HOUSING LAYOUT RECONSIDERED IN SOCIETAL CONTEXT : A CASE STUDY IN SWITZERLAND

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Housing units are material products of society that define and delimit domestic space for households. They provide shelter and protection for daily activities. The fact that housing units in the same society have quite different shapes and sizes, and that they are built with a range of construction materials suggests that, beyond pragmatic factors, others are of at least equal importance in determining their layout, construction, and meaning. Therefore, it is necessary to develop an understanding of those contextually defined factors implicated in the layout, construction, and use of housing units. For example, one purpose of the spatial ordering of residential environments is to distinguish between public and private domains. Nonetheless, this distinction can be interpreted from several perspectives. Some of these interpretations will be briefly reviewed in this paper. Then a case study of the layout, construction, and use of urban housing in Switzerland will be presented.

The interrelations between public and private domains of residential areas can and have been considered explicitly by architects and urban designers. Chermayeff and Alexander (1963), for example, proposed an 'anatomy of privacy' defined in terms of hierarchy of spaces, and the ways in which different domains are linked while retaining their autonomy and clarity. Their book, however, presents only a spatial interpretation with no analysis of the meanings and uses of boundaries, borders and transition spaces that simultaneously separate and link public and private spaces in a range of different contexts. When one adopts a cross-cultural and historical approach to study public and private domains, it can be shown that these domains define and are mutually defined by a range of administrative, behavioural, judicial, and socio-political factors concerning property rights, which are contextually defined by societies and they may change over the course of time (Lawrence, 1986).

From the perspectives of economics, law and politics, the tenure status of housing, with its implications for personal control and security, is the critical dimension underlying the meaning of private domestic space. For example, Saunders (1990) claims that the marginalization of rented housing in Britain is the result of a natural law founded on innate biological and psychological principles that are reflected in the quest for 'ontological security' which is achieved by the owner-occupation of housing and other personal possessions. However, this emphasis on tenure ignores that large share of the population in past and present societies (including affluent countries like Switzerland) who choose to rent. Hence, like an architectural or any one-dimensional interpretation, this one is also incomplete. In contrast, the meaning of housing is contextually defined according to a range of cultural, societal, and individual human factors as well as the interrelations between them over time (Lawrence, 1987).

An integrated historical perspective shows that from the late eighteenth century an important shift in the design, meaning, and use of domestic space occurred owing to a number of economic and social developments related to urbanization and the ideals of the autonomous household. These developments in the United Kingdom have been studied by Shorter (1976) and in France by Aries (1962), Flandrin (1979) and Donzelot (1977). These authors study a number of socio-political factors, including public education and discipline. Moreover, Daunton (1983) relates this kind of interpretation to developments in the design and use of residential quarters in England. When Daunton (1987) applied this approach to examine housing provision and tenure in Britain from the late 19th century, he was able to question many recent interpretations of the housing market and tenure status. In particular, he identified sets of economic and political factors that progressively marginalized private rental housing while initially promoting public rental housing and then owner-occupation from as early as the First World War. When the same kind of approach was applied in Switzerland, it was possible to identify and comprehend the reasons for two-thirds of the housing stock persistently being rental tenure, and not more than 4% being provided by the public sector (Lawrence, 1986). Moreover, the relative stability of the ownership, provision, and tenure of housing in Switzerland can be contrasted with two significant shifts in Britain during this century which Daunton has identified. In sum, these and other studies show that contemporary definitions of public and private have been socially constructed over a long period. Therefore, it is necessary to formulate and apply an integrated historical perspective that can account for both constant and dynamic societal processes that are contextually defined.

It is necessary to challenge those contemporary architects and social scientists who claim that the meaning and functioning of the built environment can be derived from the layout and spatial ordering of buildings. For example, Hillier and Hanson (1984) endeavour to show that the 'space syntax' of the built environment mirrors how human relations occur, especially the interface between different classes of people in spaces with controlled and liberal access. These authors try to identify those spatial layouts of the built environment that encourage or inhibit ways in which personal contact between individuals and groups occur. However, their interpretation only examines the tangible constituents of specific settings while ignoring the claims and responsibilities of parties, as well as the rules and conventions between parties. Moreover, they overlook the growing volume of research in the social sciences on privacy regulation and social penetration theory (Lawrence, 1987, chapter 5). From this perspective the concept of a boundary is fundamental. On the one hand, boundaries have spatial implications, yet they do not inevitably have a dimension; the frontier between Switzerland and France, or the boundary between my house and

that of my neighbour can be defined by a line on paper or by words in a legal document, whereas a fence occupies more space than the boundary itself, but it does not necessarily obstruct access or visibility. On the other hand, the socio-psychological implications of boundaries are fundamental as Altman, Vinsel and Brown (1981) have discussed. In general, it is the multidimensional nature and position of boundaries that are a source of international, regional, local, or interpersonal conflict, because they are ambiguous and can change over relatively long periods of time. From this perspective the boundary between public and private is socially constructed by communities and individuals as a fundamental means of producing and reproducing processes of self-, social-, and place-identification.

In any residential environment it is possible to distinguish between residents and strangers. Generally, there are subsets of residents that can be defined in terms of their socio-demographic and judicial status (such as the head of household who signs the lease for a rented housing unit). Moreover, there are subsets of strangers (who are commonly labelled visitors, servicemen, *etc.*). All these groups of people occupy buildings for varying periods of time, and they have diverse claims and responsibilities. In general, Hillier and Hanson ignore these dimensions. Rather, they maintain that the position or depth of a space in relation to the public realm of the street indicates whether strangers, in general, have easy access to that space. This generalization requires numerous qualifications owing to the fact that the claims and responsibilities of all parties vary in relation to the ownership, tenure status, and control of the residential environment in question. In sum, a topological analysis of one or more housing areas can provide information about their spatial layout but, in principle, alone it cannot yield precise information about the meaning and use of specific spaces. Residential environments are not just created physically as the case study reported below shows: they are simultaneously ordered by judicial, behavioural, and symbolic dimensions that may vary over time. In principle, meanings do not reside in material objects. Rather all human-made products including buildings are attributed meanings by people who are part of a specific societal context. Meanings are construed socially, usually in accordance with sets of rules and conventions that may change over time. Therefore, it is essential to identify and understand them.

From this perspective, the term housing is assigned a wide range of images and values. The meaning of 'housing', like the meaning of 'home', is variable from person to person, between social groups, across cultures, and over the course of time. Dwelling units are commonly attributed an economic value, an exchange value, an aesthetic value, and a use value, whereas in addition to these, a home is usually attributed a sentimental and a symbolic value (Lawrence, 1987). Whereas real estate agents are primarily concerned with the economic and exchange values of residential buildings, owner-occupiers will not only share this concern but also complement it with an interest in aesthetic, use, sentimental, and symbolic values that cannot be quantified and compared in monetary terms. All these values are not simply expressed by individuals, but they are acquired, nurtured, transmitted, reinforced, or modified, by interpersonal communication.

The preceding paragraphs indicate that a reorientation of studies of housing layout, design and use is required. Both theoretical and methodological developments are necessary to formulate and apply a more comprehensive approach. This is the aim of this short paper. This kind of interpretation can improve current knowledge of the design and meaning of housing. Given this improved knowledge this paper argues that it is possible to apply theoretical and methodological principles in housing research. These principles will be illustrated by a case study of rented housing in Switzerland (1).

1. This study has deliberately examined rental housing, because this sector is the dominant form of tenure in Switzerland, generally, and in Geneva, in particular. According to official census returns in 1980, 29.9% of the housing stock in Switzerland was owner-occupied, 63.2% was rental tenure in the private and public sectors, and 6.9% included other forms of tenure such as co-operatives and institutional housing. Concurrently, in Geneva, 11% of the housing stock was owner-occupied, 83% was rental tenure and 6% was other forms of tenure including co-operatives and institutional housing. These proportions have not changed significantly since 1960. The reasons for this structure of the housing stock are examined in Lawrence (1986).

RENTAL HOUSING RECONSIDERED IN CONTEXT: A STUDY IN GENEVA

Some of the preceding theoretical and methodological principles presented in earlier sections of this paper have been applied to analyze the development of urban rental dwelling units built in Geneva, Fribourg and Le Locle, three French-speaking towns in Switzerland with divergent cultural, economic, geographical, and political backgrounds (Lawrence, 1986). This research comprises two interrelated studies:

First, an historical study of the evolving design and use of public, collective and private spaces and facilities in residential quarters built between 1860 and 1960; and a longitudinal study of household size and composition, the local housing stock, and housing tenure during this period (2). This longitudinal study involved a tripartite analysis of three sets of sources which included :

2. This study has been published (Lawrence, 1986).

Figure 1. In the old town of Geneva, collective space in courtyards was used by the local residents for a number of purposes including the sale of household produce. Note the shared gallery and stairs providing access to all housing units on the upper floor levels.

1. A sample of the one hundred sets of architectural plans of extant and non-built housing schemes (such as projects for competitions) in Geneva, Fribourg, and Le Locle; descriptions and articles by architects on housing; site visits to existing buildings;

2. A sample of official publications, including reports of government agencies, philanthropic societies, health and housing reformers of building regulations, and tenancy agreements;

3. Some novels, autobiographies, brochures, and newspaper articles.

Second, a study of 525 households in the Canton of Geneva from a representative sample supplied by the government statistical office. A household survey includes plan analysis of residential buildings and their immediate surroundings; documentation of changes to the layout and furnishing of dwelling units; and an interview with directed, semi-directed, and open-ended questions about the daily activities of the household and of each respondent, both inside and outside the dwelling unit; his or her residential biography; and questions about the dwelling unit, the residential building, the immediate surroundings, and the neighbourhood, its facilities and services.

SOCIETAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF RENTED HOUSING

In contrast to many countries with a market economy, the predominant form of housing tenure in Switzerland has always been rented tenure in the private sector. For example, the proportion of owner-occupied housing units has varied between 33.7% of the housing stock in 1960 to 28.1% in 1970 and 29.9% in 1980. This proportion of owner occupation is the lowest of all member countries of the Economic Commission for Europe with either socialist or market economies. Concurrently, it is noteworthy that co-operative tenure has been relatively insignificant and stable comprising either 3.8% or 3.9% of the housing stock between 1960 and 1980. During the same period, rental tenure has varied between 56.9% in 1960, 64.1% in 1970 and 63.2% in 1980. Given that the rented housing sector is predominantly owned by private individuals, companies, and institutions, not more than 4% of all housing units have been provided by public authorities. The lack of intervention by federal, cantonal, and municipal governments in the housing market is related to the principal that the provision of housing is the responsibility of the private sector.

The high proportion of private rental housing may surprise many observers given that Switzerland is often cited as the wealthiest country in Europe, and high levels of owner-occupation are considered part of a prosperous market economy. A wide range of cultural and societal factors with long-established historical roots can account for the provision, ownership, and tenure status of housing in Switzerland as Lawrence (1986) has shown.

ANALYSIS OF THE SPATIAL ORDERING OF RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the small increase in the size of urban dwelling units can be contrasted with the significant improvement in the provision of private domestic services, and a marked decline in the number of persons per household. Hence, demographic, socio-economic and technological factors have been implicated as much as architectural ones in the decline of residential densities and changes to the use of public, collective, and private spaces and
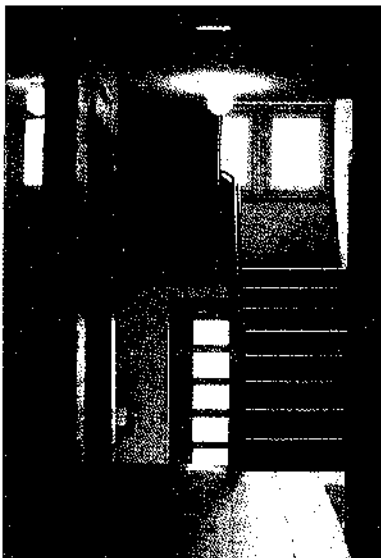

Figure 2. The daylit stairs and landings in residential buildings have become a windowless passage between public and private spaces that cannot be personalized by the residents.

facilities. In this respect, the development of an integrated approach, in which architectural and other societal characteristics are explicitly interrelated, can promote a contextual understanding of changes to the layouts, meanings, and uses of spaces and facilities over time. These developments will be briefly examined with respect to collective spaces and facilities in residential environments, because they simultaneously separate and link the private domain of the dwelling unit to the public realm of the street. Thus it is possible to illustrate some of the principles discussed earlier in this paper.

Apart from changes to the design and use of private interior spaces and facilities inside urban residential buildings, there were also significant transformations in the design and use of external and internal shared spaces and facilities during the same period of time. Analysis of floor plans and fieldwork show that collective interior spaces (such as the lobby at the ground level, and the staircase and its landings at the upper levels) were gradually changed since the late-nineteenth century, by a reduction in size and decoration, the suppression of natural daylight
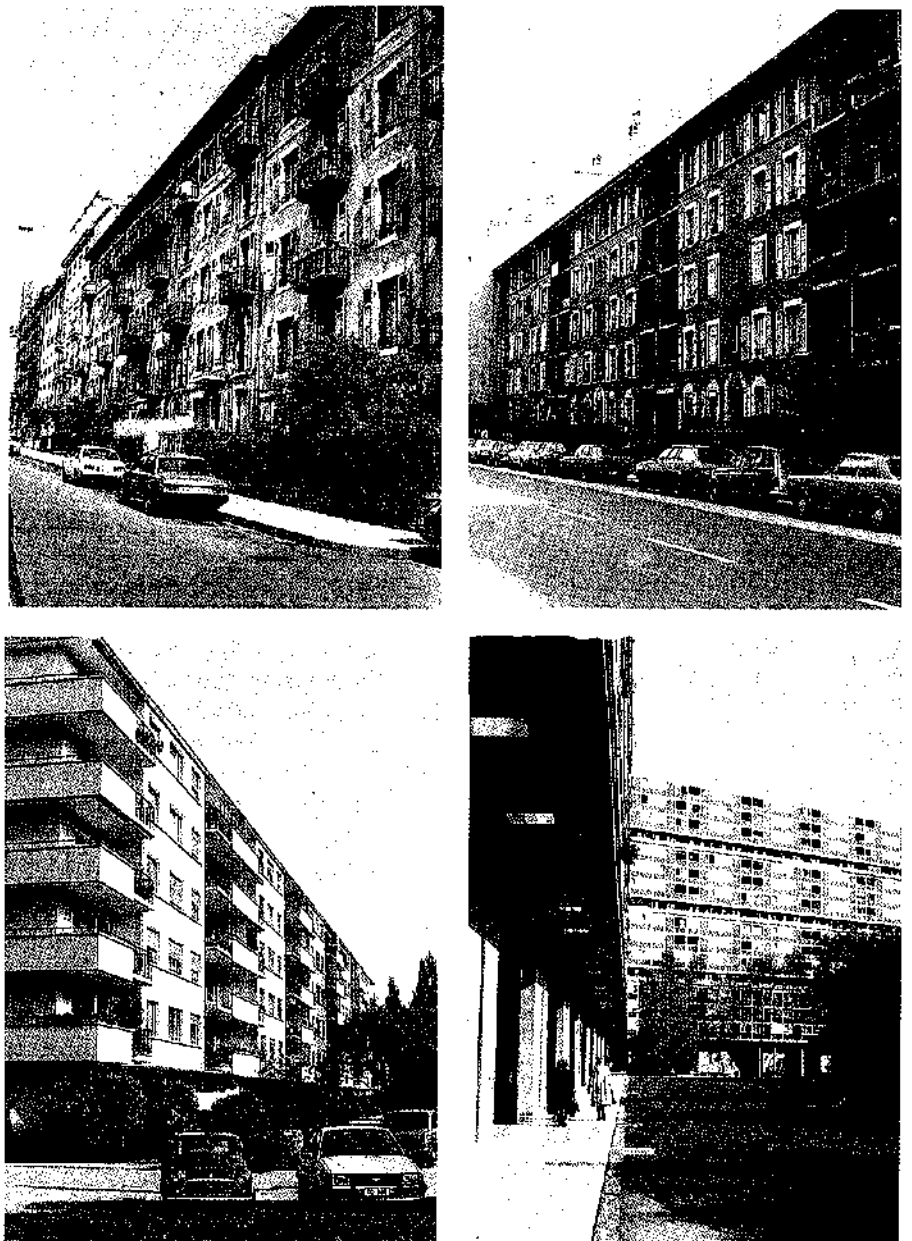
Figure 3. The transformation of outdoor space around residential buildings began at the end of the 19th century by introducing a setback from the street (top two photos). After the 1940s, residential buildings were constructed independently of the street alignment, without a shared courtyard (bottom photos).
Top: Views of buildings constructed during 1890s and 1920s.
Bottom: Views of buildings constructed during 1960s and 1970s.

from windows and/or skylights, elimination of subtle changes in floor level, and the privatization of shared facilities, especially for ablutions. These trends have transformed the daylit collective spaces that linked the front doorstep of each dwelling unit to the public realm of the street into a windowless passage of minimal dimensions that is only meant for pedestrian circulation. Consequently, residents could no longer personalize the space adjacent to the front door step; children could no longer play in these shared spaces during inclement weather; and thus, it became increasingly unlikely for neighbours to meet informally. It is interesting to study why this occurred.

The catalysts for the transformation of internal collective spaces and facilities were numerous, and they will be summarized here. First, they included technical developments, especially the introduction of the lift as the principal means of vertical circulation. Over an extended period of time, the stair became a fire-escape. Second, innovations in domestic technology as well as the distribution of public services (*e.g.*, gas, electricity, and water) meant that private facilities for ablutions, cooking, and laundering were promoted. Last, but not least, a fundamental idea shared by many housing reformers of the late-nineteenth century was that different spatial relationships in urban dwellings engender different degrees of human interaction. This conceptual ordering of people became the foundation of a principle of domestic culture that architects, landlords, stewards, and reformers upheld and applied for the construction and management of urban dwelling units by:

1. Reducing the size of internal collective spaces by eliminating shared facilities and by making a stronger demarcation between private and shared space and facilities. This reduction in the quantity of space as well as the redefinition of collective facilities was meant to minimize interpersonal contact between residents and reduce maintenance costs.

2. Providing private facilities in each dwelling unit, which could be charged to the tenant by increasing the rent. The tenancy agreement stipulated that the tenant was responsible for the maintenance and repair of these facilities, and that household activities should not occur in shared spaces inside buildings.

3. Prescribing how both interior and external spaces and facilities ought to be used by tenants. These prescriptions included codes of conduct that were intended to regulate conceptual, behavioural, and temporal boundaries that defined where and when the daily activities of tenants should occur. Often caretakers were employed to ensure that the residents did not transgress these prescribed boundaries.

Beyond the realm of interior collective spaces and facilities, *immediately outside and around residential buildings, there were also significant changes during the period of study.* Both fieldwork and plan analysis show that, from the last decade of the nineteenth century on, it became increasingly common for residential buildings to be set back from rather than aligned along streets, alleys and courts, as had been the custom in Swiss towns until that time. This gradual change (which increased after the First World War) meant that the collective interior space was no longer directly linked to the public realm of the street; an external uncovered space simultaneously linked and separated these two domains. It has been observed that this external space was often a small garden between each building and the footpath. However, since the 1930s this small garden has increasingly become a vast, landscaped area, sometimes with carparking, that frequently encircles all four sides of residential buildings. This outdoor space is neither 'public' in the sense of a street nor 'private' in the sense of the garden of a villa.

It is a collective space, which is commonly not demarcated from the public realm of the street. Therefore, many contemporary residents interpret it as an ill-defined space between their dwelling unit and the street. Furthermore, owing to the fact that this space is rarely used for leisure activities (if these are permitted by the tenancy agreement), it is attributed, at best, a neutral value, and at worst, an anonymous value; and, if it is not well maintained by the caretaker or housing authority, it not only becomes abandoned but also vandalized, and is considered a 'no-man's land'. Research has indicated that no building or town-planning regulations prescribed these changes, nor did government or local populations intervene in an attempt to stop them. Although these transformations are interesting, the underlying reasons evoke the need for further research which cannot be achieved solely by the study of building plans and fieldwork. Therefore, an analysis of diverse documentary sources has also been completed.

HIDDEN AGENDAS IN HOUSING DESIGN, MANAGEMENT AND TENURE

A *Société de régisseurs* (Society of Building Stewards) was founded in Geneva in 1879. This society, the first of its kind in Switzerland, provided a platform for estate agents, notaries, and solicitors who administered buildings owned by individuals and limited property companies. In 1983, the *Société des régisseurs de Genève* published a document titled *Recueil des règles et usages locatifs à Genève*. To our knowledge this is the first published document that stipulated the responsibilities of the landlord, steward, and tenant of rental housing units. Although it has not been possible to identify why this document was published in 1893, it is not unreasonable to suggest that it filled a void that neither federal nor local governments intended to occupy. The content, nature, and structure of these contractual documents have been examined in order to illustrate the goals and intentions of those who prescribed the claims and obligations of diverse parties (Lawrence, 1986).

Analysis of these documents illustrates an underlying concern to resolve the problem of accommodating the increasing urban population in sanitary dwellings at a reasonable rent. There was a debate about the merits and shortcomings of tenements and cottages, and about associated and self-contained dwellings. It was generally accepted that tenement buildings with self-contained units had to be constructed to meet quantitative demand as economically as possible. The ambitious intentions of benevolent societies and reformers to accommodate
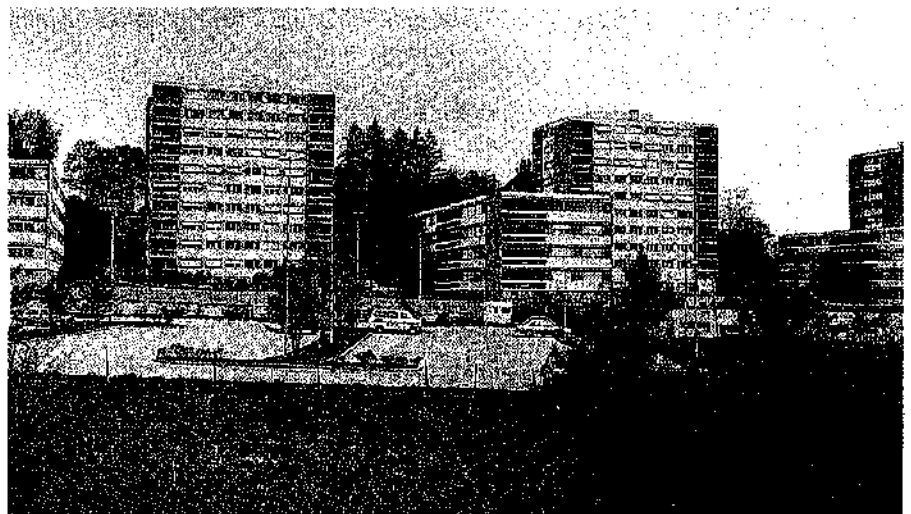

Figure 4. The uncoordinated layout of residential buildings constructed during the 1960s and 1970s has often unintended consequences including the resident's detachment from what they consider to be 'no man's-land'.

several households in one building, yet provide autonomous dwelling units, produced a dilemma for landlords and speculators, who wanted to minimize maintenance costs yet provide a 'clean building'. This dilemma prompted the regulation of the use of internal space by explicit codes of conduct. These codes were not only introduced by landlords and building stewards in Geneva in 1893, but also in Le Locle in 1932 and in Fribourg in 1943. The tenancy agreements express and reinforce the power and strategy of landlords and estate agents. These documents were intended to regulate behavioural, spatial, and temporal boundaries, notably specific activities including childrens' play, drying clothes, and cleaning household wares in the interior collective space. That these activities were intentionally prohibited suggests that they occurred regularly, thus contradicting the behavioural, spatial, and temporal boundaries imposed by landlords and estate agents. Hence, this study shows that although the tenants did not participate in the provision and management of their residential environment, they did not remain indifferent to their housing conditions in Geneva

RECOMMANDATIONS AUX LOCATAIRES

SI CHACUN OBSERVE CES QUELQUES
RÉGLES, LA VIE SERA PLUS AGRÉABLE.

1. Les portes de l'immeuble sont fermées dès 22 heures et pendant toute la nuit.

2. De 22 heures à 8 heures, chacun souhaite jouir d'un maximum de paix et de tranquillité. Respectez donc le repos de vos voisins.

3. Chacun doit pouvoir utiliser l'ascenseur quand il en a le besoin. Ne l'accaparez donc pas. Le propriétaire n'est pas responsable des accidents résultant de l'usage de l'ascenseur par les enfants.

4. Evitez les «coups de bélier» dans les conduites d'eau, en fermant lentement les robinets. Evitez de même les sifflements dans la tuyauterie.

5. C'est à vous de nettoyer les salissures anormales faites par vous-même, par les membres de votre famille, par vos fournisseurs ou vos invités... et par les animaux dont vous agréez la compagnie.

6. Rappelez-vous que vous devez requérir l'accord écrit du propriétaire ou de son représentant si vous désirez installer une machine chez vous, notamment une machine à laver dans votre appartement ou un congélateur dans votre cave.
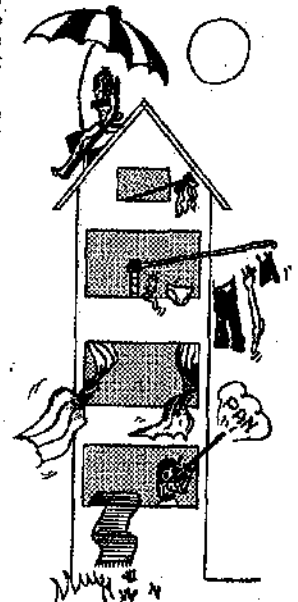
7. Préservez le bon aspect de l'immeuble en renonçant à exposer aux fenêtres et balcons du linge, des meubles, etc. La literie peut être aérée en début de matinée.

8. Réservez les installations de votre appartement, et très spécialement les baignoires, à leur usage spécifique.

9. Si vous remarquez quelque chose d'anormal dans l'immeuble ou dans votre appartement, avisez immédiatement le propriétaire, son représentant ou le concierge.

10. Pendant la saison de chauffage, aérez votre appartement, mais évitez de laisser les fenêtres ouvertes plus qu'il n'est strictement nécessaire; celles des caves et des galetas doivent rester fermées.

11. En cas d'absence, veillez à ce que les locaux que vous louez soient accessibles en cas de besoin, en déposant les clés chez le concierge ou en l'avertissant que vous les avez confiées à un voisin.

Art. 2   Art. 7

RAPPELEZ-VOUS QUE LES
USAGES LOCATIFS POUR LE CANTON DE FRIBOURG
FONT PARTIE INTÉGRANTE DE VOTRE BAIL.

Diffusion : Chambre Immobilière fribourgeoise

Figure 5. One example of tenancy agreements still used today with written prescriptions about the proper use of private and shared spaces and facilities in residential buildings. These regulations were first introduced in Geneva in 1893 by landlords and building stewards (by courtesy of 'Chambre Immobilière Fribourgeoise').

towards the end of the nineteenth century. They were not passive individuals, as some have suggested. Rather as Englander (1983) also found in Britain, many tenants chose to express their self-, social- and place-identities by maintaining social relations with their neighbours and by the collective appropriation of interior shared spaces.

DECIPHERING THE RESIDENTS' CONNOTATION AND USE OF SPACE

To discover the activities, customs, and lifestyles of the residents during the whole period of this study an analysis of narratives has been completed. Text analysis of autobiographies, diaries, and novels enables the designs, meanings, and uses of dwelling environments to be deciphered. In general, analysis of these documents shows that, during the nineteenth century, the definition of those architectural boundaries delimiting public and private space was not explicit, because the design and use of collective spaces and facilities in each building or courtyard enabled the enlargement of the dwelling unit beyond the physical, judicial, and symbolic barriers defined by the entrance door. It has been noted that it was commonly at the border between the private and collective spaces (by the entrance door, or at the windows) that residents expressed their behaviour towards their kith and kin. These thresholds were appropriated with decorated wares, and internal collective spaces were used for diverse activities (such as household chores and childrens' play).

Such practices tempered the stark physical boundaries of each housing unit. Spatial meaning was expressed by unwritten social rules and conventions about how and when residents used collective spaces and facilities. These rules and conventions were known to all the residents, but they could choose whether they would respect or contradict them. Some codes of conduct would have been interpreted from different spatial dispositions (like the main door to the flat being left ajar being a code for access to the private realm, and the bedroom door remaining shut being a code for non-access to that room). In principle, there is no one-to-one relationship between architectural and behavioural boundaries. This is precisely why tenancy agreements and the surveillance of the residents had to be introduced in tandem with the explicit spatial reordering of the interior collective spaces and facilities. Together, they have usurped those tacit rules and conventions associated with daily life in the tenement buildings by imposing new administrative, physical, and judicial barriers, which are still enforced today. In fact, the recent survey of urban rented housing confirms that these ways and means have served their intended purpose.

SYNTHESIS

The development of rental dwelling units in Switzerland reveals 'how' and 'why' the boundaries between private, collective, and public spaces were realigned and redefined during the period considered. Whereas interior collective spaces and facilities provided the prime example of transition spaces during the nineteenth century, they have been transformed into a cavernous, coercive passage devoid of any potential use other than circulation. Moreover, they are more strongly demarcated from both the outdoor private and public areas of residential neigh-bourhoods than in the past. This transformation has occurred concurrently in the four following ways; by the realignment of 'physical boundaries' that explicitly delimit public, collective, and private spaces by means of walls or other architec-tural elements; by the redefinition of 'symbolic markers', such as the suppression of those household objects commonly furnished by the residents around the

entrance door and windows of their dwelling unit; by the introduction of 'judicial borders' as explicitly defined in tenancy agreements that prohibit the use of collective spaces for private activities; and by the maintenance of 'administrative limits' to regulate the use of space, such as the surveillance of residents' activities by a caretaker.

This study also illustrates that, like professional housing managers, architects and designers do not act autonomously, but in the context of contextual conditions that vary in number, scope, and strength according to the specificity of each design and planning problem. The contextual conditions presented and briefly illustrated in this paper indicate that the role of architectural design should be redefined to focus less on styling and social engineering and more on principles and practices that promote a catalyst for defining and monitoring a civic and environmental order in which individual freedom and communal consensus are both actively present. From this perspective a contextual approach is necessary in order to identify the aspirations, emotional commitment, and values of diverse groups of citizens which are integral constituents of their self-, social- and place-identities.

In sum, this case study of the layout, construction, management, and use of private rental housing illustrates, at a more general level, the interrelations between the design, tenure, and meaning of housing. It also shows why and how some of those restrictive interpretations cited earlier in this paper can be replaced by a contextual and historical analysis of housing design and tenure. This kind of analysis also shows how the rights and obligations of individuals and groups from diverse professions are interrelated to the ownership, control and use of housing units. These rights and obligations may vary between authorities, landlords, or other property owners in the same society or city as well as over time. It is suggested that the approach advocated and illustrated in this paper shows that it is arbitrary to dissociate housing layout and design from provision, ownership, and management. Therefore, it is necessary to reconsider housing layout, design, and use in context, using an integrative historical perspective.

KONUT YERLEŞİM PLANLARININ TOPLUMSAL BAĞLAMDA YORUMU: İSVİÇRE'DEN BİR ÖRNEK

ÖZET

Konut birimlerinin ve toplu konutların farklı toplumlarda ve zamanlarda değişik fiziki biçimler alması, yalnızca değişik malzeme ve yapım tekniklerine başvurulmuş olmasından değil, aynı zamanda toplumsal bağlamdaki etkenlerden ötürüdür. Bu farklılaşmaların gözlendiği başlıca özelliklerden biri de ortak (kamusal) ve özel yer ve mekanların nasıl ayrıştırıldığıdır. Yazıda, bu konudaki değişimlerin neleri kapsadığı, İsviçre'de konut planları ve kullanımlar örneklenerek incelenmektedir.

Ortak ve özel (public and private) alanların karşılıklı farklılaşmalarına kültürlerarası ya da tarihsel açıdan bakılırsa, yönetsel, hukuksal, siyasal etkenlerin katkıları netleşir.

Örneğin, hanehalkının oturmakta olduğu konuta 'tasarruf biçimi' (tenure) ekonomik, yasal, siyasal bir anlam taşır. Bu kavrama yalnızca kiracı, ev sahibi gibi ayrımlarla bakmak yetersizdir. Kaldı ki bu tasarruf biçimlerinin bile toplumsal bağlamlara göre farklı anlamları vardır.

Onsekizinci yüzyıl sonlarından başlayarak kentleşme ve hanehalkının bağımsızlaşması eğilimlerine uyumla, ortak ve özel alan anlayış ve davranışlarının değiştiği görülmektedir. Bu iki alanın çağdaş tanımları uzun bir zaman içinde toplumsal olarak oluşmuştur.

Konut alanlarının topolojik çözümlemeleri, yalnızca mekan düzenlerine ilişkin bilgi verebilir; ancak bu mekanların anlamı ve kullanımını açıklamada yetersiz kalır. Yapılı çevrenin anlam ve işlevini kavramada yalnızca plan ve mekansal düzenlemelerin yeterli olabileceğini varsayan kimi mimar ve sosyal bilimciler, bu çevrelerin yaratılmasında rol oynayan hukuksal, davranışsal, simgesel boyutları gözden kaçırmakta, üstelik sosyal bilimlerde 'özel yaşam mekanının düzenlenmesi' (*privacy regulation*) ve 'sosyal çevreye nüfuz etme' (*social penetration*) kuramlarına ilişkin yürütülen araştırmaları da dikkate almamaktadırlar. Ortak ve özel alan arasındaki sınır, topluluklar ve kişiler tarafından toplumsal olarak oluşturulur. Temel bir kavram olan 'sınır'ın fiziki boyutta bir çağrışımı varsa da mekansal olması kaçınılmaz değildir.

Anlam, bir fiziki nesnede kendiliğinden bulunmaz; insanlar tarafından zaman içinde gelenek ve kurallara göre değişen anlamlar oluşturulur. Bu nedenle, konut planlama, tasarım ve kullanımı konularında yapılan çalışmaların kapsamlı bir yaklaşıma sahip olması ve kendine özgü yöntem ve ilkeleri geliştirmesi gerekir. Bu çalışmada, söz konusu yöntem ve ilkelerin geliştirilmesine bir örnek vermek üzere, İsviçre'de Cenevre, Fribourg ve Le Locle'da yer alan kiralık stok üzerinde farklı kültür, ekonomi ve siyasal koşulların etkileri araştırılmaktadır.

Çalışma önce 1860-1960 arasında inşa edilmiş mahallelerde konut tasarım ve kullanımını hanehalkı büyüklüğü ve kompozisyonu ile konut tasarruf biçiminin ilişkilerini, ikinci olarak ise Cenevre Kantonu'nda 525 hanehalkı ile yapılan anket yoluyla çevre analizi, plan ve mekan tefrişindeki farklılaşmaları belgelemektedir. İsviçre, Avrupa'nın pek çok ülkesinden farklı olarak, kiracılığın yüksek (%63.2), kendi evinde oturanlar (*owner-occupier*) oranlarının düşük olduğu bir ülkedir. Kiralık konut sektörü, kişiler ve kurumlar-şirketler arasında dağılmıştır. Bunun tarihsel nedenleri vardır. Ondokuzuncu yüzyılın ortalarından bu yana, hanehalkı sayısında azalmalar yer alırken, konut büyüklüğü yavaş bir artış göstermiş, ancak konut hizmetlerinde büyük gelişmeler olmuştur.

Konut iç mekanlarının tasarım ve kullanımındaki değişmeler dışında, bu süre içinde iç ve dış ortak mekanların tasarım ve kullanımında da önemli dönüşümler olmuştur. Ortak iç mekanlar, zemin girişi, merdiven ve sahanlıklar, 19. yüzyıl sonundan başlayarak büyüklükleri ve dekorasyonlarındaki azalma, doğal aydınlatmanın kısıtlanması, yerdeki incelikli seviye farklarının kaybolması ve ortak kullanımların özelleştirilmesi ile yavaş yavaş değişime uğramıştır.

Asansörün girmesi ile merdivenler, yangın kaçışına dönüşmüş; teknolojideki yenilikler ve kamu hizmetlerinin (su, elektrik, havagazı) yaygınlaşması ile ise, yıkama, yemek pişirme ve çamaşır yıkama gibi işlevler için özelleşmiş kullanım olanakları gelişmiştir. Bunlara uyumla, mekansal birimler de insanlararası ilişkiler gözetilerek düzenlenir olmuştur. Örneğin: 1. ortak iç mekanların bakım masraflarını kısmak amacıyla ortak kullanışların kaldırılması ve küçültülmesi, özel ve ortak mekanlar arasında kesin ayrımı getirmiştir; 2. Her konut birimine, bakım ve tamirinden oturanın sorumlu olduğu, giderlerinin ancak kiranın

artırılarak karşılanabildiği özel kullanımların sağlanması, hanehalkı etkinliklerinin ortak mekanlarda yer almasını önlenmiştir; 3. İç ve dış mekanlar ve olanakların nasıl kullanılacağına ve yükümlülüklerin nasıl paylaşılacağına ilişkin sınır ve kurallar tanımlanmıştır.

Konut binalarının hemen dışında ve çevresinde de önemli değişmeler olmuştur. Plan analizlerinde, 19. yüzyılın son yıllarından başlayarak konut birimlerinin sokaktan geri çekilmeye başladığı ve ortak iç mekanın sokağa doğrudan bağlanmadığı, araya küçük bir bahçenin girdiği, 1930'lardan sonra giderek büyüyen bu bahçenin bazen araba parkını da içeren ve çoğunlukla binanın dört tarafını çevreleyen ve peyzajı yapılmış büyük bir alana dönüştüğü görülmektedir. Bu dış mekan ne tam anlamıyla sokak gibi bir kamu mekanı, ne de villa bahçesi gibi özel olma niteliği taşımaktadır. Araştırma, ne bina ve kent imar planı yönetmeliklerinin, ne de yönetim ve yerel halkın bu değişiklikleri öngördüğünü veya durdurmaya kalktığını göstermektedir. Bu dönüşümlerin altındaki nedenler yalnızca bina planlarının incelenmesi ile kavranamayacak daha ileri bir araştırmayı gerekli kılmaktadır.

Kiralık stok sahibi bireyler ve emlak şirketlerinin çıkar ve ilgilerini izlemek amacında olan ve 1879'da Cenevre'de kurulan 'Bina Yöneticileri Derneği'nin 1893 tarihli bir yayını, ev sahibi, yönetici ve kiracının sorumluluklarını açıklayan ilk belgedir.

Bu belgelerin incelenmesi, artan nüfusu sağlıklı konutlarda makul kiralarla barındırma sorununu çözmek endişesinin varlığını ortaya koymaktadır. Sayısal talebi karşılamak üzere yapılan apartmanlarda birden fazla hanehalkını barındırma zorunluluğu, mekanların kullanılmasını düzenleyen davranış kurallarını getirmiştir.

Otobiyografiler, günlükler ve romanların analizi, 19. yüzyılda ortak ve özel mekanı ayıran sınırların belirgin olmadığını göstermektedir. Ortak mekan ve kullanım olanaklarının (çamaşır, yemek, yıkanma vb.) tasarımı, konut biriminin, giriş kapısı ile belirlenen fiziki, hukuki ve sembolik sınırların ötesine taşabilmesine olanak vermekteydi. Mekansal anlam, ortak mekan ve olanakların nasıl ve ne zaman kullanıldıklarına ilişkin yazılı olmayan kurallarla belirlenmişti. Mimari ve davranışsal sınırlar arasında bire bir ilişki bulunmamaktaydı. Ortak iç mekan ve kullanım olanaklarının yeniden mekansal düzenlenmesi gereği, kira sözleşmeleri ve oturanların denetimi ile birlikte gündeme gelmiştir. Yönetsel, fiziksel ve hukuki engeller konularak apartmanların günlük hayatındaki yazılı olmayan kural ve adetler çiğnenmiştir.

Ortak iç mekan ve kullanım olanakları, 19. yüzyılda geçiş mekanlarına önemli bir örnek oluşturmakta iken, bugün dolaşımdan başka kullanım potansiyeli olmayan mağaramsı bir geçide dönüştürülmüşlerdir. Ayrıca, özel ve kamusal dış mekanlar eskiden olduğundan daha güçlü bir biçimde ayrılmışlardır.

Bu çalışma, mimar ve tasarımcıların otonom olarak değil, değişen bağlamsal koşullar çerçevesinde hareket ettiklerini de örneklemektedir. Mimari tasarımın rolü, daha çok, bireysel özgürlük ve toplumsal görüşbirliğinin birlikte varolduğu bir kamusal ve çevresel düzenin tanımı ve yönlendirilmesine yardımcı olacak ilke ve uygulamalar üzerine yoğunlaşacak şekilde yeniden tanımlanmaktadır.

Bu örnekleme, daha genel bir düzeyde tasarım, konut tasarruf biçimi ve konutun anlamı arasındaki ilişkileri göstermektedir. Birey ve grupların hak ve sorumluluklarının, konut birimlerinin mülkiyeti, deneyimi ve kullanımı ile olan ilişkilerini de ortaya koymaktadır.

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