1998–2010: A – Borneo Sporenburg Amsterdam, designed by West8, B – Stadstuin, Amersfoort, designed by SVP, C-Patio Houses, Ypenburg, designed by MVRDV (author's drawing)

the 19th century were the liberal (in light of current experience) building regulations introduced, ordering minimum distances between buildings. In tenement buildings, in addition to peripheral buildings, there were even two rows of rear houses formed, separated by the “wells” of backyards. The tenement houses, from German: *Mietskaserne*, built in Berlin, based on the plan by James Hobrecht from 1859, were a classic example of such development (Ill.2). Backyards in tenement housing, deprived of light and air circulation, became the symbol of the mistakes of contemporary urban planning and social problems of the 19th century⁴. However, the backyards, out of necessity being a place for household activities, children playing, and meetings of neighbours, constituted a defined “internal” zone under the unofficial control of a neighbourhood group. It constituted a prototype of the modern community space.

3. SEEKING THE NEW SPACE

From time to time the forms that re-determined the territorial enclave started to appear in the tissue of the city. Beguinage was one of such forms, a residential courtyard of a religious community of beguines. Court beguinages were built in the late Middle Ages in the Netherlands as complexes placed in the town context; however, they were clearly separated from it. The court beguinage of Amsterdam – Begijnhof (Ill.3) is an example of such a complex, a compound of standard bourgeois town houses concentrated around an inner courtyard garden⁵.

Many similar units were built in Amsterdam in the early modern period and in the 19th century as charity foundations intended for the poor and lonely. The courtyards (*hofjes*) constituted the prototype of contemporary social housing.

Innovative social multi-family housing, built for workers in Victorian England by philanthropic building societies (so-called *model dwellings companies*), had a similar shape. One of such societies was the Peabody Trust, founded in 1862⁶. According to the ideology of 19th-century philanthropy, they were motivated by the idea of improving the living conditions of the lower social classes and, thus, raising them to a higher moral level. The closed spatial form supported the control of residents, and obliged them to follow the rules imposed by the society (Ill.4)

On the eve of World War I and in the interwar period, the situation in European cities grew for a thorough reform of urban planning. Facing the ideological pressure of the left-wing movements rising in power, speculative free market mechanisms were commonly blamed for the bad condition of housing. The state and increasingly popular cooperative movements took over the initiative on the construction market.

The extension of Amsterdam implemented in 1917–1925 – Plan Zuid, designed by H. P. Berlage – introduced the model of the cooperative development block. It was uniformly designed with an interior devoid of rear buildings and an undivided city block kept as communal

⁴ E. Firley, C. Stahl, *The Urban Housing Handbook*, John Wiley and Sons, Chichester 2013, p. 264–271.

⁵ E. Van Heyt, *Kracht vanuit het verborgene. Strenght from what is hidden*, Eigen Beheer z.j., Amsterdam 2009, p. 1–10.

⁶ J. N. Tarn, *Working-class Housing in 19th –century Britain*, Architectural Association, London 1971.

and private gardens (III.5). Similar features characterized the social housing developments of Arbeiterhof type in so-called Red Vienna and similar complexes in the Weimar Republic⁷.

A new type of the neighbourhood space appeared in the projects of garden cities and suburbs (Letchworth and Hampstead Garden), designed by urban planner Raymond Unwin and architect Barry Parker. Urban blocks in garden cities were widened. Apart from private gardens, inside they included additional communal spaces, such as greenery and sports facilities, available through exits from individual gardens or from narrow walking paths in the back. Hence, these spaces were visible and easily accessible only for a specific neighbourhood group. This way there was a new, consciously designed semi-public space of the city block interior.

Grouping houses around a dead end street was another model that determined the morphology of the garden city – the cul-de-sac (III.6), which was a form of residential courtyard included in a street system. The interior of the cul-de-sac was a typical example of a semi-public neighbourhood space. Already in the original schemes by Unwin it was designed as a space closed to the public⁸.

The *Zeilenbau* system of modernist housing developments in Weimar Republic – e.g. Westhausen in Frankfurt designed by Ernst May designed in 1929 (III.7) or Siemensstadt by Hans Scharoun planned in the same year – were crucial to the evolution of urban planning forms. The system was not an invention of modernism. It was used in the urban planning of the 19th-century workers' colonies, e.g. in housing complexes near the Krupp plant in Essen⁹. It enabled an economic land development, limited the circulation routes, allowed for good solar exposure and airing of flats, and ensured almost identical housing conditions for all employees. Unwin already wrote in "Town Planning" about the advantages of this system¹⁰. However, only in the context of a specific ideology of the Neues Bauen movement did it gain special significance, becoming the symbol of the entire current.

The underlying idea of Neues Bauen was a utopian vision of a new society, which repelled the mistakes of the past. The ambition of avant-garde architects, members of "der Ring" group, was to reject previous patterns of urban development, both the old, based on speculative tenement building, and the more recent ones, looking for picturesque ideas in the spirit of Camillo Sitte. The new architecture was supposed to be guided by an idea of the "New Objectivity" (German: Neue Sachlichkeit), to be rational, clearly composed, and practical. The current preferences of future residents did not matter, since the "new man" was supposed to be the addressee of this architecture. The new man gave up his individuality and considered himself, above all, to be a part of a society, and was truly conscious of the direction of its development. The new egalitarian architecture was created for such a "new man" – repeatable and identically oriented rows of buildings¹¹. The space remained indifferent in the

⁷ I. Colquhoun, P. G. Fauset, *Housing Design in Practice*, Longman Scientific & Technical, Harlow 1991.

⁸ R. Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice. An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs*, T. Fisher Unwin, London 1909, p. 321–35.

⁹ G. Wojtkun, *Między tradycjonalizmem w mieszkalnictwie a nowoczesnością*, „Przestrzeń i Forma” 21/2014, p. 229–259.

¹⁰ R. Unwin, *op.cit.*, p. 321–35.

¹¹ W. Pehnt, *The New Man and the Old Adam*, w: *Ernst May 1886–1970*, C. Quiring (ed.), Prestel, München 2011, p. 99–109.

determining of basic zones. There is no street and no courtyard, no front or back, no public or private parts. The space between buildings constituted the front of one row of houses as well as the back of the neighbouring row. The entries to buildings “turned away from each other”. Rows of buildings were dragged infinitely, creating no limited, closed area, possible to be territorially assigned.

4. BACK TO HABITAT

The Zeilenbau system of Neue Sachlichkeit and related modernist trends, such as the Dutch rationalism of the “de 8” group, created a critical point in the development of modern urban planning. After the war, the ideas of modernism were widely accepted and it seemed that functionalism was to remain a long lasting urban doctrine. However, new ideas, originated in modernism itself, were soon created that undermined the pre-war achievements, ultimately leading to their rejection. The debate that took place in the final period of activity of the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM), in 1951–1959, and later within the Team X group, is particularly noteworthy¹². The new generation of architects dealt with problems of the spatial structure of cities and the psychology of space organization, which were completely ignored by early modernism. It was decisive for the forming of the contemporary theory of architecture, mainly because of creating a new set of terms, absent in the phraseology of classic modernism. Terms like *core*, *cluster*, *place* referred to the local diversifying of space and formed the denial of the total space concept. Late modernism abandoned the imperative of change, searching for universal principles in architecture and urban planning. Many times the spatial values of premodern cities and districts were discussed at CIAM meetings. An intellectual plain was established; the analysis of old spatial patterns and the reinstatement (as yet in theory) of the continuation of the development of architecture became possible¹³.

Habitat was a particularly essential expression which appeared in the discussions of late CIAM. Le Corbusier alone introduced the term in the debate, calling for elaborating the Charter of Habitat, as an equivalent of Athenian Charter concerning the specific issues of housing industry. The charter was never created. The debate about the habitat revealed fundamental disagreements in the modern movement and contributed to CIAM’s termination¹⁴. The problem of the concept of habitat was that it reached far beyond the rationalist reduction contained in the definition of “housing function”. Habitat interpreted by the architects of younger generation was to be an environment of human life considered in a holistic manner, taking into account the work environment, urban context, and psychological aspects. It undermined the ideas of mass, industrialized housing production, which was still supported by Walther Gropius¹⁵, and even the doctrine of functional segregation – the basis of modernist

¹² E. Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, The Mit Press, Cambridge MA, 2000, p. 225–258.

¹³ *Team X Primer*, A. Smithson (red.), Studio Vista, London 1968, p. 75–83.

¹⁴ F. Strauven Aldo van Eyck. *The Shape of Relativity*, Architectura & Natura, Amsterdam 1998, p. 238–279.

¹⁵ W. Gropius, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus*, The Mit Press, Cambridge MA, 1965, p. 30–51.

urban planning. The debate on *habitat* induced a more individualized search for the housing environment, and to the withdrawal from total spatial solutions in the housing industry.

The intellectual agitation in CIAM is reflected in many post-war realisations. Comparing Charlottenburg-Nord housing (Ill. 8) in Berlin designed by Hans Scharoun (1954) with the pre-war Siemensstadt complex by the same author showed an essential change in the philosophy of space organization. Semi-closed units in Charlottenburg diversified the space into private neighbourhood interiors and exterior surroundings.

The building development of western districts of Amsterdam begun in 1951 underwent similar alterations. According to the general plan of expansion from 1934, led by Cornelis van Eesteren, the district was built right after the war in the spirit of pre-war rationalism. In a short time it became subject to harsh criticism in the environment of young architects (Ill. 9a). In later parts the team of Eesteren planned far more diversified and closed courtyards (Ill. 9b).

The arrangements compound of separate, clear neighbourhood units were repeatable motives in the work of Jaap Bakema, e.g. the project of a big residential district in Rotterdam – Pendrecht (1949) or in Klein Driene estate in Henglo designed in 1950 (Ill. 10). The method was applied at Lafayette Park housing development of Mies van der Rohe in Detroit, designed together with Ludwig Hilberseimer in 1955.

The post-war modernism was, however, a heterogeneous current. Besides the examples of smaller and more individualized housing developments, gigantic block complexes occurred on a large scale, raised in the technology of prefabricated concrete panels, mostly designed as high-rise standalone residential buildings. This arrangement did not divide the space into residential subdivisions and did not define internal neighbourhood spaces. A famous housing project Pruitt-Igoe in Saint Louis by Minoru Yamasaki (1954) was an example of such an establishment. Its demolition in the 1970s became the pretext for Charles Jencks to announce the end of modernism in architecture.

Another common setting was the so-called “screen”, which had already been applied in Ville Radieuse, the project of Le Corbusier, as “the redan”. The screen arrangements created, through curves and breaking the building line, residual urban interiors, yet the territorial structure remained illegible. In combination with the great scale of the complex, it triggered a negative social reaction. Amsterdam’s Bijlmermeer housing estate (Ill.11) by Siegfried Nassuth (1962) is a case of that type of realization (at present most of the estate has been torn down), as well as many domestic concrete slab housing estates.

In the final period of modernism, a current of conscious organization of private spaces, dedicated to neighbourhood groups, developed in the architecture of housing complexes. A significant contribution on this field was made by Scandinavian architecture. One of its most influential representatives was Ralph Erskine. The issue of enclosing and defining the territory had been the main motive in Erskine’s architecture since his early projects and realizations¹⁶. Buildings formed in a shape of a wall or screen, protecting from environmental influences, or as an acoustic barrier, were applied in a concept study of a housing development in the Arctic climate, as well as in the Byker estate in Newcastle (1968).

¹⁶ T. Barucki, *Ralph Erskine*, Arkady, Warszawa 1987.

In subsequent projects the concept of a residential courtyard developed as a form strictly connected to the functioning of a neighbourhood group. Nya Bruket's project of an extension of Sandviken in Sweden (1970) was designed from over twenty of such courtyards, intended for around 50 residents each, arranged in a rectangular system of streets (Ill. 12). A community house with a laundry and a meeting room was a specific part of the courtyard's interior.

A small residential street, with a scale and form that enabled neighbourhood meetings and children's play, is another model of organizing the neighbourhood space. The Tinggarten complex by the Danish Tegnestuen Vandkunsten studio (1971) is an example of such a solution, in which the system of connected private urban interiors determines the territories of individual groups of residents (Ill. 13).

Since the 1960s, an interest in the issue of urban space has been revived. The city was no longer considered only through its functional categories but also by formal elements. Observing urban organisms created in a centuries-lasting process one noticed that the spatial form was an appropriate and comparatively stable structure of the city, and the function constituted only a temporary filling, variable in time. One sought timeless spatial types, like the street and the urban square, being the basis of a dynamic municipal tissue. Simultaneously, these types formed patterns, according to which new estates were composed. Then, the work of an urban planner was not the modelling of new values but consisted of correct reading and implementation of a certain type. This approach, defined as neorationalism, was introduced by Aldo Rossi in his work "Architecture of the City", and developed by the architects of "La Tendenza" group and Rob and Leon Krier. The influence of neorationalism resulted in a general return to the design of closed perimeter blocks of building development, and in the creation of many revitalization projects of the 19th century of European cities. The IBA Neubau and Altbau exhibition in Berlin begun in 1979 is the representative example of these tendencies¹⁷.

As much as the completion and continuation of a downtown development using traditional patterns seemed to be justifiable, applying them in monofunctional suburban settlements was often accused of "false urbanity". This was the case of the Amsterdam estate Venserpolder by Carel Weeber (1980) erected on the ruins of a part of the aforementioned Bijlmermeer housing. The doctrinal use of a closed block in every case appeared to be unjustified.

Therefore, one searched for intermediate forms that would create the spatial definitions of neighbourhood and public zones, not limiting the view, ventilation, and access of the sunlight, as in a closed block. A block compound of perimetrically situated tower buildings was such a form, called an "open block", popularized by Christian de Portzamparc¹⁸.

The New Urbanism developed in the United States was the continuation of the neorational idea. It was a movement aiming at the restoration of urban planning design in the spirit of traditional cities: attractive, "lively" public spaces, with the priority for pedestrian traffic, and compact urban fabric. In the new urbanism projects original solutions were developed, adapting historical patterns to present requirements¹⁹. For example, the Poundbury block merits

¹⁷ D. Ghirardo, *Architektura po modernizmie*, Wydawnictwo VIA, Toruń 1999, p. 107–130.

¹⁸ P. Fernandez, J. Mozas, A+T Research group, *Why density ?*, A + T Architecture Publishers, Vitoria-Gasteiz 2015, p. 66.

¹⁹ M. Carmona, S. Tiesdell, T. Heath, Oc T., *Public Places – Urban Spaces. The Dimensions of Urban Design*, Routledge, London 2010.

attention as a form of a low-intensity, suburban housing development. Apartment houses were located on the perimeter of a city block and had direct street level exits. In combination with full walls of gardens, they constructed a constant border between the public and private zones. Courtyard interiors were allocated to individual gardens, garages, and open parking lots. This way the Poundbury block kept the logic of a traditional development: the courtyard performed a household function, while the street comprised a typical public sphere, liberated from cars (Ill.14).

5. THE PRESENT DAY AND AN ATTEMPT OF A SYNTHESIS

Today it is hard to point to one dominating urban planning doctrine. Chaotic suburbanisation is an omnipresent phenomenon. One of its features is the lack of cohesive urban entities based on a clear formal principle. Spontaneously developed suburbs (which are especially visible in Poland) combine many types of building development. However, even in the case of broad, planned urban areas, e.g. Dutch ViNEx locations built in 1998–2010, diverse typologies and different principles of space forming are associated (Ill. 15a, b, c)²⁰.

In spite of this diversity, one should underline the importance of the issue of territory forming in modern housing architecture that abandoned modernist spatial doctrines. The modernist concept of an open, territorially undifferentiated space was closely connected to a utopian vision of transforming society; and it did not stand the test of time. It is possible to quote many examples of housing space transformation involving spontaneous enclosing and fencing residential spaces off. The famous Radburn housing estate is one of them. Its original, territorially ambivalent structure was modified by the residents. The majority of half open courtyards in modernist Slotermeer in Amsterdam underwent re-enclosing.

These transformations can also take on the character of big revitalization projects of block housing estates. Steve Cohlmeier quotes an example of a reconstruction of high-rise apartment housing units in Toronto made by surrounding it with a belt of low buildings locking down the neighbourhood area²¹.

So-called “gated developments” are often a subject in debates on the condition of the Polish space. It seems that in this debate the issue is stated improperly. Fencing off or, more broadly, determining, defining a territory is normal in the settling of people and constitutes a universal human need. However, this need is not the only indicator of a correct housing environment. The phenomenon of settling comprises both an element of enclosing in a safe enclave, but also of creating relations outside. The local space remains dysfunctional if it is permanently separated from the global urban structure. The problem of fenced housing estates does not include closing the access to a determined space, but in the fact that the estates do not build a correct relation with the surrounding. Their only “contribution” in the municipal space are the views of their fences. The division into enclaves should be accompanied by the clarification of elements merging individual habitats, and above all, of the public space.

²⁰ J. Boeijenga, J. Mensink, *Vinex Atlas*, Uitgeverij 010 Publishers, Rotterdam 2008, p. 30–31.

²¹ Cohlmeier S., *Building Blocks – The Territorial Structure of Cities*, manuskrypt dostępny na http://www.cohlarch.ca/eng/3_writ_book.htm – dostęp: 29.09.2015.

To summarize: the built environment includes two opposing states of space that at the same time are natural social needs. One of them is enclosure and isolation, the other one is openness and connection. The urban planning form plays a key role in the process of harmonizing these values.

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