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CELIBATE HOUSES

DOMY ŻYJĄCE W CELIBACIE

Abstract

The Culture of Objects – *this part of European urban space, this ‘world of objects’ that is (...) filling European figurative culture, represents one of the most evident features of our epoch* (B. Secchi)¹. The sprawl of objects creates a space, increasingly difficult to penetrate despite its openness: a panorama of solitude. The landscape after Modernity is characterised by the growing autonomy of buildings. All of them, not only monuments, stand autonomously and generate in their numbers a ‘landscape of objects’, which is the ultimate characteristic of the contemporary physical world. If we recognise this phenomenon of ‘objectification’ as a cultural state of the contemporary world, architecture in particular should come to terms with it.

Keywords: freestanding landscape object

Abstrakt

Kultura obiektów to część europejskiej przestrzeni miejskiej, to “świat przedmiotów”, to materiał wypełniający kulturę figuratywną. To jedna z najbardziej widocznych cech naszej epoki (B. Secchi)¹. „Rozwalony” układ obiektów tworzy przestrzeń coraz trudniejszą do penetracji, mimo jej pozornej otwartości: tworzy „panoramę samotności”. Krajobraz po Modernizmie charakteryzuje się rosnącą autonomią budynków/domów. Wszystkie z nich, nie tylko monumenty i zabytki, stoją samodzielnie i generują w swej dużej liczbie „krajobraz obiektów”, który jest ostateczną cechą współczesnego świata fizycznego. Jeśli uznamy to zjawisko „uprzedmiotowienia” za stan kultury współczesnego świata, architektura w szczególności powinna się z tą sytuacją pogodzić.

Słowa kluczowe: wolno stojące obiekty krajobrazowe

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1. INTRODUCTION

How can architecture today be simultaneously relevant to its urban context and at the very forefront of design? For a decade or so, iconic architecture has been fuelled by the market economy and consumers' insatiable appetite for the novel and the different. The relentless speed and scale of urbanisation, with its ruptured, decentralised and fast-changing context, though, demands a rethink of the role of the designer and the function of architecture. This title of the book confronts and questions the profession's and the academia's current inability to confidently and comprehensively describe, conceptualise, theorise and ultimately project new ideas for architecture in relation to the city. In doing so, it provides a potent alternative for projective cities: 'Double Identity'. This pursues and develops the strategies of typological reasoning in order to re-engage architecture with the city in both a critical and speculative manner. Architecture and urbanism are no longer seen as separate domains, or subservient to each other, but as synthesising disciplines and processes that allow an integrating and controlling effect on both the city and its built environment.

The Culture of Objects

This part of European urban space, this 'world of objects' that is (...) filling European figurative culture, represents one of the most evident features of our epoch (B. Secchi)¹. This definition of peripheries as 'Worlds of objects' catches a common character present everywhere: in the housing districts, the ring-road's containers, the 'urbanised countryside'. The sprawl of objects creates a space, increasingly difficult to penetrate despite its openness: a panorama of solitude. The landscape after Modernity is characterised by the growing autonomy of buildings. All of them, not only monuments, stand autonomously and generate in their numbers a 'landscape of objects', which is the ultimate characteristic of the contemporary physical world. Built by addition, the contemporary city is originally incomplete. Its 'inner configuration' makes it impossible to recognise a final shape; it is an open-ended field, laying in a 'definitive indefinite state'. If we recognise this phenomenon of 'objectification' as a cultural state of the contemporary world, architecture in particular should come to terms with it. The landscape of free-standing objects, as a diffuse and global condition, is independent of building's function and location. Often, this rarefied landscape generates *dissatisfaction*. I propose to look at it with a positive attitude and to search for its architectural potential.

History: 'Celibate Machines'

The Modern Movement crated a historical break: the *appearance of objectivity* (R. Koolhaas)². The liberation of all buildings, even the most humble, from servitude to the city-fabric was a promise of freedom and unconventional architecture. Repeated free-standing volumes became more and more autonomous. This produced an unbelievable richness of spatial inventions related to the building itself (for instance the *plan libre*). In the meantime, the freeing of buildings from their dependence on open space generated a void, anticipating a similar enthusiasm of invention. But this possibility has not been exploited, and the modern buildings – *machiners a 'habiter* – often became *celibate ma-*

¹ B. Secchi, *Lecture: Few Points Toward a New Urbanism*, Berlage Institute, Amsterdam 1995, Studio '95 '96, the BERLAGE cahiers 5.

² R. Koolhaas, *Delirious New York. Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, Rem Koolhaas and The Monacelli press. Inc., New York 1994.

chines (Duchamp)³. The lack of programmatic intent and of materiality left the void with the single task of defending the autonomy of objects. The erasure of existing patterns of property and local singularities implied a totalitarian control of the urban ground and made this model object to misunderstanding. The precise translation of human activity in time and space (living-working-circulating-leisure), without intersections, generated emptiness of contacts, which is the ‘tragic’ side of modern cities. “(...) *a few roads permitting a speed of ninety miles an hour and going (...) from one skyscraper to the other. (...) Everyday life will regain its eternal immutability admits the ‘essential joy’ of sun, space and vegetation. To be born, to die, with an extended period breathing in-between; in spite of the optimism of the Machine Age, the Old World vision remains tragic*” (R. Koolhaas)⁴.

The autonomy of buildings became a new form of closeness.

2. REALITY: THE ‘IMPERFECT MODERN’ WORLD

In the meantime, ‘natural forces’ guided individual actors to appropriate opportunistically the last sites of conquests. While the architectural culture produced fragments of abstract models, developers started to colonise the world, with the “*thoughtless energy of the purely quantitative*” (R. Koolhaas)⁵. A sum of self-inclusive objects developed, with internal coherence, but without relations to each other, to the ground, to the territory, except for the umbilical link to the access-network. This colonisation produced a land-consumption, which only abides by the law of addition. But it also generated an unexpected landscape, due to the freedom of localisation of programmes, liberated from the dependence upon a rigid distinction between zones. Service spaces, parking, storage areas, are more and more important for the efficiency of the buildings and as transitional spaces in the city. Their size makes them very important for the design of the territory. I propose to think of them as a privileged field for design, to use them to ‘settle’ the buildings and to provoke a domain ‘in between the public and private’. The process of accumulation had two ultimate consequences: the *hyper-growth of objects* and *diffusion*. This research focuses on diffusion.

3. UTOPIAS, WHICH CAN CHANGE THE CITY

This thematic engagement is complemented by the projects of UNStudio in ‘Typological instruments: Connecting Architecture and Urbanism’ by Ben van Berkel and Caroline Boss. These projects clarify the utilisation of design models to synthesise types with the complexities of practice and reality through the instrumentality of typological and serial models of organisation. The specific responses demonstrate that typological design models are capable of, and require, their transformation and hybridisation in order to fulfil the ambitions and requirements of an architectural project in an urban context.

³ Ch. A. Riley, *The Saints of modern Art: the Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Music, Dance, Literature, and Philosophy*, University Press of New England, Hanover and London 1998.

⁴ R. Koolhaas, 1995, *Lecture: Recent Work*, *op.cit.*

⁵ *Ibidem.*

Two projects by DOGMA and Serie offer a possible demonstration of the idea of the city as an architectural project. DOGMA, in their 'A Simple Heart: Architecture on the ruins of a Post-Fordist City' investigate the possibility by focusing on the relationship between architectural form, large-scale design and political economy. This is rendered less as a 'working' proposition and more as an idea of the city brought to its (extreme) logical conclusions. In the Xi'an Horticultural Masterplan project by Serie Architects, the transformation of an artefact of the city is used to confront the problem of centrality and the possible recuperation of the tradition of city-making in Xi'an, China. The city wall as a dominant type is utilised as the deep structure that sets out a typological grammar for the city.

4. "A SIMPLE HEART: ARCHITECTURE ON THE RUINS OF THE POST-FORDIST CITY"

The following proposes an idea of the city based on architecture. It is a well-known fact that, unlike the ancient city that was primarily made with architecture, the modern city is characterised by a great divergence between the scale of architectural form and the urban dimension. While the modern city is made of urbanisation, the extensive apparatus of governance and inhabitation, architectural form always addresses the possibility of a singular and finite form within the space of urbanisation.

In order to make the city, architecture must be conceived as an example that is a form potentially repeatable without presuming that these repetitions are exactly the same. The example functions as an archetype: a singular form that due to the clear exhibition of its generative principle is able to define a milieu of possible forms. While a type is never reducible to a singular form and it can only emerge from a variety of forms, the archetype is always put forward by the individualisation of a precise and recognisable form. For this reason, while the type indicates a model of design based on the concept of evolution, the project of an example is always based on the idea of decision. The exemplary form has the authoritativeness of a decided form, yet it is not based upon the normative character typical of planning.

Whether it is a question of the distribution of different typologies, of different heights of the buildings, of the design of the green areas or of the circulation, the exemplary form elaborates archetypical actions. These actions are capable of blossoming into new combinations of the artificial and the natural, the technical and the formal, the structural and the accidental. It is, in short, a form that consists of one sole individual: the exemplary unit. For this reason, the example may be reproduced, but never proliferated into an omnivorous 'general planning' for the entire city⁶.

⁶ These notes are a re-elaboration and adaptation of Paolo Virno's text 'Virtuosity and Revolution: The Political Theory of Exodus', in Michael Hardt and Paolo Virno (eds), *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*, University of Minnesota Press (Minneapolis, MN), 1996, p. 189–212. The discussion on example and archetype is a re-elaboration of the theories of Paolo Virno and Giorgio Agamben on the essence of political action. The discussion on example, and exemplarity as the core of political action, emerged in the early 1990s in the political journal *Luogo Comune*: see *Luogo Comune*, No 1, November 1990. See also: Paolo Virno, *Mondanità, L'idea di 'mondo' tra esperienza sensibile e sfera pubblica*, Manifestolibri (Rome), 1994, p. 106; Giorgio Agamben, *The Signature of all Things: On Method*, trans Luca di Santo, Zone Books (Cambridge, MA), 2009.

A Simple Heart is a project for the European city. It consists of 22 inhabitable units, each located close to the railway network that serves the European North Western Metropolitan Area (NWMA). Each unit is established by enclosing an area of 800 x 800 metres of an existing tertiary district by means of an inhabitable wall. The section of the enclosing wall is 25 metres thick and 20 storeys high and contains 860 hotel rooms, each measuring 19.20 x 2.60 metres to accommodate one or two people each. Once the enclosure of an area is completed, a transparent roof supported by a 10 x 10-metre grid of columns 10 metres high is built in order to cover the space in between the buildings within the enclosure. In this way the entire enclosed area is transformed into a continuous interior made of multiple spaces such as streets, squares, doorways, galleries, corridors and rooms. Inside the new structure these spaces are relics and as such they will be used, transformed, reused and, eventually, destroyed by their inhabitants. The interior space is intended as a vast open 'living room', a contemporary production space where living, social exchange and work take place within the same space. The rooms located in the walls are intended as a space of rest, solitude and seclusion.

The 22 units are placed in proximity to the cities of Amsterdam, The Hague, Delft, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Brussels, Liege, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Aachen and Utrecht. The units are conceived as 'learning centres' located along the railway circuit that links these cities. They are the places where the productive side of knowledge and social exchange becomes explicit. As such, the entire system is conceived as an 'Edufactory', a new contemporary production plant in which the Fordist machines are replaced by what constitutes the core of production today: immaterial work and its manifestation as the possibility of encounter and exchange. Mobility within this system is increased by the units' proximity to the railway network. The system is a university campus whose form is enlarged to the scale of an urban region such as that of the European North Western Metropolitan Area.

Named after Gustave Flaubert's short novel *Un coeur simple* (1887), in which the French writer celebrated the ardent integrity and naivety of a humble servant against self-referential sophistications of bourgeois mentality, the project ultimately celebrates the power of form in framing and defining the space of existence against the fragmentation perpetrated by contemporary urbanisation⁷.

In the 1960s, Cedric Price proposed converting the rusting railway network that served the industrial area of north Staffordshire in the United Kingdom into an educational campus. Price proposed the educational learning apparatus as mobile, flexible and constantly subjected to being adapted to the demands of technological development with its offspring of labour skills. Ironically, within the post-Fordist scenario of today's capitalism, Price's vision for the Potteries Thinkbelt (1964–6) is no longer a visionary project for the future, but a description of the reality of today. Price attempted to counter the decline of an industrial site by transforming it into an educational campus; in so doing he (unconsciously) anticipated the passage from a Fordist

⁷ Flaubert presents the main character of *A Simple Heart* as an archetype. Instead of criticising society by means of a sociological critique, he chose the archetype of the most simple, humble form of life to reveal *per via negativa* the limits of rational thinking that characterised the self-assurance of the bourgeoisie. The short novel is thus a sequence of 'simple forms', archetypes that by means of their monumental epiphany and stubborn simplicity reveal the social and cultural impasse of the writer's social class. Yet the archetype of Felicite, the main character of the novel, is not presented by Flaubert as satirical commentary, as a parody, but as a celebration of a radical different conception of life. See Gustave Flaubert, *A Simple Heart in Three Tales*, trans Robert Baldick, Penguin Books (London), 1961.

mode of production to a post-Fordist one. If Fordism was based on the manufacturing of material goods, post-Fordism is based on the productive performance of language and communication. In post-Fordism, production of material goods remains in general a salient part of production, but 'immaterial' production (ideas, images, affects, social exchange) is decisive in leading the trends of production. Within the political economy of post-Fordism, the production of knowledge is far more important than its (eventual) application to the production of material goods.

For this reason, within post-Fordism, the institution of the university has become a fundamental productive unit. If once the ivory tower of knowledge was completely separated from the city, and especially from the city's centres of production such as the factory, today the complex social and physical fabric of the university often coincides with the one of the city, to the point that the city itself has become a vast campus.

Price's proposal for the Potteries Thinkbelt can be understood as the map of this transformation. By relying on the existing rail network, he proposed to go beyond the traditional campus typology, by assuming the territory and its transport connections as the new scale of the learning process. Moreover, his proposal questioned the strict separation of disciplines, and proposed instead the development of interchangeable units that would allow the learning process to be constantly re-formable according to the demands posed by the current economic developments. With the Potteries Thinkbelt project, Price proposed articulating knowledge, flexibility and territory into one system, not as a new typology for learning, but as a new urban model, as an archetype for the city. Yet readings of this Potteries Thinkbelt project have focused on the utopian side of his progressive plea for flexibility, multidisciplinary and dispersion of knowledge into the networked territory, and have overlooked how this has anticipated the way post-Fordist capitalism has completely subsumed the university (and the city itself) within its diffuse mode of production.

If Price proposed converting an industrial site into a postindustrial space for learning, DOGMA's A Simple Heart assumes the postindustrial city is a potential space for the contemporary expanded university by making explicit the city as a 'social factory'. As Price proposed the groundwork for the post-Fordist city on the ruins of the Fordist one, A Simple Heart proposes building the new city on the ruins of the post-Fordist city. These ruins are the stations, metro lines, chain shops, office blocks and meeting places that form the background to our 'productive' lives in the city. Instead of undoing Price's proposal, A Simple Heart aims at revealing its fundamental political potential by radicalising it. This consists in increasing the openness and flexibility of the spaces of learning in order to reveal the common and generic attributes of knowledge. In the Fordist city, the 'machines' were the assembly line, the processes of assembling material goods. In that factory, most of the workers were supposed to be silent controllers of the assembly line. In the post-Fordist factory, where productive labour invests all aspects of human relationships and takes the form of language and communication, machines are replaced by living labour – the workers themselves and their possible cooperation. Within this condition, architecture is completely liberated from any functionalist or programmatic duty, and it serves production only by means of being there as a framework, as place. However, we do not need to understand this liberation of architecture from programme as a plea for a generic 'free space'. The liberation of architecture from a programmatic definition signals the opposite: that space has been completely subsumed by production. For this reason the traditional partitions of the city such as those between public and private space, or those between different activities such as work and living, culture and market are no longer relevant. If these partitions still exist, they simply act as ideological

projection, as a mask that covers the ‘generic field’ that supports the reproduction of productive labour. This generic field is the life of the social factory made by continuous mobility, and thus uprootedness, poverty of specialised instincts, common places, precariousness of life. A Simple Heart is the utmost embodiment of this condition, and at the same time the frame holding it. The aim of the project is not to eliminate the ethos of the social factory, but to make it explicit. In political terms this is a realist strategy: institutions have to maintain the forces against them and not eliminate them in order to keep their political validity.

A building is thus the best analogy in order to understand the biblical concept of the Katechon; like in the Katechon, a building has to hold the forces that might want to transgress its order and should accommodate them through the management of the spaces so that at the same time, the same forces are restrained. The concept of the Katechon does not imply the negation of the forces of mobility, genericity and precariousness; it implies a form that resists these forces by adhering to them, just as the concave adheres (and thus defines) the convex. As a consequence, architectural form is reduced to its essential nature in order to stage and make visible not itself, but the life that happens within its limits.

5. LEARNING FROM XI’AN

In this masterplan for a horticultural expo, a single architectural structure was used by Serie Architects to address the issue of centrality on a site at the city’s edge. The city wall is revived as a typological device to both mark the centre of the park and connect it main entrance of the park. Despite the Serie Architects’ design team’s strong desire to win this competition for master planning an ecological district in Xi’an in central China, the opportunities that the site presented led to an entire rethink of the treatment of the historic centre of the city. This required a reconsideration of the total design brief – an intellectual adventure, but also a substantial commercial gamble.

The proposal addresses two questions that face the expansion of the historic city of Xi’an: how does the city expand beyond its historic centre without totally dislocating itself into a peripheral condition, and how can the historic elements of the city be relevant in regulating this expansion? The project rethinks the horticultural masterplan, not as a landscape design or architecture that looks like landscape, but as a large architectural artefact, continuing the tradition of city – making in Xi’an.

Although the competition brief called for the design of a greenhouse and associated facilities, Serie’s proposal reimagines the role that a horticultural expo can play in seeding and regulating the growth of the city. The main concept behind the design lies in the possibility of using a single architectural artefact to create a new centrality on the periphery of the city, reconsolidating its peripheral splinters and bridging the existing city and its future growth.

6. TYPOLOGICAL INSTRUMENTS – CONNECTING ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

The projects here explore the instrumental potential of typology in architecture and urbanism, and in particular the area where the two disciplines intersect and merge. Whether described as classification, indexing, categorisation or taxonomy, the typological effort

essentially constitutes grouping similar things together in a way that is meant to be helpful. The helpfulness of types can be expressed in different ways by different architects. A prized benefit is the legacy of rationality. The systemic reasoning behind the emergence of a type replicates a scientific approach; it conveys that an underlying strict logic is controlling a discipline that might at times appear incoherent and out of control. Types are for this reason also eminently communicable.

But the values of scientific rationale and transmittability, while not eschewed by UNStudio, are not the ones being sought to be highlighted here. The focus is instead on how types are developed out of a symbiotic relationship between professional observation and invention on the one hand, and externally oriented instrumentality on the other. Still central to this is the aforementioned helpfulness or utility; as every librarian knows, types, categories, catalogues, assemblages and so on are not made for their own sake, but to direct people. Similarly, in architecture a type exists to direct, to connect or to be instrumental in other ways.

The projects explore how typology may be helpful in designing architecture in dense, complex, mixed-use urban contexts. To see typological thinking as appropriate in a complex condition seems counterintuitive. Complexity entails acknowledging that countless, intricately interwoven parameters are at work, that no situation is exactly like another, and that there is no one correct solution. Putting things in categories, on the other hand, means simplifying, framing and interpreting, usually boldly, sometimes normatively. How can these two tendencies be reconciled? In the Arnhem Central transport node in the Netherlands, and the Raffles City development in Hangzhou, China, UNStudio has developed and applied certain typologies in two different, large-scale urban projects with the intention of regaining a specific architectural and urban control in complex, hard-to-control contexts, using a number of different models or types. While both of the projects differ substantially in nature, some of the same typologies were applied in their design in order to process, guide and edit the design process.

Arnhem Central, with a total surface of almost 100,000 square metres consists of a transfer hall with underground parking, a bus terminal and office towers situated on a plot of 40,000 square metres. As these figures indicate, the project is fundamentally an urban densification exercise. The infrastructural knot, planned as a stop on the (as yet unrealised) extension of the high-speed rail route to Germany, is understood as an opportunity to connect the town to a larger, transnational network and simultaneously generate new office spaces, shops, housing units and ancillary functions. The enormous diversity in scales and user functions requires a methodological approach that can accommodate the hybrid nature of the development and fully realise the connective aspirations as well as create a contemporary urban milieu on the site. While in other times urban growth schemes were largely ground-bound or sky-bound, relying on simple models of horizontal or vertical expansion, for Arnhem Central new, more topologically inclined models were developed that privilege connective and transitional qualities rather than oppositional ones.

There are not many ready-made typologies available for this. The closest reference model is Grand Central Terminal in New York, with its multilevel public concourse and multilevel infrastructural connections surrounded by dense mixed-use architecture. In Arnhem, to achieve a fluent and coherent terminal landscape with minimal obstruction to passenger flow, several models were used, two of which will be elaborated on here. The two models, or types, were introduced gradually as the project developed over various phases. Both emerged from

the combination of time, movement, space and structure. Time-based studies at the beginning of the project delivered images of parts of the location as transformative models that address relationships vital to developmental potential, such as programme and distance, public access and attraction. Movement studies showed up sequences of exchange and interaction, revealing the relations between duration and territorial usage.

The typology that encapsulates and advances the technical/spatial organisation is a centralising void space inspired by the Klein bottle. This vortex-like centre connects the different levels of the station area in a hermetic way. The Klein bottle stays continuous throughout the spatial transformation that it undergoes from a surface to opening and back again. The abstract model of the Klein bottle, which is seamlessly continuous from outside to inside and vice versa, is as yet untried and untested. However, the second type has been in operation for a number of years. It consists of deep and long shafts that connect the underground layers of the parking garage to the terminal and to the high-rise office towers. These shafts are V-shaped in order to form the structural backbone of various programmes with their different restrictions. As a type the V can be characterised as a morphing technique to fuse together the user typologies of parking, offices and public space, while still providing simultaneously constructive and usable space, in this case forming the daylight pedestrian access to the parking garage.

In one of UNStudio's current projects the turning plan has been put into effect on an unparalleled scale. Progressing at infinitely greater speed than Arnhem Central is the Raffles City project in Hangzhou. The mixed-use project contains a total of almost 400,000 square metres of office, hotel, residential and leisure space with underground parking. It is situated in the centre of the Qianjiang New Town area, adjacent to the new cultural district and the nearby Qian Tang River. The huge lake, which gives Hangzhou its character as a tourist city can be seen from the higher levels of the project. The total height of the double-towered scheme is 250 metres.

The project, like many current developments in rapidly urbanising societies, contains urban dimensions and aspects in such a compact constellation that the project could be read as a well-visited and architecturally relatively unchallenging typology, that of the high-rise. But with approximately 30,000 people living and visiting the site daily, it can also be thought of as a neighbourhood, or a metropolitan district. It can have the diversity, the balance of short-stay and longer-stay places, comfort-giving zones and more resistant areas, familiarity and anonymity, the orientation and way-finding capacities that will allow its users to experience it as a city within a city rather than as a non-specific mega-block. A type is therefore necessary that helps to articulate and to proliferate urban qualities. Such ideas were tried by architects in the 1960's, often unsuccessfully. But at that time the knowledge-processing and visualising techniques we have available today were not in existence. User-related information was speculative and ideologically driven, rather than exact. The mixed-use typology had not been developed to the extent it currently has, so that programme packages were more monofunctional, resulting in insufficiently activated areas.

7. SUMMARY

Ensuring an active environment, with lively and well-distributed people movement with multiple access and destination options is a prime goal of the contemporary urban mixed-use project. The city within the city has different rhythms and forms of enclosure; its system

encompasses variation and differentiation. It is also open towards the city beyond and in constant rapport with the wider urban environment. Logistically relating the architecture to the city by making literal connections to the complex infrastructure in and underneath the site is an important first step.

Typological Urbanism, in conclusion, brings together arguments and projects that demonstrate a commitment to the empowerment of the architect to once again utilise his or her disciplinary knowledge. It is a re-engagement with architecture's exteriority and architectural experimentation governed by reason and (re)inventions underpinned by typological reasoning. It is an insistence on architecture that not only answers the didactic question of 'how to do?' but also the meta-critical question of 'why do?'

8. NOTES

Post-Fordism is the name given by some scholars to what they describe as the dominant system of economic production, consumption and associated socio-economic phenomena, in most industrialised countries since the late 20th century. It is contrasted with Fordism, the system formulated in Henry Ford's automotive factories, in which workers work on a production line, performing specialised tasks repetitively. Definitions of the nature and scope of post-Fordism vary considerably and are a matter of debate among scholars.

The katechon (from Greek: τὸ κατέχων, "that which withholds", or ὁ κατέχων, "the one who withholds") is a biblical concept, which has subsequently developed into a notion of political philosophy. The term is found in 2 Thessalonians 2:6–7 in an eschatological context: Christians must not behave as if the Day of the Lord would happen tomorrow, since the Son of Perdition (the Antichrist of 1 and 2 John) must be revealed before. Paul then adds that the revelation of the Antichrist is conditional upon the removal of "something/someone that restrains him" and prevents him being fully manifested. Verse 6 uses the neuter gender, τὸ κατέχων; and verse 7 the masculine, ὁ κατέχων. The interpretation of this passage has raised many problems, since Paul does not speak clearly.