

**DIFFERENT KINDS of
WATER POURING
INTO a SWIMMING POOL**

This book was published by the Roy and Edna Disney / CalArts Theater (REDCAT) on the occasion of the exhibition *Different Kinds of Waters Pouring into a Swimming Pool*, Andrés Jaque / Office for Political Innovation, curated by Ruth Estévez and on view from September 21 through November 24, 2013 at REDCAT.

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*Andrés Jaque/
Office for Political Innovation*



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PROLOGUE

Different Kind of Water Pouring into a Swimming Pool is the book that accompanies the exhibition of the same name that opened on September 20, 2013 in REDCAT. This project by architect *Andrés Jaque / Office for Political Innovation* problematizes the importance of domestic space and architecture in the construction of the collective. The architect chooses as case studies models that come from California's garden-city, usually a symbol of disconnection and a recurring metaphor for the height of individuality and comfort.

This publication consists of two parts, first, a compilation of stories that tell the daily life of certain families in California, based on interviews conducted by Andrés Jaque during his many visits to LA. These stories were recorded and are mixed with articles, pictures and histories from other decades to illustrate the everyday architecture of these backyard gardens. The selection of stories is intentionally random and doesn't respond to any individual preference for a particular case, but rather to the synergy that surrounds them. Far from providing a sociological study, there is an almost literary interest at play in the description of the situations, the shapes of the objects, the atmosphere generated in the spaces and small-scale conversations. These stories occur simultaneously or separated by time and distance, rescuing common problems and situations.

The second part contains a text written and developed by the architect based on various conferences he gave from 2005 to 2013, summarizing his reflections on architecture. In this essay, Jaque forms an open hypothesis in which he compares several examples, disconnected in time, with the aim of understanding how the architecture derived from the experiments

of modernity has become embedded in the processes of social construction. To do this, the architect investigates certain historical architectural precedents from their empirical heritage, beyond intentions or preliminary statements, recognizing the forms of citizenship and political interaction that once characterized them.

The relationship between the two parts of this book is defined by the small details that occur in the interior spaces, the attitudes of the characters, and similar ways of solving problems. What other relationship could there be between a textile worker in a small town, a prime example of *gartens-tadt* in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century, and a retired, fully contemporary Uruguayan who plants seeds in his garden under the hot California sun?

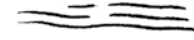
For Andrés Jaque, it is in these interior spaces in which decisions are made, where the heterogeneity that underlies the garden city is casually discussed, where changes are decided, and the conflicts and negotiations of domestic space are established. These are almost invisible architectures, hidden between *palapas* and high hedges, conceived from the rhythms of the human body and its daily choreography. Thus, in many of the images that illustrate this publication, the body appears as a key figure that creates a radical contrast. On the one hand, idealized, motionless bodies that have always dictated to us how to live and have defined our living space, as seen in fashion magazines. In this case, it would seem that many modern buildings have been created as effigies of these desired bodies. In contrast to this stasis, Jaque takes stories in which space is defined by the everyday, commonplace need for movement. This is a dynamic architecture, one that is in constant tension, one that prioritizes its performative quality to engage daily transformations and conflicts.

The performative quality to which Jaque refers, both in the exhibition and in this book, is represented symbolically by water—one of the main actors in the Californian backyard gardens. It is not arbitrary that this exhibition take its name from David Hockney's drawing, "Different Kinds of Waters Pouring into a Swimming Pool, Santa Monica," 1965, made during his first years in the city. Fascinated by the way people in Los Angeles used water

to help shape their private gardens into social spaces, the painting shows a series of simple pipes pouring water into a swimming pool that can't be seen. Although the material quality of water is elusive, its representation reaches a quasi-architectural dimension, without losing its ephemeral and dynamic aspect. As such, each waterfall becomes an exclusive portrait of a common situation. This might read as a metaphor for the everyday stories that the great narratives of urbanism have left out, but these are certainly places where certain forms of citizenship and interaction, essential to architectural processes occur.

Ruth Estévez

PART 1



I. URBANISMS of the COMMON

The grand narratives of urbanism leave little space for everyday histories. This happens in the case of LA. The rise of the suburbs, highways, neighborhood segregation, conflicts between North and South about water supply, the doubling between the everyday world and the world of film and TV fictions, the chase of celebrities, the dislocated industries, migratory movements between Latin America and the US, or the evolution of a real estate market in parallel to the invention of new financial frameworks: all of these are phenomena that emerge and are experienced in an interscalar way—as simultaneously happening at different scales. They are at once transnational and territorial and, not less so, they are also everyday and domestic phenomena. Each relevant process takes place in these spaces in which interaction is experienced from up close. Common interactions such as receiving a magazine in the mail or making puzzles in the laundry room—common actions that are usually unacknowledged in the history of a metropolis, and, in this particular case, of LA. In actual fact, the collective is received and constructed in these situations. Archives preserve ‘big’ episodes such as WWII, but not the daily flight of warplanes over the Pasadena suburbs or the subculture idealizing aeronautic technology to which it gave rise. They also preserve the history of the streetplan of Malibu, but they forget how the gardens of the houses that are constructed along the beach substituted an immediate sense of neighborhood for a fiction of Pan-Pacific harmony.

How should one understand LA’s urbanism? It is an urbanism that constantly needs new retellings. Harold Garfinkel, Reyner Banham,

Roman Polanski, David Hockney, Ed Ruscha, David Lynch, Mike Davis, Kim Gordon, Raymond Pettibon, Thurston Moore, Paul Graham, Sofia Coppola, The Raveonettes: LA always needs another approach. Perhaps there is a way to speak about the metropolis without speaking about it, by bringing out a series of ordinary stories, without a direct connection between them. In a way, this relates to Boris Groys's reading of Duchamp's readymades—precisely because they are everyday objects and facts which rarely achieve value, a small part of them have the power to represent an entire level of production of daily reality, from a new and surprising perspective.¹

The histories that are compiled here nevertheless explain often unaddressed 'issues'. How, for instance, does desire work at the intersection of fictions and lived experience? Or in what way is power activated as part of a fabric of domesticities? Each one is an urbanism, but an urbanism that can only be explained as a performance of the everyday. What interests me in this book are these performances, in which different entities (houses, people, landscapes, webs, cultures, desires, technologies, institutions or sensibilities) enable frames of association and dispute.

Orson Welles once complained about how many honorable people during WWII became informants to save their own lives or that of family or friends, and that, during McCarthyism, in Hollywood, people did the same to save their pools. The private pools of LA have been seen throughout history as artifacts of accelerated consumption, opposed to the political. Welles was right in part, but there is much more to it. There are 'issues' that are never addressed that cross through pools and jacuzzis, puzzles and fundraising parties, souvenirs from Easter Island and tin toys. There are also other spaces for the political, where the apparent banality of certain objects and spaces is reconstructed in their social reception as frames of control, subversion, protest, submission, dispute, hegemony, and emancipation.

1. For more explanation, see: Groys, Boris. *Under Suspicion: A Phenomenology of Media*. Trans. Carsten Strathausen, New York: Columbia UP, 2012.

These forms of the political, made with picture albums, wall-to-wall carpeting, interior decoration, mortgages and agreements explain the everyday urbanism of LA. This work aims to include the presence of such urbanisms in the archives.



II. SMALL LABORATORIES OF DESIRE

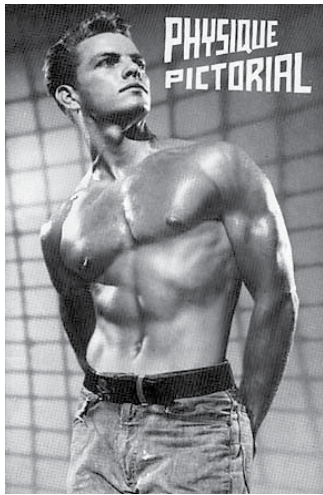
“When I was young, I used to go to the cinema at least once a week—my father loved the cinema. We went to see whatever was on. And, somehow, there was excitement in that screen. The screen, as if by magic, was opening up the wall to you, it showed you another world even in the dingiest little cinema of suburban Bradford.”²

David Hockney went to California for the first time in search of the tanned bodies and swimming pools. Since his years at the Royal College of Arts, he had wanted the life showcased by *Physique Pictorial*, the magazine published by Bob Mizer under the seal of the Athletic Model Guild. The publication targeted people from the sports world and was illustrated with photos of young sportsmen showing how to do routine physical exercises. Nevertheless, it also had another didactic goal, something more immediate and probably a bit more sophisticated: it functioned as pornography for a male gay readership.

Physique Pictorial functioned like Bradford’s movie theater. Most likely, in Hockney’s memory, the images of that magazine mixed with those of the “Bachelors Hall” reportage—an article that had made public the private life of Cary Grant and Randolph Scott in the house they then shared in Los Feliz.

For years, Hockney tried to replicate the representation of that Californian life pictured in magazines, like Bob Mizer’s, which, either through photomechanical transformations or printing techniques—mediators of

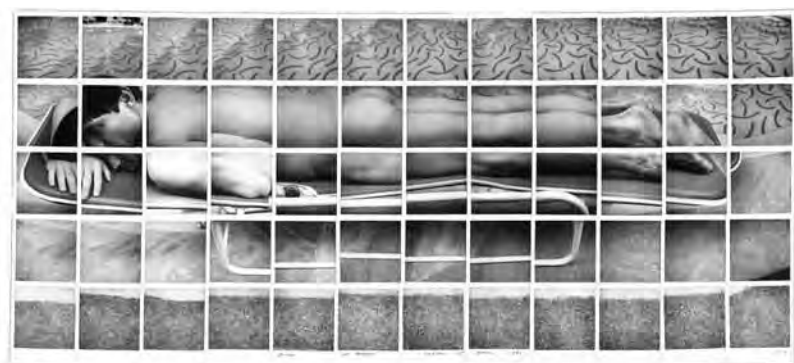
2. Hockney, David. *That’s The Way I See It* Vancouver: Chronicle Books, 1993, pp. 11-12.



Gary Conway photographed in the 1950s. Photo published on the cover of the October 1964 *Physique Pictorial* issue.



Cary Grant and Randolph Scott in one of the images of the "Bachelors Hall" reportage by Jerome Zerbe in 1935.



David Hockney
Brian, Los Angeles, Sunday 21st March, 1982
Composite Polaroid, 20 × 38½"
© David Hockney
Photo: Richard Schmidt

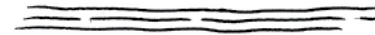
desire traveling in opaque envelopes—introduced elsewhere what happened in California. In 1982, David Hockney bought a house in Hollywood Hills. It is a house in Spanish style with a porch that opens to a kidney-shaped pool. In 1987, he finished a graffiti of the sun's reflections on the surface covering the sides and the bottom of the pool—or, rather, the way in which such reflections used to be reproduced by the printing technologies of the time. The pool was the machine to inhabit the in-between of the desire that the magazines activated.

One could make a movie with Hockney's portraits in pencil, oil, watercolor, acrylic, photo or video, made of this Hollywood Hills pool. It would feature pregnant women, cats, old people, assistants, friends, lovers, providers, his parents, gallerists, friendly couples, and dogs, all part of the community made by this pool. We can see a single Cecilia Birtwell and, later, in love with Ossie Clark. We see their sons Albert and George, first as kids playing with their cats Blanche and Percy and later as independent adolescents.³ The house is a small laboratory of suburban life, exactly how Hockney pictured it from London and from Bradford. Experimenting in order to be able to see themselves in the images they desire; this is what makes each of them belong to this small community.

Welles's alleged words mentioned at the outset of this book would take another form if analyzed from the following point of view—it is logical that what was done in Vichy France to save friends and family, was done in Hollywood to save pools. Families, communities, and collectivities are not immaterial entities. From ecovillas to suburban pools to theme parks; our societies, whether large or small, are configured and agreed upon, disputed and rendered visible, through connections with material devices such as pools (inflatable or kidney-shaped), waterfalls or illustrated magazines. The principal goal of architectonic objects is to intervene in these processes where the collective is constructed.

3. *A Bigger Splash*, directed by Jack Hazan, came out in 1974. It is based on Hockney's diary. His activity as portraitist has been the topic of many publications and exhibitions, among which the 2007 show at (as well as the catalog of) London's National Portrait Gallery stands out.

Architecture is always mediatic because, thanks to the associative action of the devices that operate between them, it forges pacts between actors who are disconnected by distance and disagreement.



III. JACUZZI RIOTS IN PASADENA



Gladys.
Photo: Andrés Jaque, 2013

Gladys and Jorge live in a suburban house in Garfield Heights, Pasadena, CA. They own the house they share with a dog and two cats. A web of tree canopies from the old Los Robles hacienda covers the street. They give shade to the front yards of the houses and allow for tropical plants to live together with vegetation that is more common in New England. Their shade refreshes the mornings and slows down the moment in which, inside the houses, AC's are turned on. Gladys would love to cut them because their leaves pile up in the yard and the rose bushes need more sun to be able to grow the way she would like them to. But they are protected and, in order to be able to cut down an oak tree, the city charges a fee of \$20,000. On one of the two oak trees by Gladys's and Jorge's yard, a yellow arrow that reads: "Pasadena Beautiful Foundation. Golden Arrow Award for Beautifying our City."

Gladys and Jorge never imagined that they'd like gardening. Though their mothers used to enjoy it, they thought this would never be their thing. "My mother would cover herself from the sun with a large hat. How awful being out for hours in the sun! And now I'm doing the same." She and Jorge spend their Tuesdays and Sundays working in a garden, awarded for making the City of Pasadena more beautiful.

They met in 1978. Jorge had already been living in New York City for eight years. One day, while on vacation in the Ecuadorian costal city where his family lived, they met. Gladys knew him from before, but they never had the same friends. Jorge's father, Hugo Cano, was known in the city because his supermarket had a coffee grinder. Back then, ground coffee

arrived from Guayaquil. Don Hugo Cano's coffee had become known for its flavor. Jorge was a heavy kid. His mother would bring him and his brothers to church dressed in short pants with suspenders. When Gladys would see them, she'd think: "There go the three *gorditos* (chubby ones)."

The first house they shared was a Manhattan bedroom half the size of their current living room in Garfield Heights. They paid \$25 a week to an Ecuadorian who sublet his four bedrooms to Hispanics. In the 1970s, New York was full with dwelling spaces like this one. They had become available after the massive exodus of well-to-do New Yorkers to Long Island. The spaces were perfect for a population that had difficulty accessing the rental market. After a few months they moved to Queens where, for the same money, they sublet the attic of a house from an Ecuadorian family. They already had one daughter and "los mellizos Diane y George" (the twins Diane and George) were born there. Later they moved to Yonkers, where Jorge worked in one of the restaurants owned by the guy who invented the salad bar. They served bread and salad to customers. Each day, a lot of lettuce would be thrown out and the owner and his wife thought: "let's make a salad bar so that people eat what, and how much, they want." It was the 1970s and each time Jorge and his colleagues saw a hippy coming in, they said: "this one will finish the salad bar."

One New Year's day the heating of the Yonkers apartment broke. They turned on the oven and put the mattress in the middle of the living room. They put their kids in the center and cuddle around them, covered by wool blankets. The Christmas pictures of Gladys and Jorge remind of those of the Kennedys on December 25, 1962, while staying at C. Michael Paul's in Palm Beach, FL. Beautiful houses, well dressed, smiling people, and many gifts. Gladys and Jorge's photos are equally elegant, with nice furniture, well dressed people and many gifts. But when they see those Christmas photos, they mostly remember the "cachetes rojitos" (little red cheeks) of their children.

They went to LA in search of the Pacific Coast climate they missed. They rented a one-bedroom apartment and put a futon in the living room. When the kids went to bed, they would open it up and go to sleep there.



Gladys and Jorge's garden.
Photo: Andrés Jaque, 2013

From there, they moved to a two-bedroom apartment two blocks away from the public school between 8th and 9th Avenues. The school suggested their kids enrolled in the bilingual program but they refused. “I wanted my kids to be the same as the others.” Gladys thinks that the teachers increased the number of students in the bilingual program, in order to benefit from government funding.

When Diane and George went to sixth grade, they switched to a private school in Los Feliz. They moved to a new three-bedroom apartment a few blocks away from the school. They describe the apartment as “a modern apartment that even had a jacuzzi,” and they paid \$1,150 for rent. Their kids could walk to school from there. A few months later, they moved to another equally “modern” apartment in Glendale, but \$100 cheaper. Gladys decided not to change her Chevrolet in order to buy a piano. They bought a wall piano that they still have in their Pasadena living room, placed between two wooden candle holders and lamps with Japanese-style cloth shades. They found a piano teacher, an older woman who had an auditorium in her Bel Air house, where she held concerts with her students. Gladys remembers it very well: “She was a very liberal woman. She had Black students, Hispanics ... She was Jewish. Though Saturday is the day they don’t work, she would do everything on Saturday. She was a very liberal woman.” For \$36 an hour she taught piano to Diane and George. “When I couldn’t bring my kids to the Bel Air house because the car didn’t start, I would call her. ‘I’ll be there,’ she’d respond. And she would come and give them the piano lesson.”

When the time was ripe, Gladys and Jorge decided to save up to buy a house. They opened a savings account with \$3,000. Years went by and they would still have the same balance of \$3,000. Jorge told Gladys: “There is no money. How are we going to buy a house? How will we pay the costs? The kids are already going to college.” But Gladys insisted. Jorge gave in on one condition: “I don’t want an old or used house. I don’t want your allergies to get worse and become chronic. It’s a new house or nothing.” They found a house in Pasadena online. The owners were a young couple that was getting a divorce. Gladys couldn’t go in and see the house because the wife, who

lived there with the, didn’t know that her husband had put it up for sale. Gladys didn’t know the neighborhood and got lost on the way home. On the way, she found the street where they currently live. A house was under construction. Because the workers were Hispanic, she parked the car and asked them to show her the site. “I found the house,” Gladys thought.

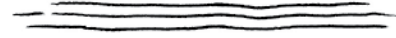
This is how she remembers the details of the purchase: “The builder wanted to sell the house because he had to pay off a loan. Back then not everybody qualified. He had already shown the house to many potential buyers, but, for one reason or the other, their credit was denied. We didn’t have a good credit history. We had bought several cars but never a house. They also saw how much we had paid for rent in other places. We bought it without a fence, without a garden, without anything. There were only the two trees in the garden. The seller reduced the price because his Argentine wife told him: ‘Please reduce the price.’ He said: ‘I can take out the AC, the washer, the heater, ...’ we said: ‘All right, that we can put in later.’”

Less than two years after buying the house, its value had tripled. The real estate bubble gave for a network of suburban bubbles. The banks insisted: “Do you need money? Here you have it.” Their ability to get loans had grown with the value of their house. On credit, they bought the fence, the new door and the jacuzzi with a teak frame (probably from plantations in Ecuador, Colombia or Costa Rica) that occupies a prominent space in the back yard. They also built a gazebo made of painted wood, where they now have dinner and spend a lot of time. The gazebo is a mix of a kiosk and a dining room. The water collected on the roof goes to plastic containers where they save it for watering the flowers that hang, suspended by fine wires, from the wooden beams. The water that flows over is saved in smaller buckets where Gladys and Jorge’s, as well as other cats from the neighborhood drink.

The real estate bubble has translated into a concatenation of many other bubbles—yard after yard of jacuzzis, in the Pasadena suburbs. In this house everything seems to respond to a project or the evolution of a project, to a transition of one social construction to another, to allow one group to re-emerge in society, to confront generational substitution by activating

oneself politically, to construct daily life out of latent desire, frustration, or even the powers and controls that cross through into the domestic interiors and translate into objects, aesthetics, everyday installations and situations.

Jorge likes watching scientific TV programs like NOVA. Gladys tends to watch *Caso Cerrado*, rebroadcast by Telemundo from Miami, in which judge Ana María Polo presides over real trials between parts that agree to expose themselves to the journalist's scrutiny. Gladys likes it because "it explains very well the laws of immigration, divorce and custody." She also likes Korean telenovelas that are translated into English and shown between 8 and 9 p.m. The daughter of a rich guy has fallen in love with the main custodian who doesn't even have a high school diploma. She has a university degree. Gladys comments: "The boy is not prepared for the lifestyle that she has always had, not even for being friends. She defends love and so does he. And the father is beyond despair." While she watches TV, Gladys plays with her dog. She throws him plastic bones that he catches over and over. When he gets tired, she pats him. She throws the bone again and he brings it back again. "He likes me to give him massages with one of his bones."



IV. The MENTAL LIFE of OBJECTS



John and Onil's house.
Photo: Andrés Jaque, 2013

John and Onil live in Northwest Pasadena, in the house that a New Hampshire couple built in 1892. This couple left New England looking for a healthier climate. They first established themselves in Indiana where the agriculture sector was booming and offered job opportunities. Afterwards they moved Illinois, Iowa and Colorado. In 1890 they visited friends in Pasadena, already a popular vacation destination with hotels, infrastructure and a warm climate. They bought five acres of land for \$25,000, and for only \$6,800 more, they constructed the house, and converted it into a showcase for the achievements of the *American Arts and Crafts Movement*.

The land and the property were gradually divided into smaller parts, filling up with new buildings around the original construction. In place of a barn that burned down in 1888, a house from South Pasadena was rebuilt. Its owners had paid \$1 for it. The transport and reinstallation, something very common back then, cost another \$35,000.

The first impression when entering the lobby of John and Onil's house (with its dark wood paneling, the antiques, or the table lamps with cloth shades) is of coming into a place halted in time. Only on a second look do things become more complex. The airplane models, the posters, or the books of contemporary artists suggest the celebration of eclecticism, lack of rules, and a clear disinterest in coherence.

John was born in Montreal and began having a penchant for collecting at age four. His mother didn't understand why he always brought things home. At age six, he moved with his parents to New Jersey. There, during the 1950s, right after WWII, the 'all in one floor' California Ranch

House was in vogue. Basically, there were two options for builders back then: imitate the early modern style or build houses in California Ranch Style. His parents admired that architecture. They grew up in Victorian households, in matriarchal families with a strong religious tradition. His mother, born in 1908, was of Irish Catholic background. His father, born in 1910, was Scottish and Presbyterian.

John remembers the houses of his two grandmothers very well. They were full of objects that inserted the present into the past with a sacred atmosphere. His parents felt a great urge to escape the pressure under which they had grown up. That is why they dreamt of a Californian house—animated, modern and simple, far away from the presence of the past.

This background attracted John. Years later, he started collecting engravings and antiques. He would buy new pieces and afterwards he would sell them to acquire others. He organized exhibitions in his own house that brought together friends and people he didn't know. Sometimes the common interest in a work made new friendships emerge.

When he arrived in LA thirty-four years ago, he was convinced that he would only have a “brief Californian experience” of two or three years. He lived in many places until he found something that called his attention: an old fisherman's shed on one of the Silver Lake hills, with views of the lake and the sunset. The building could fit in its entirety in the living room of his current Northwest Pasadena house. In Silver Lake, he constructed a deck that literally went into the landscape. John remembers: “I was working in Downtown LA for a large foundation. I had to drive for fifty minutes, so every three days that got to two hours. But when I got home at the end of a day, I would sit down on that deck and I would just feel the largeness of the world. And I just felt a bigger perspective of what had happened during the workday and of all those tiny little issues.”

A while back, John was invited to direct the MCA in Chicago. Real estate brokers found him an apartment of 2,100 square feet on Lake Shore Drive. The views of Lake Michigan and the sunsets were as spectacular as the ones in Silver Lake, but the sensation of safety and the fact that he didn't have to have a car and could always count on taxis, made a difference.

Back in LA, the fisherman's shed had come out small in comparison.

They remember Northwest Pasadena was a dangerous place. The 210 highway had converted it into an island, cut off from the rest of the city. A lot of people who lived there before had moved to the suburbs, like La Canyada. But in the middle of this environment of abandonment some majestic and beautiful houses survived. Friends of Onil and John had bought one of those houses that had been a crack house occupied by sex workers. Little by little they arranged the house and converted it into a place of leisure and meetings. It catalyzed a neighborhood-wide transformation. John and Onil would occasionally go to these meetings and would joke about the possibility of buying the house in which they live now. One day, it was put up for sale and they bought it.

Today, this area of Pasadena has a social mix that is hard to find in other LA neighborhoods. About half of the neighbors are African American, another half is Latin American and there is a significant gay presence as well. For John, this area is very particular to LA: “Here you look for a place where you can attach to other people you know. California is very unlike Boston. In Boston you could stop by somebody's house unexpectedly. Here you could do it, but you always have to call first. We all see each other every couple of months, but there is a very warm feeling when we get to see each other.”

Onil remembers that, when he arrived in LA, he always had the feeling there was a party somewhere else that he was missing out on. He had that feeling until he started working at Disney Feature Animations. Everybody was of the same age, they developed projects together, so they naturally became friends despite their differences. Disney had offices in France and Japan, and there was an animation boom in the 1990s. For Disney, those were the years of big blockbusters such as *Beauty and the Beast*, *Aladdin* and *The Lion King*. Jeffrey Katzenberg left the studio in 1994 to start Dream Works together with Steven Spielberg and David Geffen. There weren't enough animators to keep up with the amount of productions. In order to avoid the competition, studios started giving bonuses of up to \$150,000. Animators got their own agents and became like rockstars. One could see Porsches and Mercedes where before there had been Volkswagens.

After twelve years at Disney, Onil decided to become a chef and enrolled in culinary school. He had his own restaurant for a while but afterwards he decided to re-orient his career and business towards catering. This way he could focus on specific orders, without the pressure of running a space open to the public. Two miles from his house he has a professional kitchen at his disposal where he prepares for big events. If it's a small job, like a dinner for ten people, for instance, he cooks in the basement of his house, which he has organized as storage and kitchen for his business. For him, his cooking (which combines, for instance, a paella of black forbidden rice with saffron, cucumber cup, edamame, miso and sesame and a fried chicken & biscuit) relates to the city's urban reality, its multi-cultural nature and also to the gastronomic possibilities that Alice Waters and Jules Dervaes developed, all while attempting to convert Pasadena into a community that is conscious of what it eats.

John retired from his last job sixteen years ago. He thought it was the right moment to stop and, since then, job offers to work as consultant on art-related projects have kept coming in. After years of being dependent on a car, he can now work from home and make decisions about how he wants to use his time. Onil's success has forced him to make a decision as to how much he wants his business to grow and what implications this might have for his life. Their daily life is unusual in a city in which moving around by car is the prime factor that defines the workday and the relationship between its inhabitants. For Onil, the way to develop relations has changed: "When I was younger and working at the studios, I saw people on a daily basis. It was very much like in high school. You make friends with certain people because you see them every single day. You come close to them because you are forced to and you have no choice. Now we don't see people like that anymore because we don't have jobs like that anymore. Sometimes there are people who we like. They are perfectly nice and we would like to spend time with them, but then there are other people that I would do more than an effort to see. With some people you are just connected at some level."



V. The POLITICS of the BANCAL (PARCEL)



Abel and Edith's house.
Photo: Andrés Jaque, 2013

Abel lives with his wife Edith and his oldest daughter in Silver Lake. The three of them live on the ground floor of a building that, from the outside, would give the impression of being a single-family house. It has three floors, and stands on a slope. There is street access to the higher street on the South side of the lot that reaches, at a steep incline, one of the highways that vertebrate LA. The upper floor is, in fact, the garage. Mary, Abel and Edith's younger daughter lives in the apartment on the middle floor. The lower floor is, besides the living space, a childcare where, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., the domestic life of the family mixes with the bustle of toys, child siestas and meals. The house extends into a patio with lime trees, toys and a long bench covered with black rubber where Abel and his family, the kids and the parents of the kids, mix the familial with the professional and the personal with the collective.

The patio is very clean and is paved with soft red rubber tiles. Everything is planned so that the kids can play without the adults being worried. The North end is closed by wooden fences (like the ones they sell at Home Depot) and metal fabric. They continue into a lattice of metal tubes from which a triangular, white cloth sail hangs. Together they form an outside, shady room. The room smells like orange blossom and the noise of the highway mixes with that of the plastic toys. It seems that Abel, Edith and their daughter passively contemplate the landscape, when in fact they construct it with everyday engineering that could easily go unnoticed.

The house doesn't really end in the composition of fences and metallic

fabric. Little by little, Abel has conquered the hill that extends southwards over the highway. With bricks, boards and grills he has slowly mastered, *bancal* by *bancal*, a hill that becomes increasingly steep. It's the *yarda* (the garden). Here you can find, in alphabetic order and just in the way Abel enumerates them: *acelgas* (chard), *boniatos* (sweet potato), *chaucha* (string beans), *duraznos* (peaches), *guayabos* (guayaba trees), *higos* (figs), *limoneros* (lime trees), *malvarrosa* (hollyhock), *mandarinos* (mandarin trees), *melones* (melons), *menta* (mint), *morrones* (red peppers), *parras* (vines), *papas* (potatoes), *pimientos verdes* (green peppers), *repollos* (cabbage), *sandía* (watermelon), *tomates* (tomatoes), *uva moscatel* (moscatel grape), *zapallos* (pumpkin) and *zucchini*.

Until last year, they kept the house that they built in 1971 in Montevideo, Uruguay. But each time the renters would move out, the house would be destroyed. It was a house that was meant to be beautiful, with a kitchen of six by three meters and a dining room with Carrara marble floors.

Abel and his wife met at a party when she was sixteen and he eighteen. In 1968, when Columbia and Berkeley students protested against the Vietnam War, Abel was also engaged in political action. He got on a plane to New York as an illegal immigrant. In the plane he met a Chilean man who was going to get married in Puerto Rico. A friend of this guy recommended he stay in Hotel One, Two, Three, at 44th Street and Broadway where more than forty Uruguayans stayed at that time. He lived there ten months before being deported to Montevideo. But he had paid \$400 to a lawyer named Garfield to start the Green Card application. In 1973, two years after finishing the construction of the house in Montevideo and thanks to the help of an Ecuadorian lawyer, he was able to finish the process. He received the news in Buenos Aires, where he was working at the time. He came to the US with his wife to settle in Elizabeth, NJ. They rented a house and they sublet their bottom floor (which had two bedrooms and a bathroom) to two Uruguayan brothers.

Shortly thereafter, a friend told him that in Alaska there were good job opportunities and they moved there in the 1970s. He worked in the construction of the Alaska Gasline. He made as much as \$44,000 a year.



Abel and Edith's house.
Photo: Andrés Jaque, 2013

They lived in Anchorage, first in a house on 58th Avenue and, from 1986 onwards, in a big house on Blackberry Street. Their daughter Mary had started studying at UC Berkeley where she looked for a house and her parents, who had already retired, bought it. On November 5, 2006 they moved to Silver Lake. They got the sellers to reduce the price because the house was already fairly run down. It had been built by a Spaniard who lived on the ground floor and rented the top. They had to change the floors and redo the bathrooms. They put a jacuzzi in the main bathroom.

“I have the most fun in the garden,” says Abel. “I grew up in the countryside of Colonia. In Uruguay I used to plant sweet potatoes. The *finca* (ranch) where I grew up was very big. It had lots of orange trees, beautiful peach trees, there were apricot, pomegranate, lemon, fig and olive trees. Three years ago, I went back and there was nothing left. They had taken down the trees and turned everything into soy fields. The countryside was deserted and people had gone to the city.

After leaving Uruguay, the first garden he had was at 58th Avenue in Anchorage, Alaska. “No one had ever planted anything there. Everything was grass. The English neighbors harvested zucchini in a greenhouse. I made one from curved sheets of panel glass. I would keep potatoes in my garage and would bring them to my mother-in-law or my parents. They were big potatoes. It’s incredible how things grow in Alaska. The land is very fertile. The corn grows very high, but the climate is not good enough to get big ears of corn. The summer lasts pretty much four days. When we arrived, there was no garden whatsoever. I worked a lot to clean the earth. It wasn’t very good. I had to put everything in pots or add earth. I also put tiles so that the animals that come from the ground wouldn’t eat the plants. I would put poison, but it didn’t work.”

Abel has six brothers. Between 7 a.m. and 9 a.m. he chats with one of them who lives in the state of Miranda, Venezuela. He has a big house with a big piece of land where he cultivates fruits, especially mango. Even though they use Skype, they can’t use the camera because an electric outage, quite common in Venezuela these days, broke his brother’s computer. Abel has never visited him but follows his life through photos that he has

received. Another brother also lives in Venezuela, in the Isla de Margarita. Both went in 1976, with the first economic boom under Carlos Andrés Pérez and thanks to the boost that the 1973 oil crisis had given to Venezuela.

“Yesterday my wife, my daughter and I saw *Españoles en el mundo* (Spaniards in the world), a TV show on the international channel of Televisión Española. It featured some Spanish wine-producers who lived in Montevideo. I knew a lot of Spanish emigrés. But those on TV were rich Spaniards. Those who I knew were bus drivers.”

In the *yarda escalonada* (stepped garden), there are tomatoes from the seeds Abel brought from Uruguay. There are pumpkins and muscatel grapes from seeds sent to him by a friend from Sicily. The *yarda escalonada* is the adaptation of knowledge accumulated over the years, from the *quinta* in Colonia, the panel glass greenhouses in Alaska and the residual spaces between the highways in LA. Migrations, crises, economic growths and the transformations in the landscape aren’t independent processes that happen on a blank slate. They also aren’t radical processes: they never erase what already exists. They generate an urbanism of the collateral, of that which moves, of the links that remain after everything has changed. They also produce knowledges that are implanted and transplanted, similar to the cultivation of fruit trees. And they promote knowledges constructed in transit, like the division of property, subletting, and that imbrication of the domestic with the professional, which is so evident in the care of kids of others in the garden of Abel’s home.

1968 started with revolutions that shackled the world. In televised talkshows, Pasolini wondered what the revolution of the workers’ children would be like. He also said that, on TV, his words would always be received with distrust. It is the distrust with which everything uttered from the periphery is received. Perhaps in some of the things that happen in this urbanism, we may find something of that which Pasolini looked for.



Thanksgiving at Kings Road, Schindler-Chace House, 1923
R. M. Schindler papers. Architecture and Design Collection, Art Design & Architecture Museum, UC Santa Barbara

VI. FOUR KIDS in a TREE HOUSE

Pauline Gibling and Marian da Camara were close friends. Both were fired from their jobs in Ravinia, IL, for their political ideas. In 1917, Marian married builder Clyde Chace. Two years later, Pauline married architect Rudolph Schindler. In 1922, the four of them built a house at 853 Kings Road in West Hollywood. It would become a cult construction for those who followed domestic experiments of California's modernity. The house has private bedrooms for the two couples and a continued space that opens to a garden with big sliding panels. The whole of the continued space and this garden were planned as a salon to organize a social life dedicated to exploring the cultural and political dimensions of everyday life.

The house didn't have central heating. A series of fireplaces distributed all over the building became the centers of activity where the owners and their guests camped (more so than actually lived). Pauline and Marian were the homeowners on paper. When years later the cohabitation of the two couples ended, the Schindlers bought the share of their friends. The four agreed that Clyde and Marian should receive 20% of the total value of the house. Rudolph Schindler died in 1953. Even though by then he and Pauline were divorced, they continued living together in the house in West Hollywood. Pauline Gibling died in 1977.

The first assignment that Harriet Gold received when she was hired as Head of Special Projects of the UCLA Architecture School, was a specific offer by Pauline Gibling, known in the UCLA circles as 'Mrs. Schindler'. Harriet was the first to hold this position. She didn't have any

curricular responsibilities nor was she expected to do any fundraising. The dean had hired her because they were looking for someone who had contacts with the LA community. Few people fulfilled that requirement as well as Harriet did.

Mrs. Schindler wanted to sell the West Hollywood house to UCLA and be able to use it until her death. The Architecture School didn't have the budget for this but searched for ways to make the offer work, which became Harriet's first special project. She brought several professors together and they got a lawyer to help them in creating a nonprofit called Friends of the Schindler House (1976). Harriet remembers how they were able to make the project go ahead: "Because I had that piece of paper and I started to work on it, then other people had to come in. So everything that we did was to construct a 'village'. And there were a lot of wonderful people. Now there are only four of us in the board. We are like four kids in a tree house. Friends of the Schindler House owns the building. We are not in the National Trust but we have Preservation Status."

The purchase and the founding of a preservation program was financed thanks to a cooperation agreement with the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna (MAK). Its then director, Peter Noever, wanted the house to be part of a project to create an exchange program and residencies between Vienna and LA. Noever had become known for connecting the great legacy of decorative and industrial arts of the museum, an archive of the everyday life of Central Europe, with the perspectives of contemporary art. The MAK's permanent exhibition was organized as a succession of salons where some of the most important collections of their holdings, such as the evolution of the Thonet furniture, were shown in installations designed by visual artists of international relevance—Jenny Holzer, Franz Graf or Donald Judd.

Harriet remembers Mrs. Schindler very well: "I met her. She was a very handsome tall red haired lady. She was a communist. They were socialist. Her son Mark was a lovely gentleman. He could never get a real job in the sciences or in the engineering world. The FBI was watching them." Mark's obituary in the *Los Angeles Times* reminded that he had

donated the house of Kings Road "in the interest of its preservation." His family therefore asked people to donate to the Friends of the Schindler House, instead of sending flowers.

Harriet's life is distributed over three locations. The first one is her house in Bel Air. She and her husband live in a big house designed by Alison & Alison, architects of important buildings such as the Friday Morning Club or the Hollywood Post Office. When they bought it, their two daughters were three and seven years old. They had sold the house they owned on the top of Colorado Canyon and quickly needed to find another one in which they could settle. Harriet preferred a house in French Regency style. She had studied in the 1950s at Parsons, in a francophone environment. The professors made their students visit the Brooklyn Museum to copy drawings of French architectures. Harriet traveled to Paris. It was difficult not to be seduced by its culture. In the 1970s she bought an authentic antique *boiserie* and had it installed in the main living room of the house. During the night, the reflection of the light and the wood panels is truly beautiful. But during the day the living room is dark. At each side of this unit they built two new spaces specifically designed to bring natural light to the inside of the house.

Harriet was involved in both designs, working with renowned architects who also belong to her network of friends. The first one is a glass dining room to the Southeast of the house. The second one is at the Northeast corner. It is a space for parties that can fit up to forty people around a large table. Besides her work for the Friends of the Schindler House, Harriet holds important positions in organizations such as National Public Radio and Teach for America. In these new spaces, Harriet relaxes and organizes family dinners, but she also works, has conference calls and even organizes events, such as formal reunions or fundraising dinners. She knows perfectly how such things need to be organized—the need for potential sponsors to have access to artists and authors in general, and for public relations experts. She is also aware that, more and more, her grandchildren will have to take over. As Harriet says, they will have opportunities to meet people with money and influence, both at their universities and in

their social lives.

The garden has also changed. They took out many things that used to be there, like a trampoline and the brick side along the pool or the dog run. The field of sunflowers is also gone. A few years ago they hired a landscape architect, Jacques Wirtz, who is internationally known for going back to the tradition of European royal gardens with a contemporary touch. His Schoten garden is organized like a showroom that private clients from all over the world visit. His firm, Wirtz International Landscape Architects, became a popular cultural reference after designing the powerful abstract garden in which Christian Dior presented his 2013 Spring/Summer collection, commissioned by Raf Simmons, the artistic director who took John Galliano's place after a transition period.

Peter Wirtz received his landscaping degree from Cornell and is one of the sons and partners of Jacques Wirtz. He settled in LA and worked for a while with her. While he stayed in the house he could transform the garden and train a gardener close to Harriet so that she could continue the work after he left. Harriet says the following about the result: "It is really very satisfying and very peaceful. The garden is just a very good place to come out. There is no noise. It has all the different colors of natural green. To live in a home this long and to feel this happy, safe and comfortable is a very special thing to happen."

The second space in which Harriet's everyday life takes place is her home in Colorado. It is a U-shaped house three miles from Aspen. The view of the mountains from the house reminds her of the views of Mount Fuji. The house is designed like a Japanese country house, with private parts for Harriet and her husband, but also for the families of each one of her two daughters. They spend weekends and vacations there. The neighborhood is surrounded by a mountain landscape. It has nine houses on large lots. From the house it's almost impossible to see the neighbors even though, as Harriet says, they all know each other and are good friends.

The third place is the office of her husband at Camden Avenue, Beverly Hills, eight minutes from their Bel Air house: "It's the next street West from Rodeo Drive. But it's a different place completely. In Camden

everybody knows everybody. I go every morning to get my cappuccino at Teuscher [a French-Swiss chocolate store]. They know me and I don't even have to tell them what I want. Then I walk on the street, smile and say hello to people. It is like a little village. You know, we created that. At UCLA, I had that kind of experience as well. It's like your community. Otherwise, when we are in our cars, there are either people on their cell phones or they are cutting in front of you. I mean the driving here has become really difficult. I think of my youngest grandson of sixteen. He just got his driving license. I think: 'Oh my god. He is out there in that chaos'. It is really a challenge, more than anything."

VII.
PAN AM at
the END of the GARDEN



Juan and Vilma's house.
Photo: Andrés Jaque, 2013

Juan and Vilma live in a house formed by different adjoining spaces. The incline of the land leaves the living room suspended well above the garden. From there, you can go down via the main bedroom deck, passing by wood “miradores”, a paved square (where they have transformed an old trash incinerator into a grill), a guestroom and several semi-underground rooms. These have a year-round constant temperature, which, in the Californian climate, is always appreciated.

On the mantelpiece in the living room there is a reproduction of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Next to the Virgin stands a glazed ceramic cat statuette. The oak floor was put in 1932 when the house was built during the height of the Depression. At some point in the 1960s, the floor was covered with carpet. Seen as a mass phenomenon, carpet helped bringing the modern rhetoric and sensibility to a significant number of California houses. If the new techno-social ways became known through singular houses that served as references to architects, then it is equally interesting to see how these processes of modernization have impacted other architectures which, with their own means to decorate, in turn, converted into laboratories of ‘the new’. In houses similar to that of Juan’s parents, modernity remained mixed with this ‘other’. It has temporal evolutions and has aged; it was a past confronted with the emergence of ‘new beginnings’. Juan’s father died in 1971 and his mother in 1989. Juan was the only heir. He took out the carpet, changed the staircase, renovated the bathroom and the kitchen and painted the entire house in fashionable colors.

Juan's parents were artists. They sang and played the guitar at nightclubs in LA and went on tours. Between fees and tips, Juan's parents collected enough money to buy the house in 1948. In the center of the garden there is still a statue of Venus holding an amphora. Underneath the sculpture there is a base of pebbles and, at its feet, a little lake is shaped by four exedras. Surrounding it, there is a *boj*, orange trees full of fruits and a birdcage with a metal mesh. The lake doesn't have any water now and the fountain is turned off, but Juan remembers the waterlilies his parents planted years ago, the freshness of the fountain and the canary birds in the cage.

Juan and his parents moved to the house when he was eleven. A few years later, they went back to Mexico and rented the house. When they returned to LA two years later, the renters hadn't taken care of the garden and the water lilies were gone. They still lived there when Juan went to City College to study painting because he wanted to become a commercial painter. Two years later, he decided to work with his parents in the Mexican restaurant that they had opened on the Boulevard. He left that to become an assistant at a reproduction company until he joined the army where, besides six months of active duty, he studied photography. Working as army photographer, he was in charge of documenting the technological and human environments of the quarters. He returned to the company where he had worked as assistant and then went to another one and then to another one. For decades, he has been working with the reproduction of images for the film industry. At seventy, with the help of the Graphic Arts Union, he retired. He then started to work as a volunteer in different initiatives: restoring old airplanes, helping several museums, helping the police.

Vilma was born in Central America. She came to California in 1958. She traveled without a chaperone, which was something unusual at the time. She could do that because her destination, a residency in the Methodist Church for young women from Latin America, promised a sense of moral vigilance. They got married on Tax Day, April 15, 1961. She attended night classes at City College. She kept her work, but interrupted her studies until her three kids became independent. At forty-four, she went back to college and graduated in psychology. She did 3,000 hours of



Juan recreation's room.
Photo: Andrés Jaque, 2013

practice at the Southern California Counseling Center before being able to practice on her own. Vilma never wanted to open her own home office: “You don’t want to get people with emotional problems into your home. In a private practice you can’t choose your patients. You don’t have any supervision, and even without it, you still have to intervene and redirect each case when it becomes necessary.”

On a trip to Sedona, AZ, Juan and Vilma were so seduced by the landscape that they decided to buy a house there. Juan had already retired, but Vilma hadn’t. They waited a few years and Vilma closed her practice to be able to retire with Juan in Sedona. Vilma says: “He convinced me. There are very beautiful red hills. Nature is all around you. There are walking trails that go into the hills. There are many people of our age. It was a fabulous life, because you are surrounded by nature.” And Juan seconds her: “We have friends in Sedona who are still very close. Making friends is easier in a small town than it is in LA. If you greet someone here they think you’re crazy. But I always lived in a big city, so Sedona seemed very oppressive and claustrophobic to me. After living there for a few years, I needed more action. The kids and granddaughters were in LA. When we returned, it felt like finding a pair of old and very comfortable shoes again.”

All rooms are impeccable: the living room, the master bedroom, the grill patio, the little lake with the Venus and amphora fountain. In the laundry room, there are posters of movies that have a special meaning for Juan and Vilma. *Gold Diggers of 1935* and *Maltese Falcon* share the wall with *When Worlds Collide* or *Grease*. There is also a table where a puzzle of 10,000 pieces is taking shape. There are others that are already finished on the walls. They depict military plane battle scenes on the Chinese coast. Talking about them Juan says: “WWII happened when I was a kid. The war planes would pass by here very low. I could see them from this house. Since then, I’ve been fascinated by planes. After retiring, I even worked as a volunteer restoring them.”

At the end of the lake, inside the birdcage, Juan has built what he calls his private space. It is a place where the pictures he took of Vilma mix with movie posters and airplane models hanging from wires, seemingly frozen in

mid air. The memories of youth, the airplane flights, the fictions, the agreements and affects also need architectures. After all, aren’t houses the architectural artefacts that connect the subjective with the common and that also construct us, putting together lived reality (with its own accounts) with the imagined? Nothing of this could happen without the material support of rooms, tables for puzzles, posters printed from a computer or airplane models hanging from wires.

In a corner of the birdcage there is a picture of the *Pan Am* TV show. Its protagonists are the same age as Vilma in the pictures on the same wall. They pose just like she did. Vilma’s uncle worked for PanAmerican World Airways (commonly known as Pan Am). He got Vilma her plane tickets. Juan says ironically: “When we decided that we weren’t going to get married: PanAmerican! And Vilma left LA. When we changed our minds and decided to get married: PanAmerican! And Vilma came flying back. Pan American is part of our life story.”

VIII.
SUDDENLY WE ARE HERE
IMMERSED in a BEACH COMMUNITY



Gate to the beach.
Foto: Andrés Jaque, 2013

“I can tell you that, and I’ve made the statement before: If I knew what Malibu meant, and what Malibu Colony meant, I would burn my house down myself. Malibu is a way of life that we had never thought of. We were in the middle of the city, for Christ’s sake, and suddenly we are here immersed in a beach community.”

Geoffrey and his wife ended up living in Malibu as a result of unforeseeable events in the East of LA between November 5 and 7, 1961. More than 3,000 people had to be evacuated from a fire strengthened by the Santa Ana wind, which, then, reached more than 100 mph. There’s a saying in LA: “Strange things happen when Santa Ana arrives.” The fire started consuming the roofs of houses, mostly built from wood in the 1950s, and from there it would work its way down. The hydrants failed and the water pressure dropped. The firemen threw sand. The dust from the sand and the intense smoke of burning wood created a veil hiding the combustion. The effect of the disaster was visible days afterwards, when the veil disappeared, leaving 400 houses reduced to ashes, dust and dirty water.

After spending a first night in the house of his wife’s parents, Geoffrey made it clear that he didn’t like the idea of living together with his in-laws. His wife took the car and drove for hours along the Pacific coast. “I have found a house and I’ve rented it for a year. It’s in Malibu.”

Malibu Colony was already a gated community then. Geoffrey still lives there in a modern house with manicured gardens and works of important artists. Up to this day, 24hr guards control access to the neighborhood. A



Geoffrey's garden.
Photo: Andrés Jaque, 2013

guard verifies the destination of the passengers he doesn't recognize in the car and gives them a paper indicating the name of the person they visit. The search for privacy isn't something banal or something that one should judge easily. One needs to understand the history of the place. The community of Malibu County originated in the 1930s, when a group of Hollywood stars like Clara Bow, Ronald Colman, Barbara Stanwyck or Gloria Swanson rented a parcel of Rindge Ranch and constructed simple houses directly above the sand of the beach. The film studios and illustrated magazines had found an excellent way of editing, reinventing and publicizing the private life of film stars. The photoreportages of magazines like *Life* portrayed the day-to-day life of stars as if they were stylized versions of the ordinary everyday lives of the readers that made this large audience that consumed these magazines. In order to respond to these happy images, people who 'revealed the truth' or 'unmasked the lie' started appearing. Columnists like Louella Parsons or Hedda Hopper spread information and moral indictments about the intimate life of the stars in their columns in the *Los Angeles Examiner* and the *Los Angeles Times*, respectively, as well as in their appearances on TV and radio. In 1931, *The Coast Reporter* published slanders about lesbianism, exhibitionism and drug addiction in the home life of Clara Bow. They were meant to scandalize a puritan (or puritanized) public. When Bow attempted to commit suicide in 1944, she left a note in which she said she preferred death over publicity. Gloria Swanson had to accept the fact that her contracts with the studios included parts about the morality of her private life after Herbert Somborn (her husband between 1919 and 1925) had accused her of being unfaithful with thirteen different men.

The walled estate of Malibu Colony could be explained as an architectural device especially designed to operate in the conflict between moralizing and unmasking. All of this coincided with the Farm Security Administration photography program, which was meant to portray the impact of the Great Depression in the daily lives of US farmers. It is inevitable to imagine the effect the images of the daily lives of these celebrities in the minds, bodies or in the intimate conversations of the poor farmers.

And, also, how the pictures of the farmers would impact the minds, bodies and intimate conversations of the stars. What kind of transformations generated the desires to install some realities in others? Or to separate them? The collective production of exemplary images of the everyday for these editions was an arena that created, then like now, disputes, politics, forms of life and urban settlements like Malibu Colony.

Geoffrey's house is accessed from Malibu Colony Road. Like the other properties of the residential area, his is long and narrow. The architect who designed the house (which was published in its day on the cover of the *Los Angeles Times' Home Magazine* supplement) managed to put the three bedrooms of the couple and its three children on a 40 x 160 feet footprint. "How could my two sons get along at that time sharing a bedroom? But this is Malibu. How much time do you spend in your bedroom? But they needed privacy. It's very important if you can afford it. Of course on the other side of town you get six people living in the same room. They love each other now that they no longer share a bedroom."

At the North of his piece of land is the Pacific Coast Highway. In the first years of the arrival of the stars, the original owners of the Rindge Ranch fought in court to prevent the construction of the highway that split their property. The trial was so expensive that Rhoda May Rindge saw herself forced to sell parts of land to their tenants. The neighbors of Malibu Colony became owners and the houses on the sand slowly became permanent constructions. As the owners of land on the South side of Malibu Colony Road consolidated their fences, access to the beach became restricted to owners only. Geoffrey's plot is at the North end, which is why, together with many of his neighbors, he bought a piece of land on the other side. They walled it, built a deck and distributed keys to the door. Like a beach-style Georgian plaza, the plot functions as a non-public but shared commons that gives access to a limited group of neighbors from the North side of Malibu Colony.

What makes Malibu different from Miami Beach? For Geoffrey, it's something as prosaic as the absence of an urban sewage system. Each house in Malibu has a septic tank that, to prevent leakage into the ocean, can't be

constructed very profoundly and ends up taking up a large surface of the area. The land is so valued in Malibu that the additional area, needed for the horizontal development of the sewage of, say, a large hotel, would become economically unviable. Nevertheless, the water contamination of Malibu Creek, Malibu Lagoon and Surfrider Beach has become a controversial theme over the last few years. Some say it is caused by the filtration from the septic tanks of the houses in Malibu Colony. Such leakage could largely be prevented by an urban sewage system. According to others, it is the runoff from areas that are not as exclusive as Malibu Colony, to the North of the hills of the Pacific Coast Highway. Geoffrey trusts that his neighbors won't change the criteria that have been defended up till now: "We are a city now and we can control our own destiny."

The City of Malibu started developing Legacy Park in 2005, a large ecological machinery meant to improve the water quality in the creek, the lagoon and Surfrider Beach. The Park cleans the water, gives general access to the beach and preserve the environmental autochthon richness of Malibu. The tension generated between those two forms of understanding public access to the civil culture of the commons can be found in many contemporary urban conflicts.

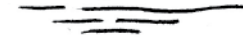
Geoffrey's living room is an exceptional space. It has an open height close to five meters. There is a concert piano with pictures of the trips he made with his wife. Behind the piano, there is a shelf on which souvenirs mix with art works and objects from different parts of the Pacific. One can recognize objects from New Zealand, Easter Island, Australia. In the garden through which one enters the house, there are large *Metrosideros excelsas*. They are New Zealand Christmas trees and, once a year, they have red flowers made of a bunch of fine red stamens. The entire North façade opens to a yard that ends in a lake with carps and waterlilies that joins a pergola, which has served as a setting for the weddings of friends.

When the 1961 fire burnt his house in Bel Air, Geoffrey and his wife lost everything they owned. "We lost every single thing we had. I only had the car. It was a new beginning, but this was our reward. Great place to raise your kids. God knows. Certainly the ocean... I had my kids surfing,

I had a couple of sailboats. We live in the ocean and it is a different life.”

Geoffrey’s house ends to the North with a Japanese lake and to the South with Christmas trees from New Zealand. Both bring to the everyday something contained in the horizon of the Pacific, which Geoffrey and his wife encountered in their travels. Behind the lake and the *metrosideros excelsas*, there are dense green hedges that preserve the privacy of the neighbors. There is a silent dispute between the Park and the Georgian beach plaza. A confrontation between the communal and the public that constructs a landscape of editions, desires and dispute. Their urbanization is not just the exclusive houses, but rather the displacements; between the desired and the unmasked, between the possibility of inhabiting the de-problematized edition or the political activity that challenges it.

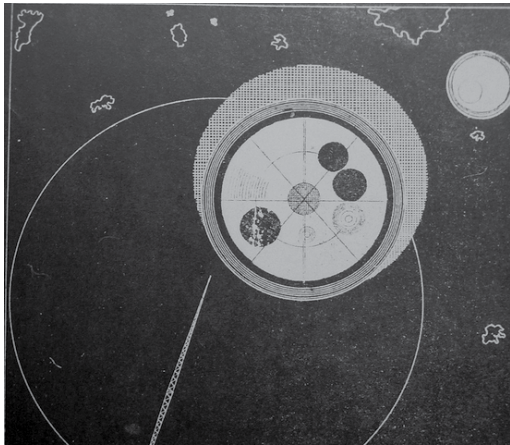
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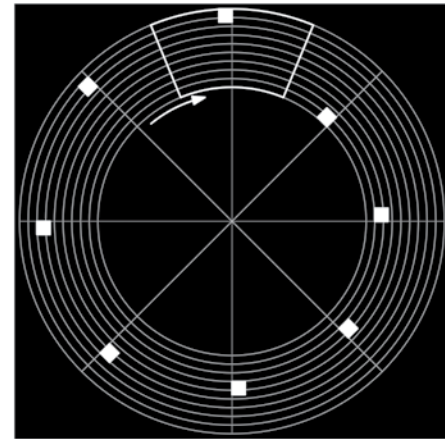
IX.
The INTERIOR and the POLEMIC.
RE-ARRANGING the TELE-URBANISM
of SOME MODERNS

I won't give a factual account, but rather something that I consider more a speculation of sorts. I am far from wanting to demonstrate how the known and interpreted facts by criticism and architecture history enclose, in an unnegatable way, a reality that has been left unrevealed. My intention is more modest. But it is also ambitious in the aim to create unusual options to operate within the field of architecture design. The way in which architecture derived from the experiments of modernity has remained imbricated in the social construction processes and in the implications that these have had, is in large part a mystery to the discipline of architects themselves. Especially because the study of architectural precedents, like a collection of successive instantaneous projections explained from the point of view of intentions and not as much from the evolutions or from the distance between those intentions and their reception, has disabled the opportunity to capitalize on a substantial part of the empirical patrimony that modernity generated. And, in particular, the possibility to recognize the forms of citizenship and political interaction that once characterized it, has disappeared.

I will start out by establishing a basic relation founded on the formal analogy between two images of what, at first sight, could seem like things of disconnected precedence. The first image is a picture of the floorplan of Ivan Ilich Leonidov's project for the building of Mass Actions at the Palace of Culture for the Proletarskii district of Moscow. Competition Project:



Ivan Ilich Leonidov. *Building Mass Actions*
Palace of Culture Moscow Proletarsky District, 1930.



Reproduction of Nipkow Disk by Paul Julius Gottlieb in 1884, 2013.

first round (1930) and which never got translated into a built experience.⁴

The second one is a reproduction of a drawing of the Luminous Exploration Disc, also known as the Nipkow Disc, developed by Paul Julius Gottlieb Nipkow in 1884 and with which he was able to transmit images over a distance. Thanks to the discovery of the properties of selenium, which allowed the generation of photosensible and phosphorescent images, John Logie Baird, cobbler but also expert in the design and fabrication of drills, constructed the first electromechanical television in 1923. It was the base that allowed Vladimir Sworykin to construct the original iconoscope. The first TV station was W3XK, created and imagined from a scientific lab, it broadcast moving images of the faces of those scientists participating in the research. The first televisions publicly presented measured seven inches and were announced as “rarities of technology.” In 1928, John Logie Baird made the first intercontinental transmission with the image of the system’s own antenna (it counted 128 lines). The first broadcast simultaneously directed to the mass public was the opening ceremony of the Berlin Olympic Games on August 1, 1936.⁵

Forty-six years separate these two designs, as well as a large jump in size and distance between the disciplinary fields in which both became possible. Nevertheless, I believe they are part of related interests. In the upper right part of Leonidov’s plan, there are two more or less circular masses that are cut out from the drawing’s black background. The biggest one is composed of six circles on the white space that is marked off with a ring of concentric circumferences. Behind this ring, one can see a fine grid of white lines. This mass was meant to be covered with a transparent dome. The six circles are confined in what, in the drawing, is the interior of the ring of the parallel circumferences (which probably represented a circular gradation). They were imagined as stages from which trained

4. Gozak, A. Leonidov, *Ivan Leonidov. The Complete Works*, London: Academy Editions, 1988.

5. I am thankful to Prof. Andrés García Larrota of the Universidad Javeriana in Bogota for helping me in contextualizing the historical significance of the Nipkow disc as part of the preparatory work for the “El paisaje, la tele y el cuarto de estar: Seminario de ecología, arquitectura y televisión” (“Landscape, television and the living room, seminar on ecology, architecture and TV”) seminar that I taught in May 2008 in the International Studies Program (PEI) of that same university.

entertainers, aided by loudspeakers, would transmit the teachings of the Soviet Revolution to the masses.⁶ A year before, at the First Congress of Constructivist Architects, Leonidov presented two variants of a generic proposal for the Club of New Social Form. The press immediately echoed Leonidov’s explanations about the proposal: “The analytical and collective work [of the clubs] must mainly be lead and directed from a specially organized centre and institute of highly qualified teachers, by means of radio, television (long-range transmission of images) and cinema, which also provide direction of high quality in a manner that is economically favorable and extends to embrace the broadest possible cross-section of society.”⁷

Television is not only a technology, which implements the features of architectural devices, it is also, in itself, a form of organizing space. In this case one could construct it thanks to expert teachers who, from a central position, “would disseminate the political and economic events of the day.”⁸ This way, all proletarians who would be at these meetings, would take something from what was said there to their domestic or work environments. As such, they would in turn become new agents of transmission.

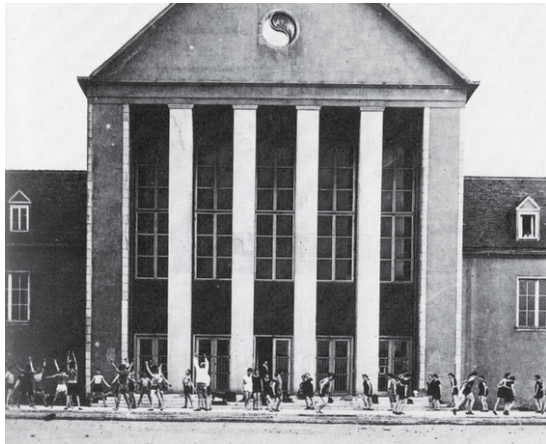
I’m intrigued by the similarities between the plans of Leonidov and the design of the first television components.⁹ The building of Mass Actions as well as Nipkow’s disc are part of social construction projects by irradiation of contents that were codified in the form of physical impulses

6. *Ibid.* 4.

7. An article explaining the responses of Ivan Leonidov to the questions asked in the First Congress of Constructivist Architects in 1929 was published in *Sovremennaiia Arkhitektura. Sovremennaiia Arkhitektura*, 1929. Nr 3, pp. 105-111. Quoted in Gozak, A. and Leonidov, A., *Ivan Leonidov. The Complete Works*, London: Academi Editions, 1988.

8. *Ibid.* 6. [Translation from the Spanish made by S. Demeuse for the occasion of this publication.]

9. I am not the only one whose attention is drawn by the way in which the representation of Leonidov’s architecture comes close to industrial design. In 1927, D. Aronovich writes in a pessimistic tone about the recent graduates at VkhUTEMAS, amongst whom most notably Leonidov and Pashkov: “Nevertheless, their low standard [of the VkhUTEMAS students just graduated] in comparison with previous years is quite perceptible. One of the reasons for that, no doubt, is the excessive enthusiasm of senior students for engineering and technological functionalism (...) Outwardly, it has resulted in the situation at the Exhibition, where many of VkhUTEMAS’s designs are little different from those of the Moscow Higher Technical College, MVTU.” Aronovich, D., *Stroitel’naia Promyshlennost. Number 6/7*, Moscow, 1927, p. 453. Quoted in Gozak, A.; Leonidov, A., *Ivan Leonidov. The Complete Works*, London: Academi Editions, 1988, p.42.



Hellerau Festspielhaus, 1911.

that evolved in time. They were projects that allowed transporting what happened in the center of irradiation. In this way, they involved human groups in a society in which daily experiences remained connected by fragments of shared experiences. The television is in itself an architecture, a technique of social reconstruction by enabling centers that irradiate.

This historical photograph attributed to Heinrich Tessenow, shows the Hellerau Festspielhaus, in the first garden city of Germany, the Hellerau Gartenstadt, finished in 1911—three years before the Great War that would tremendously change the intentions the German architect had put into what has been considered his magnum opus. The idea of the garden city found a great context in Germany at the dawn of the 20th century among those who, starting from the notion of *Stadtfeindlichkeit* (enmity towards the city), searched for alternatives to rural life and the metropolis. The garden city would be the habitat of a middle class of craftsmen, where they would find a particular form of ‘harmony’. A middle class that, as José Manuel García Roig recounts, had already been chosen by narrators such as Julius Langbehn to speak of “a specifically German concept of culture as alternative to an idea of mechanistic, materialist civilization, proper to cities and people without roots, like the Jewish people.”¹⁰ “The primitive and simple development of our lives and of our work has brought us, and will always bring us, from the rural to the urban. [...] This oscillation between town and big city (also between what is desired by the senses and what, in change, is fruit of intellectual labor), informs the entire history of humanity, and is, possibly, its most important aspect and results, moreover, to be really tragic. (It so happens that, in the majority of cases we also keep an oscillating position, but our goal should always be to arrive at a balance *vis à vis* ourselves and the world.)”¹¹

10. García Roig provides an interesting account of how the ideas of Julius Langbehn impacted the environment of the Deutscher Werkbund. García Roig, J.M. “El hombre armónico. Sobre la *Weltanschauung* de Tessenow en torno a 1918” in *Heinrich Tessenow. Trabajo artesanal y pequeña ciudad*. Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos de Murcia, translation by J.M. García Roig, Murcia, 1998. [Translation from the Spanish by S. Demeuse, made for the occasion of this publication.]

11. Tessenow, H., “Trabajo artesanal y pequeña ciudad” en *Heinrich Tessenow. Trabajo artesanal y pequeña ciudad*. García Roig, J.M., Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos de Murcia, traducción de J.M. García Roig, Murcia, 1998. Original title: *Handwerk und Kleinstadt* Berlin, Bruno Cassirer, 1919. [Translation from the Spanish by S. Demeuse, made for the occasion of this publication.]

It is interesting to ponder how the work of Tessenow has been received by architecture criticism and consider its relation with the Modern Movement. A movement in whose formation Tessenow had a crucial role—consider, for instance, the fact that, in 1927, the *Das Neue Frankfan* magazine conferred the then most avant-garde architects (including Le Corbusier, Oud and Wright) for its “Special Issue about the Flat Roof” and that its editor, Ernst May, decided to close the issue with a contribution by Heinrich Tessenow,¹² or that Le Corbusier was interested in collaborating with the German architect while his studio was working on the design of the Hellerau Festspielhaus. Nevertheless, Tessenow remained excluded from the canonical historiography of the Modern Movement until the end of the 1960s, when some architects related to Italian Postmodernism found in his work a delicate way to understand the everyday. In his projects, they saw architectural knowledge as a collective creation based on the accumulative capacity of tradition, and an alternative to the legacy of what we could call an inventive and supposedly rupturist modernity.¹³ In 1989, Michael Hays published his reaction against this recognition: “I’m feeling increasingly uncomfortable with the tendency to forget about the circumstantial and specific content of history, and with the effort of keeping the formal object disconnected from the gritty world of the political, of power and the diverse authorities that legitimate its production, use, and even its understanding.”¹⁴

The Hellerau Festspielhaus has had a very unexpected trajectory. During the course of Germany’s turbulent 20th-century, it gradually took on uses that were not intended in the original enunciation: a military hospital, a Nazi recruitment center, a quarter for the detachments of the Soviet Army responsible for overseeing the neighboring city of Dresden, a punk house, a squat, an occupied social center, a theatre and art center, an

12. *Das Neue Frankfan*. Number 7, Oct.-Dec., 1927.

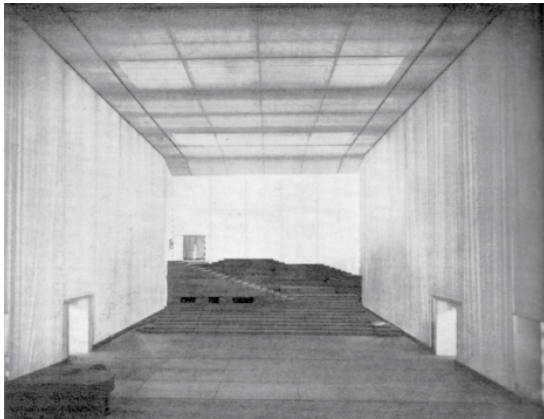
13. The most influential defense of Tessenow is probably the one by Giorgio Grassi made in different publications. Grassi, G., “Introducción a Tessenow” in *La arquitectura como oficio*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1980.

14. Hays, M., “Tessenow’s Architecture as National Allegory: Critique of Capitalism or Protofascism?” in *Assemblage*, Number 8, Boston, Feb. 1989, pp. 104-123.

object of intense reconstruction with Getty funding. But I suggest we leave this evolution aside and instead focus on its first years of operation before the outbreak of WWI, and the original intentions of its promoters and designers. The Hellerau Festspielhaus was the result of Wolf Dohrn’s resolve. He was the son of zoologist Anton Dohrn, and he believed that he discovered in rhythmic gymnastics, invented by Emil Jaques Dalcroze from Genève, the possibility to “restore the rights of the bodily rhythms, which are each time more deteriorated, by an educational process that reaches all age levels of the garden city’s inhabitants.”¹⁵ The design is, in actual fact, the result of the collaboration between Heinrich Tessenow with the stage designer Adolphe Appia, Alexander von Salzmann and the already mentioned Emile Jaques Dalcroze. The people in charge of the Deutscher Werkbund (the German Work Federation) had been discussing for years how one could collectively join the resident craftsmen with their families in the garden city. With this goal in mind, the modern and competitive Deutscher Werkbund already disparaged the power of religion, as well as the presence of an aristocratic authority.

Dalcroze, attracted by the program of the Dresden Opera Semper, showed up in the right moment. His recently invented rhythmic gymnastics, an integral pedagogy based on rhythm, music and bodily expression, offered an option that was, until then, left unconsidered and which, nevertheless, could live up to the challenge of the Deutscher Werkbund’s motto: “Vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau” (from the couch pillow to the building of cities). Why not think of an activity that would contribute healthy bodies and spectacles at the same time, and that would serve as the glue that the Deutscher Werkbund needed for its new citizens and modern craftsmen? According to Tessenow, “the most outstanding meaning of the craftsmen lies in the fact that they develop their work in the least subjective way possible and that, in the majority of the cases, doing it, they relate to the world. [...]

15. AAVV., “Hellerau: ¿Una provincia pedagógica? Diez aspectos para la comprensión de la ciudad-jardín de Hellerau” in *El movimiento de la ciudad-jardín en Alemania y el caso particular de Hellerau (1907-1914)*, García Roig, J.M. Madrid: Cuadernos del Instituto Juan de Herrera de la Escuela de Arquitectura de Madrid, 2000, p. 25. [Translation from the Spanish by S. Demeuse, made for the occasion of this publication.]



Hellerau Festspielhaus main hall, 1911.

In order to realize it [the work of the craftsman] bodily health or physical ability is as important as the intellectual one, as important is personal freedom or independence as are social relations or group consciousness, as important are the work instruments as the handling of them, etc.”¹⁶

In the image to the left we can see the main façade of the Hellerau Festspielhaus shortly after its construction. On the entrance stairs, a group of inhabitants of the Hellerau Gartenstadt do rhythmic gymnastics following the instructions of teachers trained by Jaques Dalcroze in order to implement what was known as the “Dalcroze Method.”¹⁷ This was a practice that would be repeated every day on the entrance stairs and in the rooms of the Festspielhaus. Its citizens gradually modeled their bodies to the image and likeness of the athletic ideal that instructors and craftsmen were called to pursue. It was an integral pedagogy that, in some measure, synchronized the metabolic rhythms of the Hellerau citizens with those of the instructors who worked from the Festspielhaus.

This is a picture of the central room of the Festspielhaus of the same period, with the stepped stage designed by Adolphe Apia. The ceiling and the vertical limits of the room are covered by a volume of a white, waxed cotton fabric, which is backlit by a system of strings of lightbulbs. The system was developed with the help of Siemens engineers and, at the time of its design, was considered an innovating use of light that exceeded other forms of illuminating performative stages, thus proposing a stronger continuum between the stage and the audience.

The entire room had white floor tiles. This way, the light from the ceiling and sides reflected on the ground plane. The people who danced, received light from all directions in the space. They didn’t have a shadow, the volumes of their bodies were blurred and the audience saw them as a vibration placed between the white three-dimensional background and their retinas.

16. Ibid. 12. [Translation from the Spanish by S. Demeuse, made for the occasion of this publication.]

17. The “Dalcroze Method” consisted of a total of 31 weekly hours of rhythmic gymnastics, music theory, improvisation, choral chanting, plastic group exercises, gymnastics and dance. Karl Lorenz “Wege nach Hellerau. Auf dem Spuren der Rhythmik” in *Kleine Sachsische Bibliothek*, 5. Hellerau Publishers. Dresden, 1994. Fragment quoted in García Roig, J.M. *El movimiento de la ciudad-jardín en Alemania y el caso particular de Hellerau (1907-1914)*. Madrid: Cuadernos del Instituto Juan de Herrera de la Escuela de Arquitectura de Madrid, 2000, p. 2.



Model of Hellerau Gartenstadt. Date unknown.

It was a pulsation of light similar to the one produced by the blur of an unsynchronized TV set. The citizens of Hellerau Gartenstadt thus shared an experience of luminic vibration accompanied by sound, and perceived it through their own bodies in a process of homologation thanks to the continuous practice of rhythmic gymnastics.

If the architectural enunciations could be put into practice as they were conceived, similar to the one envisioned for the inhabitants of the Proletarsky District, the inhabitants of the garden city would return home afterwards with bodies shaped by gymnastics and rhythm. Who knows in what way they would prolong the project of metabolic collective synchronization? The enunciation of the Hellerau Festspielhaus seems to participate in this particular type of social construction that Tessenow found in the work of craftsmen, and whose ultimate goal was the production of societies freed from conflict and dispute. “Without the autonomous, healthy, influencing work, without this condition, which continuously, and in all areas, overcomes and conciliates with force many inevitable contradictions or encounters, the world would definitely end up being a large battle field. [...] But when one acts more in this manner, one increasingly negates common values, harmonic elements, etc., in order to justify the heterogeneity, elements of division, which gives for the cause of separation and, thus, of the relation between the big city and the people.”¹⁸

Let’s look at this model in which one can see in the upper left part of the buildings of the Festspielhaus, spread out at the bottom and to its right, separate houses. Herman Muthesius, architect and co-founder of the Deutscher Werkbund, explained the *advantages* of the Hellerau garden city as follows: “[In the garden city] interventions differ from those of villa colonies or those of the neighborhoods of big cities. This is because the tracing of its streets is no longer up to the will of individual owners, or of a speculator; they won’t have any opportunity to express their immature ideas or to leave an imprint of the bad taste of our time. The project of the houses, the disposition of the streets, the organization of the whole of the

18. Ibid. 18 [Translation from the Spanish by S. Demeuse, made for the occasion of this publication.]



Poster in the artist's house from *Poltergeist: Fenómenos extraños*, 1982. (Spanish version)
 Photo: Andrés Jaque, 2013.

colony will be done starting from coordinated and unified points of view, with the collaboration of the best artistic forces, trying to realize that which is considered most convenient for what is referred to as the artistic, constructive, hygienic and urbanistic qualities of the home.”¹⁹

In the model the hedges, walkways or trees of the neighborhood aren't present. This way, we see something that, in direct experience, isn't so evident: the great distance between one house and the next. Living in the Hellerau Gartenstadt meant that the domestic environments of the neighbors were more distant from each other than usual. When we see the designs that Tessenow made in that moment we can see that this distance, in association with a series of design decisions, has a very concrete effect: making sure that, from the interior of each house, one couldn't notice the presence of the neighbors. The use of garden walls, trellises, tree masses and even sophisticated *ha-has* responded to this need. The domestic interiors drawn by Tessenow often show a far away landscape framed by the proximity of the furniture and the most immediate elements of the house. The Hellerau homes, as conceived by Tessenow, were designed artifacts to show what is distant by hiding that which is close.

Only in a precarious way, can we bring to the present moment the daily life associated with the project of rhythmic harmonization of the Hellerau craftsmen, designed as a mechanism to prevent and avoid heterogeneity, change, and finally, the possibility of conflict. But, despite that, we can definitely learn from other similar, depoliticized urbanist experiments closer to our own time. I have to apologize here to those who consider the heterogeneity among the sources as inadequate. This text aims to contribute a thesis that can be discussed and that is oriented toward future uses. My intention is no other than to suggest a rather free reading of the historical facts, with the objective of establishing a debate

19. Taken from an undated manuscript (though probably written during the construction of the garden city, between 1907 and 1914). Muthesius, H., "Die Gartenstadt Hellerau" in *El movimiento de la ciudad-jardín en Alemania y el caso particular de Hellerau (1907-1914)*. García Roig, J.M. Cuadernos del Instituto Juan de Herrera de la Escuela de Arquitectura de Madrid, Madrid, 2000, pp. 21-22. [Translation from the Spanish by S. Demeuse, made for the occasion of this publication.]

about the forms of citizenship linked to experiments of architectural modernity.

In the poster for *Poltergeist* (directed by Tobe Hooper) used to promote the 1982 film in Spain, one can see a panoramic view of a Californian suburb. And, seemingly floating, absorbed in the contours of a TV screen, we see the face of Heather O'Rourke, who played the role of Carol Anne Freelings. The graphic design suggested an association between Californian suburban architecture (in part, an indirect heir of the ideas put into play by the first European tests of the garden city) and TV—which fascinates me.

When the first mass TV broadcast happened in 1936, on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games in Berlin, newspapers all over the world signaled the three most important consequences for the viewers and their home environment: 1) television brought the viewers to the stadium; 2) the living room became a box seat; 3) the viewers shared a point of view without knowing each other. The third comment seems the most important to me for this topic. The legacy of the garden city, as it was promoted in enunciations like the Hellerau case, could be part of that same idea. The synchronization of the metabolisms of the Hellerau craftsmen delegates a great deal of the neighborhood interactions to the collective *rhythm-ization* projects, in the same way different neighborhoods and their televisions are connected—all of this to fight heterogeneity, change, contradiction and the possibility of conflict. The synchronization of bodies and the production of *spectacularized* images of the real, are, then, components of an experiment of social mediation with *depolemicizing* effects. This is the argument that I propose in order to understand one of many ways in which architecture has participated in social construction projects. It simply proposes to recognize the socio-technological 'declaration' of a group of designers (designers of architectures, cities, stages and bodies), not a design process that is applied and described in its results. Because, as happens in many cases, each socio-technological 'declaration' has its particular trajectory.²⁰ That is to say, there is a possible putting into play in

20. "This minor innovation clearly illustrates the fundamental principle underlying all studies of science and technology: the *force* with which a speaker makes a statement is never enough, *in the beginning*, to predict the path

which the use of the declaration ends up destabilizing it and charging it with intentions, interests, facts and new declarations external to its initial constitution.

At this point, it is important to pause and consider in what way the historiography of architecture underscored statements over and above their effects and developments; or in what way the initial intentions of the design promoters have been prioritized over the uses and evolutions that have accompanied their experiments. The reading of projects like the Mass Action building of the Culture Palace of the Proletarsky district or of the Hellerau Festspielhaus incorporate not only the way in which they were formulated, but also the form in which they were reconstructed upon social insertion. In the face of the impossibility to find enough personal testimonials of Hellerau that were sufficiently detailed to fully understand the experiment of *rhythmic harmonization*, I propose a risky, but clarifying, mechanism: to analyze the everyday social reception of a project that is similar in certain ways.

The average American household watches TV more than six hours per day.²¹ As David Foster Wallace says, it is not that TV is the most used cultural product, but it is the one most used inside the 'average household.' Not insignificantly, Tessenow used a related term—"Mitte" (middle)—to defend a reconstructed society starting from a middle class and based on mid-size cities in a country "in der Mitte" (in the middle) which would exclude the possibility of dispute. "I don't know any fiction writers who live in average American households. I suspect Louise Erdrich might. Actually I have never seen an average American household. Except on TV."²²

Let's imagine a living room in a suburban house, heir of the 'garden city with the *synchro-harmonic* bodies' experiment. There is a TV set in

that the statement will follow. This path depends on what successive listeners do with the statement." Latour, Bruno "Technology is Science Made Durable" available at: <http://www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/46-TECHNOLOGY-DURABLE-GBpdf.pdf> (Accessed on August 22, 2013).

21. Wallace, D.F. "E unibus pluram" available at <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/E+unibus+pluram%3A+television+and+U.S.+fiction.-a013952319> (Accessed on August 22, 2013)

22. Wallace, D.F. "E unibus pluram" available at <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/E+unibus+pluram%3A+television+and+U.S.+fiction.-a013952319> (Accessed on August 22, 2013)



Stills from *La Dama de Rosa*, 1986-87.

the living room. There is also a couch with a flower overthrow. The TV is on and reproduces a sequence of luminic variations that reconstruct, in 2D, the moving image of a couch, also with flowers. On it, the Venezuelan telenovela star Jeanette Rodríguez listens to her co-actor saying: “But if you two love each other, and you love him like no-one else in the world, then love!” It is a scene of *La dama de rosa* (The Lady in Pink), the telenovela that José Ignacio Cabrujas and Luis Manzo directed between 1986 and 1987 in Caracas. Gabriela, pregnant, is in love with the rich Tito Clemente, and she is accused of a crime she never committed. After seven years in prison, she has returned, her hair died black and under the false name of Emperatriz Ferrer to take vengeance by seducing Clemente again. In the scene, her friend, who knew her as Emperatriz, tells her to give herself over to love, without realizing that it also prompted her to take vengeance. The music goes in crescendo. The two hug each other. Jeanette, in close up, says: “Yes, it’s true David. I love him.” The camera comes closer to the face of the protagonist. She smiles like someone who has found true love, but she changes the smile immediately to a gesture of worry. Jeanette closes her eyes and presses her lips together while her friend impulsively embraces her in a half-paternalist, half-sexual way. The scene changes abruptly to another one. Jeanette stands in the same living room. Her friend is no longer with her. Leyla, played by Dalila Colombo, is there. She is Clemente’s official girlfriend and tells her, with pain, that she has decided to leave him. Close up of Emperatriz and an intense sharp sound similar to that of a household synthesizer. And this is the crucial moment. Extreme close up of Jeanette, looking at Leyla, while the sharp sound becomes almost unbearable. It pierces through Leyla, looking at infinity. The typical look, that together with the sharp tone, serves to end a great deal of dramatic scenes in Venezuelan telenovelas. In the same grammar of telenovelas that, generally, makes cinema critics so nervous because they don’t understand what use a narrative tool can have that interrupts the plot and has the immediate effect of taking the viewers out of the narrative. But not entirely so. It is one of those scenes that seems endless, where the protagonist remains paralyzed by the gravity of an unexpected event that places her in

the face of a risky decision she can't postpone. It is the moment in which the discussion on the other couch begins: the couch of the viewer.

Telenovelas could be described as serialized contracts between the television channels, the viewers and some tormented characters. These are characters that are trapped in a reactionary story of social climbing with a 'happy end' in the shape of a marriage between a virtuous but poor woman and a misguided but rich man who is saved by the grace of the sacrament and the redemptive innocence of the protagonist. It is an ethical project in which the television channel is committed to the 'good' with the help of the viewers, who are represented in the granting of the social position, which corresponds to the protagonist. Together they triumph over the 'bad', incarnated by the uncountable hurdles that she will face on the way to the emancipating marriage. I am inclined to believe that Herman Muthesius would probably group these narratives among those that express "immaturity" and "the bad taste of our time" but José Ignacio Cabrujas and Luis Manzo would probably say of his design that, like the one of the Hellerau Gartenstadt, it was realized "starting from coordinated and unified points of view, with the collaboration of the best artistic forces, attempting to realize that which is considered most convenient."²³

The TV channel promises that the happy ending will exemplify a sort of public justice and the viewers will pay with their loyalty to the story and especially by bringing to their daily lives each of the difficulties that the channel will present. And this contract, based on a shared ethical project, is what helps explaining the fifty-five years of televised melodramatic experience. The social reception of the telenovela happens in a fragmented series of mediated encounters by the luminic and sonorous pulsation endowed with the figuration of a fiction; but it could also be explained as the putting into play of a suspension. Their narratives usually tell the story of a woman who receives two good messages (that she has fallen in love and that she marries the one she loves) separated by 198 chapters of bad messages.²⁴ The

23. Cabrujas, J. I. *Y Latinoamérica inventó la telenovela*, Alfadil, Caracas, 2002.

24. *Ibid.* 23.

intermediary episodes happen in an apparently stereotypical framework particular to popular moralizing stories (such as *Snow White*, *Sleeping Beauty*, *Romeo and Juliet* or *The Count of Montecristo*), which is not more than a frame of familiarity. In between there is an entire factory of talk about the everyday—small daily parliaments that have been present since the beginning of televised Latin American melodrama.

The telenovela was born in Cuba in 1952 (coinciding with the coup of Fulgencio Batista), as radiophonic evolution of the storytelling tradition practiced in the tobacco industry. The first telenovela was *El derecho de nacer* (The right to be born). Its author, Félix B. Caignet, used to write each chapter starting from the comments of his peers at the cafeteria of the radio school.²⁵ Even though telenovelas have been part of the pacifying program that dictatorships and corporations installed starting in the 1950s in Latin America, on their own they conform specific forms of the political. It is not that the critical framework and the reactionary narratives dispense with the way in which the collective is constructed, but that this construction is not automatic. For David Foster Wallace "[television] is a mirror. Not the Stendhalian mirror reflecting the blue sky and mud puddle. More like the overlit bathroom mirror before which the teenager monitors his biceps and determines his better profile."²⁶ Telenovelas such as *La dama de rosa* represent a reality based on class segregation, strict gender roles, and on stories in which the woman has certain aprioristic values like romantic love or virtue allowing her to attain class promotion. But its effect is not the preparation of a 'base' upon which a shared everyday can be made possible. The setting into play of the televised contents has generated specific spaces where the *spectacularized* enunciations in an exclusive program, formulated 'as if' they were normal contexts, are in reality received by way of a particular form of confrontation. It is a situation that occurs in a conformed space between two couches with flower patterns, the lost look of

25. A detailed history of the telenovela can be found in: Mazziotti, N., *La industria de la telenovela: la producción de ficción en Latinoamérica*, Paidós, Buenos Aires, 1996.

26. Wallace, D.F. "E unibus pluram" available at <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/E+unibus+pluram%3A+television+and+U.S.+fiction.-a013952319> (Accessed on August 22, 2013)

an actress (who, according to many, over-acts) and the parenthesis in which a rather annoying sound links two related environments by way of a narrative challenge, which already seems resolved.

David Morley has proposed an alternative to the Frankfurt School's "pessimistic" thesis about mass culture that "insists on the conservative and conciliatory role that 'mass culture' fulfilled for the audience. It suppressed 'potentials' and also the awareness of contradictions in a 'one-dimensional' world. [...] It implied a 'hypodermic model of the media' to which they attributed the power to 'inject' a repressive ideology directly into mass consciousness. [...] The pessimistic thesis imagined an all too direct and immediate impact of all the intermediary social structures that emerge between the North American society. In short: it was sociologically naive."²⁷

I suspect that the product of architectural modernity isn't the one anticipated by its promoters. It is far from the harmony of de-politicized citizenship that Tessenow invoked in his writings. Rather, it is a specific type of space for the confrontation of difference whose analysis requires a slightly more complex argumentation. Let's return to the three places where the projects come into conflict. Let's try and inscribe their reception in three interiors in which the three 'conciliation' and 'suppression of opportunities' projects are in dispute: in the living room of the proletarians who return from the arena and find themselves in a home charged with affection and social structures. These are problematics that the arena eludes, but that do emerge with it. It is the living room of the Hellerau craftsman (with vistas of the far away landscape) and the couch, suspended by that sharp tone of Jeanette Rodríguez's silence. The *tele-broadcast* centrality of the proletarian neighborhood, like the harmonic *rhythmization* of the Hellerau craftsmen and the televised dramatization of Emperatriz Ferrer can be seen as components of a reprogramming process of designed projects and thus change into a ground on which the everyday encounters

27. Morley, D. *Televisión, audiencias y estudios culturales*. Translation by Bixio, A. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu, 1996. [Translation from the Spanish by S. Demeuse, made for the occasion of this publication.]

a normalizing frame (a substantiality). It is a reprogramming in the form of reception in which, by way of encounter with social constructs that emerge in the 'staging' of the three enunciations, they participate in the construction of spaces of confrontation (and in these processes they remain inscribed in a verbal reality). The result of these 'modernities' is, above all, the translation of dispute and of irreconcilable differences to an architecture in which the polemics are tested out by the collective in spaces *de andar por casa* ('of in-house use').

We can only imagine how the lover of the craftsman would joke with irony about the growing strength of his biceps. Or how the project of normalization, without losing a significant part of its capacity for segregation and simplification, was lived in an irreverent way. It probably wasn't the harmony of their depoliticized citizenship that joined the Hellerau craftsmen, but rather the shared encounter with sources of conflicts, the sensation of being there, inside, living in dispute with projects that, in an integral way, interpellated them—in the very inside, without having insight into the panoramic vision of programs designed to eliminate the possibility of "immaturity" and "bad taste." With the sensation of inhabiting enunciations that were never revealed to them. Their dissidence and dispute could be encountered in their words, but also in their actions, in their decisions, in their forms of relating, in their desires, their projects and their attitudes. This capital of dissidence, fear and erotism constructs this urbanism, and at the bottom, keeps it in constant operation.

ANDRÉS JAQUE / OFFICE for POLITICAL INNOVATION

Andrés Jaque and the Office for Political Innovation explore the potential of post-foundational politics and symmetrical approaches to the sociology of technology to rethink architectural practices. The office's slogan is "ARCHITECTURE IS TECHNOLOGICALLY RENDERED SOCIETY" and is currently devoted to the study of connected-domesticities such as politically-activated urbanism.

They are authors of reference buildings including Plasencia Clergy House, awarded with the Dionisio Hernández Gil Prize and finalist of the VIII Bienal Española de Arquitectura y Urbanismo; House in Never Never Land, finalist of FAD Awards and Mies van der Rohe European Award; TUPPER HOME, finalist of the European Award Mies van der Rohe and of the X Bienal Española de Arquitectura y Urbanismo; ESCARAVOX, finalist of FAD Awards. Recently, the Museum of Modern Art of New York (MoMA) has acquired *IKEA Disobedients* as the first architectural performance piece in its collection. This work has also been nominated in Architecture category for the Design of the Year 2013 Awards of the Design Museum, London. In 2012, they presented their intervention *PHANTOM. Mies as Rendered Society* at Mies van der Rohe Pavilion in Barcelona. In 2011, the research and prototype-making project *SWEET PARLIAMENT HOME* was presented at the Gwangju Biennale and, in 2010, the installation *FRAY HOME HOME* was presented at the Biennale di Venezia 2010. They develop projects for ARCOMadrid 2014, Trienal de Arquitectura de Lisboa and for the MAK Austrian Museum of Applied Arts / Contemporary Art in Vienna.

They are authors of the publications *Dulces Arenas Cotidianas*, *Eco-Ordinary*, *Codes for everyday architectural practices* and *Everyday Politics*. Their production has been published in 2G, A+U, A10, ABC, Abitare, Architecture Digest, Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, Architecture Review, Architecture Now, Arquitectura Viva, Arquitectura, Arquitectos, AV, Bauwelt, Beyond, C3, Corriere della Sera, Diseño Interior, Domus, Dwell, El Croquis, ELLE, El Mundo, El País, Fisuras, FRAME, Glamour, Interni, La Vanguardia, Le Monde, Le Moniteur d'architecture AMC, MARK, The Herald Tribune, The New York Times, Pasajes, Pasajes Diseño, Plot, Suma, Vogue or Wall Street Journal and exposed at the Schweizerisches Architektur Museum in Basel, the Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine de Paris, the Hellerau Festspielhaus in Dresden, La Casa Encendida in Madrid, the Instituto Valenciano de Arte moderno (IVAM) in Valencia, the 7 Mostra di Architettura de la Bienal de Venezia or the Bienal de Arquitectura Iberoamericana 2004 in Lima.

Andrés Jaque has been Tessenow Stipendiat in Alfred Toepfer Stiftung FVS and currently a professor at GSAPP Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation at Columbia University in New York. He has been visiting teacher in a number of international universities and has lectured extensively throughout the world including Princeton University, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zurich, Istituto Politecnico di Milano, *Centre International* pour la Ville de Paris, Centre pour l'Architecture et le Paysage (Brussels), Sociedad Central (Buenos Aires), Berlage Institut (Rotterdam) or Museo Nacional (Bogota).

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