Trouble
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edited by Wojciech Mazan

Prologue

The book you hold in your hands accompanies the *Trouble in Paradise* project of the PROLOG +1 group for the Polish Pavilion as part of the 17th International Architecture Exhibition in Venice, selected in open competition of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage. When chief curator Hashim Sarkis announced the title of this edition of the Venice exhibition — *How Will We Live Together?* — it sounded very general and allowed for many directions of interpretation. However, it is impossible not to notice that today — in the context of the time and place, after what we have been through or still are going through — this question resonates much more dramatically.

The object of PROLOG +1's interest — and at the same time the answer to this question — is the countryside seen from different perspectives: historical, geographical and sociological. The countryside

as a contemporary myth, but also as a place of transformation and post-transformation changes. The countryside from the perspective of an architect, researcher and resident — a native or a fugitive from the city. The Polish countryside, but in a global perspective. A countryside that has remained on the side lines of the interest of architects or urban planners, but which in recent years has become that 'extraordinary other' we want to encounter in order to conquer, colonise or tame it. A countryside with all its history, problems that have not always been clearly perceived in the past and a huge potential that perhaps holds the answer to the slogan of the current edition of the biennale — at a time when physical distance and distance are once again highly valued.

The curatorial project of Mirabela Jurczenko, Bartosz Kowal, Wojciech Mazan, Bartłomiej Poteralski, Rafał Śliwa and Robert Witczak is a communal project, but also a generational one. The group of young architects invited six young architectural teams from Europe to collaborate: Atelier Fanelsa, GUBAHÁMORI + Filip + László Demeter, KOSMOS, Rural Office for Architecture, RZUT and Traumnovelle. They invited their collaborators to exchange views, concepts and ideas. Without giving up the possibility of making autonomous, curatorial decisions, PROLOG +1 rejects the hierarchical and corporate work model. Opening up to a more horizontal perspective makes external voices more audible. This book is an additional framework for statements — for PROLOGUE +1, for the authors of the design concepts, and for the invited scientists and artists.

As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the exhibition in Venice will open one year after the planned date, in May 2021. The time between this publication and the final show in the Polish Pavilion is an opportunity to include many more voices, comments and opinions in the discussion on the countryside and how we will live together.

Hanna Wróblewska
Commissioner of the Polish Pavilion
Director of Zachęta — National Gallery of Art

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What Is Familiar
Is Not Necessarily Understood

The Polish countryside is a place where the problems, hopes and para-
doxes of the socialist and capitalist periods become clear; the notions of
tradition and progress are not easy to discern here, and radical reforms
have met with both enthusiasm and resistance. This book, together with
the exhibition in the Polish Pavilion at the 17th International Architecture
Exhibition in Venice, treats the countryside as an independent object of
research. It sees it as a product of planned social, spatial, and political
experiments of the state. This case study of Poland — a country where
93% of the area is rural — is instrumental in understanding the specificity
of the context of post-socialist Europe that allows us to talk about global

problems. Despite the scale of the phenomenon that is the Polish countryside, the issues related to it remain outside the mainstream of architectural discourse. The marginalisation of these areas intensified during the political, economic, and social transformation of the 1990s and consolidated their perception through the prism of simplifications and stereotypes, or simply excluded them from the sphere of collective consciousness, transforming them into an invisible element of the landscape. This project presents a new perspective, redefines the understanding of what is rural, going beyond the narrow framework of a romantic or technological utopia, and reads the countryside as a space of struggle and resistance against the forces colonising it, and not as an innocent, idyllic landscape outside the city.

After the political transformation of the last decade of the 20th century, we can observe an internal migration of people from urban to rural areas in Poland, as in other post-socialist countries of Europe. This trend, opposite to the global one, not only opens up the issue of motivations and expectations, but above all it puts into question the definition of the countryside as we know it. The growing problems of climate crises, regressing post-socialist cities, permanent housing deficit, lack of a coherent planning strategy (resulting in spatial chaos and isolation of communities) require a holistic view. In our understanding, the dichotomy of private and public property is the source of the crisis and the search for a commons is a necessary alternative. Moreover, considering the countryside through a dichotomy, in which it always appears as an additional element supplementing the city's needs and was defined in opposition to it — as everything that the city is not — seems problematic in itself. The aim of the project is to question this state of affairs and to give subjectivity to the countryside as an area of architectural research. The method and tools for understanding the phenomenon of the countryside are based on an analysis of its territory, settlement, and dwelling — the three spatialities of interest of the authors of the project — and make it possible to clearly identify problems on a central European scale.

These three areas are considered in relation to the issues of sharing of goods, land ownership, spatial planning and ways of working and living together as universal aspects independent of the location. The rural landscape is subject to the forces of capital, the number of inhabitants working on the land is decreasing, and the percentage of settlers from cities is increasing. That is why it is in the countryside that we are looking for the answer to the question of *how will we live together?*, which is the motto of this Biennale.

The first part of the book presents the theoretical context of the exhibition. In their introduction, Platon Issaias and Hamed Khosravi address the issue of the urban–rural division. They look for answers to how different characteristics and understandings of territory can make it possible to think of 'total territorialisation' instead of a dichotomous division into areas. The very concept of 'territory', its etymology and historical understanding is the subject of Pier Vittorio Aureli's essay. His in-depth analysis concludes with a proposal to redefine the territory from the point of view of its operation and use, and not through the prism of administrative divisions and cartographic representations. Andrea Alberto Dutto takes up the issue of how to describe the countryside in his essay, using the case study of a manual on the theory of rural planning in the Po valley, Italy. It presents an outline of what can be developed further as *a common theory of the countryside*. In the following essays, Polish authors bring closer the context of the Polish countryside. Based on her sociological research, Katarzyna Kajdanek presents the problems of internal migration to the countryside. She also poses the question of the existence and the extent to which of a relationship between the spatial form of housing estates and the sense of community. Łukasz Moll writes on the subject of the commons, recalling the examples of various local communes that emerged from the bottom up, at the initiative of the inhabitants, as forms of self-help and resistance to external forces. And finally, Jacenty Dędek presents his point of view in the form of a photo essay. The photographs published here — an excerpt from the extensive *portretprowincji.pl* project

— show the stories, dreams and aspirations of Polish rural residents. This entire section allows us to see the exhibition as a fragment of a broader discourse on rural areas, focusing on the specifics of the Polish context.

The second — analytical — section presents the research framework proposed by the PROLOG +1 team. *The Panorama of the Polish Countryside* is a photorealistic collage by Jan Domicz, Michał Sierakowski and Paweł Starzec, which, together with the curators' comments, creates a comprehensive picture of the contemporary Polish countryside. In the panorama and in the exhibition, the horizon becomes a structuring element — symbolically, because the elements and areas of research are treated with equal attention, and literally, because it is in juxtaposition to it that we can see elements that create and describe the countryside. It acts here as a tool for a precise analysis of the relations between the objects placed on it, corresponding to the territory, the settlement, and the dwelling — the three spatialities in which the exhibition moves. This way of presentation brings us closer to the conditions of actual being in the countryside, allows us to understand the continuity of the landscape — after all, the horizon is easier to see in the countryside than in the city. In the text *The Countryside on the Horizon*, the authors of the exhibition are looking for a new set of tools to describe the countryside — the core of the proposed method is fragmentation. The analysis of forms of work and living is conducted through the prism of the three areas mentioned above. Their relations and mutual influences can be traced chronologically, in three stages; one of the areas is the leading theme in each of them. In the early capitalist period, the main role was played by a new type of settlement, through which the strategy of interior colonisation was realised. In the socialist period, the process of nationalisation and establishment of State Agricultural Farms was a factor transforming the territory. In the third, late capitalist period, the analysis starts with the space of the single-family swelling, the embodiment of a liberal approach to planning and realisation of

middle-class dreams. The case studies allow for an understanding of the dynamics of the relationship between territory, settlement and dwelling and prove that there is no single direction in which the transformations take place — not vertical, but horizontal. It is this horizontality that is the tool for thinking about the countryside in a holistic way.

The third part of the book proposes answers to the question 'how we can live together in the countryside' in the form of speculative projects created within the research framework we have outlined. Six teams — from Belgium, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and United Kingdom — present alternative visions of territories, ways of settlement, living and working in the countryside. The text, architectural drawing, image, as well as the model in the exhibition (presented in the book in a photograph) work to complement the panorama. The main theme here is the issue of the commons as a factor leading to the consolidation of the rural environment. We call for the formulation of bold ideas going beyond the paradigms shaped by state and market conditions, public and private. The presented works do not provide holistic answers — and we did not expect this from the teams — but they do outline various perspectives, helpful in the future design of rural areas.

The contemporary countryside is an area of intensive transformations that do not allow for its unambiguous definition. It is less and less a promise of autonomy and escape from the city, and more and more often an object of financial speculation, a warehouse space, an area of industrial and mining activity, an intensive expansion of agriculture and tourism, as well as a place where global interests collide. Functional diversity replaces biological diversity, the potential of the landscape becomes a threat in itself. These and other phenomena pose problems for today's countryside, which can be solved by a new social contract, with a view to practices, ownership and shared resources, in other words a vision of a new Arcadia.

This exhibition and book would not have been created if it had not been for the constant support and belief in the project on the part

PROLOG +1
(Mirabela Jurczenko, Bartosz Kowal, Wojciech Mazan, Bartłomiej Poteralski, Rafał Śliwa and Robert Witczak)

The Place Outside: Some Thoughts on Rurality, Territory and the Countryside

Platon Issaias and Hamed Khosravi

In recent years, many architects, urbanists, planners, geographers, political theorists, philosophers, curators, cultural and economic institutions of power have been occupied, one could say obsessively, with the challenge to 'redefine the countryside'. It seems that in the context of the climate emergency and planetary genocide, and with urgent demands for alternative forms of production and modes of human and non-human existence, social and physical spaces that seem to present a counterparadigm to the dense, metropolitan environment of continuous growth, have been placed (again) at the centre of our attention.

Genuine efforts have been made to dismantle the overly insistent ideological diagram of western modernity that approaches the rural paradigm as a problem. Since the birth of the modern nation state and the rise of imperialist colonial powers, the countryside has been treated as an outdated and pre-capitalist, pre-modern ruin, within which the polarised and polarising 'centre'–'periphery' schema has been intensifying the already asymmetrical power relations and never-ending exploitation of rural and indigenous populations.

And yet, it seems that this trend is often exhausted into two alternative outcomes: historicisation, i.e. a quest for a genealogy of the countryside and 'rurality' as political forms, or re-conceptualisation, an attempt to revisit the dialectical opposition of 'urban'–'rural' in favour of the latter as a critical project. There are two problems that emerge with the above, which our short intervention, but also the Polish Pavilion at the 17th International Architecture Exhibition in Venice as a whole, have tried to address. The first has to do with the value and instrumentality of a 'general theory of rurality'. Can we imagine an alternative that allows for a multiplicity of experiences, struggles, differences, historic and contemporary, to emerge? Here, the importance of diverse case studies is essential. These would not only bring neglected examples to the forefront, but most importantly, would challenge the dominant Eurocentric, western historiography. Secondly, the 'urban'–'rural' dichotomy could also lead to a series of confusions that has to do with the way the latter is defined in opposition to the former. It seems to us that quite often spatial and social typologies and diagrams of rural, suburban, peri-urban, remote, indigenous forms of habitations are mixed into one and unified 'non-city' modes of living and topologies. When this happens, we end up replicating, if not intensifying, the violent asymmetries that have produced these categorisations in the first place.

What we have sketched below are some preliminary thoughts on a possible way to overcome some of these insistent problems. Inspired by the wonderful essays included in this catalogue and the excellent work of the entire Polish Pavilion team, we outlined a series of simple statements that aim to problematise the distinction urban–rural and to insist on the importance of case study research practices.

Urban–rural

As we have underlined above, the category of the 'rural' is commonly defined in opposition to the 'urban'; rural as a space of production (agriculture, fishing, forestry, etc.) and urban as a congested space of consumption, infrastructure and dense habitation. The opposition of the two words somehow imply distinct degrees of human development: civilised and non-civilised, modern, outdated, liberal and progressive versus conservative, backward-looking and reactionary. The etymological roots of the term 'rural', however, unfolds its inherent characteristics more precisely. Derived from the Latin *ruralis*, it connotes the idea of an 'open land', 'country', or in general 'open space'. Interestingly, it shares its root with the word 'room', both conveying the idea of 'openness'. While the original natural environments have been often categorised as 'unknown' or even 'non-human', the 'open land' suggests a different condition; it has not only been associated with natural qualities, and a 'primitive state' of a landscape, rather it suggests a possibility of occupation and exploitation.

Such division, so clear and distinct historically, has lost its implication in the contemporary distinction and meaning of the urban–rural dichotomy. Filled with layers of high-tech infrastructure, covered with carpets of industrial plants, glass houses,

and distribution centres, what formerly known as 'rural', 'country' or 'countryside' has tuned into the most 'urbanised' landscape. Of course, such condition cannot be considered as a global phenomenon, neither was 'urbanisation' behind its rise. Today such categories like suburban or peri-urban try to explain and differentiate various forms and degrees of occupation of country-side. However, they all fail to address the fundamental question of what 'rural' is today.

This ambiguity is also present in the way in which architecture and urbanism, as both distinct disciplines and forms of knowl-edge, respond to such conceptual dichotomy. The word 'design' — as the mantra of these professions — is rarely used when it is to address the rural, while 'planning' is the key mode of inter-vention that is applicable to both rural and urban. It somehow explains why historically the 'open space' or the 'rural' has been the locus of managerial organisations and control whose purpose has been to measure, predict and act upon in order to minimise the risks, and to secure economic progress. Production lies at the core of this paradigm; it becomes the key representation of the space, flattening not only the natural features and geographical specificities, but also forms of labour, modes of living, familial relations, kinship as well as socio-political struggles. In order to conduct a critical enquiry on the notion of urban–rural relation we must perhaps abandon such a dialectical reading and try to understand them as forms of territorial organisations wherein various spatial configurations are seen as crystallised asymmet-ric power relations where different devices, technologies and machines of design and planning are defined by the idea of the 'project'. As the authors of the following chapters have under-lined, there are multiple social, legal, topological, topographical and spatial/architectural typologies that have been producing the particular managerial and social protocols of not only the

Polish countryside, but every specific locality. 'The rural mode of living' is not a static diagram, but a project itself at stake for every generation.

Beyond urban–rural: The territory

Territory is a construct. Unlike common understanding of the term territory, the word does not imply a limitless and unbound plane. It is a direct result of two kinds of appropriation, by application of enclosures or through movement. While the former has been historically defined through the exercise of state power — state as stabilising force that makes boundaries static — the latter could be linked to non-sedentary forms of life, i.e. nomadism. These two forces — stabilising and mobile — produced two rather distinct idea of territory that Deleuze & Guattari call 'smooth' and 'striated' spaces: smooth space as an abstract space against and striated space as concrete space.[1] The former is shaped and dominated by the nomadic forces, while the latter is defined by the sedentary power of state. The two exist in a network of forces and relationships, as they transform into one another in a perpetual process.

Territory has a form. The striated space is outlined by repetition of limits — boundaries, and enclosures — measuring and delimiting the space and separating inside from outside. However, the smooth space is defined by rhythms and temporalities. While the grid of limits creates exclusive spaces, the cycles of rhythm generate liminal spaces. Yet, both acquire forms; one that is framed and the one that performs, one that is solid and the other that is fluid. Architecture is an inseparable part of such construct. Bernard Cache, in his book *Earth Moves*, reflects on the instrumentality of architecture in producing territories. He

[1]   Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Nomadology: The War Machine*, New York: Semiotext(e) / Foreign Agents, 1986.

Territory, 2019, *Trouble in Paradise*
research archive, photo by Paweł Starzec

defines it as 'the art of introducing intervals in a territory in order to construct frames of probability'.[2] Such frames produce territory in three forms of spatial manipulations: separation, selection and organisation.

<u>Territory is a political form.</u> Such actions inevitably imply a political vision. They establish forms of association, among individuals, communities and collectives between forces, space and subjects, and between human and non-human agents. Establishing frames of association is not a peaceful process. The striated space is a result of parcellation of land, assigning an individual or a group a share and regulating the communication between shares. Such possession of certain rights over the environment had been the beginning of commodification of land. These rights are nothing but distributed equally. Colonisation, dispossession, resource extraction and genocide are integral elements of this existential and planetary violence. It's the birth of the modern, imperial state that intensified archetypal enclosures, from the body to the planet as a whole. It's the moment capitalist global trade was born, when a series of 'non-city', territorial 'externalities', wild landscapes and bodies have to be smashed and tamed; they had to become productive. If the enclosures of the commons was the act that produced the model wage labourer and the urban–rural dichotomy and uneven development in the colonial centre, as Marx would argue, it is the slave trade and the racist, gendered productive device of the American plantation, as Jason W. Moore has underlined, that perfected the exploitation of resources and territories in a global scale.[3] The spatial protagonist of this historical process is walls, enforced violently by laws; of property, of trade rights, of naval monopolies, of reproductive rights, of multiple physical, bodily and mental exclusions.

The nomadic trajectory embedded in the smooth space does the opposite. Instead of demarcation of limits and application of

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[2]   Bernard Cache, *Earth Moves: The Furnishing of Territories*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995, p. 22.

[3]   James W. Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital*, London: Verso, 2015.

human-made law (*ius positum*) it distributes people (or animals, resources, etc.) according to natural law and virtues (*ius naturale*) in an open space; one that is not regulated by legislation but by customs and rituals. As Deleuze & Guattari expressed, 'it is a very special kind of distribution, one without division into shares, in a space without borders or enclosure',[4] a distribution through temporary relations and associations, enforced by commitment. Like a grazing field, the maritime space of an ocean, or a woodland, smooth space is defined — and therefore measured — through its use and its forms of occupation, rather than being defined prior to its appropriation and allocation of rights.

In both spatial definitions — smooth and striated spaces — one cannot separate the space from its subjects — the users or owners — and forms of power distribution, and most importantly perhaps, from the purpose that it serves. It is in fact such potentiality of the 'open space' that generates forms of occupation, against exploitation.

Territory is a space of conflict. The tension between the stabilising and dynamic forces has historically led to violent forms of exploitation, dispossession, and colonisation. Territory thus becomes the place where class, gender, social, and political struggles are deployed. It therefore calls for immediate actions and critical speculations.

Territory is a Project. The Polish countryside serves this reading as a particular example, a transitional period, wherein multiple historical projects coexist and operate at the same time. It is where the ongoing process of 'primitive accumulation' can be traced in an extensive privatisation of the land and extreme fragmentation of the landscape. Yet, the relationship between the modes of living, forms of labour and the territory seem to be alienated. The accelerating migration from the cities to the countryside that are generically read as suburbanisation or

[4]   Deleuze and Guattari, *Nomadology: The War Machine*, p. 44.

shrinking cities, can suggest a different understanding, a 'total territorialisation'.

    Trouble in Paradise is a critical enquiry into the social and spatial elements of the Polish countryside. The curatorial project for the Polish Pavilion aims to challenge the common understanding of the urban–rural division through a multidisciplinary perspective. It thus addresses theoretical gaps in understanding the ongoing internal migration from the cities to rural areas.[5] The curatorial project calls for an integrated reading of the territory where settlements types, forms of labour, modes of living, familial relations, kinship as well as socio-political struggles are shaping *How we live together*.

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[5]   The main theoretical and analytical underpinnings of the project are based on Wojciech Mazan's MPhil dissertation 'Proximal Relations: Forms of Settlement, Dwelling, and Territory in Opole-Silesia, Poland', developed within the Projective Cities MPhil Programme at the Architectural Association School of Architecture 2019–2020.

Territory
Pier Vittorio Aureli

The word 'territory' derives from the Latin *territorium*, a term that can be linked to *terra* — earth — and *terere* — to tread. Therefore, territorium seems to address the possession of land effected through agricultural cultivation.[1] Although the actual etymology of territorium is unclear, this connection to ownership and cultivation was acknowledged by several Latin authors, most notably Cicero, who defined territorium as the zone of influence of a political community.[2] Words that in different languages are often used interchangeably with the term territory, such as the Latin *districtus*, the French *banlieue*, the Italian *contado*,

the English *county*, or the German *Kreis*, always refer to portions of land defined according to specific arrangements of law. Thus, the idea of territory addresses the conditions under which a community, a sovereign power, or an institution define in a material, juridical and cultural way the land on which they settle. For this reason, I argue that, ultimately, the concept of territory addresses the process of land *appropriation*.[3]

There is nothing primordial or 'natural' about land appropriation. Land appropriation — or the act of settling — is a specific mode of dwelling that arose at the very last moment of the 300,000-year-long history of human species. This occurred 15,000 years ago, when humans ceased to be hunter-gatherers and started to become sedentary. This process, known as 'domestication',[4] began in southwest Asia and — it is important to remember — has not, to this day, reached completion. A fundamental consequence of domestication has not only been the occupation of a territory by a group of people or a community, but also the building of permanent homes. As noted by many archaeologists and anthropologists, the emergence of stable dwellings precedes the rise of agriculture[5] that consisted of the imposition of clear boundaries on the land. I would therefore argue that the first manifestation of territoriality — that is to say, of the practice of organising land tenure — is concomitant with the emergence of the home as a permanent structure.

Homes function not only as shelter to humans and animals, but also as the marking of boundaries that include and exclude, and that define an 'inside' against an 'outside'. Social systems such as family, clan or kinship became possible only because the architecture of the house was constructed as a system of inclusion/exclusion. Indeed, what is at stake in the boundaries that enclose the house is the ritualisation of possession by those who *own* the house. With the rise of intensive cultivation and

[1]   For a thorough discussion of the possible etymologies of *territorium* see Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. The connection to the idea of 'trodden earth', or ploughed earth, is made explicit in a passage of Varro quoted by Elden, p. 63.

[2]   Ibid.

[3]   Several authors have explored the constructed and often violent character of land ownership; Karl Marx read this practice as a form of 'primitive accumulation' in Karl Marx, 'Part Eight: Primitive Accumulation', in *Capital: Volume 1*, London: Penguin, 1993, pp. 873–942. Jurist Carl Schmitt addressed the concept of appropriation in *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europaeum*, trans. G. L. Ulmen, Candor, NY: Telos Press, 2006.

[4]   On the topic of domestication see Peter J. Wilson, *The Domestication of the Human Species*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

[5]   On this issue see James C. Scott, Against the Grain: *A Deep History of Earlies States*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017, p. 10.

agriculture, the tracing of boundaries expanded from the house to large portions of land. Extensive cultivation expanded the idea of bounded space from the home to the land and it is within these conditions that what later would be defined as 'territory' emerged as a fundamental political datum.

In order to understand the specificity of this particular organisation of space we must remember that throughout history human species have lived on earth without tracing any boundaries. Being non-sedentary implied that human action was not organised by *lines*, but by *points*. It is important to stress that hunter-gatherers were not adrift over vast spaces: their movements were organised by their focus on specific 'landmarks' such as mountains, lakes, river, haunts, water holes and other outstanding topographical features.[6] In other words hunter-gatherers did not conceive land as a surface, but as a constellation of specific marks. Often transformed into sacred sites, these marks served as means of symbolic and physical orientation. As emphasised by anthropologist Peter J. Wilson, hunter-gatherers inhabited space not as lines, but as 'focuses'.[7] In this geography made of points, land was not bounded but organised as zones of influence whose power of attraction would not be exclusionary. Wilson argued that this hazy, ill-defined sense of boundary is reflected in the way hunter-gatherers did not organise their way of thinking in culturally uniform social categories. Citing the example of the hunter-gatherer people of Southern India such as the Paliyan and the Hill Pandaram, Wilson explains how non-sedentary people operate with what has been defined as 'memorate knowledge', that is 'knowledge derived by individual experience unmodified by any such socially shared or transmitted process as education'.[8] This condition, which survives today in what remains of the hunter-gatherer way of life, was radically challenged by the spread of sedentary living

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[6]   On how hunter-gatherers managed land tenure see Tim Ingold, *The Appropriation of Nature: Essays on Human Ecology and Social Relations*, Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1987, pp. 130–164.

[7]   Wilson, *The Domestication of the Human Species*, p. 50.

[8]   Ibid., p. 30.

and of stable communities where rights of land possession push institutions not just to draw boundaries on the ground, but to use these boundaries as a way to measure land itself.

Herodotus narrates how geometry was born in Egypt out of the practice of surveying land by stretching the rope.[9] This practice carried out by the Pharaoh's officials was necessary for building temples and granaries, and found a significant application in parcelling out soil when it reemerged after the yearly Nile floods. Through rectilinear subdivision practiced at a large scale, early state formations such as Sumer and Egypt were able to impose coherent parcelling on the land whose goal was to both organise large masses of people and their labour, and reinforce the state central authority.

The civilisation that perfected this process of appropriation and domestication of land through geometric parcelling was ancient Rome. The Romans constructed a sophisticated legal apparatus that divided private property from public property, or *ager publicus* — an instrument that became crucial to processes of colonial conquest. This 'public' land was forcefully expropriated from indigenous populations, then measured, subdivided and given to colonial settlers who would cultivate it and thus translate the violent act of appropriation into a stable, pacified landscape of farmers and rural estates. It is interesting to note that the word *forma*, from which the English *form* derives, was the term used to indicate the cadastral tablets on which land property was registered.

The legal force through which Romans sealed their violent land appropriation was reinforced by the precision with which land was physically subdivided into clearly defined properties. An outstanding example of this subdivision was the *centuriatio*,[10] a system of land division based on a grid of 710 × 710 metres which surveyors traced directly on the land and which served

[9] Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt, London: Penguin Classics, 2003, p. 95.

[10] This process is described in depth in *Misurare la Terra: Centuriazione e Coloni nel Mondo Romano: Città, Agricoltura, Commercio: Materiali da Roma e dal Suburbio*, ed. Rolando Bussi, Modena: Franco Cosimi Panini, 1985.

as the datum for granting parcels of land to private owners, but also as the blueprint for the layout of cities, their public spaces, roads, canals and other infrastructures. It is precisely through practices such as the *centuriatio* that land, property, infrastructure and finance formed a coherent apparatus that stabilised land tenure into a strict order. The cadastral survey, a descendent of the Roman *forma*, is thus the fundamental deus ex machina of the concept of territory as it translated the concreteness of the ground in both the legal abstraction of law and the economic abstraction of financial value. We should not forget that the cadastral survey not only made boundaries lawful but also quantified land as a financial asset.

Land survey — a method of land appropriation based on lines which are both cadastral limits and physical objects such as walls, fences, edges and lines of trees — was resurrected in Europe at the dawn of modernity when early nation states engineered their sovereignty by consolidating a clearly defined regime of land tenure. Within feudal societies, land tenure was organised through customary rights, which were constantly negotiated and contested between peasants and lords. With the introduction of property rights, the legitimacy of land tenure was defined no longer by negotiation, bargaining and conflict but, rather by the authority of the state who granted these rights to owners and defended them with the universalising force of law.

It is precisely the shift from possession by custom to possession by the legal title of *property* that gave origin to the phenomena that Karl Marx defined as 'Primitive Accumulation'.[11] Marx argued that primitive accumulation was an essential pre-condition for the emergence of capital and consisted in the legal theft of common land enacted by the state. This theft was an act of violent dispossession that deprived large parts of the population of their livelihood. In England, this condition was best exemplified by the rise of the

[11]   Marx, 'Part Eight: Primitive Accumulation'.

enclosures — a process of primitive accumulation that dramatically changed both the way of life by making people depend on wage labour, but also the very organisation of land itself. By turning land into a patchwork of 'enclosed' large-scale estates demarcated by fences and walls, it was no longer possible to freely roam.

Yet the greatest consequence of the advent of property rights as the deus ex machina of modern territoriality was a new perception and understanding of territory as a *map*.[12] Indeed, the imposition of property rights required the precise mapping of rural fields and villages, thus pushing the technology of cadastral survey to unprecedented exactitude. It was during the fifteenth century that mathematical survey transitioned from use only by navigators who mapped their route on sea with nautical charts to that of land survey, resulting in a calculable 'good', ready to be translated as a measurable financial asset. This development of cartography was paralleled by an increasing sophistication in drawing techniques and systems of representation in architecture and engineering.

We should not forget that the rise of perspective as a fundamental system of visual representation was supported by the increasing ability of mathematicians and surveyors to measure land. The drawing of maps was no longer a simple mnemonic recording of figures and symbols, rather it became an exact translation of topographical features into abstract geometrical entities such as points, lines and surfaces. This way of rendering the territory was instrumental not just to claim property rights but also to make land calculable and thus exchangeable as any other finite commodity. Until the fifteenth century it was difficult to conceive of land as commodity because it was perceived as an unbounded thing, and thus impossible to understand as a *finite* object like a house or a cow. With the advent of cadastral survey and the possibility to project — at least on paper — lines

[12]   On the emergence of the map as a geopolitical tool see John Pickles, *A History of Spaces: Cartographic Reason, Mapping, and the Geo-coded World,* London: Routledge, 2004.

of property, owners were allowed to think of and calculate land as an entity to be bought and sold.

Cadastral surveys translated the concreteness of land into the abstracting force of money — the universal equivalent of the modern world. In this way land was no longer the primary means of peasants' subsistence, rather it became the standing reserve for capital, a material to be used and a resource to be scientifically mapped in order to be extracted or exploited. This conception of land as an economic asset became widespread when modern European states such as Spain, Portugal, France and England violently appropriated land on other continents. As Gary Fields[13] has argued, the violence of colonial appropriation consisted not just in warfare but also — and especially — in *lawfare*, in other words, with the introduction of rights of property that de facto erased any other form of indigenous land tenure. In order to justify the right to property, colonial states framed any customary form of land tenure as a 'disorderly' way of settling, lacking legal consistency and, above all, unproductive in terms of economic advantage. The ideology of improvement was particularly popular among settlers during England's colonisation of North America in which the neat straight lines projected by surveyors erased the nuanced systems of boundaries and thresholds through which the Native Americans organised their life on the land.

A most vivid image of cadastral violence can be seen in the portrait of Nebraska land surveyor Robert Harvey taken in the 1860s. The surveyor is standing next to an array of surveying tools, holding a rifle. The tools and the rifle are the two faces of the business of surveying: geometry and violence, science and land grabbing. Indeed, indigenous populations knew that measuring land was equal to appropriating it, and were understandably hostile to surveyors. It is not by chance that Thomas Jefferson promoted the famous 1785 Land Ordinance which consisted of geographic subdivision of the

Pier Vittorio Aureli

[13]   Gary Fields, *Enclosure: Palestinian Landscapes in a Historical Mirror*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2017.

American land into gridded 'townships' as the ideal support for a nation of rural cultivators. Like the Roman Empire, agriculture in the United States was meant to continue and legitimise the appropriating gesture of surveying as the act of enclosing land within the boundaries of property. It was therefore through the process of surveying and the transformation of land into a calculable entity that the standard definition of territory as a bounded space under the control of a group of people was made reality. Such a bounded space — or territory — is not just the space of the state, but any piece of land enclosed by the exclusionary right to property.

The mathematical and geometrical precision through which land was enclosed and calculated has become the technical basis through which we render the idea of territory as an object of knowledge. Today, the ubiquitous use of Geographic Information System (GIS) as a framework for gathering, managing and analysing data which has become obligatory for the undertaking of both any form of spatial governance and research in the field of urbanism, continues the 'cadastral' impulse of the colonial survey. Even if by now scholars are aware of the bloody history of land appropriation, our contemporary understanding of territory remains mediated by increasingly sophisticated means of cartographic information. Not only maps, but data of any kind, from topography to demographics, from resources to climatic conditions, anything that concerns our own ecology is translated into the exactitude of cartographic reason. There is no doubt that such precision is necessary today in order to understand a world that is deeply embedded into capitalistic modes of production.

Yet, in order to undo the violence of cadastral imagination we also need to find alternative forms of land occupation and representation that could go beyond the idea of property which is so embedded into our contemporary idea of territory. As we have seen, the concept of territory is inseparable from the idea of

permanent occupation and exploitation of land. As difficult as it is to imagine the possibility of reversing the process that turned us from hunter-gatherers into sedentary dwellers, an emancipatory 'territorial' project should invest in a new understanding of boundaries as non-proprietary form of land tenure. Such a project that understands boundaries not as a means of enclosure, but as a means of orientation, as artefacts whose goal is to reinforce the sense of reciprocity within communities. As Brenna Bhandar has argued 'there is an urgent need to grasp other ways of relating to land, those obscured and repressed thought the imposition of the cadastral survey and imperial modes of mapping, through systems of title registration, through the rendering of entire communities as illegal squatters based on their ways of living'.[14]

Within the modern conception of territory, boundaries are often markers of possessions of homes, estates, regions and nation-states whose exclusionary force comes from both the abstraction of scientific cartography and the power of law. Against this conception we must rediscover boundaries and other ground forms that allowed our sedentary inhabitation not as barriers, but as thresholds, as physical forms around which to organise beneficial modes of coexistence. Consequently, we must elaborate new forms of mappings and cognitive devices that do not depend on the measuring parameters granted by science and technology which in many cases are given to us by capital. Rather than obsessively reducing the idea of territory from the abstraction of data, maps or statistics, as it is often done with urban research, we must rediscover territories as *existential grounds* in which communities define their habits in radical contrast with the way territorial institutions impose rights of access and property.

[14]   Brenna Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land, and Racial Regimes of Ownership*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2018, p. 193.

Towards a Common Theory of the Countryside

Andrea Alberto Dutto

It is interesting to note that in addition to his *Teoría general de la urbanización* (1867), Ildefons Cerdà also planned to write a *Teoría general de la rurización*.[1] Unfortunately, 'we only have intriguing, incomplete fragments of his last theory',[2] which would later have to flow into a further unaccomplished book entitled *Teoría general de la colonización*. In his project on colonisation, Cerdà adopts a Cartesian approach according to which urban and rural spaces are separated entities sharing the same topographic space. Over the past century, this Cartesian subdivision has been the ideal reference for those

who based their agenda on the contrast between 'urban' and 'rural', where one side excludes the other. In the early 1970s, it occurred in at least two variations. The first is undertaken by the so-called radical groups — now largely back in fashion — and their experience of the 'Global Tools',[3] for which the return to the authenticity of material culture — reminiscent of the peasants' tools — is a strategy to oppose the alienation caused by industrial capitalism. The second one — in some ways similar to the first but more academic and politically neutral — concerned geographers committed to the socio-cultural resistance of minor rural settlement of the Italian peninsula at the advent of building industrialisation.[4]

A good approximation of what could have been Ildefons Cerdà's missed book on the subject of *rurización* is provided by a handbook published in 1946,[5] which attempts a general theory of rural planning based on the case study of the Po valley, namely an alluvial plain which occupies a large part of northern Italy.[6] The handbook is entitled *Ruralistica: urbanistica rurale* and the author is Amos Edallo (1908–1965), an architect whose name remains mainly linked to this book as well as to the town of Crema, a small town 50 kilometres southeast of Milan.[7]

Like Cerdà, Edallo has a deep trust in science and in the discipline of planning. In his view, planning is an apparatus of rules — about rights of possession and exploitation of income as well as of hygienic standards — which is able to produce an environment that better responds to a specific mode of exploitation (either capitalist or agrarian). In short, Edallo believes in the possibility of improving the countryside by means of a project that is addressed to both the peasants' quality of life and to the rationalisation of the rural region, the settlement and the farm.

[1] See Arturo Soria y Puig, 'Ildefonso Cerdá's General Theory of "Urbanización"', *The Town Planning Review*, vol. 66, no. 1, 1995, pp. 37–38; Joan Tort-Donada and Albert Santasusagna-Riu, 'El Binomio URBS/RUR Como Base de La Concepción Territorial y Urbanística de Ildefonso Cerdà', *Revista de Antropología y Sociolgía*: VIRAJES, vol. 20, no. 1, 2018, pp. 37–59.

[2] Soria y Puig, 'Ildefonso Cerdá's General Theory of "Urbanización"', p. 38.

[3] See *Global Tools: Quando l'educazione coinciderà con la vita, 1973–1975*, ed. Valerio Borgonuovo and Silvia Franceschini, Istanbul: SALT Garanti Kültür, 2018; see also Andrea Branzi, 'Global Tools scuola di non-architettura. Tecnologia o eutanasia', *Casabella*, no. 397, 1975, pp. 17–19.

[4] See *La casa rurale in Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Barbieri and Lucio Gambi, Firenze: Olschki, 1970; Lucio Gambi, *Una geografia per la storia*, Torino: Einaudi, 1973.

[5] The Italian word *ruralistica* can be approximately translated as 'rural planning'. See Amos Edallo, *Ruralistica: urbanistica rurale*, Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1946.

[6] This essay derives some themes from a previous essay; see Andrea Alberto Dutto, 'Is the Po Valley a Type? — Hypothesis on Amos Edallo's Ruralistica', ed. Matthias von Ballestrem and Jörg H. Gleiter, *Cloud-Cuckoo-Land: International Journal of Architectural Theory*, vol. 24, no. 38, 2019, pp. 197–214.

[7] For an overview on Amos Edallo see Emanuele Edallo, *Umanesimo urbanistico: l'architetto Amos Edallo tra Milano e la Bassa padana*, Milano: UNICOPLI, 2017.

In this way, *Ruralistica* is different from other handbooks dedicated to the countryside that circulate in the 1940s and 50s. Edallo's countryside is not the same concept described by Giuseppe Pagano's *Architettura rurale italiana* (1936),[8] a photographic repertoire of photogenic rural buildings shot throughout the Italian countryside. For Edallo, the countryside is not a romantic place but rather a productive one that poses a challenge to rural entrepreneurs, its development unfortunately hampered by an absence of planning methods.

Edallo's rural planning proposal appears nowadays to be very distant from the possibilities offered by the situation of the countryside. At the beginning of the 1950s, the socio-cultural apparatus of the Po valley has deep roots in centuries-old traditions that today hardly exist anymore. Despite this, Edallo's methodology still offers interesting ideas. His idea of rural planning is to provide the countryside with a quality that is at least comparable with the quality of the city. He wants to demonstrate that the conceptual threshold that divides urban and rural areas can be newly negotiated and that the subject in charge of this negotiation is the rural planner.

The negotiation of the threshold between urban and rural is the fulcrum of rural planning and shifts the division between city and countryside from topographical to topological space. Actually, the issue of the threshold had already been addressed by Cerdà in his urbanisation theory when he proposed to replace the conventional division between buildings and roads by means of the interway (*intervías*), namely the basic module of the city that comes out of a negotiation between the two.[9] The interway is an abstract entity that joins two opposite objects within a threshold. As Walter Benjamin says, the threshold (*Schwelle*) is a concept that derives from

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[8]   See Giuseppe Pagano, *Architettura rurale italiana*, Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1936.

[9]   'By interways he meant a set of buildings and free or green spaces surrounded by streets, and he thought these should all be designed at the same time'; Soria y Puig, 'Ildefonso Cerdá's General Theory of "Urbanización"', p. 34.

the verb swell (*schwellen*); the threshold is an area that hosts a (rite of) passage between two diverse conditions.[10]

In an attempt to develop a project for the rural area, Edallo identifies a series of thresholds at different design scales: from the geographical scale — the Po valley — to that of the building unit — the farm. The site he turns to is more complex than Cerdà's, at least from the point of view of its scale. His starting point is not the city block, but a geographical region: a huge space. It is so vast that ultimately it embodies the city and show that rural and urban are not separate entities: the Urban lies within the Rural. Thus, in order to overcome the vastness of the region and reduce distances between objects, Edallo attempts a topological approach.[11] This translation from topography to topology allows him to identify the recurring elements of the countryside, overcoming the obstacle of their distance. Edallo defines these recurrences by means of 'types', namely: managerial, settlement, dwelling, etc. His use of 'type' has no reference to the academic jargon[12] but still it maintains the general meaning originally provided by Quatremère de Quincy: of something that resembles another thing without being identical to it. In short, for Edallo, 'type' means two similar things but not formally similar. In the next paragraphs, we examine which types Edallo identifies in the Po valley.

1 : 25,000 — Managerial types

Conversely to the city, the countryside does not have an even vaguely recognisable perimeter. For Edallo, this topographical indeterminacy is overcome by focusing on the rural managerial practices, namely the various ways through

10   See Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 494.

11   Topology is related to a 'field of mathematics studying the spatial properties of an object or network that remain true when that object is stretched' and finds nowadays a broad rediscovery in human geography; *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, ed. Gregory Derek et al., Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2009, p. 762.

12   For an overview on the subject of 'type' and 'typology' in architecture see 'I terreni della tipologia / The Grounds of Typology', *Casabella*, no. 509/510, 1985.

which production is organised in the countryside.[13] In his view, the Po valley is not a type of landform in the sense intended by geographers. Neither it is a type of parcellation of land, based on the juridical representation of possession rights represented on the cadastral map. Considered as two separate principles, the natural order (*physis*) and the state-legal order (*nomos*) are not useful for the rural planner.

The problem for the rural planner is to evaluate how the threshold between these two orders varies in relation to different ways of production is undertaken. Evidently, agricultural management is not an apparatus of rules capable of establishing an order in itself: it requires a negotiation with soil, water, sun, etc.[14] Thus, Edallo lists four types of rural managerial types: family management, metayage, cooperative labour and wage labour. In this way, he proves to be much more an entrepreneur than an architect.

As in the case of Cerdà — who elaborates his general theory with reference to a specific place — Edallo's theory focuses on an area circumscribed within a 60-kilometre diameter with its centre in Crema, which is the area where he has a direct ability to apply the business of rural planning.

However, what he has in mind is a general theory of countryside planning, not simply an analysis of such a small portion of land around Crema. In order to do so, he hypothesises that the managerial types of this area can be extended to entirety of the Po valley. In his view, the Po valley is a topological entity characterised by homeomorphism, namely the capacity to assume multiple topographies while keeping together the ensemble of such four managerial configurations.

For Edallo, a project of the countryside does not mean to confer an entire region the shape of a grid — following the example of the Roman centuriation that widely affects

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[13]   See Edallo, *Ruralistica: urbanistica rurale*, pp. 31–46.

[14]   'The planimetric forms of rural environment do not depend on artificial situations created by man: they depend on the type of cultivation, the form of agricultural management and the possibility of irrigation'; ibid., p. 95.

the Po valley. His hypothesis is much more entrepreneurially effective. Managerial types stand for a way to identify the strategy that ultimately turn the multiple form of natural land into productive soil. Shortly, the project of the countryside is therefore the possibility of identifying ways of production suitable for optimising the exploitation of natural resources.

1 : 2,000 — Settlement types

What differentiates the rural settlement from the urban one? Edallo has several answers that are usually conceived as denials, removals and deformations of the urban settlement.[15] First of all, the rural settlement is generally small and never exceeds 5,000 inhabitants. Secondly, the rural village incorporates the natural landform, or it denies it, but, in both case scenarios, it expresses a hybrid quality of both an artificial and natural fact.

The topographical position is already a good clue as to the form of the settlement. It is not uncommon to find linear settlements that take on the appearance of a river, stretching in rows of small buildings all side by side.[16] Edallo identifies such linear settlements as 'purely rural'. Such apparent *mimesis*[17] (namely the analogy between the river and the settlement) is not an aesthetic choice, however, but results from utilitarian principles. Staying as close as possible to the water improves the possibility to exploit fertile soil. To show this condition, the example of Santo Stefano Lodigiano is pretty straightforward. This 'pure' rural settlement is built inside the palaeochannel of the Po river, whose previous presence is now re-marked by a road along which all rural buildings and the church are built. Curiously, the public space is the road itself, as usually in the

[15]   I refer to a chapter of Ruralistica entitled 'Ruralistica nella scala da 1 a 2000' [Rural planning at the scale of 1 to 2,000]; see Edallo, *Ruralistica: urbanistica rurale*, pp. 111–202.

[16]   For a theoretical focus on the migration of geographical features towards urban ones, see Antonia Pizzigoni, 'Divenir fiume . . . divenir città. Alcune modalità del divenire cartografico nella ricerca sul Po a Torino', in *Alvei, meandri, isole e altre forme urbane: tecniche di rappresentazione e progetto nei territori fluviali*, ed. Giancarlo Motta and Carlo Ravagnati, Milano: Franco Angeli, 2008, pp. 109–122; Riccardo Palma, 'Building, Dwelling, Orienting. Geographical Architectures and Foundation of Public Space', in *Sketching Plans, Drawing Maps. Architecture, Cartography and Architectural Design Machines*, ed. Andrea Alberto Dutto and Riccardo Palma, Torino: Accademia University Press, 2016, pp. 171–193.

[17]   'The word is Greek and means "imitation" (though in the sense of "re-presentation" rather than of "copying")'; from Encyclopaedia Britannica.

S. Stefano Lodigiano è un paese lungo il Po ed è intuibile che la sua conformazione planimetrica segua l'andamento del fiume e della strada rivierasca. La sua particolare fisionomia presenta un allungamento smisurato in un solo senso, con pochissima profondità trasversale (lungo m. 2300, largo in media m. 100). La sua caratteristica del seguire una simile curvatura non è per se stessa un elemento ruralistico, è solo un elemento assecondante condizioni di natura geografica del luogo. Ruralisticamente però esso deve interessare per vari elementi che si possono leggere evidentissimamente in planimetria: la sua estensione in lunghezza è dovuta all'appagamento di necessità che l'agricoltura e l'inerente sistema di vita del luogo impongono: estendersi il più possibile onde portare la cellula fabbricativa il più vicino possibile al podere e nel tempo stesso mantenerlo unito ad un centro di vita; dal punto di vista orientativo, la tendenza dei corpi di fabbrica di mettersi con le facciate ortogonali alla direzione del sole di mezzogiorno (anche quelli nei tratti di via obliqui rispetto al nord); per ultimo si deve sottolineare l'equilibrata suddivisione delle proprietà che induce ad una relativa costanza della grandezza delle aziende che si impernia preferibilmente sulla piccola e sulla media azienda.

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Plan of Santo Stefano Lodigiano
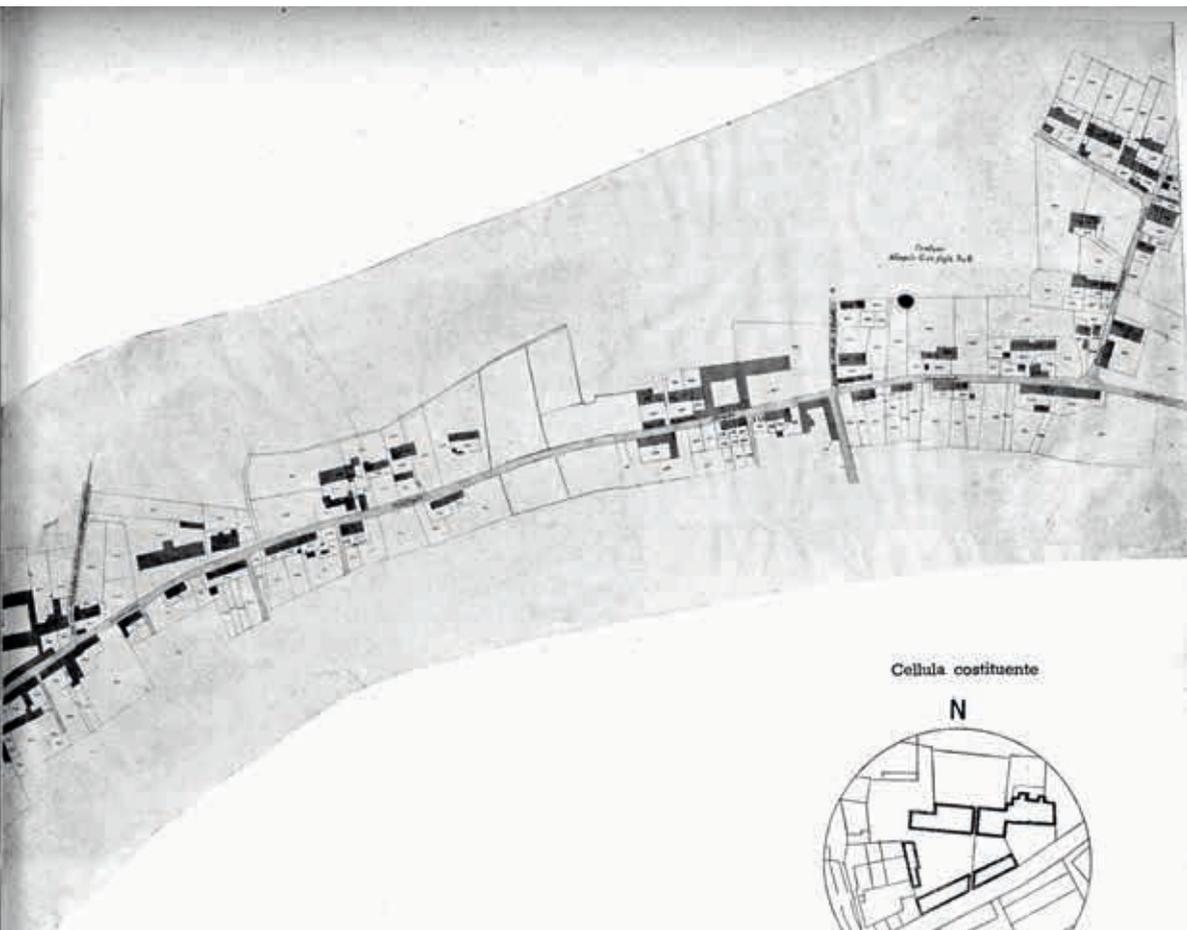
Cellula costituente

N

S

Caratteristiche:

Esistono mezzi collettivi di comunicazione (corriera, ferrovia).

Abitanti: 3000.

Superficie del comprensorio: Ha 1000.

Prodotti agricoli principali: frumento, granoturco.

Esistono industrie.

Operai occupati in paese: 60

Operai che emigrano: 160

Contadini salariati e giornalieri: 200 uomini, 60 donne.

In paese:

2 sacerdoti

1 medico

1 levatrice

5 insegnanti con cinque aule

9 impiegati comunali

Esistono:

5 botteghe di generi alimentari
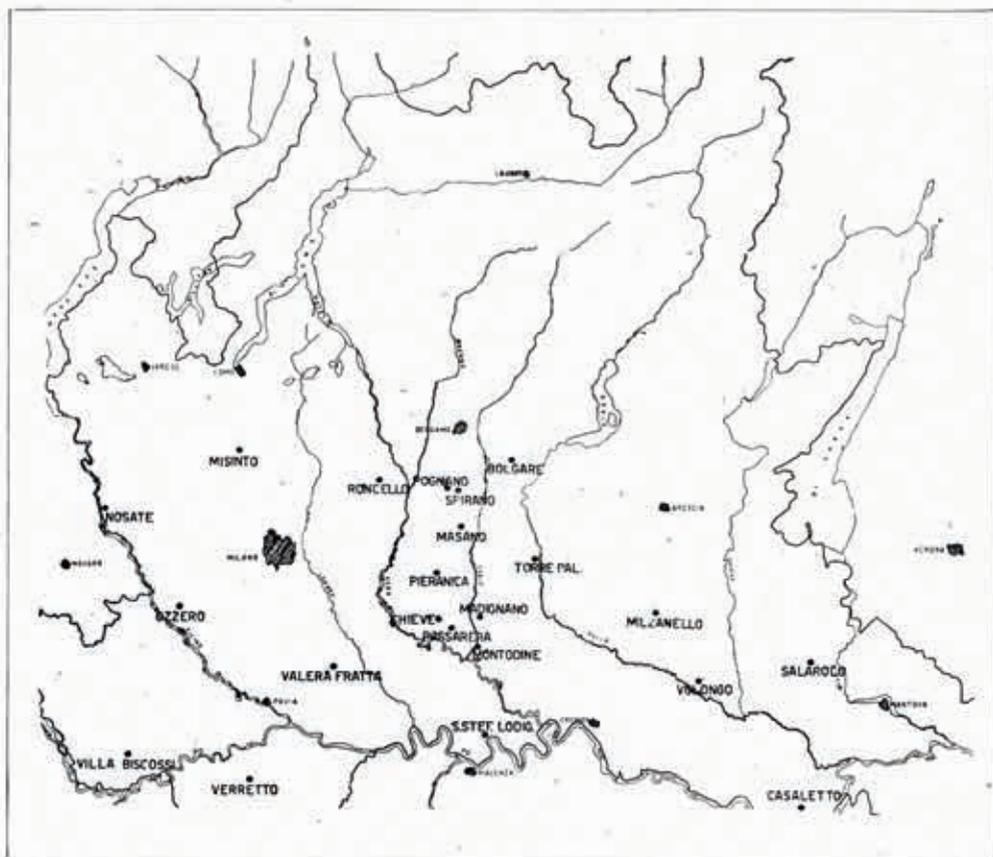11 osterie
4 barbieri
5 sarti
Posta
Telefono

Non esistono:

Ospedale
Farmacia
Sala di pubblici spettacoli.

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GLI ESEMPI DEI PAESI RURALI CHE PRESENTIAMO SONO PRESI VOLUTAMENTE IN ZONE TIPICHE DEL SUOLO LOM-
BARDO, CON L'INTENTO DI MAGGIORMENTE CHIARIRE LE SUESPOSTE OSSERVAZIONI, MA PIÙ ANCORA PERCHÈ CI
SERVANO DI GUIDA NELL'ENUNCIAZIONE DI QUELLE NORME CHE DOVRANNO INFORMARE LA PROGETTISTICA DEI
PAESI RURALI FUTURI.

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SPIRANO. — Paese del Bergamasco.

È un paese non puro dal punto di vista ruralistico. Lo dimostrano: l'organico sviluppo del paese entro le acque della roggia di circonvallazione e la fabbricazione che segue, il margine delle strade, alla maniera delle città secondo un orientamento qualsiasi.

È un caratteristico paese di quelle zone che hanno una distribuzione edilizia sparsa ad uso appoderamento, dove il capoluogo non è solo funzionalmente rurale, anche se nel paese vero e proprio sono ubicate molte aziende rurali, ma forma il centro di vita di tutti i fabbricati sparsi nel comprensorio. In definitiva predominano più gli interessi di un centro inerente alle aziende sparse che quelli delle aziende rurali esistenti in paese.

Cellule costituenti

Caratteristiche:

Mezzo di comunicazione collettivo: Autocorriera Bergamo-Treviglio.
Abitanti: 2714, comprese le frazioni.
Superficie del comprensorio: ettari 900.
Prodotti agricoli principali: Frumento, granoturco, patate, bozzoli.
Forma di conduzione: mista
Terreni semi-asciutti.
Qualche industria di scarsa entità.

In paese:
    4 sacerdoti
    1 medico
    1 levatrice

8 maestri con 8 classi scolastiche
4 impiegati comunali

Esistono:
    Ospedale
    Farmacia
    Ambulatorio
    Posta e Telefono
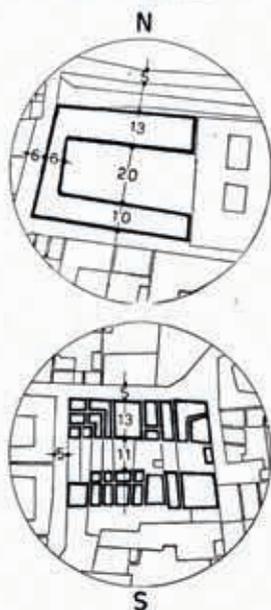   7 Botteghe generi alimentari
15 osterie
   6 sarti
   4 barbieri

Non esiste sala per pubblici spettacoli.

'pure' rural settlement the square is only a place of festivities (where the church stands), but it does not structure the settlement. It may be both in the centre and on the outskirts, it does not matter. In the rural settlement of the Po valley, the public space is replaced by a more common space — the farmyard. This is the true device of collective life.

Conversely, in dry areas, settlements are usually made of larger nuclei that embody factories which are often a prelude to future urban development of the settlement. In these cases, what is at stake is rather the opposite of *mimesis*, namely, *autopoiesis*.[18] Settlements like Spirano, Bolongo and Bolgare tend to reproduce the embryo of urban forms: the urban blocks. Moreover, natural features and water resources are here regularised in order to adapt to the geometry of the blocks.

In short, the rural settlement stands on a threshold between natural and artificial features and the propensity for *mimesis* or *autopoiesis* is mostly a matter of dry or fertile soil.

1 : 200 — Dwelling types

On an even closer scale, which conventionally corresponds with 1 : 200,[19] the rural building (farmhouse) embeds the threshold between human life (*bìos*) and animal life (*zoé*). In the first historical phase of the farmhouse, humans and animals share a common living space, establishing thermodynamic exchange between their bodies, especially in the cold seasons. Subsequently, with the implementation of new hygienic rules, there is a progressive separation between animals and humans, even if this does not end up with an effective separation. In the case of the Po valley, evidence of

[18]   From Greek *auto-* meaning 'self', and *poiesis* meaning 'creation'.

[19]   I refer to another chapter of *Ruralistica* entitled 'La cellula rurale' [The rural unit]; see Edallo, *Ruralistica: urbanistica rurale*, pp. 203–282.

the persistence of this relationship between humans and animal is exemplified by the farmyard, which is usually located at the centre of the farmhouse. It connects all the other spaces, related both to dwelling and production activities, around it or inside it. Generally, the farmyard is conceived as a clay surface populated by small animals, equipment that varies in the course of the seasons, food residues, manure and a temporary playground for children. The farmyard is therefore an undifferentiated area, continuously negotiated between animal and human life. It might not even have a defined shape since it varies both in the course of seasons and when the peasant family grows. Edallo's sketches the farmyard already at the beginning of his analysis of the farmhouse — it is made up of two small fields, two cows, two men, a horse, a chicken and several machines and an arrow that joins all together. A truly common space.

Towards a common theory

In conclusion, I would like to go back to the issue of a general theory of the countryside. Talking about a theory written 70 years ago, and about a place — the Po valley — that is no longer like it was before may seem strange to the reader nowadays. Unfortunately, however, theories of this kind are so few that they can be counted on the fingers of one hand. And if today we no longer have any key concepts to read the Po valley as a rural area, this is also due to the absence of a theory. Conversely, we have many urban planning theories but they are all equally ineffective to tackle the countryside or rather oriented toward imaginative aberrations, such as the Po Valley as a megalopolis.[20]

[20] I refer to Eugenio Turri, *La megalopoli padana*, Venezia: Marsilio, 2000.
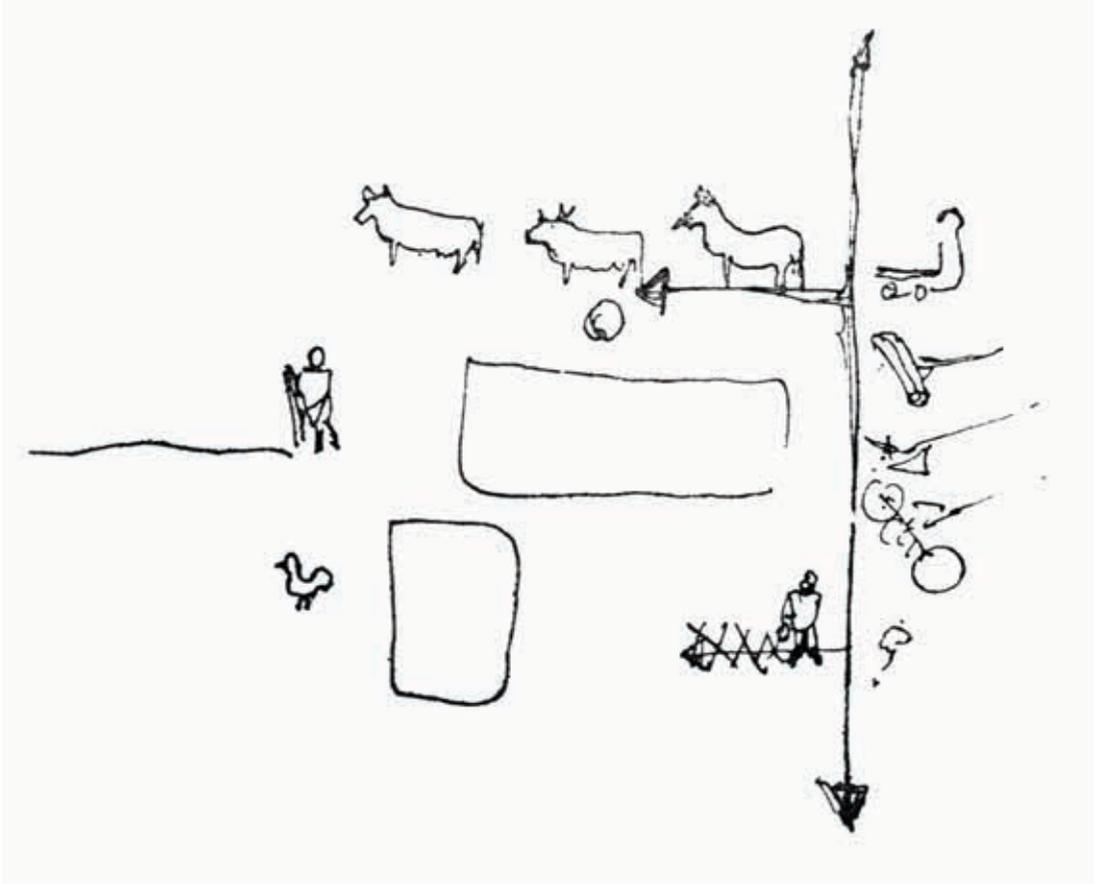
Amos Edallo, sketch of the rural unit, 1946

All illustrations reproduced from Amos Edallo, *Ruralistica: urbanistica rurale*, Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1946

Edallo had the courage to write a theory for the countryside. His theory aims to be 'general', namely, addressed to a broader context than the Po valley, potentially concerning half of the world's population (at least). However, today the idea of a 'general' theory may seem anachronistic. Prosaically, 'general' stands for someone's theory that aims to be generally valid.

In order to counter such solitary attitudes, it is crucial to shift towards a common theory. This means a negotiated theory, aimed at translating specific case studies into issues shared by an international community of scholars, architects and dwellers. This is the attitude that makes reading Edallo's theory effective nowadays — as one among the triggers of a broader debate about the possibility of a common theory of the countryside.

From the Milky Way's Point of View, We All Seem to Be from a Village (Loesje)

Katarzyna Kajdanek

Large numbers

Many texts about modern cities start with numbers describing the progress of urbanisation processes in the world.[1] For most of its history, humanity has occupied the countryside. The mass emergence, development and growth of cities is a trend that emerged relatively recently (about 250 years ago, with the industrial revolution), although urban centres had already existed before. According to UN statistics, since 2007, the number of inhabitants of urban areas surpassed the number of inhabitants

of rural areas. Today, more than 4 billion people around the world live in urbanised areas, and this figure is expected to rise to 7 billion by 2050. Global migration trends reflect a pattern of predominantly rural–to–urban movements and a strong, positive relationship between societies' wealth and urbanisation rate.

Against this background, it is worthwhile to look at the level of advancement of urbanisation processes in Poland. Current data provided by Statistics Poland[2] shows that 40% of the population lives in rural areas, while areas administratively classified as rural (i.e. without city rights) represent 93% of Poland's area (according to data from the 2010 Agricultural Census[3]). Thus, urbanised areas, which are home to 60% of the population, cover only 7% of the country's territory.

Agricultural land currently occupies about 60% of the countryside. According to Statistics Poland, there are over 2 million farmers in Poland. In the light of this data, Poland appears to be an agricultural country, but the share of the agricultural sector in the gross domestic product (GDP) — the contribution of agriculture (as well as forestry and fisheries) to the country's economic wealth — remains below 4%. Therefore, this wealth is created outside the agricultural sector, although it can still be produced in rural areas — more and more often new production, trade or other service companies (such as those related to tourism) are located there. The diversification of economic activity is related to a new paradigm — multifunctional development of rural areas.

Countryside, meaning what?

The figures indicated above lead to the conclusion that the image of rural areas is ambiguous. What exactly is it that the term 'rural' refers to? Does the countryside even exist anymore?

[1]   Hannah Ritchie and Max Roser, 'Urbanization', https://ourworldindata.org/urbanization (accessed 29 February 2020).

[2]   GUS, 'Ludność. Stan i struktura oraz ruch naturalny w przekroju terytorialnym w 2019 roku', https://stat.gov.pl/download/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5468/6/26/1/ludnosc._stan_i_struktura_oraz_ruch_naturalny_w_przekroju_terytorialnym_na_30.06.2019.pdf (accessed 29 February 2020).

[3]   GUS, Urząd Statystyczny w Olsztynie, 'Obszary wiejskie. Powszechny spis rolny 2010', https://stat.gov.pl/download/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/RL_obszary_wiejskie_w_polsce_PSR2010.pdf (accessed 29 February 2020).

The question posed in this way suggests two things: that there used to be a countryside and that its existence in its present shape is coming to an end. Are such suggestions legitimate? Traditionally, one of the most important issues of Polish rural sociology has been the analysis of the rural life system. The rural way of life is based on the socio-economic characteristics of the family farm, the farming family working on it, as well as the whole collection of families constituting the rural community. Such a narrowly defined field of interest would be nothing bad if it was not accompanied by a relative lack of interest in other social and professional groups present in the countryside. As a result, the research conducted and explanations constructed offered a simplified model of the countryside and the rural community, which is still prevalent today.[4]

The term 'countryside' is usually understood as a set of interrelated elements: it is an area with a lower population density than in cities, whose inhabitants find employment mainly in the agricultural and, to a lesser extent, non-agricultural sector. They are linked by a long period of residence and a strong bond based on kinship and a specific type of neighbourhood. The inhabitants of the traditionally depicted countryside are also immersed in the rural culture, in which tradition and religion play a huge role, the image of the world is stable and unchangeable, and all the others are precisely divided into familiar and strangers. Such a homogeneous system — if one were to assume that it has ever existed in the Polish countryside — disintegrates due to the dynamic changes that rural space undergoes.

In present times, the term 'rural area' is increasingly used to describe areas located outside the city and the only criterion for distinguishing them is their population density — without taking into account any other factors that may be specific to these areas. In the opinion of some researchers, the replacement of

[4]   Izabella Bukraba-Rylska, *Socjologia wsi polskiej*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2019.

the countryside with rural areas as the subject of sociology is deeply justified due to the transformation of these areas in Poland.[5]

The transformations of the countryside are inevitably connected with those in agriculture. It would seem that the task facing the agricultural sector is simple and consists of producing a sufficient quantity of food that meets high quality parameters. However, the complexity of the modern world makes 'production', 'sufficient quantity' and 'quality parameters' problematic concepts. Apart from food production, agriculture performs many other non-market functions (production of public goods), important from the social, cultural and ecological point of view.[6]

In addition to the multifunctionality of agriculture, much attention is paid to multifunctional development of rural areas. It assumes the integration of tasks not related to agriculture and food production into the rural economic space. This means the creation of new jobs, for example in commerce and services, but also in industry, newly re-established in rural areas. Who would create them? The existing and new (recently arrived) inhabitants of the countryside, noting that such factors as the development of tourism in rural areas, agritourism, creation of second homes and the need to serve new residents bring with them interesting job offers and chances to stay in the countryside without having to work in agriculture.

However, it is not difficult to see the conflict of interests between the supporters of the new paradigm of multifunctional development and those who move to the countryside from the city in search of peace, quiet and greenery, and are therefore interested in maintaining an idyllic and bucolic vision of the countryside. This conflict is rooted in cultural perceptions of living, home and property and the dynamically changing relationship between the 'urban' and the 'rural' in Polish culture.

[5]   Krzysztof Gorlach, *Socjologia obszarów wiejskich*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2004.

[6]   There are usually four types of agricultural functions that cannot be priced on the market, but which are important for people. These are green functions — related to soil and biological chains; blue functions — based on the use of water and wind; yellow functions — focused on the development of culture and identity of rural areas; white functions — treating food as a value and striving for food security (protection against hunger) and safe food (free of harmful ingredients). The latter issue has become particularly important due to events such as the outbreaks of mad cow disease, avian and swine flu, SARS, 2019-nCoV and others.

The mythology of the house in the suburbs and its deconstruction

As can be seen from the summaries of the 2011 census, for the first time in the post-war history of Poland there was a reversal of the direction of the migration trend between cities and the countryside — more people deregistered their residence in cities than registered, and more residents arrived in rural areas. On a national scale, between 2002 and 2011, cities shrank by more than 200,000 residents, and rural areas gained almost half a million,[7] with the result underestimated due to the lack of residence registration obligation.

Inter-municipality migrations in Poland have different vectors and flow streams have different sizes. However, data analysed at a highly general level (for the country) blurs important aspects of these processes. The first is the unevenness and ambiguity of population flows between the city and the countryside. At the same time, there is a 'swelling' of rural suburban zones mainly (but not only) around large cities in Poland and a strong depopulation of peripheral areas (distant from urban centres and in sub-mountainous regions) which are being marginalised.[8] The depopulation of rural peripheral areas (marginal and problematic) is observed at the same time as signs of rural revival — new houses are being built in rural areas which have been stagnating or even disappearing for many years, new business ideas are being realised, new residents are flowing in, children are being born, tourists are arriving. Such phenomena can be observed today in selected villages in the Kłodzko Land in the Lower Silesian Voivodeship.[9] At the same time more families are moving out of cities into the suburbs, but also 'returnees' are moving into cities from the suburbs.

The second aspect is the blurring of the actual scale and location of suburban migrations and suburban construction traffic,

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[7] https://stat.gov.pl/spisy -powszechne/nsp-2011/nsp-2011 -wyniki/ (accessed 29 February 2020).

[8] Przemysław Śleszyński, 'Mapa przestrzennego zróżnicowania współ-czesnych procesów demograficznych w Polsce', in *Sytuacja demograficzna Polski jako wyzwanie dla polityki społecznej i gospodarczej*, ed. Józefina Hrynkiewicz, Janusz Witkowski and Alina Potrykowska, Warsaw: Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, 2018, pp. 84–108.

[9] 'Odradzające się wsie? Nowe procesy społeczno-gospodarcze na ziemi kłodzkiej', https://odrodzenie-wsi.pl/pl /o-projekcie (accessed 29 February 2020).

when analysed based on data collected at municipality level. While in the vicinity of large cities the scale of the suburbanisation process is significantly larger and covers almost the entire suburban municipalities, around medium-sized and small cities, due to the smaller number of inhabitants, the weaker economic pressure pushing people in search of cheap land anywhere outside the city and the importance of the location (e.g. near expressways or railways), the suburbanisation is of an eminently insular, open character. In a word, it is difficult to capture on the basis of statistical indicators aggregated and averaged for the municipality. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse data for individual villages in municipalities 'condemned' (due to macro-structural conditions such as economic condition, landscape and infrastructure attractiveness) to a suburbanisation development path. It turns out then that the process of suburbanisation takes place even in the vicinity of the smallest urban centres. Not long ago, most Poles dreamt of a three-room flat in a residential block, not a house with a garden. Today, they are fleeing from urban flats to homes in the countryside. The media reports on the results of the census were entitled: 'Leaner cities: more and more Poles are living in the countryside'.[10] An opinion poll conducted in 2006[11] shows that in comparison with 1998, there was a clear increase in the number of people declaring willingness to live in the countryside (which rose from 30% to 42%), while the number of supporters of urban life decreased (from 67% to 55%).

Polish researchers agree that suburbanisation processes did not occur in Polish cities until the end of the 20th century.[12] There were at least a few reasons for this, which can be placed on the macro-, meso- and micro-level of social reality, as well as in its various areas, such as politics, economy, culture and technology. The specificity of the Polish suburbanisation derives from the interaction of the following economic and infrastructural

[10]   https://wyborcza.pl/1,75398 ,11046458,Chudna_miasta_czyli_coraz _wiecej_Polakow_mieszka_na.html (accessed 29 February 2020).

[11]   CBOS, 'Kto marzy o życiu na wsi, a kto o życiu w mieście?', February 2015, https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL /2015/K_018_15.PDF (accessed 29 February 2020).

[12]   See Joanna Więcław-Michniewska, *Krakowskie suburbia i ich społeczność*, Kraków: Instytut Geografii i Gospo-darki Przestrzennej Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2006. However, such phenomena as having second homes in suburban areas or summer homes that sometimes form larger clusters in attractive rural areas around towns should be noted, which are earlier than the suburbanisation phenomena currently observed.

factors: housing hunger inherited from the period of socialism and growing after 1989, strict housing standards[13] applicable to mass-constructed housing estates of blocks of flats where 40% of Poles lived in 2006,[14] progressive decapitalisation or material and social degradation of municipal resources and much higher land prices within the administrative boundaries of the city.

In addition to these macro-structural factors, social mechanisms that encourage individuals to choose to settle outside the city play an important role in the process of suburbanisation: the fashion for 'rurality',[15] the prestige attributed to owning a house outside the city created by developers and the media,[16] as well as the positive valorisation of the property compared to the stigma of living in a rented flat.[17]

How to explain the sudden — given the pace of social change — popularity of the vision of living in a cottage outside the city in a society whose members have just abandoned the countryside — whether as a place to live or live and work[18] — for their careers and the prestige of living in the city, and the fulfilment of their dreams was a three-room flat in a pre-fab housing estate with all the comforts?

The essence of the ideal of suburban living is the conviction that the best form of shelter for every human being is a single-family house with a garden or other open space available, located in a homogeneous, locally controlled community, on the outskirts of big cities. This ideal, as it is a reflection of social values and preferences, was subject to change over time and space, but its most common version was developed and perpetuated in the general consciousness in the 20th century by upper and middle class people living in specially designed and controlled suburbs in the United States and Canada.[19] The marketisation of land and housing management during the systemic transformation period in Poland diversified the chances of city dwellers

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[13] Adam Nadolny, 'Normatyw mieszkaniowy w odniesieniu do zabudowy mieszkaniowej o charakterze uzupełniającym z lat 1945–1968 na przykładzie Poznania', *Architecturae et Artibus*, no. 2, 2010, pp. 42–51.

[14] CBOS, 'Jak Polacy mieszkają, a jak chcieliby mieszkać', September 2010, https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2010/K_120_10.PDF (accessed 29 February 2020).

[15] Ruta Śpiewak, 'Na wieś? Tylko na wakacje!', http://kulturaliberalna.pl/2011/06/21/ (accessed 29 February 2020).

[16] Katarzyna Kajdanek, 'Ideał podmiejskiego zamieszkiwania a praktyki przestrzenne mieszkańców. Społeczno-kulturowy wymiar suburbanizacji na przykładzie wybranych osiedli strefy podmiejskiej Wrocławia', *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, no. 2, 2009, pp. 21–43.

[17] Joanna Erbel, *Poza własnością*, Kraków: Wysoki Zamek, 2020.

[18] Ryszard Turski, *Między miastem a wsią — struktura społeczno-zawodowa chłopów-robotników w Polsce*, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965.

[19] Mary Corbin Sies, 'The City Transformed: Nature, Technology, and the Suburban Ideal', *Journal of Urban History*, no. 14, 1987, pp. 81–111.

to improve their situation. The dynamics of changes in the housing market were particularly influenced by the privatisation of municipal resources in cities and the possibility of taking out mortgage loans, which increased the assets of some members of society and allowed them to fulfil their dreams, which had been put off for too long.

However, the lack of spatial development plans taking into account housing needs in cities (while in rural areas the plans provide mainly for a housing function[20]) and the associated higher price of land in urban areas force the fulfilment of these needs in areas located outside the city. The suburban location is therefore a result of coercion, but the 'house outside the city' itself seems to embody the ideal of living in a house — as the best habitat. In the studies of cultural scientists one can trace elements indicating that the ideal habitat (for households at a certain stage of development) had to take the form of a house — free-standing, wholly owned, independent — not only in reference to myths and patterns of the homeland-home and the nation-home[21] established in the culture, but also in opposition to communist ideology. People who live in a house they own wholly are focused on the private and family sphere, value the silence, peace and greenery of the garden above all, are sceptical about the co-inhabitants and the space located outside the boundaries of their plot of land.

The basis of 'Polish-style suburbanisation' lies neither in the rejection of the city as an all-encompassing space for work, social relations, realisation of complex needs (but only in the rejection of the previously occupied urban habitats), nor in the desire for rurality, since rustic or idyllic features are not attributed to the countryside.[22] Silence, tranquillity, greenery and a large space are, incidentally, only available outside the administrative borders of the city.

[20]   According to data published by the Ministry of Transport, Construction and Maritime Economy, in the local plans adopted so far by the municipalities, the residential areas are so large that 77 million people could live there. Considering the pace of investment (in 2013), the development of these areas will take 900 years.

[21]   Stefan Bednarek, 'Kontynuacje i przemiany: o realizacji podstawowych wartości kultury narodowej w polskim domu po 1945 roku', in *Dom we współczesnej Polsce*, ed. Piotr Łukasiewcz and Andrzej Siciński, Wrocław: Wiedza o Kulturze, 2002, pp. 70–89.

[22]   The features of particular urban systems (their size, distance from the suburban housing estate, availability of social and technical infrastructure, dominant development, uniqueness of the labour market, and even the beauty and climate of urban space) make the local versions of the Polish suburbanisation process more complex, but do not negate the common features indicated above.

Leaving the city is primarily justified by the need (desire) to have a new place of residence as a result of a change in one's family situation, conditioned by financial possibilities. The most frequently mentioned reason — the desire to have one's own home (as the respondents said: a place of one's own, one's own four walls, being on one's own) — is not synonymous with the desire to settle in the suburbs. While the decision to leave the existing residence is made on the basis of personal feelings towards the living environment, the reflection on the question 'if not here, then where?' initiates a game of tensions between the wishes, possibilities of satisfying them and culturally coded aspirations.

The argument for moving out of the city is poor housing conditions — mainly reduction in space caused by a change in one's family situation (marriage, pregnancy) or living with parents, in a small space, often in a block of flats. This also does not directly indicate the interest in a suburban housing estate as an interesting alternative to increase the comfort and quality of living. It is rather a negative motivation — an expression of dissatisfaction with the current situation. Among the reasons for relocation are also the nuisances of the big city and the need for peace and quiet. The former consists of the anti-environmental and health-detrimental aspects of life in the big city (noise and vibrations, exhaust fumes, crowd of cars and people, inability to relax), in opposition to the feeling of pleasure and relief that moving out can bring. The need for peace and quiet is directly linked to the idea of a quality of living outside the city — the ideal of living in one's own home.

In many towns, the processes of development of suburban areas revealed a short period of usefulness of the ideal of suburban life and a discrepancy between the expectations related to living there and the satisfaction of practising it.

On the one hand, a lot has changed in the last 15–20 years in suburban rural areas. Sewerage and gas have been hooked up to some of the houses, suburban buses — even including night buses in the most privileged locations — as well as cheap taxi fares have appeared in some towns, and convenient shopping has been made possible by numerous chain stores. On the other hand, suburban towns have grown. Where once there were forests, there are houses; where once there were free spaces, car parks. Fast travel was replaced by traffic jams, and when a new lane of roadway was built, it was still taken up by cars. The houses built since the end of the 1990s are already in need of renovations. Former infants are finishing primary school; children have grown up; parents have grown older. Some people are deciding to go back to the city.

To the city! The returnees' praise of urbanity

The largest wave of suburbanisation coincided with a swelling real estate bubble and a surging wave of Swiss franc mortgages. Today, many houses outside the city are burdened with a mortgage that exceeds their market value. Selling would be unprofitable, even if someone wanted to buy a house in the suburbs at all and the banks agreed to it. This is why the wealthier people who had more favourable mortgages, houses in attractive locations or jobs in professions lucrative enough to put aside for another property over the past 15 years are returning to the city.

Also returning are the lucky ones, whom fate simply smiled on — they are coming back to an inherited flat or an attractive apartment they managed to buy in a good location. It is difficult to encounter the returnees, because there are few of them, but also because when they return to the city — usually to the Jeżyce

district in Poznań, attractive housing estates in Śródmieście in Wrocław, Żoliborz, Mokotów and Saska Kępa in Warsaw — they blend in with the landscape. They gladly buy second-hand flats, taught enough by experience that they want to see the place, its surroundings, talk to the neighbours, feel the atmosphere. Some of them are already effectively inoculated against visions promoted in real estate catalogues and developers' websites.

It was ugly where they came from, so the returnees get involved in matters important to ensure a high quality of life in their immediate surroundings. Nearly everyone I have spoken to has been working formally (in associations, neighbourhood groups, citizen budget campaigns) or informally for a better quality of city life. They read books on urban issues, participate in discussions on local development plans and become animators of local cultural events. In some places, such as in the Jeżyce district, their activities are an important part of the political game and the efforts to decentralise city management and to increase neighbourhood autonomy. For returnees, the suburbs are associated with the trauma of commuting and the need to subordinate duties and enjoyment to suburban bus timetables or access to their cars. They deal with this by walking, cycling and using public transport. Many of them had to think for a long time to remember when they last used their car. Shortly after, they mentioned that they were considering selling it. They are keen to take advantage of new forms of mobility and various urban facilities. They drive traffic to local shops and service outlets, once again make friends with retailers and neighbours, populate parks, squares, demand longer and better bicycle routes and more efficient access. They already know — with the time spent in traffic jams behind them, in which a car for a quarter of a million moved just as fast as one for 3,000 — that freedom of movement is gained in a much different way.

Having experienced for themselves that the suburbs provide little peace, quiet and greenery, they look for these qualities in the city. They choose districts and housing estates that offer the highest quality of life. They gentrify them, but — at least for now — they appreciate the authenticity of long-established shops and service outlets mixed with coworking offices, alternative cafés, niche perfume shops, etc. They are craving diversity and expect their fellow residents to celebrate, respect and enjoy it together. The homogeneity of the suburbs, the patterns of life there and just plain boredom make the returnees grateful recipients of all that the authorities of contemporary cities put on the 'urban stage'. Urban recreation, city holidays, urban culture inspirations, urban gardening, yoga in the city, coffee marathons, breakfast fairs and flea markets, half-marathons for running or just simple walks are all opportunities to practice their urban identity they eagerly take advantage of.

This conscious practice of urban identity in Polish conditions deserves to be emphasised. As Paweł Kubicki convincingly wrote,[23] cities and bourgeois behaviour patterns were for many centuries alienated from the pattern of Polish national culture, and the lack of one's own state at the key moment of formation of modern economic and socio-cultural relations closed the path for independent development of cities and the bourgeoisie. What is more, in the case of, for example, 19th-century Kraków, the patterns of feudal dependencies were very clearly maintained, and the horizon of aspirations was made up of noble models (possession of landed estates, titles, noble styles in clothes), and not bourgeois ones. In the absence of state structures, the Polish national identity was strongly shaped by the artistic imagination, and 19th-century art was based on Polishness seen as rurality, a manor house with a farm, rather than a culturally and ethnically alien city. The time of the Partitions consolidated

[23] Paweł Kubicki, *Wynajdywanie miejskości. Polska kwestia miejska z perspektywy długiego trwania*, Kraków: Nomos, 2016.

such a view of the city, and the period between the wars and socialist reconstruction was not conducive to the creation of a modern bourgeoisie using democratically functioning public spaces and services — it was then that various manifestations of the process of urbanisation were observed, such as the dynamic growth of the percentage of migrants from the countryside to cities and the emergence of rural (small-town) life patterns in the city. As a result, Poland was an urbanising country, but not a more urban one. Hence the turn towards urbanity, observed in the last decades of the 21st century, is described as 'inventing urbanity'.

The stories of moving from city to outside the city and back are stories of Polish urbanisation — they show how a vision of a good urban environment is created, which for some people replaces the myth of idyllic life outside the city. Suburban space is subject to similar selective transformations. On the one hand, those who could be the most active actors of change to make the suburbs better places to live are moving out. Their homes are left empty for some time, they decay, lowering the value of nearby properties. It is no longer possible to get them to pay taxes in their place of residence, and de-registering residents means a lower budget for the village. They will not do 'last-minute' shopping in a village shop, they will not press for green activities in the village, they will not help to organise a New Year's concert in the parish.

On the other hand, there are those who do not have the option of returning to the city. It is up to them and the local authorities to adjust the space of suburban housing estates to the needs of their residents — both those who stayed, and those who replaced the people returning to the city, and finally those who are building hundreds of new houses in the suburbs.[24] Perhaps they will be active because they have no choice but to live in the suburbs and it is impossible for them to move out.

[24] https://www.wp.pl/?s=https://www .money.pl/gospodarka/90-tys-polakow -ruszylo-z-budowa-domu-boom-nie -dotyczy-jednak-calej-polski-648102 7971987585a.html&fbclid=IwAR22fsZ DjVgghTeB43uj8tFu5AvKguQewO4E QjnZ9K-9As5NsfB393uisFw (accessed 29 February 2020).

Suburbia, and what next?

The existence and functioning of suburban communities is a process that has changed over time. In recent years, there has been no systematic research on the residence and quality of life in suburban housing estates in Poland. The only diagnoses date back to the beginning of the first decade of the 21st century. At that time, it was difficult to talk about communities in suburban housing estates, because by moving into houses in suburban estates, the newcomers pursued goals defined in, on the one hand, mainly economic terms, and, on the other, individual ones — there was no room for social and collective aspirations to materialise. On the contrary, the expectations of living outside the city presuppose moving away from community (conflated with unwanted neighbours), establishing closer relations and being with other people. It can be assumed, however, that despite such individual goals, entering a community with features conducive to the emergence of a community spirit (relative homogeneity), functioning in conditions conducive to this (small area, small number of residents), will trigger the community aspirations for at least part of the population. During the course of the research, the influence of individual goals on the formation of social relations was so great that new residents usually entered into short-term, fleeting contacts with their neighbours and hardly ever developed them into more advanced forms of relations. Their resources necessary for community building — that is, knowledge of other people, trust built on this basis, involvement in local affairs — were very modest. If the residents, against all odds, wanted to express the emerging spirit of community, there were no places where this could happen. Why?

The specificity of the suburbanisation around big cities in Poland, which I have noted and described, also results from the

fact that it is mostly stimulated by the actions of individual entities — households that decide to buy a plot of land and build a house on it (with the help of a family or a contractor). Only some of the new buildings are the result of commercial activity of developers. This effect is much more pronounced in the vicinity of Warsaw than in the vicinity of the much smaller Wrocław — it depends on the size of the market of potential customers, their wealth and values, among which a home in a self-built house is valued higher than in a house bought (and furnished turnkey) from a developer.

Even stronger than in the vicinity of a big city, the specificity of the Polish suburbanisation is visible in villages located in the vicinity of small and medium-sized towns. It is difficult to find examples of larger development investments due to the relatively small market of potential customers. Individual construction dominates because the plots are gifts from parents or have been occasionally acquired from neighbours.

The influx of new residents is so large that the old village, both in architectural and social terms, is marginalised. The new residents reject traditional rural public spaces (sports pitches, community centres, church squares), although they know about their existence and are aware of the meetings taking place there. New public spaces, accepted by newcomers from the cities, are not established. The poor condition of rural public spaces reflects the condition of the suburban community.

The situation is no better in suburban housing estates built by developers. Rather, developers are interested in maximising the return on investment, which translates into not including well-designed and extensive common areas in housing developments, unless in the category of premium housing estates, with prices per square meter exceeding the market average.

Local authorities face an extremely difficult task. In order not only to govern the new residents, but to do so effectively and

profitably, they must first make the 'new people' conscious citizens of the suburbs. A significant part of the social and cultural capital of the settlers is still invested in the city. Many of them, who are not registered in the village, pay taxes in the municipality of their previous residence, vote there, go to church, spend their free time, read a city newspaper instead of a village one.

Can the appearance of common places change the attitude of residents? I am sceptical about whether and to what extent it is possible to influence the formation of a community. The small town model, considered by urban planners to be the ideal way of life, is not what modern suburbanites want, as they prefer to live in private (gated) housing utopias. Moreover, there is no evidence of a direct relationship between the spatial form of the housing development and the sense of community. However, there is a connection between the form of the space and the frequency of interactions that the residents enter into (thanks to the existence of public spaces, streets, common infrastructure). It is this aspect of the social life of suburban housing developments that should involve urban planners and architects who are concerned about the fate of suburban landscapes.

Down with the Commune! Polish Modernisations and Spectres of Rural Commons

Łukasz Moll

In the film *The Sun Rises Once a Day* (1972), directed by Henryk Kluba, Haratyk, a charismatic rural community activist, establishes a sawmill (decorated with a 'Property of the People' sign) and a school on the communal grounds in the post-war power vacuum. The protagonist's actions, although seemingly in line with the slogans of the socialist state formed after World War II, lead to a conflict between the inhabitants and the authorities. The independent grassroots collectivisation of the farmers turns out to be unpopular with the party modernisers: the rural leader demonstrates an unfamiliarity with the 'objective' political

realities in which leadership is the purview of the party as the depositary of unadulterated class consciousness. Formulas about fighting against fascists and the international situation clearly do not appeal to Haratyk's 'common sense'. To make things worse, the bishop speaks at the opening of the school. Much like the actions of the Beskid community, Kluba's work met with equally cool reception, held back by censorship for five years before its screening was allowed.

As Izabella Bukraba-Rylska argues, over the last 200 years, the 'rural issue' has been invariably put in terms of a problem to be solved.[1] For modernisers, this problem ultimately turned out to be the very existence of the countryside, its social structure and peasant mentality. The countryside and farming were seen as a relic of the past, a testimony of backwardness and failure to keep pace with modernity, a developmental brake that caused a waste of labour resources, or a habitat of traditionalism and ignorance holding back the progress of enlightenment. The discourse of the urban elites, so reluctant towards the countryside, condemned it to successive waves of top-down, external and, indeed, anti-ruralist reforms, which were by no means limited to the experience of socialist collectivisation. The lack of understanding of endogenous patterns of cooperation or adoption and adaptation of innovations portrayed in Kluba's film has a more universal dimension, typical of both Marxist and liberal reformers, for whom the countryside remains the subject of social engineering projects intended to lead to the 'death of the peasantry'.[2]

These projects, although often contradictory or even hostile in their practical intentions, are based on common perceptions of the countryside and farming. They are organised by simplifying binary optics: modern in opposition to traditional, progressive versus reactionary, industrial/post-industrial versus agricultural. The spatial expression of this logic proves to be the preference of

[1] Izabella Bukraba-Rylska, 'Polska wieś: w poszukiwaniu brakującego punktu widzenia', *Studia KPZK*, vol. 133, 2011, pp. 67–87.

[2] Walden Bello, *The Food Wars*, London and New York: Verso, 2009, pp. 12–14.

urbanity at the expense of rurality and the preference of economic capital-intensive structures using hired labour over labour-intensive farming, especially family farms, where production is only partly for the market and, in addition to earnings, serves to maintain a certain self-sufficiency and autonomy of the peasant form of life. The modern dream of modernising the countryside, realised with ironclad consistency, leads to a situation in which a stubborn countryside that refuses to keep up with the spirit of the time . . . ceases to be the countryside. What does it become then?

Instead of city and countryside — a global inter-city

The common denominator for Polish village modernisation projects could be the notion of continuous primitive accumulation.[3] Although the successive phases of this process were motivated by different interests and ideological considerations, the turning of land into lucrative capital, the release of the migrant labour force and the breakdown of peasant forms of socialisation — phenomena typical of primitive accumulation — turn out to be a permanent feature of the changes that took place during the Partitions, the Second Polish Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Third Polish Republic.[4] Rural areas were burdened with the costs of urbanisation and industrialisation of cities through unfavourable taxation or purchase conditions, forced to tighten their belts, often below the biological limits of survival, which resulted, among other things, in turning peasant masses into cheap labour for cities.

What is important is that the processes mentioned above have triggered survival and coping strategies among peasants, often of a collective character and impressive momentum. Tracing them belies the old-fashioned and fatalistic beliefs of

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[3]   The concept of continuous primitive accumulation and its application to contemporary analyses was developed, for example, in the second edition of *The Commoner* by such authors as Michael Perelman, Silvia Federici, Massimo de Angelis, Werner Bonefeld and the Midnight Notes collective (including Peter Linebaugh and George Caffentzis): *The Commoner*, no. 2, September 2001.

[4]   Izabella Bukraba-Rylska, 'O potrzebie i korzyściach z badania wsi i rolnictwa w Polsce', *Wieś i Rolnictwo*, no. 2 (179), 2018, p. 20.

passivity, political immaturity, learned helplessness and distrust in collective actions that would describe the social condition of residents of rural areas. The countryside appears to be full of apathy, conformism and selfishness only when external standards of cooperation, transferred from the city, are set for it. Such an image is further strengthened by a kind of 'racialisation' of peasants[5] — if, from a city-centric perspective, rural areas play an infamous role of the periphery, then their inhabitants are perceived in a way that is appropriate for colonising discourses, superior and full of prejudice towards backward subjects, who require enlightenment carried out by agronomy textbooks, Soviet buttstocks or European funds.[6]

Breaking this deeply rooted, stereotypical image of the Polish countryside, which is allegedly unable to generate any valuable processes of social change, turns out to be all the more urgent today, when the historical antagonism of the city and the countryside is actually being somewhat abolished, although in a completely different way than the modernisers imagined. In recent years, Poland has seen a downward trend in the population of cities, while the number of people living in the countryside is growing.[7] This process can be interpreted as a de-urbanisation typical of the post-socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, but it can also be understood in a global perspective as a turn towards a peculiar creation called the 'intercity'.[8] Ruralisation and spreading of cities, urbanisation of the countryside, migration to slums and expansion of residential suburbs, relocation of industry to suburban economic zones — what is rural and what is urban is less and less clearly separated from each other spatially, becoming intertwined, a play of forces from which new patterns of living, working and habitation defining the 21st century will emerge. Thus, modernisation, contrary to its promise, abhors the difference between the city and the countryside — it is

[5]   Monika Bobako, 'Konstruowanie odmienności klasowej jako urasawianie. Przypadek Polski', in *Podziały klasowe i nierówności społeczne. Refleksje po dwóch dekadach realnego kapitalizmu w Polsce*, ed. Piotr Żuk, Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2013.

[6]   Marcin Stachowicz, 'Burak, Mulat, kameleon. Andrzej Lepper jako wizualna figura klasowa', *Widok. Teorie i Praktyki Kultury Wizualnej*, no. 21, 2018.

[7]   Joanna Stańczak and Agnieszka Znajewska, *Ludność. Stan i struktura oraz ruch naturalny w przekroju terytorialnym w 2018 r. Stan w dniu 31 XII*, Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2018.

[8]   Kacper Pobłocki, *Kapitalizm. Historia krótkiego trwania*, Warsaw: Fundacja Bęc Zmiana, 2017, p. 239.

not crowned by the spread of free city air in the resistant country-side, but there is no opposite process of humanisation of an alienating city in the form of some kind of romantic garden. Opposites dissolve in an intermediate formation — an inter-city — instead of being overcome to the benefit of the city or the countryside.

If the dominant spatial form of the current century is indeed a hybrid global inter-city, the question arises about potential forms of being together. In Polish conditions, the phenomena observed today in suburban areas are of concern: the disintegration of community ties, the scarcity of the public sphere, infrastructure and institutions, enclosure of space, the retreat to privacy — 'bowling alone', in Robert Putnam's words.[9] A suburban resident treats their house as a bridgehead for capital accumulation: property, savings, household appliances. From their monitored property, they travel in an automotive armour to other sterile, closed and guarded spaces — office buildings, shopping centres, underground car parks. Their cinema is their TV — a plasma screen, their children's playground — a home garden, their greenery — a hedge playing the role of a wall. In its descriptions, the inter-city appears as a creature that took the worst qualities from its urban and rural parents: bourgeois selfishness, greed and narrowness of horizons, as well as peasant passivity, distrust and attachment to their legacies.

Meanwhile, it is possible to examine this phenomenon in a completely different way. The inter-city rather heralds a return to the previously predominant relations between city and country-side, which was characterised by proximity and interdependence. Contrary to great promises and stubborn experiments, modernity was unable to break these relations. In particular, the multidisciplinary character of the Polish countryside is the multi-occupation of its inhabitants[10] — apart from farming, the spread of small workshops and additional earnings in cities. The idyllic, bucolic

[9] Katarzyna Kajdanek, *Suburbanizacja po polsku*, Kraków: Nomos, 2012.

[10] Izabella Bukraba-Rylska, *Socjologia wsi polskiej*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2013, pp. 258–280.

— or, if you prefer, musty and isolated — Polish countryside is a product of modernising discourses obscuring a more complicated reality, full of interactions between city and countryside. That is why it is worth looking for inspiration for models of being together in their history.

Spectres of rural commons

One of the possible answers to the crisis of socialisation diagnosed along with the disintegration of urban and rural areas may turn out to be the paradigm of the commons which has been gaining in popularity in recent years.[11] Many researchers associate it primarily with the city — with a co-operative and networked metropolis,[12] resistance to enclosure of urban public spaces and gentrification,[13] opening up community and property to newcomers[14] or occupying squares and experimenting with horizontal democracy by social movements such as Los Indignados or Occupy.[15] Without questioning the reasons behind their observations, I would like to draw attention to a different genealogy of the commons, related to peasant self-organisation. Fencing of community land, taking away the customary collective rights of access to the commons and the lord's land, to grazing, gathering of crop residues, brushwood, forest fruits, herbs, peat processing, fishing, hunting or even collective forms of spending free time, celebrating rituals and holidays, constituted a prelude to capitalist accumulation.[16] The rebellious peasants did not give up access to the common goods without a fight, and when they did not have chance of victory, they resorted to escapes and uncontrolled migration, including vagrancy, begging and banditry. As a response, the bottom-up resistance brought the criminalisation of mobility,[17] controlling female reproduction

[11]   David Bollier, *Think Like a Commoner: A Short Introduction to the Life of the Commons*, Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers, 2014.

[12]   Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth*, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 249–262.

[13]   David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, London and New York: Verso, 2009, pp. 67–88.

[14]   Stavros Stavrides, *Common Space. The City as Commons*, London: Zed Books, 2016.

[15]   Donatella Della Ratta, "'Occupy' the Commons", 20 February 2013, https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth /opinion/2013/02/2013217115651557469 .html (accessed 29 February 2020).

[16]   Peter Linebaugh, *Stop, Thief! The Commons, Enclosures, and Resistance*, Oakland: PM Press, 2014.

[17]   Nina Assorodobraj, *Początki klasy robotniczej*, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966, pp. 249–265.

and witch hunting[18] (for the social position of women, access to the commons was particularly important, contributing to their autonomy). The enclosure of land was accompanied by 'enclosure' of bodies: in the institutions of closure (prisons, shelters, workhouses),[19] on slave ships and plantations,[20] and finally in the cocoon of puritan morality and labour ethics.[21]

While the nominally 'progressive' capitalism developed slave plantations in the New World, another form of enclosure of working bodies and dependence on capital holders has been progressing in Eastern Europe since the 16th century — the secondary serfdom of peasants.[22] Noble manor farms and internal land colonisation are not pre-modern devices, but a Central and Eastern European variant of modern overseas plantations.[23] The answer to the attempts to bind people to the land and to strengthen personal, land and court servitude were mass escapes of peasants, which the nobility tried to counteract with severe repressions.[24] The fugitives from serfdom occupied poorly inhabited areas, joined the ranks of Cossacks and caused great uprisings. But the history of primitive accumulation is not limited to a single act or even a series of events initiating the rise of capitalism. The drive to transform further resources into capital, to separate direct producers from the land and other means of livelihood, and to control the expropriated proletarians to ensure the supply of labour to urban industries is a constant logic in the history of capitalism. The possibility of a non-capitalist outside — for example, in the form of peasant autonomy, defending its productive self-sufficiency, reluctant towards the market and hired labour, securing access to the commons — not only limits the inflow of capital and labour, but also has political effects that are even more worrying than the economic ones. It is a challenge for modernisers because it shows that history does not have to run smoothly along one track, but that there are many unfathomable possibilities in it.

[18] Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch. Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation,* New York: Autonomedia, 2004.

[19] Michel Foucault, *History of Madness*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 44–77.

[20] Peter Linebaugh and Markus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of Revolutionary Atlantic*, London and New York: Verso, 2012.

[21] Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies. Volume 1: Women, Floods, Blood, History*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987, pp. 302–309.

[22] Marian Małowist, *Western Europe, Eastern Europe and World Development, 13th-18th Centuries*, Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 177–179.

[23] Marcin Kula, *Początki czarnego niewolnictwa w Brazylii. Okres gospodarki cukrowej XVI-XVII w.*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1970, p. 138.

[24] Stefan Śreniowski, *Zbiegostwo chłopów w dawnej Polsce jako zagadnienie ustroju społecznego*, Warsaw: Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Książka, 1948.

Not only the introduction of secondary serfdom, but also its abolition in the 19th century, together with subsequent attempts at structural reforms of the Polish countryside, can be successfully analysed in terms of a renewed primitive accumulation. Each of its phases is accompanied by peasant resistance, dismissed as an expression of parochial conservatism and a fruitless attempt to hold back the inexorable laws of history. Although they appear in written histories, rural commons seem to be secondary phenomena from the perspective of narratives focused on the course of modernisation processes. They are regarded as remnants of a passing tradition or anomalies from another time. However, if we interpret them in the spirit of grassroots history as a form of resistance, survival, and coping with the conditions of progressive primitive accumulation, we find in them constantly renewing aspirations to defend and resurrect the transforming peasant collective form of life. These spectres of rural common goods break the modern mythology of progress with its linear history of overcoming tradition and moving to a higher social model.

Rural commons have survived in spectral form to this day. Of course, there are no prospects of their simple resurrection in the current social realities — rather, in the spirit of Walter Benjamin's historiosophy, they turn out to be a kind of testimony to the history of the oppressed and the defeated, which may find a continuation in new developments, but after working through the lessons of the past.[25]

Where do we find these spectres of rural common goods? We learn about them from articles often maintained in a sensational tone, describing the bizarre and recent past, which make life miserable for the modernist-oriented authorities, deterred investors or residents tied together by incomprehensible legal regulations. We read, for example, about the court battles of the

[25]   Michał Pospiszyl, *Zatrzymać historię. Walter Benjamin i mniejszo-ściowy materializm*, Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2016.

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inhabitants of the village of Rosochaty Róg, who, citing the documents of Russian Tsar Alexander II from 1869–1870 related to the enfranchisement reform of 1864, are arguing with the Wigry National Park about their easement right to fish in Lake Wigry.[26]

Another spectre of the commons are the communal lands — similarly to the easement rights, no systemic recipe has yet been found for their dismantling and letting primitive accumulation take its course. As a result, 5,126 land commons still exist in Poland.[27] They cover an area of 107,000 hectares, which is more than 6% of the total agricultural area in the country. However, according to government data, only 1,080 commons have formed the companies required by law to manage them.[28] In addition, the establishment of a company is in many cases virtually impossible because it is difficult to determine the number of heirs entitled to the land commons.[29] The amendment to the Act of 10 July 2015 allowed municipalities to take over communal land in case the determination of eligible persons proves to be impossible, as well as to transform the commons into co-ownership. However, it also guaranteed the possibility of management in its current form.[30]

Some commentators pointed out that it is possible to effectively organise communal lands in accordance with the paradigm of common-pool-resources (CPR), developed on the basis of research on the collective management of pastures, forests, fisheries, irrigation systems, libraries, and even car parks and other resources of the common pool, which was conducted all over the world by the Nobel Prize winner in the field of economics Elinor Ostrom.[31] Examples of successful Polish land commons were also cited, which proves that the common good does not have to be treated by its users as nobody's good, overexploited and neglected.[32] The fatalism of the 'tragedy of the commons' and the problem of the stowaway are not, Ostrom argued, insurmountable.[33]

[26] Ewelina Tarkowska, 'Spór o prawo połowu ryb w jeziorze Wigry — czy prawo cara nadal obowiązuje?', *Studia Prawnoustrojowe*, no. 26, 2014, pp. 307–325.

[27] Najwyższa Izba Kontroli, 'Aktualizacja stanu faktycznego i prawnego nieruchomości przez organy gospodarujące mieniem stanowiącym zasób nieruchomości Skarbu Państwa, gminny zasób nieruchomości i mienie gminne', March 2009, https://www.nik.gov.pl /kontrole/wyniki-kontroli-nik/kontrole ,3964.html (accessed 29 February 2020).

[28] Alina Daniłowska and Adam Zając, 'Gospodarowanie wspólnym zasobem na przykładzie wybranych wspólnot gruntowych w Polsce', *Roczniki Naukowe Ekonomii Rolnictwa i Rozwoju Obszarów Wiejskich*, vol. 102, no. 2, 2015, p. 17.

[29] Piotr Gołos, 'Wspólnoty gruntowe — tradycyjna forma gospodarowania lasami', *Sylwan*, no. 2, 2008, pp. 57–58.

[30] Wojciech Drobny, 'Sytuacja prawna jednostki w normatywnej koncepcji "wspólnot gruntowych"', *Opolskie Studia Administracyjno-Prawne*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2019, pp. 51–65.

[31] Dariusz Grzybek, 'Przeciw tezom o niemożności — Elinor Ostrom o działaniu zbiorowym i zarządzaniu wspólnymi zasobami', *Współczesne Zarządzanie*, no. 1, 2012, p. 110; Izabela Lipińska, 'Z prawnej problematyki wspólnot gruntowych', *Studia Iuridica Agraria*, vol. 9, 2011, p. 216; Łukasz Piotr Wołyniec, 'Zasoby przyrodnicze jako przykład dóbr CPR (common-pool resources). Konflikty o dostęp do wspólnych zasobów i ich znaczenie dla rozwoju lokalnego i regionalnego', *Konteksty Społeczne*, no. 2(2), 2013, pp. 57–63.

In the opinion of Polish researchers, the observations of the author of Governing the Commons confirm the operations of several active commons. These include the Forest Commons of Eight Authorised Villages, established in 1819 and based in Witów, in the Tatra Mountains, for which the highlanders have been fighting in court over the last 200 years. It conducts forest management, catering, hotel, car park and tourist services,[34] but it is often criticised for its depredatory and anti-ecological attitude. According to the statement of a Tatra National Park forester, the commons faces typical dilemmas of collective action, which should prompt reflection about the application of the common-pool-resources paradigm in that case.[35] Another famous example (and on a European scale) is the village of Kadłub Wolny, where peasants bought themselves out of serfdom in 1605, established two commons — a forest and an inn — and defended them from attempts at private and state enclosures.[36] Among other Polish commons, those located in Siewierz and Gąsawy Rządowe are mentioned. In each case, researchers have noted a similar pattern of action: the majority of the commons' income is spent on social objectives (e.g. common rooms, sports infrastructure, school equipment).[37] An interesting, although controversial example of modernisation is the community in Jurgów, where forest-destroying wind helped to convince the elders, reluctant about clearcutting, to agree to a large ski resort investment. According to CPR researchers Jan and Piotr Chmielewski, social change in Jurgów would be impossible without the traditional patterns of cooperation in resource management.[38] At the other extreme are unregulated land commons, such as Myślakowice or Domaniewice, where the existence of collective action dilemmas has been confirmed; it seems that the CPR paradigm could be helpful in overcoming them.[39]

[32]　Andrzej Stelmachowski, 'Relikty dawnej własności wiejskiej', in *Rozprawy i studia. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Andrzejowi Lichorowiczowi*, ed. Elżbieta Kremer and Zygmunt Truszkiewicz, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2009, pp. 241–246.

[33]　Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions of Collective Action*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

[34]　Piotr Chmielewski, 'Mountain Commons in the Tatras (New Institutional Approach)', *Polish Sociological Review*, no. 111, 1995, pp. 241–261.

[35]　Aleksander Gurgul, 'W Tatrach tną na potęgę. Dlaczego górale wykarczowali zbocza w Dolinie Chochołowskiej?', *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14 February 2020.

[36]　Klaudia Derdzińska, 'Kadłub Wolny — dzieje spółki leśnej', http://www.elvish.org/gwaith/slask/kadlub.htm (accessed 29 February 2020).

[37]　Adam Zając, 'Sposoby wykorzystania zasobów wspólnot gruntowych w Polsce', *Stowarzyszenie Ekonomistów Rolnictwa i Agrobiznesu. Roczniki Naukowe*, vol. 17, no. 6, 2015, pp. 327–332.

[38]　Jan Chmielewski and Piotr Chmielewski, 'Instytucjonalna ciągłość i zmiana w społeczności lokalnej. Na przykładzie zarządzania wspólnymi zasobami w Jurgowie, wsi polskiego Spisza', *Studia Socjologiczne*, no. 3(226), 2017, pp. 99–128.

[39]　Zając, 'Sposoby . . .', p. 330.

Returns to new primitive communisms

These examples of rural common goods could be dismissed as niche ones, responding to unregulated legal problems of the past rather than to contemporary challenges. Easements and land commons are written about today as a communist monster that survived for ideological reasons.[40] In socialist times, the attitude towards these devices was not so obvious — although they were seen to be at stake in past class struggles,[41] they were also considered feudal fossils.[42] In interwar Poland, there were indeed attempts to gradually abolish the past of post-feudal relations — Zdzisław Ludkiewicz stressed their harmfulness, writing about them in terms close to the 'tragedy of the commons'.[43] In turn, in the 19th century, when, following the enfranchisement decrees of the partitioning powers, the struggle between the court and the peasantry for the commons intensified,[44] people pointed out their long-time nature, seeing in them the embodied memory of egalitarian commune relations, traces of primitive communism or Slavic family community.[45] In a sense, the common has always been seen with a backward date — its opponents were able to argue that it is a ballast that modernisation must overcome, while defenders pointed to their ancient rights, made sacred by the customs and wisdom of their ancestors. The history of the struggle for rural commons shows, however, that in each version they took on a new meaning, and peasants, referring to the old devices, found forms of resistance useful in new realities. Thus, we can observe here the underground trend of grassroots development of the peasant form of life, dictated by our own current needs and drawing on common experiences and traditions. It is a current of development opposed to the city-centric modernisation, in which the countryside is to submit to the impulses and goals imposed by the state interest. The paradoxical process within this

[40] Piotr Parzych, Ernest Rymarczyk and Aleksandra Szabat-Pręcikowska, 'Problematyka wspólnot gruntowych w aspekcie ewidencyjno-prawnym', *Infrastruktura i Ekologia Terenów Wiejskich*, no. 2/III, 2013, p. 45.

[41] Czesław Nowarski, *Chłopi polscy w podręcznikach historii 1945–1980*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2006, p. 76.

[42] Irena Kostrowicka and Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Historia gospodarcza Polski XIX i XX wieku*, Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1984, p. 157.

[43] Zdzisław Ludkiewicz, *Podręcznik polityki agrarnej*, vol. 1, Warsaw: Komitet Wydawniczy Podręczników Akademickich, 1932, pp. 156–198.

[44] Michał Łuczewski, *Odwieczny naród: Polak i Katolik w Żmiącej*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012, pp. 227–228.

[45] Karl Marx, *Precapitalist Economic Formations*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1964; Róża Luksemburg, *Wstęp do ekonomii politycznej*, Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1959, pp. 89–213.

trend, disrupting the linear concept of time, can be described, in the words of philosopher Étienne Balibar, as a return to new commons[46] or to the new primitive communisms in order to emphasise even more strongly the temporal disproportionality that occurs here (return to something new).

Although the enfranchisement of peasants (in the Prussian Partition, extended from 1807 to 1872, in the Austrian Partition in 1848, in the Russia Partition in 1864) seems to be a clearly progressive act, from the perspective of the beneficiaries themselves, it turns out to be a more ambivalent event. The release of the peasant from the yoke of serfdom was dictated by the requirements of primitive accumulation.[47] It was essential for improving agricultural productivity, which was not supported by dependent work on the manor farm, for the development of labour relations both in the countryside and in the city, and finally for the levying of taxes on peasant farms. The price for formal personal freedom was the subjection to rationalised methods of economic exploitation and the need for such working 'on one's own' that would enable not only the family to support itself, but also the payment of taxes and possible loans. The release from the duty to the court was reciprocal: the traditional access to noble and treasury goods had become a hot spot in relations with the nobility and the government.[48]

Contrary to the belief in the unambiguously negative influence of the long shadow of serfdom on the peasant mentality, which, according to some researchers, is supposed to characterise the post-corvée Polish culture to this day,[49] the peasants were able to fight a fierce and often effective fight[50] — also for easements and common lands. As in the classic and thoroughly studied case of enclosure in the United Kingdom,[51] they sent appeals en masse, used methods of persuasion and threats against the former lords, broke the law, resorted to large-scale thefts (including those

[46]   Étienne Balibar, *Communism: Return to the New Commons?*, 18 June 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AzfZXY9_mqM (accessed 25 February 2020).

[47]   Janusz Skodlarski, 'Proces akumulacji pierwotnej na ziemiach polskich', *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Oeconomica*, no. 82, 1988, pp. 91–94.

[48]   Helena Brodowska, 'Spory serwitutowe chłopów z obszarnikami w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XIX wieku', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol, 63, no. 4/5, 1956, pp. 283–298.

[49]   Andrzej Leder, *Prześniona rewolucja. Ćwiczenie z logiki historycznej*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, 2014.

[50]   Michał Rauszer, 'Buntów chłopskich nie było. Pańszczyzna i opór', *Czas Kultury*, vol. 32, 2016, pp. 90–99.

[51]   J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700–1820*, Cambridge, Melbourne and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

carried out in the commons) and began direct confrontation with the estate supervisors. Unlike in Prussia, where the liquidation of easements and the consolidation of land commons was carried out, in the Russian and Austrian partitions, these issues continued for decades and a significant part of them remained unregulated until the time of the Second Polish Republic. The abolition of easements continued throughout the interwar period[52] and the importance of land commons is illustrated by the results of the 1921 census, which revealed that less than half of the farms in the Second Polish Republic were entitled to them.[53]

Under the conditions of a kind of legal vacuum, a class struggle in the countryside could have erupted. Taking over the easements assumed the concept of liberating the peasant masses of Father Piotr Ściegienny.[54] The land commons were postulated under the influence of its ideologist, Stanisław Worcell, by the Clusters of the Polish People — an émigré organisation operating in the 1830s and 1840s.[55] At the same time, Adam Mickiewicz, the Polish national bard, proclaimed that among the Slavs the land is a common property.[56] The communist social ideas of that period were permeated with mysticism assuming the necessity of reconciliation with God's creation, taking care of nature, to which people attached to common property were to be particularly predestined.

However, there is no doubt that the influence of ideologists on class struggle in the countryside was negligible. It became heated under the influence of post-enfranchisement changes, in a generally spontaneous and hidden way. As James C. Scott, a researcher of 'weak resistance' among peasants, argues, the conservative image of this class, according to which it suffers from social isolation and is incapable of political organisation, stems from the fact that the intelligentsia put categories corresponding to urban realities into the analysis of the countryside.

[52] Marta Błąd, *Sto lat reform agrarnych w Polsce*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2019, p. 102–109.

[53] Ibid., pp. 85–86.

[54] Aleksander Nyrek and Krzysztof Nyrek, 'Geneza formalno-prawna oraz rezultaty społeczno-gospodarcze i ekologiczne walki chłopów o serwituty leśne na ziemiach polskich do połowy XIX wieku', *Słupskie Studia Historyczne*, no. 8, 2000, p. 72.

[55] Piotr Kuligowski, '"Socjalizm" powstańców listopadowych. Rzecz o Gromadach Ludu Polskiego', *Nowy Obywatel*, no. 70, 2016.

[56] Adam Mickiewicz, 'U ludów słowiańskich posiadać ziemię na własność to grzech', in Katarzyna Czeczot and Michał Pospiszyl, *Romantyczny antykapitalizm*, Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2018, pp. 189–193.

They thus sought official party structures, elected leaders, revolutionary rallies, social utopias and written demands, and when they found them missing, they formulated conclusions about the docility of rural masses.[57] Meanwhile, peasant resistance is determined by structural conditions, and is therefore expressed in a more elusive, hidden and informal way: in slowing down work, using the lord's resources for one's own purposes, hiding crops under unfavourable purchase conditions, violating great property, forcing access to customary common goods, or by means of social control through slander, gossip and symbolic gestures that damage the reputation of person being discussed. When resistance takes on a more direct and public character, it also has its specificity: contrary to the illusions of the city intellectuals, there are rarely calls for the abolition of property or forced labour (outside of exceptional situations, there are no prospects for it). Rather, people draw on available legalistic means, and if a confrontation with the court takes place, it refers to the village moral economy, according to which the nobility has certain duties towards peasants.[58] A physical confrontation, on the other hand, primarily involves the settling of scores with the lord's officials trying to discipline peasants.

In the case of fights for the commons, resistance to primitive accumulation should be seen in activities that qualify as offences against property. Historians of the enfranchisement period write about large-scale forest embezzlement,[59] intensified fight for the forests during the January Uprising,[60] disarming the forest guard during the 1905 revolution,[61] mass grazing of cattle, gathering brushwood and wickerwork for baskets, and even organised peasant invasions into manor forests.[62]

The scale of forest crimes was also impressive during the time of the Second Polish Republic. Between 1921 and 1931, 1.8 million cases were recorded in the State Forests alone

[57]   James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp. 28–37.

[58]   Ibid., pp. 234–235.

[59]   Tomasz Kargol, 'Las jako przedmiot sporów społeczno-gospodarczych na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku', *Studia i Materiały Ośrodka Kultury Leśnej*, no. 13, 2014, pp. 221–240.

[60]   Zbigniew Stankiewicz, 'Serwituty w dobrach rządowych Królestwa Polskiego przed reformą uwłaszczeniową', *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1958, pp. 67–68.

[61]   Jan Molenda, 'Carat i klasy posiadające w walce z rewolucją 1905–1907 na wsi polskiej', *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 46, no. 1/2, 1955, pp. 140–142.

[62]   Marian Chudzyński, 'Walka chłopów gostynińskich o ziemię i serwituty w latach 1864–1903', *Notatki Płockie*, vol. 16, no. 1(60), 1971, pp. 16–19; Albin Koprukowniak, 'Likwidacja serwitutów w ordynacji zamojskiej', *Rocznik Lubelski,* no. 3, 1960, pp. 225–240; Waldemar Łątkowski, 'Serwituty w powiecie makowskim i ich likwidacja', *Notatki Płockie*, vol. 49, no. 2(199), 2004, pp. 3–10.

(this figure does not include undetected cases and those occurring in private forests).[63] It should be taken into account that this took place in the reality of unsatisfactory agricultural reform, overpopulation of the countryside, land famine and, after 1929, the global economic crisis.

Apart from easements and land commons, another inflammatory issue was the so-called 'checkerboarding' — the intermingling of land ownership between two or more owners. The 1921 census showed that almost half of the farms below 50 hectares had arable land laid out in a checkerboard pattern.[64] Therefore, an important element of the agricultural reform in the Second Republic of Poland was to carry out land consolidation, which was intended to rationalise the situation in agriculture. According to Scott's research, all 'feudal relics' such as easements, land commons and the 'checkerboard' are particularly troublesome solutions for a centralist state that wants to develop and organise its tax base and control agricultural policy.[65] The same applies, according to this author, to the rationalisation of forest management, which is hindered by unclear criteria of access to resources and their multifunctionality, detrimental to easy and profitable logging.[66] On the other hand, the world's poor peasant population is resorting to diversified rather than monoculture crops to ensure their food self-sufficiency, to opaque and interdependent farming models to reduce rationalised exploitation, taxation and external control, to the cultivation of 'fugitive crops', nomadic pastoralism and fleeing to escape the yoke of forced labour, and to the protection of the commons to ensure their access to the necessary means of subsistence.[67] From this perspective, the attachment of Polish peasants to pre-capitalist 'relics' turns out to be understandable and has nothing to do with the protection of traditions unspoiled by modernity. On the contrary, according to Scott, runaway peasant, shepherding,

[63]   Kargol, 'Las jako przedmiot sporów . . .', pp. 227–228.

[64]   Błąd, *Sto lat reform . . .*, pp. 86–87.

[65]   James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve Human Condition Have Failed*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998, pp. 262–306.

[66]   Ibid., pp. 15–21.

[67]   James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed. An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009, pp. 190–207.

mountain or communal property communities are generally not older than forced labour farming. They are a manifestation of the defence of peasant autonomy and are only once again portrayed as retroactive and unmodernised by the states and owners to make their colonisation possible.[68] Even proletarian settlements before World War I had access to small plots of land that provided the villagers with a certain amount of self-sufficiency.[69]

In the conditions of parcelling, commingling and commodification of the land, the defence of communal property and other historical events was of great importance, especially for the landless population and enfranchised owners of manors of dwarf and small farms. On the other hand, the land hunger intensified the desire to have one's own property and break up the commons. Interestingly, the 'archaic' socialisation was still alive during the communist era of agricultural modernisation. Forced collectivisation turned out to be a fiasco — the retreat from it took place as early as 1956, which provided further evidence of the allegedly insurmountable individualism of peasants. This was the same group which, shortly before World War II, in 1937, was able to carry out the Great Peasant Strike, which required enormous organisational potential, during which people refused to work in manor farms, blocked roads, stopped supplying food to cities and started to cooperate with the industrial working class. The authorities then arrested 5,000 participants; 44 peasants were killed.

In the case of the socialist modernisation of the countryside, a similar phenomenon was observed in the case of the industrialisation of cities: where before the war there were strong traditions of self-help and cooperation, both for workers[70] as well as peasants, the new authorities could not operate as freely as in the vacuum that they found, for example, in the northern and western territories.[71] Cooperatives and then State Agricultural

68 Ibid., pp. 172–174.

69 Katarzyna Łakomy, 'Pracownicze ogrody górnośląskich osiedli przemysłowych z przełomu XIX i XX wieku w świetle wybranych publikacji z epoki', *Architektura. Czasopismo Techniczne*, vol. 8-A, no. 30, 2012, pp. 188–196.

70 Padraic Kenney, *Budowanie Polski Ludowej. Robotnicy a komuniści 1945–1950*, Warsaw: W.A.B., 2015.

71 Bukraba-Rylska, *Socjologia wsi polskiej*, pp. 334–361.

Farms (PGR) developed primarily where the inhabitants were uprooted from their social structures. The socialist primitive accumulation — the process of transforming a peasant into a farmer working for the state, or a farm labourer — paradoxically turned out to be another stage in the struggle against the peasant commons, which had previously been dismantled by the invaders and the Second Polish Republic. The top-down, technocratic socialisation of agriculture was not supported by the peasants, just as the nationalisation of industry was not to the liking of the pre-war 'red' workers who wanted to manage their factories themselves.

If the real existing socialism never moved on to the construction of communism, it is mainly because it imagined it as a higher social formation, the arrival of which would be possible together with a vigorous modernisation, expansion of production forces, transformation of the Polish countryside into a large, nationalised state farm that would implement the planner's designs. Socialism was supposed to be a vestibule for communism, but there was no better future waiting behind the wall. However, communism happened in passing, on the margins — like a fungus that grew on the wall of this eternal vestibule. It appeared in the informal sphere, in the so often stigmatised culture of nepotism, making money on the side, freeloading on state property.[72] When the entire economic order was to be transformed into a soulless machine of forced labour, old pastures and forests revived in new forms of autonomy. In the case of agriculture, we find them, for example, in the widespread use of socialised tools, fodder and manure, which circulated informally between joint and individual ownership, contributing to lower productivity of cooperatives and PGRs.[73] The renaissance of the commons — albeit short-lived, because it was tied by political restrictions — also took place for several years after the adoption of the law on the development

[72]   Abel Polese, Jeremy Morris and Borbala Kovács, '"States" of Informality in Post-socialist Europe (and Beyond)', *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. 24, no. 3, 2016, pp. 181–190.

[73]   Piotr Binder, *Młodzi a bieda. Strategie radzenia sobie w doświadczeniu młodego pokolenia wsi pokołchozowskich i popegeerowskich*, Warsaw: Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii PAN, 2014, pp. 79–81.

of land commons in 1963.[74] It was repeated, but this time in dramatic circumstances, when in the 1990s, during the period of transformation, various 'primitive' and collective forms of farming were revived in the post-industrialised, de-industrialised villages deprived of state buying: collecting brushwood, forest fruit, herbs, scrap metal, recycling post-industrial waste, poaching or digging for coal in illegal shallow coal mines.[75] Peasant social movements, dismissed, ridiculed and demonised as anachronistic and populist, were also able to resort to the most modern methods of struggle organisation at the time: agricultural blockades, mass demonstrations, unionisation. Thus, reality turned out to be more complicated than simplified modernisation schemes, going from a traditional countryside to a modern city.

The commons, which we provocatively call communism here, cannot be inscribed into similar constructions: it is neither pre-modern archaism nor the ultramodern end of history. If, in the manner of David Graeber,[76] we recognise that communism is not another historical epoch, the fulfilment of history, but rather an interpersonal cooperation, which is formed under all conditions to secure collective autonomy and the survival of one's own common form of life, then in the subsequent efforts to modernise the Polish countryside, the same cry resounds that we are used to hearing from all sides of the Sejm: 'Down with the commune!' It is a cry that will never let us hear Haratyk.

[74]   Marcin Włodarski, 'Wspólnoty gruntowe wsi — sposób na inwestycje w ciekawej lokalizacji', http://www.lsw .com.pl/pliki/052018/Wspolnoty _gruntowe_wsi_sposob_na _inwestycje_w_ciekawej_lokalizacji.pdf (accessed 29 February 2020).

[75]   Tomasz Rakowski, *Hunters, Gatherers, and Practicioners of Powerlessness: An Etnography of the Degraded in Postsocialist Poland*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2016

[76]   David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5000 Years*, New York: Melville House, 2011, p. 98.

portretprowincji.pl

Jacenty Dędek

The *portretprowicji.pl* [Portrait of province] series was an open-ended project. When I set out to travel around Poland, I had nothing to prove, only questions. I wanted to ask the residents of towns and villages what drives them and gives them the will to live. How do they perceive their place? Do they feel happy?

I collected materials for this series for over six and a half years, between the beginning of 2011 and the middle of 2017. The photos were made in all voivodeships, in towns with no more than 30 thousand residents. In total, I visited 421 towns, making mainly portraits and photographs of documentary nature.

Większyce, Opole Voivodeship, 2011

Wólka Domaniowska, Mazovia Voivodeship, 2015

Brzeziny, Łódź Voivodeship, 2011

Urzędów, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, 2014

Jabłeczna, Lublin Voivodeship, 2011

Pisz, Warmia and Mazury Voivodeship, 2011

Chłopy, Western Pomeranian Voivodeship, 2011

Kije, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, 2015

Niezdara, Silesian Voivodeship, 2011

Kije, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, 2015
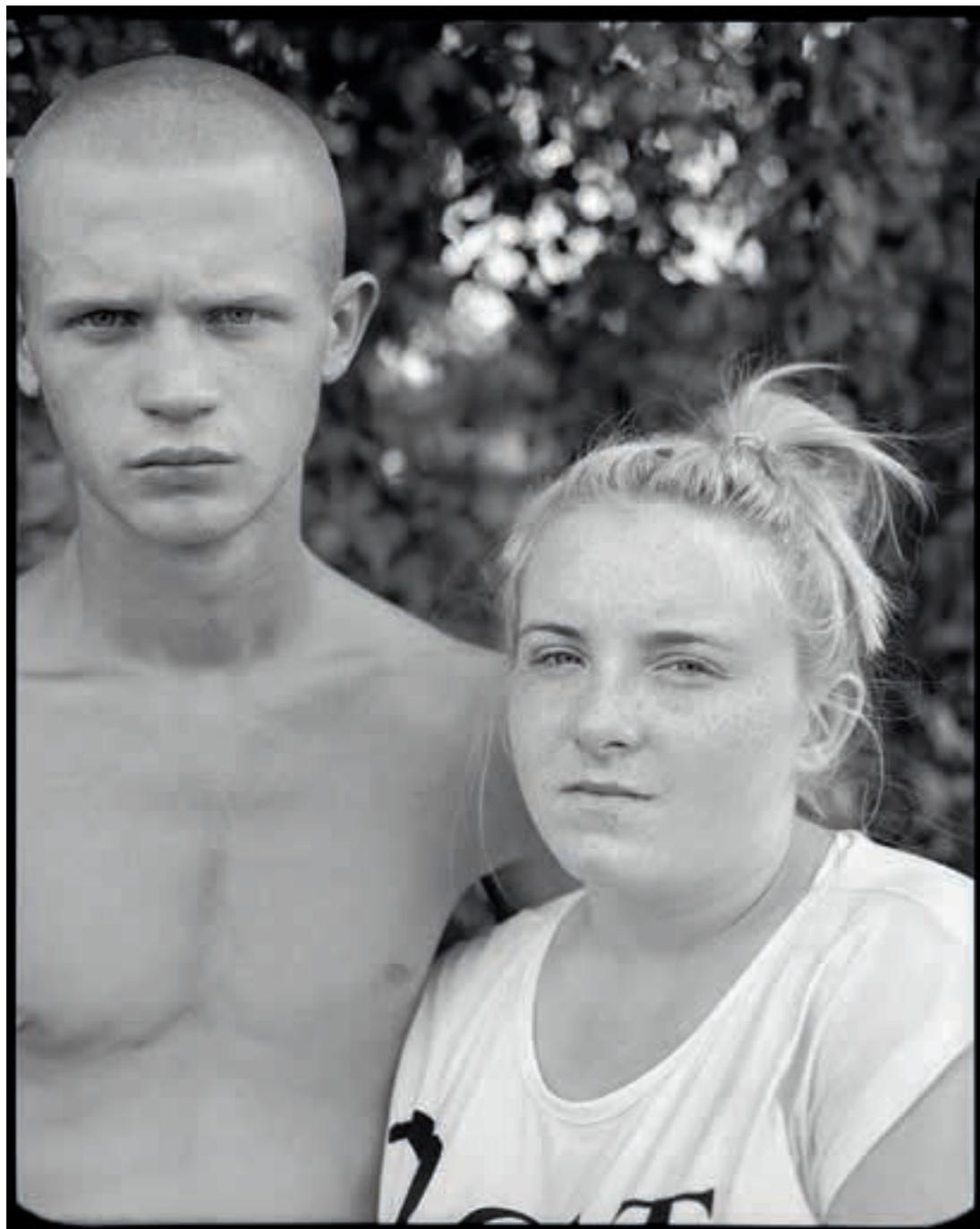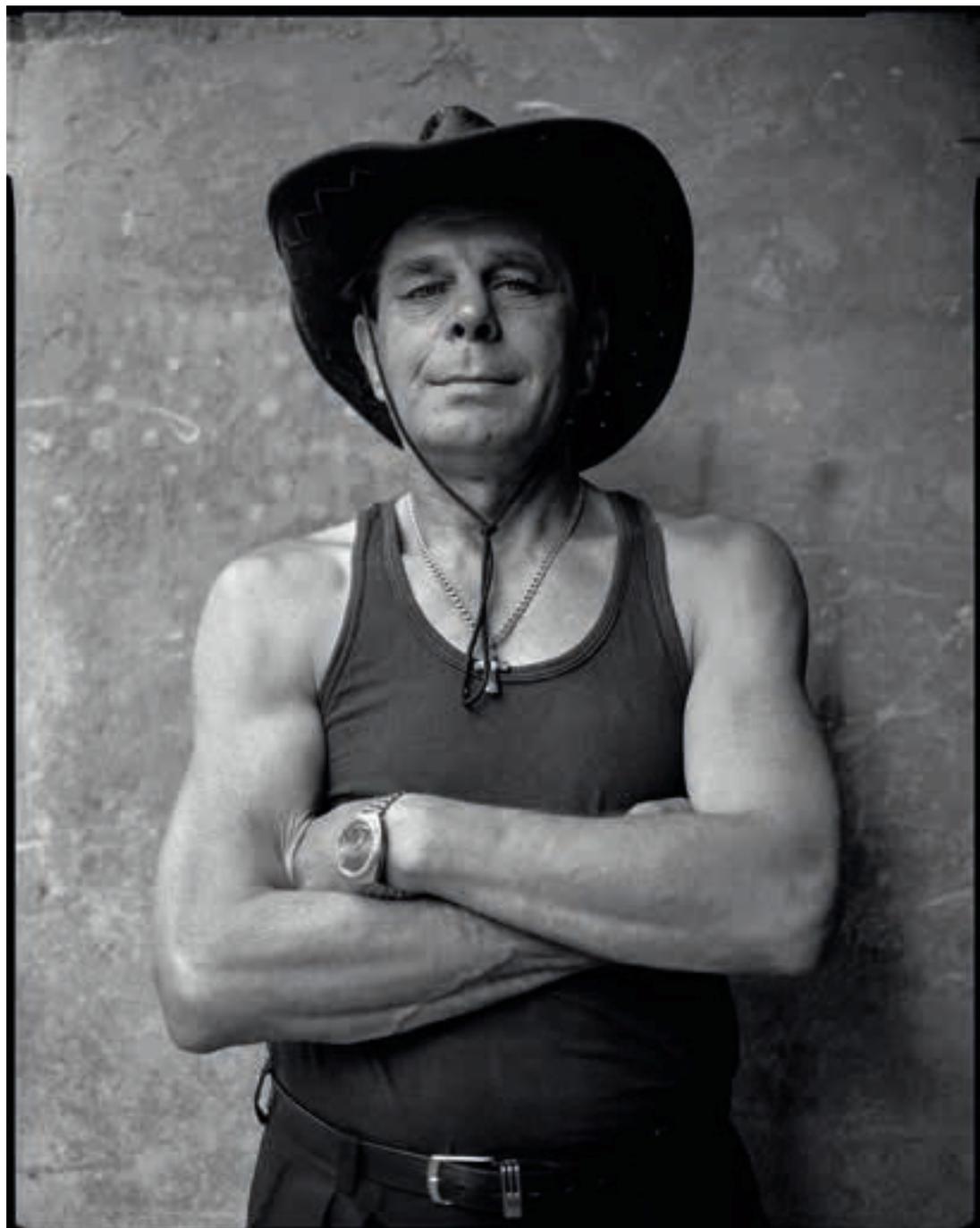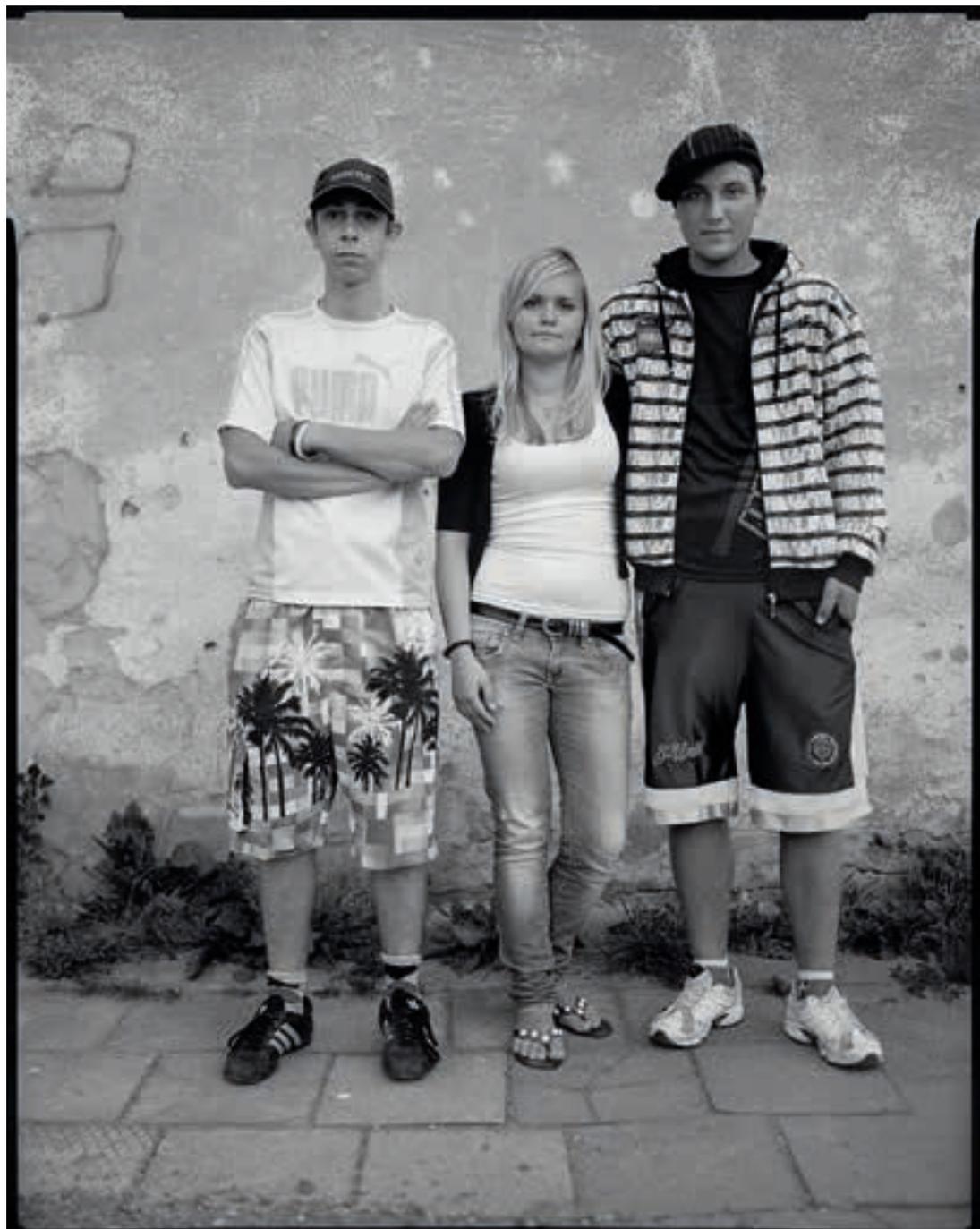
The Countryside on the Horizon

PROLOG +1

Introduction

The Polish countryside is a heterogeneous creation, a mix of three areas that have been part of the same country for just over a 100 years. The description and understanding of the countryside from an architectural perspective is a problem in itself, and the fragmentation we see in relation to this phenomenon in the Polish context does not seem to facilitate this task. The situation is aggravated by the fact that most of the professional debate, both local and global, is focused on urban centres, so that we

have clear and easy-to-apply forms of describing and understanding them, but not in the case of the periphery. Paradoxically, it is this fragmentation that may become the starting point for a new set of tools for rural analysis. Going further, this characteristic becomes the core of the method proposed below, where fragmentation in the administrative and social dimension gives way to this spatial one. Hence the attempt to describe the village is carried out by analysing its three architectural areas: territory, settlement and dwelling.[1] These areas are treated non-hierarchically — horizontally, which means that the transformation of one affects the image of the others. The analyses of changes cover 100 years of the independence of the Polish state and are divided into three stages. The first, early-capitalist stage falls in the interwar years (1918–1939). The key to understanding this period is to take a closer look at the process of enfranchisement and the strategy of interior colonisation[2] implemented by the state by means of a new type of settlement, the so-called *poniatówka*[3], and thus the empowerment of peasants. The second, socialist stage, is marked by the end of World War II and the beginning of the period of Great Change[4] — the political, social and economic transformation of the 1990s. In this case, the project of 'modernisation' of the countryside implemented through extensive nationalisation — which resulted in the creation of State Agricultural Farms (Państwowe Gospodarstwa Rolne, PGRs) on the transformed territory, providing work and housing for rural proletarians — is used to decode the changes taking place. Finally, the third, late capitalist period covers the years after the Great Change until present day. Today, the transformation of the rural landscape is the result of internal migration, liberalisation of planning and the desire of the middle class to realise the dream of a single-family house outside the city.[5]

[1]   'Dwelling' is understood here as a living space, which allows us to talk about homesteads, single-family houses, and flats at the same time.

[2]   Colonisation has its source in the Latin *colonus* meaning 'farmer'. Thus, to colonise as well as cultivate the land is to subjugate, measure and divide it.

[3]   A concept developed by Minister of Agriculture Juliusz Poniatowski in the 1930s [translator's note].

[4]   A term used by Piotr Sztompka to describe the 1989–1991 transformation. See Piotr Sztompka, *Trauma wielkiej zmiany. Społeczne koszty transformacji*, Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 2000.

[5]   The authors of the text deliberately do not mention here all the processes that took place within the defined time frame — the choice was determined by the scale and significance of the mentioned phenomena and their impact on the spatiality of the Polish countryside.

Early capitalist countryside

The end of World War I was the beginning of a new Polish state-hood. After more than 100 years of non-existence, Poland was reborn on the territory occupied by Russia (69%), Prussia (20%) and Austria (11%). The resulting discrepancies (institutional, legal or monetary) and development inequalities were the main problem of national policy during this period. The situation of countryside residents was difficult, especially in the former lands annexed by Russia, where the enfranchisement was of a negligible scale and agricultural relations resembled those of feudal times.[6] Overpopulation of the countryside, the related shortage of arable land and the desire to limit emigration contributed to socio-economic changes in rural areas. The agricultural reform carried out in 1919 was to become the driving force behind the transformation of the new state's agricultural economy. One of its objectives was the Polonisation of the regions of Pomerania and Greater Poland, enclosing them into the emerging state and economic organism. According to the same assumptions, in 1935–1937, under the leadership of the Minister of Agriculture Juliusz Poniatowski, the action of building new farms was started, implementing a unified type of settlement which was in fact a continuation of the traditional farm model. The interior colonisation mainly covered the regions of Pomerania and Greater Poland, and its tool was an easy to build on a mass scale, standardised type of wooden house.

The project to resettle the population from the Eastern Borderlands to the lands of Pomerania and Greater Poland was supported by a favourable ownership structure in the former Prussian partition. The large estates existing here were largely in the hands of the German-speaking population and were therefore, in accordance with government policy, to be Polonised.[7]

[6]   See Andrzej Leder, *Prześniona rewolucja. Ćwiczenie z logiki historycznej*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, 2014.

[7]   It is worth noting that in the same period, similar activities of colonisation of the territory in order to secure its belonging to the new state were carried out by Prussia in the area of today's Lower Silesia and parts of Upper Silesia. See Susan R. Henderson, 'Ernst May and the Campaign to Resettle the Countryside: Rural Housing in Silesia, 1919–1925', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2002, pp. 188–211.

New settlements were established at a certain distance from villages, which was a continuation of the settlement processes from before World War I.[8] In order to encourage new residents to make the effort to build a farm far away from the existing settlement network,[9] and thus the potential social infrastructure, the size of the allocated plots of land in the colonies was increased proportionally to the distance of the settlement from the existing centre. The remoteness of the *poniatówkas* from other villages, different origins of the new settlers and, consequently, their lack of connection with the colonised areas, were factors that were not conducive to the formation of communities. One can say that an inherent feature of this type of settlement was isolation.

The establishment of *poniatówkas* on a mass scale became possible thanks to, among other things, the widespread use of wood — a material closer to the settlers' construction tradition. Its considerable and easily accessible resources were used, involving state-owned sawmills to produce prefabricated wall and roof elements. Thanks to standardisation, the construction process could be carried out faster, with the participation of residents, and the use of wood was associated with a reduction in construction costs. Taking into account the fact that financing was provided by means of mortgages, this meant a lesser burden for new residents and thus a greater attractiveness of these settlements. The type of construction depended on the size of the farm being built, and the order of construction was economically determined: the first to be built was the barn where the settlers lived during the first harvest, followed over the next few weeks by a farm and residential building where the family could live in the autumn.[10] This ensured the production capacity and thus the settler's creditworthiness, primarily securing the interest of the lender — the state.[11] The basic element forming the settlement was a single farm, whose area varied between 8 and 12 hectares,

[8]   Zdzisław Celarski, *Zabudowa osad na tle reformy rolnej w Polsce*, Warsaw: Towarzystwo Oświaty Rolniczej, 1938.

[9]   Marian Magdziak, *Od chłopskiej chałupy do domu współczesnego rolnika*, Łódź: Politechnika Łódzka, 2018.

[10]   Marcin Rafał Matusiak, *Juliusz Poniatowski — „czerwony jakobin" czy pragmatyk i realista? Działalność społeczno-polityczna w latach 1915–1939*, Łódź: Księży Młyn, 2015, p. 381.
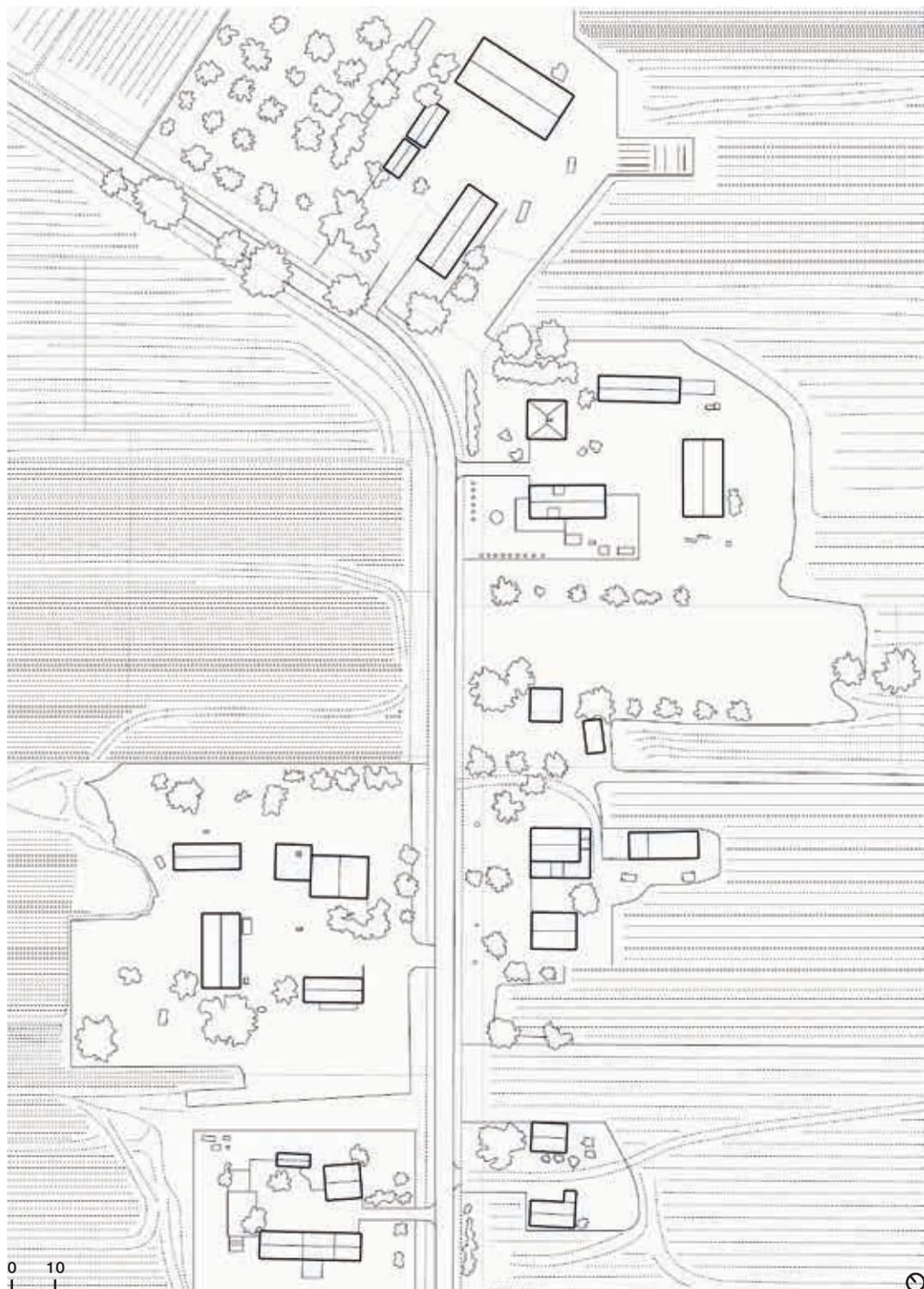
[11]   Ibid., p. 381.

0　100

Early capitalist countryside
territory 1 : 10,000
Trzebień, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship

0   100
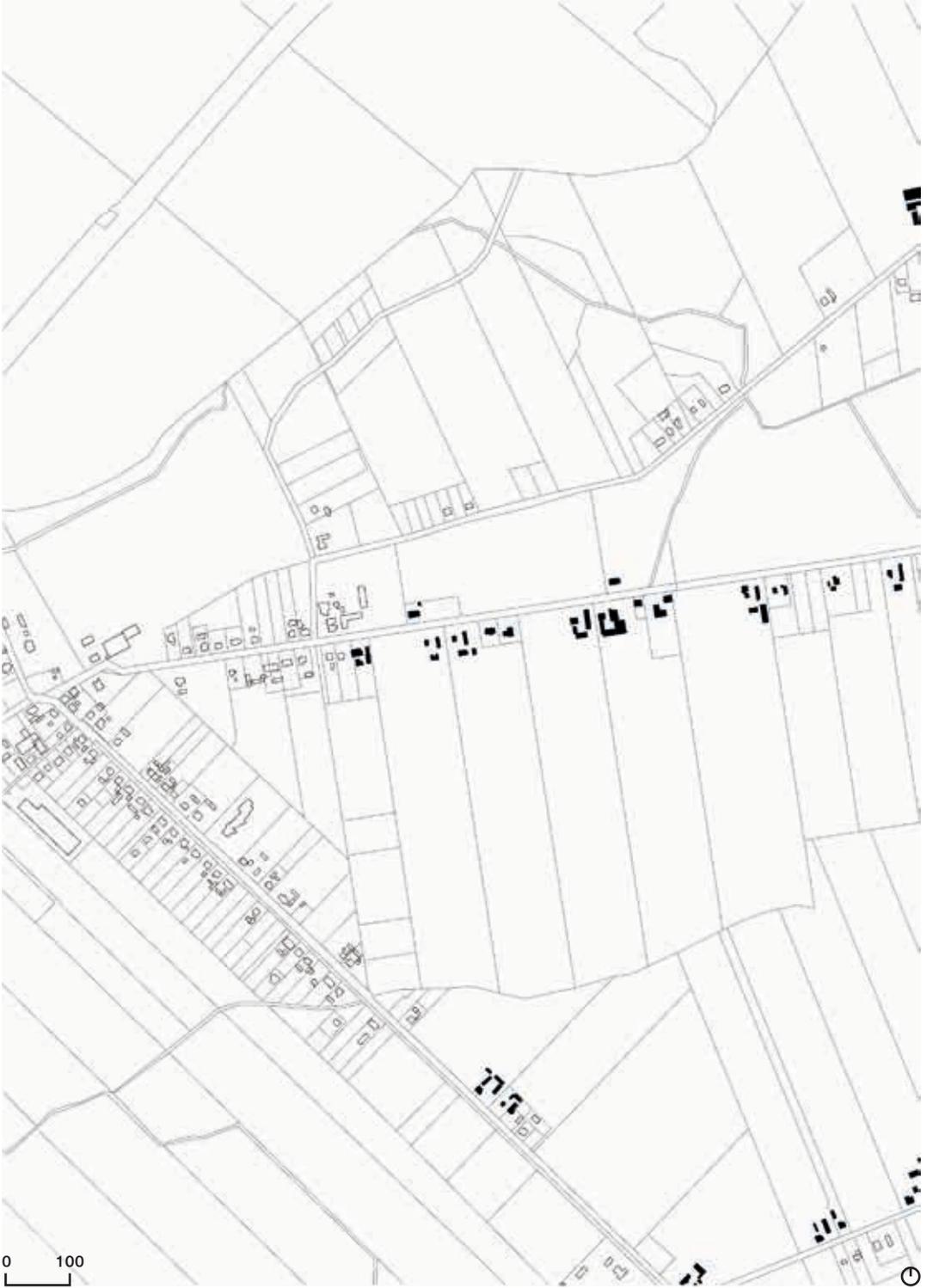
Early capitalist countryside
territory 1 : 10,000
Parkowo, Greater Poland Voivodeship

0   10

Early capitalist countryside
settlement 1 : 1,500
Typical settlement buildings, 1936
Zdzisław Celarski, *Zabudowa osad na tle reformy rolnej w Polsce*, Warsaw:
Towarzystwo Oświaty Rolniczej, 1938, courtesy of Poniatówka Foundation

Early capitalist countryside
settlement 1 : 1,500
Typical settlement buildings, 1936
Zdzisław Celarski, *Zabudowa osad na tle reformy rolnej w Polsce*, Warsaw:
Towarzystwo Oświaty Rolniczej, 1938, courtesy of Poniatówka Foundation

0   2

Early capitalist countryside
dwelling 1 : 250
Wooden dwelling house, Zdzisław Celarski, *Zabudowa osad na tle reformy rolnej w Polsce*,
Warsaw: Towarzystwo Oświaty Rolniczej, 1938, courtesy of Poniatówka Foundation

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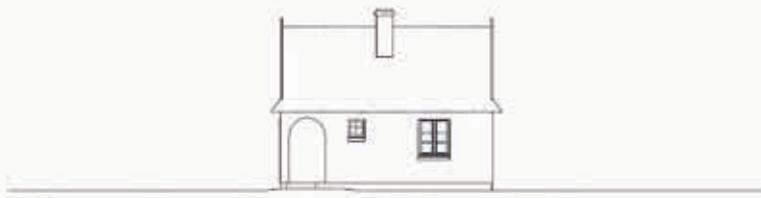
Early capitalist countryside
dwelling 1 : 250
Brick house, Zdzisław Celarski, *Zabudowa osad na tle reformy rolnej w Polsce*,
Warsaw: Towarzystwo Oświaty Rolniczej, 1938, courtesy of Poniatówka Foundation

depending on soil conditions.[12] A small field provided means of subsistence for the family. The farmstead consisted of a house oriented with a gable towards the road, a cowshed situated parallel to it and a barn closing a horseshoe-shaped layout. Formally, this arrangement was a continuation of a traditional rural farm, a self-sufficient unit that combined work and living.

The long absence of the Polish state caused a loss of historical and cultural continuity. Its rebirth was accompanied by a search for a form of dwelling referring to historicising themes, present in culture in the form of, among others, the Tatra house and the archetype of the 'Polish court'.[13] The Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Reform and the Department of Polish Architecture at the Warsaw University of Technology jointly developed a catalogue of rural architecture.[14] Several types of houses of various sizes were designed, in wooden and brick construction, continuing traditional patterns. However, foreign architectural forms in the new lands were negatively perceived by the inhabitants of the existing villages, so changes were introduced to make the new settlement more contextual. A typical one-storey house on a rectangular plan was set on a brick foundation, on which a wooden structure was then erected. The projection referred to the plan of a country cottage, it usually consisted of a chamber, a hallway and a room, from which, however, the bedrooms of the household members were separated. The wooden walls were covered with reed and plastered, the wooden ceiling and the gable roof was covered with fibre-cement. The common element of the settlement architecture was the entrance to the building, which led through a small corner arcade that referenced the old Upper Lusatian house designs. The rooms were connected with each other, so that it was almost always possible to go around all of the ground floor by circling the hearth — the whole can be considered as a smooth, permeating space for the life and work of a multi-generational family.

[12] Celarski, *Zabudowa osad . . .* , p. 9.   [13] Magdziak, *Od chłopskiej chałupy . . .*   [14] Celarski, *Zabudowa osad . . .*

The rural territory in the interwar period was shaped by reforms aimed at increasing agricultural productivity. First, the parcelling of agricultural land, done mainly with the participation of the state, allowed for the formation of farms and resettlement action. Second, land consolidation made it possible to combine fragmented land and transform it into areas that were suitable for efficient management — according to the government, a large share of smallholder land, dwarf parcels or widespread checkerboarding hindered progress in management.[15] Moreover, activities aimed at changing agrarian relations also included liquidation of servanthood, enfranchisement of leaseholders, or land improvement in the form of drainage, etc. The agricultural system was partially reformed, significant restrictions resulted, among others, from the political resistance of the National Democracy and the economic crisis in the 1930s, which made land buy outs and successive reforms impossible. Despite the efforts of the government, the agricultural system of the Second Republic of Poland was in a way a continuation of the post-feudal system. The changes could only be completed after the radical change in the political landscape that resulted from World War II.[16]

The early-capitalist village during the interior colonisation campaign is an example where the specific design of a settlement creates a traditional form of residence and transforms the territory. Such settlements, which were established in the area of large state holdings near old villages, formed dispersed systems separated spatially and socially. The project of a single farmstead transformed large landed estates, while at the same time wooden houses referring to the tradition of the Polish countryside appeared in the areas of Pomerania and Greater Poland. The project of an individual farm, which combined work and living, supported the existing model of life of a multi-generational peasant family.

[15] Matusiak, *Juliusz Poniatowski . . .*   [16] Leder, *Prześniona rewolucja*, p. 27.

Socialist countryside

The socialist period in the Polish countryside lasted exactly 49 years. It was started by the Polish Committee for National Liberation (PKWN) with the decree of 6 September 1944, under which the agricultural reform was carried out[17] and ended with the ultimate liquidation of the PGRs on 31 December 1993.[18] At that time, as agreed at the Yalta Conference (4–11 February 1945), the Provisional Government of National Unity signed an agreement with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as a result of which the eastern border of the pre-war Second Republic was changed. The areas called the Eastern Borderlands — about 180,000 square kilometres, or 46.2% of the area of the pre-war state — were excluded from the territory of the Republic of Poland and transferred to the Belarusian SSR, Lithuanian SSR and Ukrainian SSR. After the end of World War II and within the framework of agreements concluded during the Potsdam Conference (17 July — 2 August 1945), the borders of the Polish state also changed dramatically in the west. The area of the post-war state was enlarged by the so-called Western and Northern Territories with an area of 102,800 square kilometres, 32.9% of the post-war state.

The described border changes intensified the post-war population movements[19] — deportations of the German population from western areas, 'repatriations' of the Polish population from the east, as well as internal forced resettlements of the population from south-eastern areas as part of the so-called Operation Vistula. Their consequence was a break in the continuity of living in one area, in other words, erasure of ties with a given area. This lack of attachment, particularly evident in the Western and Northern Territories, as well as the fact that 62% of the population lived in rural areas,[20] contributed to the transformation of Poland into the arena of a centrally controlled experiment, driven by extensive nationalisation.

17 Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] of 1944, no. 4, item 17.

18 Adopted in the Act of 9 October 1991 on the Management of Agricultural Property of the Treasury, Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] of 1991, no. 107, item 464.

19 Tomasz Figlus, 'Przemiany struktur przestrzennych osadnictwa wiejskiego', in *Ciągłość i zmiana: sto lat rozwoju polskiej wsi*, ed. Maria Halamska, Monika Stanny and Jerzy Wilkin, Warsaw: Instytut Rozwoju Wsi i Rolnictwa PAN, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2019, vol. 2, pp. 709–740.

20 Adam Czarnecki, *Urbanizacja kraju i jej etapy*, ibid., vol. 1, pp. 51–76.

In the second half of the 1940s, we can observe three processes shaping the territory of the Polish countryside. The first was parcellation of land,[21] which allowed peasants to create private farms of 7–15 hectares.[22] As a result, a large number of small-sized farms were established, which contributed to the unfavourable agrarian structure.[23] The second is collectivisation (1948–1956): a more or less brutal campaign of merging the land of small farmers into larger farms — production cooperatives. It met with strong opposition from the rural population, to such an extent that with the beginning of de-Stalinisation in 1956, the number of cooperatives decreased by 85%.[24] Finally, the third, nationalisation, in which the agricultural reform played a special role. Its purpose was, among other things, for the state to take over agricultural holdings owned by Third Reich citizens and Polish citizens of German nationality, and properties in which at least 50 hectares were agricultural land.[25] According to Tomasz Figlus, nationalisation on this scale was supposed to strengthen the position of the state among peasants, and the granting of property was supposed to make it credible, ensuring the support of this group for constitutional and political changes.[26] The liquidation of large-area assets made it possible to establish PGRs in 1949. This led to the transformation of the layout and ownership of the fields and, as a result, to 'improving the organisation of agricultural production'[27] on a large scale — already in 1950 there were 5,680 PGRs, most of them in the Western and Northern Territories. They introduced a new form of work and life to rural areas, where workers became rural proletarians and the state became the manager of large areas of agrarian production. This specific close relationship between the state and the worker is best represented by the settlements erected for the workers of the state farms.

[21]　As a result of World War II, Poland's social structure was flattened, hence enfranchisement is such an important political tool. Paradoxically, this process led to the creation of private property in the socialist system.

[22]　Henryk Słabek, *Dzieje polskiej reformy rolnej 1944–1948*, Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1972, pp. 124–126.

[23]　See Janusz Kaliński, *Gospodarka polska w latach 1944–1989. Przemiany strukturalne*, Warsaw: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1995.

[24]　Dariusz Jarosz, 'The Collectivization of Agriculture in Poland: Causes of Defeat', in *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Communist Eastern Europe: Comparison and Entanglements*, ed. Constantin Iordachi and Arnd Bauerkämper, Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2014, pp. 113–146.

[25]　According to the decree of PKWN, the limit of 50 ha was for the former Second Republic of Poland, for the Western and Northern Territories, the limit was 100 ha.

[26]　Figlus, 'Przemiany struktur przestrzennych . . .'
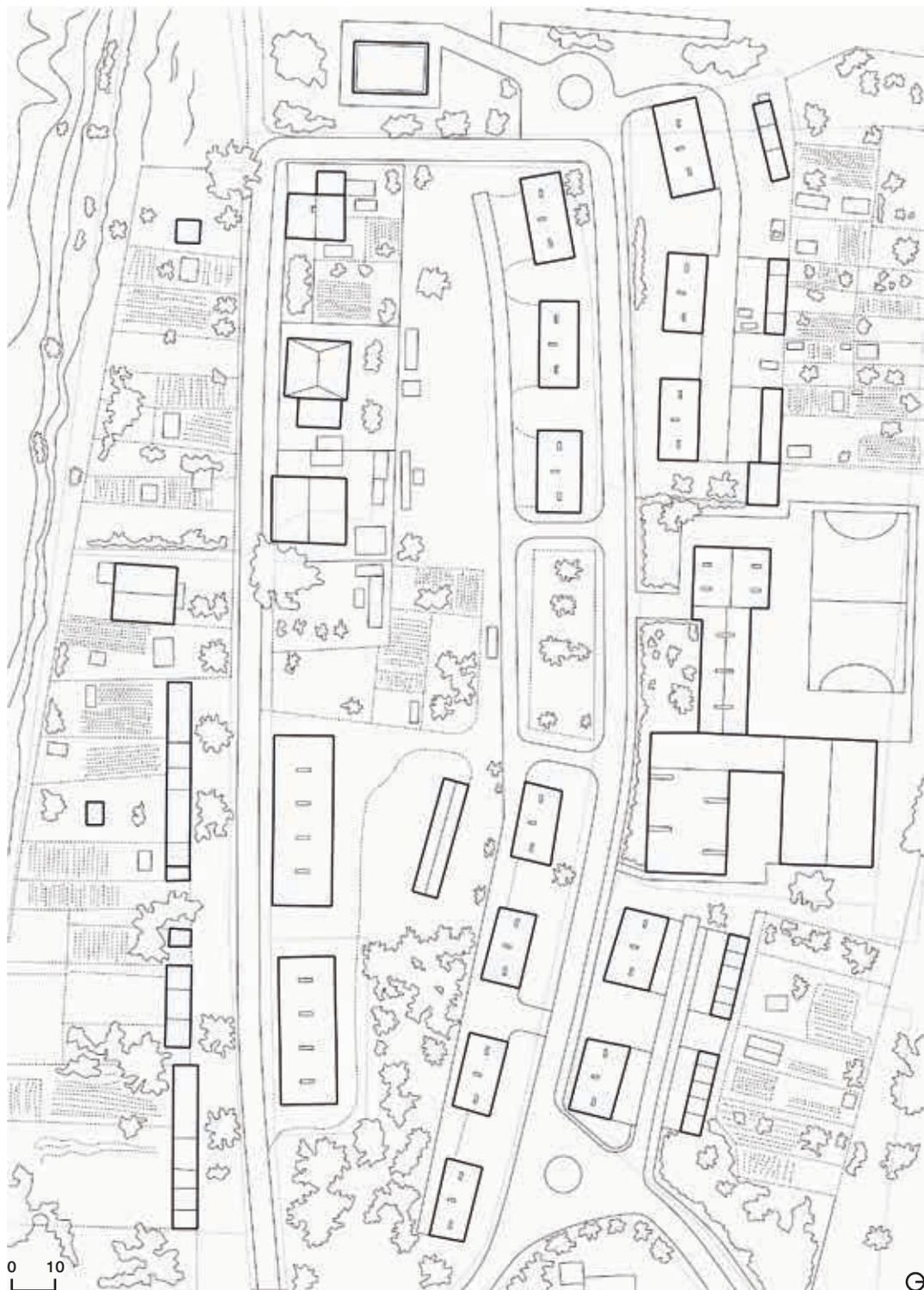
[27]　Ibid.

0   100
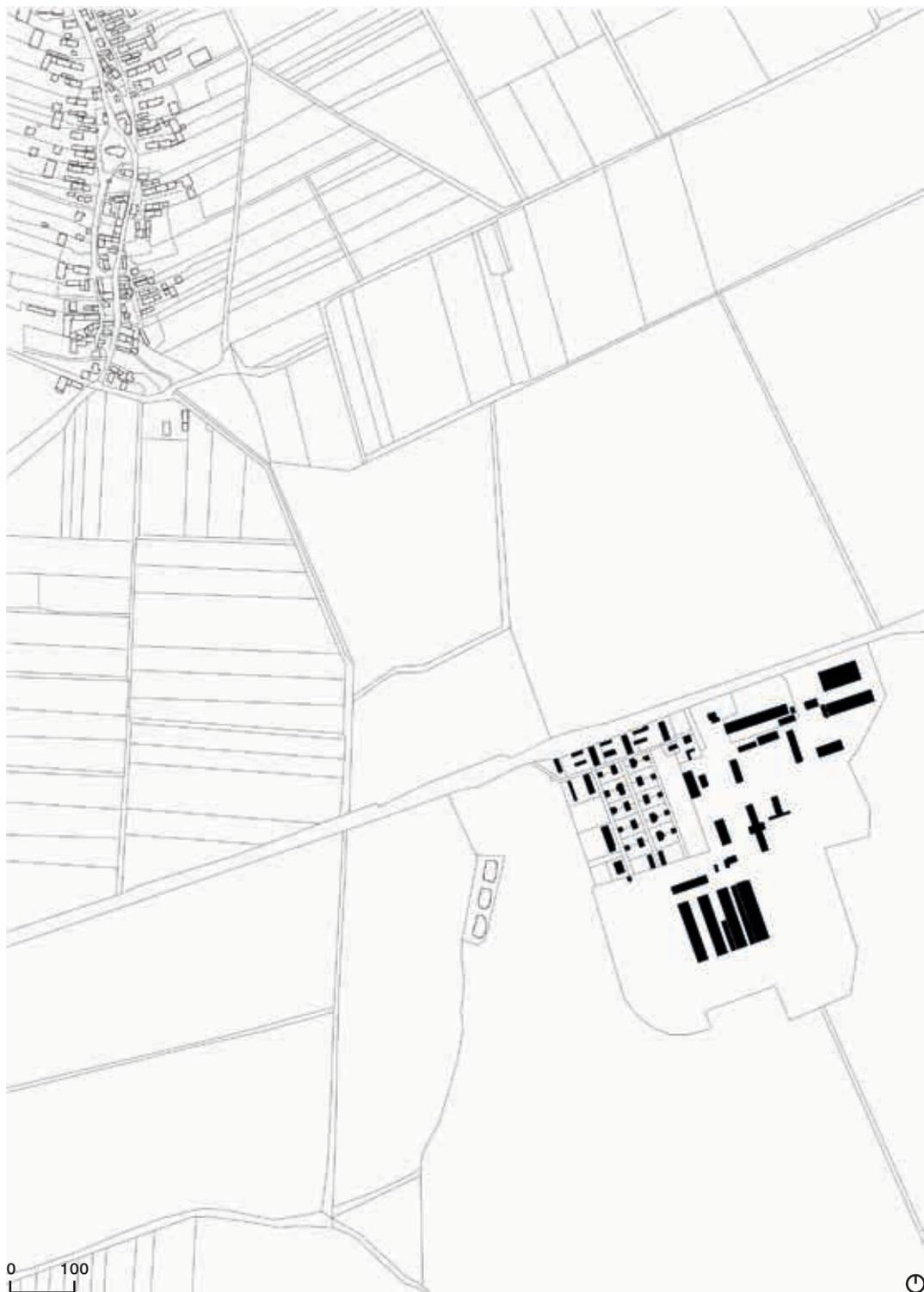
Socialist countryside
territory 1 : 10,000
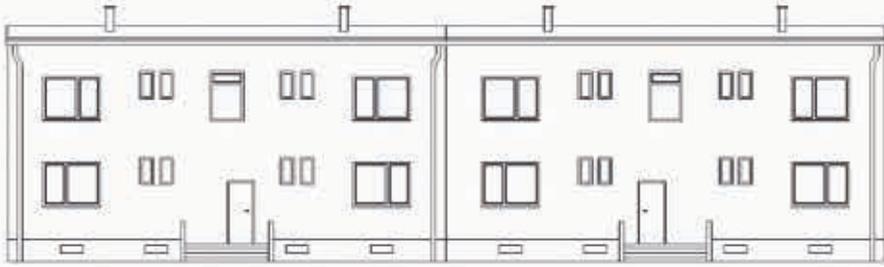Widok, Opole Voivodeship

0   100

Socialist countryside
territory 1 : 10,000
Manieczki, Greater Poland Voivodeship

0 10

Socialist countryside
settlement 1 : 500
State Agricultural Farm
in Widok, Opole Voivodeship

0   10

Socialist countryside
settlement 1 : 500
State Agricultural Farm
in Manieczki, Greater Poland Voivodeship

0   2

Socialist countryside
dwelling 1 : 250
Typical eight-family building, workers' housing estate construction, ca 1970
State Archive in Wrocław

0   2

Socialist countryside
dwelling 1 : 250
Typical four-family building, workers' housing estate construction, 1964–1967
Ignacy Tłoczek, *Dom mieszkalny na polskiej wsi*, Warsaw: PWN, 1985

Their formal expression, modern for the time, more suited to the city than to the countryside, highlighted the contrast between the new and the old.[28] Employee housing estates, although they adopted different configurations in spatial arrangements, were built from similar unified elements: two-storey four-family buildings, two-stairwell blocks of flats for eight families, garages, allotment gardens, etc. A large-scale project to modernise the Polish countryside, strengthening the presence and role of the state in these areas, was implemented through typical projects adapted to specific conditions.[29] On the one hand, the use of simplified and unified forms can be considered a sign of a certain pragmatism, the result of the post-war lack of materials and the desire to build at a fast pace; on the other hand, it is an element of the ruling camp's strategy of creating a homogeneous socio-cultural landscape of the state.

These settlements can be classified in three categories resulting from their location in relation to the existing settlement network. The first is the settlements adjacent to the existing centres: in their case, we have no doubt that the core of the village functions independently of the settlement — in other words, despite its apparent proximity, it remains isolated. The second category are settlements that have been more or less integrated with older buildings and essentially act as one organism. The last are independent estates, built in isolation from the existing settlement network, usually equipped with a greater number of social infrastructure elements. The social relations — which were a spatial consequence — between villages and PGRs were characterised by mutual mistrust and sometimes even hostility caused by the state's privileging of rural proletarians.[30] Moreover, in all these categories — in contrast to traditional village types — the road is not the main element structuring the settlement. In other words, to some extent, housing estates for PGRs

28   For more on the blocks of flats and their modern reading see Krzysztof Wołodźko, 'Nietrafiona nowoczesność', *Autoportret. Pismo o Dobrej Przestrzeni*, 13 November 2015, https://autoportret .pl/nietrafiona-nowoczesnosc/ (accessed 29 February 2020).

29   The Office for Rural Building Studies and Design (BSPWBW) was established in Warsaw to prepare typical projects, adapted by 17 voivodeship centres to the existing conditions. See *20-lecie Biur Projektów Budownictwa Wiejskiego*, Warsaw: Biuro Studiów i Projektów Wzorcowych Budownictwa Wiejskiego, 1969.

30   Anna Giza-Poleszczuk and Witold Kościesza-Jaworski, 'Społeczne aspekty likwidacji Państwowych Gospodarstw Rolnych: raport socjologiczny z badań ilościowych i jakościowych', in *Rynki pracy na obszarach popegeerowskich: raport z badań*, ed. Jacek Liwiński, Urszula Sztanderska and Anna Giza, Warsaw: Ministerstwo Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, 2008.

workers morphologically free themselves from the traditional hegemony of the rural road as an element determining the direction and allowing for the expansion of the village, implementing a rather modernist postulate of dispersion of buildings.

In accordance with the paradigm of a 'socialised' form of work, housing estates at PGRs often also offered access to social infrastructure, such as rural community centres, canteens, nursery schools, day care centres, health centres, sports pitches, etc. The introduction of such a new programme, and at the same time perceiving development as a denial of what is customary in the area and community, was an element of the authorities' strategy — it was supposed to modernise the village, rip it away from tradition and weaken the influence of the Church. In this context, institutionalised forms of care appeared in the countryside for the first time on a large scale. The total relocation of work considered productive and the partial exclusion of reproductive work (such as childcare, meal preparation, etc.) outside the dwelling seemingly ensured the emancipation of women. The separation did not end with the separation of the area of the home from that of work; it could also be found in the house-to-land relationship. The physical and metaphorical separation of a home and its inhabitants from the land is an important component in understanding the radicality of the housing model proposed by the housing estates for state farm employees.

Previous forms of living were mostly strongly connected with the space around the house — the proximity and influence of the home space and the farmyard, work and life, animals and people, machines and plants, constituted an inseparable aspect of rural life. That is why it turned out to be such a radical step to change the form of living from a homestead situated on a plot of land that a given family could have, to a flat in a block of flats

standing on 'no man's land'. Moreover, these flats were designed (in accordance with the standard) for a clearly defined recipient — a two-generation family, which in principle (but not in practice) excluded multi-generational family structures functioning in the countryside. Eventually, what we see is a transfer of a dwelling plan that did not correspond to the social conditions, customs and rituals of inhabitants.

In the case of a socialist village, the relationship between the three areas — territory, settlement, and dwelling — is most obvious. The transformation of the territory through nationalisation allowed the state to implement the demands of 'socialised' farming in the form of PGRs and adjacent employee housing estates. As a result, the new form of multi-family blocks of dwellings and living in single small flats transformed the rural landscape — from field to home. There was a clear separation of functions, but the proximity of work on a state farm and its certainty allowed for the development of social bonds, and the unfenced void between the blocks of flats was a kind of shared space, accessible to all residents of the estate.

The late capitalist countryside

The crisis of the centrally controlled economy initiated a period of the most intense social and economic changes in rural areas. The liberalisation of the approach of the state authorities and the progressive privatisation of municipal resources led to a widening of inequalities in rural areas. The caesura was determined by the political and economic changes of 1989–1991. On the one hand, the withdrawal of the state after the collapse of the socialist economy affected both the agricultural sector and the countryside itself.[31] The process of restructuring and

[31] Przemysław Sadura, Katarzyna Murawska and Zofia Włodarczyk, *Wieś w Polsce 2017: diagnoza i prognoza*, Warsaw: Fundacja Wspomagania Wsi, 2017, p. 8.

then liquidation[32] of the assets of the PGRs was symptomatic, followed by the collapse of social and communication infrastructure — dairies, mills, nursery schools, libraries, rural community centres and especially public transport.[33] On the other hand, the introduction of a free market economy and global capital theoretically offered a chance to improve living standards. The symbol of these changes was the appearance of numerous middle-class representatives. The aspirations of the individual were met by a new system of values, based on the elimination of existing deficiencies (owning a house, a car, etc.).[34] The house became a commodified symbol of a new class, and the progressive de-urbanisation and related migration from cities to rural areas[35] — the reality of many countries of post-socialist Europe.

The freedom of construction, enthusiastically accepted by the Polish middle class — after the period of project standardisation[36] — allowed for the realisation of individual dreams. A house with a garden and a car behind it has become one of the possibilities of social distinction.[37] Although often replaced by developer investments, individual construction still enjoys popularity. To this day, magazines with typical house designs are published, also containing technical and legal advice. Quick to build and easy to adapt, the house is usually one-storey, without a basement, with a usable attic. The ground floor is a compact set of functionally arranged rectangular rooms. The modern house encloses in its outline all necessary life functions, including a space for a car. The interior is given priority over the exterior, including domesticated space — isolating itself from its surroundings, a detached house seeks maximum privacy within the plot. The layout of the rooms is practically a transfer of a projection of a flat in a block of flats with separated rooms, so it can be assumed that the urban life model of a two-generation family is transplanted to rural areas. The only transformation of this plan,

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[32]   As Urszula Sztanderska writes, 346,000 people lost their jobs as a result of the liquidation of the PGRs in 1989–2000, half of them before the restructuring in 1992. See Urszula Sztanderska, 'Rynki pracy na terenach popegeerowskich w świetle wyników badań', in *Rynki pracy na obszarach popegeerowskich* . . . , pp. 17–51.

[33]   Arkadiusz Jełowicki, 'Czytając krajobraz kulturowy wsi Bursztą', introduction to: Józef Burszta, 'Od osady słowiańskiej do wsi współczesnej', in idem, *Dzieła wybrane*, Poznań: Instytut im. Oskara Kolberga, 2014, p. XIX.

[34]   Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

[35]   Vlad Mykhnenko and Ivan Turok, 'East European Cities — Patterns of Growth and Decline, 1960–2005', *International Planning Studies*, vol. 13, no. 4 (November), 2008, pp. 311–342, https://doi.org /10.1080/13563470802518958 (accessed 29 February 2020).

[36]   The first catalogues of houses which are not typical boxes were published in the 1980s.

[37]   Monika Arczyńska, 'Polityka, prestiż i odreagowanie. Single-family house in transition', in *Polskie Las Vegas i szwagier z Corelem*, ed. Lidia Klein, Warsaw: Fundacja Kultura Miejsca, 2017, pp. 44–69.
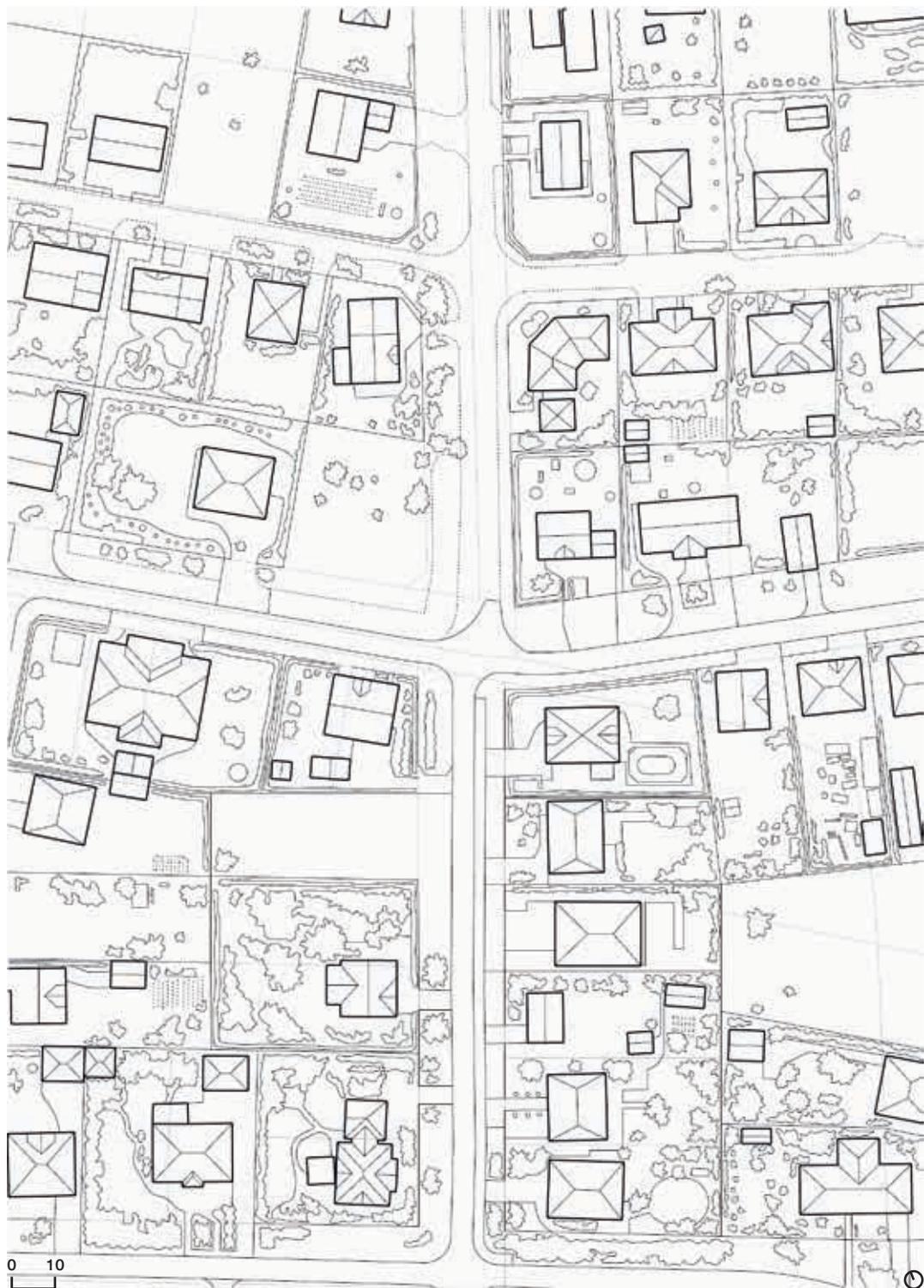
0   100

Late capitalist countryside
territory 1 : 10,000
Domasław, Lower Silesian Voivodeship

0   100

Late capitalist countryside
territory 1 : 10,000
Żórawina, Lower Silesian Voivodeship

0 10

Late capitalist countryside
settlement 1 : 1,500
Domasław, Lower Silesian Voivodeship

0   10

Late capitalist countryside
settlement 1 : 1,500
Żórawina, Lower Silesian Voivodeship

0   2

Late capitalist countryside
dwelling 1 : 250
Detached house 4/77, Zakład Spółdzielczo-uczelniany 'Inwestprojekt' CZSBM in Warsaw,
Edward Romański, *Album projektów domów jednorodzinnych do powszechnego stosowania*,
Warsaw: Arkady, 1977

0   2

Late capitalist countryside
dwelling 1 : 250
Project of ready-made house Amoniusz III, Dobre Domy Flak & Abramowicz, by Marcin Abramowicz and
Marta Zaperty-Adamek, https://www.dobredomy.pl/projekt/amoniuszII/?gclid=CjwKCAjwssD0 BRBIEiwA-
JP5rNHJKnRkghcyJ2sxCnR8jzhXfLdkJf141wNCXq-Dk-u51x9 gqo4oyBoC5KQQAvD_BwE (accessed 10 April 2020)

which is alien to the village, is due to the growing importance of the car — as another element of social differentiation — requiring the presence of the garage. The subordination of life to an individual's mobility very often takes the form of luxurious detached houses.[38] The exclusive nature of the relationship between humans and their environment has its spatial, social and environmental consequences. There are attempts to compensate for the insulation (visible in the way individual property is fenced in) and unbalanced construction by individual solutions such as recuperators, solar collectors on roofs or rainwater tanks.

The form of dwelling of the Polish middle class is the result of a clash of ideas about their own alleged noble past and their proper attachment to the land (the ideal of which was an old-fashioned manor house with hectares of garden) with the global pattern of suburban life in the style of the American dream.[39] The cult of individualism and freedom initiated another transformation of the territory, this time giving the field to the forces of capital.

Locating buildings on former agricultural areas, far from the urban infrastructure, became possible thanks to the system of acquiring and preparing building plots, as well as financing the construction — the result was changes in the territory of rural areas. Technological progress, on the one hand in the automation of agriculture, and on the other hand in individual mobility, has resulted in the diversification of the value of land and its exploitation in the form of spontaneous development with detached houses. The new employment structure in rural areas has changed the farmer's relationship to the land. Currently, most countryside residents are not engaged in agriculture. The possibility of relatively easy land reclamation and easier access to a mortgage allowed for the commodification the

[38] The 'typology of the auto-family home' proposed by Robert Konieczny, in which the family's life is subordinate to mobility, is symptomatic here. For more on this subject, see Dorota Leśniak-Rychlak, 'Transformers. Dom jako wyznacznik statusu', *Autoportret. Pismo o Dobrej Przestrzeni*, no. 3(54) (*Transformacja*), 2016.

[39] For more on the genealogy and identity problem of the middle class see Leder, *Prześniona rewolucja*.

capital held, especially small plots of land. Narrow stretches of land — *łany* — became the basis of a makeshift urbanism called *łan* (fief) urbanism.[40] The new development layouts result more from agricultural land arrangements than from planning decisions.[41] Such chaotic, isolated construction, which can only be accessed by private means of transport, contributes to the deepening of spatial disorder. At the same time, the boundary between what is rural and what is urban has been completely blurred, which is noticeable in the landscape as a continuous built-up space (the so-called urban-rural continuum[42]). The process of spontaneous and chaotic urbanisation shaped an unusual organisation of rural settlements, characterised by high fragmentation of space.

The advancing process of internal migration and the resulting suburbanisation is specific in the case of Poland in that it does not only concern large cities, but also smaller towns, more rural than urban.[43] This phenomenon should not be considered only from a city perspective — its effects on existing rural settlements are equally important, where we can observe spatial blurring of traditional village types. The creation of these buildings is possible thanks to the easy movement of people and thus the efficiency of the road infrastructure. What is more, the residential unit itself is subject to car ownership requirements, but the location of these housing estates, in contrast to traditional types of settlement in rural areas, does not follow the main roads. Houses are usually built by secondary roads, sometimes field roads, which causes the disintegration of the traditional habitat — the core of the village. In turn, the allocation of the entire space for housing development becomes one of the key constraints for further development of the settlement, access to other services, trade, social and public infrastructure.[44] The development

[40]   Kacper Kępiński and Dorota Leśniak-Rychlak, *Atlas Powszechnych Patologii*, Kraków: Instytut Architektury, 2016.

[41]   According to Jerzy Bański, 37.7% of the area of rural municipalities and 29.9% of the rural-urban area had local zoning plans prepared in 2014. See Jerzy Bański, 'Miejsce obszarów wiejskich w planowaniu przestrzennym', in *Ciągłość i zmiana: sto lat rozwoju polskiej wsi*, pp. 741–760.

[42]   *Problemy i metody oceny kontinuum miejsko-wiejskiego w Polsce*, ed. Wiesława Gierańczyk and Mieczysław Kluba, Studia Obszarów Wiejskich, vol. 13, Warsaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Geograficzne, Instytut Geografii i Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania PAN, 2008.

[43]   Katarzyna Kajdanek, *Suburbanizacja po polsku*, Kraków: Nomos, 2012.

[44]   Ibid.

has a monofunctional character, and the widespread fencing and lack of social functions creates a model based on a system of isolated private properties, whose only common element is the road.[45]

The late capitalist countryside operates as another example where the emergence of a new type of dwelling transforms the settlement and creates new territory. The house, which was subordinated to the road infrastructure, allowed the middle class representatives to realise an individual life model, transferred directly from the city to the rural areas. Thanks to the mobility of the individual, the relationship between the place of work and the place of residence was completely broken. The aspiration for isolation from the surroundings is visible in the typology of a house with a garage, fencing of private properties, and dispersion of buildings, which results in the disappearance of social ties and a single-functional nature of the settlement.

Conclusion

Because of their potential, rural areas have always been an objective of political and economic projects. In the periods in question, a tendency to change in all areas (territory, settlement, dwelling), initiated by the transformation of one of them, can be observed, emphasising the close relations between them, initially defined as landscape horizontality. During the interwar period[46] — early capitalism — the establishment of new settlements was aimed at colonising the territory using the traditional farm model. In the post-war socialist period, radical territorial changes were brought about by nationalisation, making it possible to establish PGRs with housing estates, the aim of which was to extensively 'modernise' the countryside.

[45]   Ibid., p. 174.

[46]   The authors of the text deliberately exclude the period of World War II from the dating, as the lack of Polish administration and the inclusion of the territory in the influence of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union caused a break in institutional continuity.

The Great Change was a time caesura of the last period — late capitalism — in which economic liberalisation leads to the mass-scale realisation of the dreams of a single-family house, which results in the commodification of the land and unrestrained suburbanisation around large and smaller cities.

Spatial changes also have social effects. The structure of agricultural land ownership and its spatial consequences have in the past reinforced social inequalities. Settlement in rural areas was most often associated with a combination of work and living, the productive role of the settlement provided opportunities for the integrity of the settlement, and the commons allowed for organisation and resistance from local communities. Scattering and discontinuity cause fragmentation or loss of community ties and the impossibility of meeting social needs. The employment/residence ratio changes, the traditional farm model present in the *poniatówka* is transformed into a 'socialised' model, which is a hybrid of farming and hired labour. The modernisation of crops with the influx of new settlers changes the structure of employment — as a result, farmers are a minority group in the countryside. More or less deliberate actions of political and economic forces were aimed at improving the countryside, as well as more and more efficient use of its resources while avoiding long-term social repercussions. Experiments undertaken in the countryside were intended to subordinate it to the needs of the city.

The approach to analysis of the countryside presented in the text, which makes it possible to understand the dynamics of the relationship between territory, settlement, and dwelling, leads to the conclusion that there is no single direction in which changes are progressing — they are not vertical, but horizontal, so they can start from each of the areas mentioned. This allows for a holistic approach to strategies for the

transformation of rural areas, in which processes imposed by the state, free market forces or the city will not be the main factors of change — they will be pushed out of the centre, giving way to needs and problems resulting from the context and responding to a wider issue: *how will we live together* in the countryside. Therefore, it is important to look for a new measure around which — and not through which — we can initiate projects for the transformation of the countryside leading to it taking on more communal character.

The Panorama of the Polish Countryside

Jan Domicz (collage), Michał Sierakowski (photographs, collage), Paweł Starzec (photographs), PROLOG +1 (concept)

The analytical part of the exhibition is a panorama, printed on fabric and filling the whole space of the pavilion. It allows visitors to perceive the image in two modes: from a distance, where the impression of being in the landscape is important, and from close up, where the essence is to recognise the elements. Panorama does not reveal everything to the viewer at first sight — in order to understand it all, one has to interact with it, move parts of it, and learn more about the three areas: territory, settlement and dwelling.

The panorama is complemented by comments resulting from the conducted research, our interpretations of past and present processes and possible speculations about them.
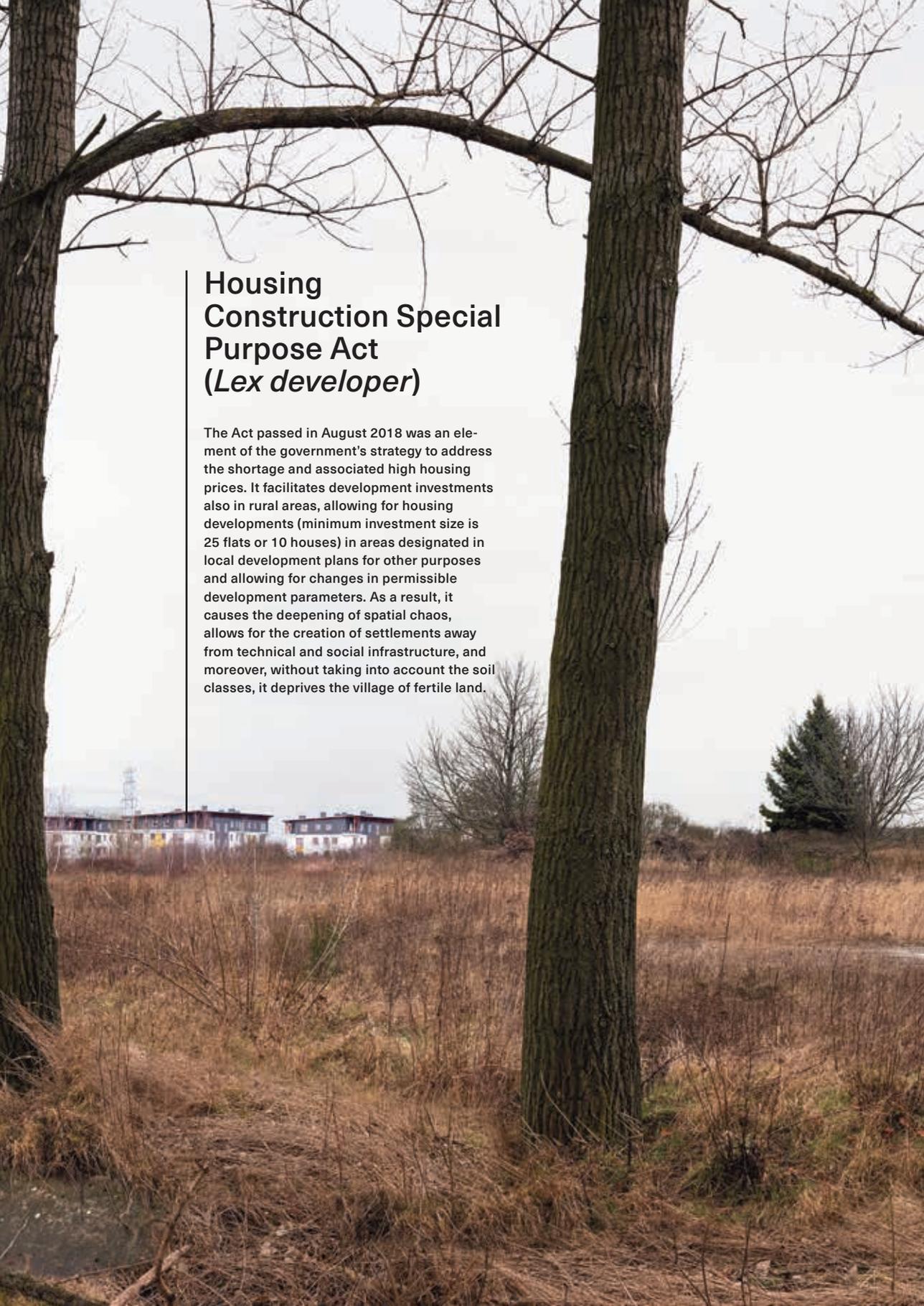
Housing Construction Special Purpose Act (*Lex developer*)

The Act passed in August 2018 was an element of the government's strategy to address the shortage and associated high housing prices. It facilitates development investments also in rural areas, allowing for housing developments (minimum investment size is 25 flats or 10 houses) in areas designated in local development plans for other purposes and allowing for changes in permissible development parameters. As a result, it causes the deepening of spatial chaos, allows for the creation of settlements away from technical and social infrastructure, and moreover, without taking into account the soil classes, it deprives the village of fertile land.

Energy landscape

The territory of the countryside is an important power producer from the point of view of the entire country, and the consequences of this are most evident here. State investments in the energy sector after 1945 resulted in the degradation of cultivated land and water resources in the areas of opencast mines and irreversible changes in the natural and cultural landscape (removal of entire villages). The transition to renewable energy sources also puts the greatest burden on the countryside (construction of wind farms that interfere with the landscape or photovoltaic farms that consume land). At the same time, through disperse settlement structure and individualised households, rural areas have the greatest potential for achieving energy self-sufficiency, which will allow them to sell their surpluses to cities.

Non-agricultural production

Industrialisation, initiated in the 19th century, also transformed the territory of the countryside and its resources became an important source of capitalist and socialist economy (manpower for factories, natural resources above and below ground, land for factory construction). Today, the neoliberal principles of planning and economics make it possible to create production and shipping halls, especially in villages close to cities and traffic junctions, subordinating these areas to large corporations without any tangible social benefits (for example, through tax exemptions in special economic zones).

Mogiła
Powstańców   70
1863 r.

miejsce pobytu
kard. S. Wyszyńskiego   5
i kard. K. Wojtyły

Dom Pomocy Społe
dla Dzieci „Fisza

Agricultural production

The mass parcelling of land, initiated by the Agricultural Reform of 1925 and continued under new political conditions after 1944, was adopted with resistance. It was claimed that the fragmentation of large assets would reduce agricultural production on a national scale and that small fields would be inefficient in producing food for cities. However, small farms with extensive production, intended mainly for the market of local communities, have a great potential to produce goods in an ecological way (white functions of agriculture), of better quality, and their income remains in the region (according to the Constitution, the basis of the agricultural system in Poland is the family farm).

Spatial dominants

Traditional, sacred dominants of the countryside, such as the towers of churches or monasteries, were weakened after World War II by secular silhouettes of grain silos (erected at the State Agricultural Farms or much larger, free-standing ones). This is also reflected in the urban structure of the village — new buildings (e.g. at State Agricultural Farms) shifted the centre of gravity of the village, where previously the church had been mostly central. This was a deliberate effect of the state policy towards the Church, which was in open conflict with the communist party since it took power. Therefore, the processes of collectivisation and nationalisation of agriculture can also be read through the prism of cultural change to secularise the 'traditionally conservative' countryside.

Land divisions

The lines of the balks (uncultivated strips of land) crossing the territory are a tangible trace of ownership in the landscape, and at the same time the most biologically diverse part of the monoculture farmland. In times of precise surveying, there is a need to redefine their meaning and function: whether they are a superfluous element that can increase the area under cultivation or a living monument — as part of the 'common land' — and their presence should be constituted.

Education

Schools in villages existed already before 1945, but it was only the actions of the government of the Polish People's Republic that eliminated illiteracy among the rural population. New facilities were established in many small towns, making education available and universal throughout the country. The school building programme (propaganda related to the celebration of the millennium of Polish statehood) can be considered a success in building a free education system in Poland. The marketisation of public services after 1989 resulted in the closure of many schools in small settlements (where they were often the only public institutions), which deepened the feeling of exclusion and being forgotten by the government administration in the countryside.

Dissolution

As a result of the processes of intensive new building development since 1945 and changes after 1989, as well as political projects aimed at weakening traditional rural models (collectivisation and nationalisation), original spatial arrangements were partially or completely blurred. Attempts at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries to develop a pattern language (referring to tradition) for the Polish countryside were abandoned after World War II, and the contemporary liberal building policy promotes freedom leading to the fragmentation of architectural and social ties within the settlement.

Territory colonisation projects (ranging from scattered 1930s farms, through alienated state farms, to contemporary fenced housing estates) show little sensitivity to the context and lack of rural development strategies.

State Agricultural Farm (PGR)

State farms became a political project implemented in order to subordinate the countryside to the new economic and political conditions in the Polish People's Republic. Prefabrication and unification of construction (by developing repetitive designs and methods of their implementation) allowed for quick implementation of the plans, which resulted in unified construction throughout Poland. This process was part of a broader project of social and spatial homogenisation after World War II. PGRs emphasised their distinctiveness through their planning (independence from the road as the core of the settlement), functional (separation of production, housing — reproduction and administration) and social layout (new type of employment in agriculture — full-time work, insurance for farmers, access to health care and organisation of cultural life).

Individual transport

Since the 1990s, the car has been an inseparable attribute of the middle class, and thus the garage has become an integral part of the modern house in the countryside (sometimes occupying almost half of the building area). Its clear, often emphasised form dominates the ground floor plan and often serves as the main entrance. The position of the garage in relation to the gate determines the location of the building on the plot, subordinating the comfort of the residents to the functionality of the car, which has thus almost acquired the status of a family member, and since it is entitled to the largest room, one can risk saying that the most important one.

Road Network

The development of the motorway network in Poland should be considered as more oriented towards the transit of goods between the East and the West than towards ensuring connectivity between the country's regions. The expanding network — in addition to cutting apart natural ecosystems, interference with the landscape (sound-absorbing screens) — through rarely and incorrectly located junctions and some of the highest charges in Europe creates a 'tunnel effect', which is why public transport and individual transport is forced to use the local network of connections.

Landfilling

Ineffective state policy in the field of recycling and utilisation of municipal waste means that the main method of its utilisation is landfilling (over 80%), and thus rural areas have become the depository (although the average rural resident produces 40% less waste compared to the urban). Despite the statistical decline of landfill sites, the problem is becoming more and more serious — increased consumption and rising waste charges result in illegal landfills which are often deliberately set on fire, polluting larger territories. However, small rural communities have the potential to create closed circuits in which waste is continuously recycled.

Enclosure

Fencing of the land appeared after humanity's transition from a nomadic to a sedentary lifestyle — along with the concept of ownership and the need to mark their territory. Contemporary fortification of new settlements, excluding road and social infrastructure (e.g. playgrounds) from shared use, causes the disintegration of traditional habitat and isolation of the incoming population. Moreover, negating the need for investment in common spaces results in the disappearance of ties between neighbouring rural communities and local entrepreneurship.

Roof

The roof is of great cultural importance in the construction of houses; it became an element of the 'conservative revolution', which appeared as a response to global modernism in Polish architecture in the 1980s. After a period of standardisation and reduction of housing development, which materialized in 'box' houses, an aesthetic thaw came along with the political one. It was then that the first sets of typical slanting roof projects were published, meeting the expectations of customers. Culturally, such a roof refers to the archetype of the house, present in the Polish space in the form of a 'Polish manor house', which serves as reference in the proposals for unified rural cottages from the early 20th century.

Social infrastructure

A characteristic feature of many social amenities in the villages is their multifunctionality, which manifests itself in adding a cultural, social or sporting function to the original service. In this way, Volunteer Fire Brigade units, apart from representing the village at celebrations, activate the residents in sports, and the fire stations are also used as common rooms. Similarly, in the case of Municipality Cooperatives, which were established after World War II to serve trade, they were involved in running shops and restaurants, as well as organising community centres and Popular Sport Teams. Schools and religious communities also play an important role in organising cultural life.

Forest

Due to nationalisation (1944), most of the forest areas (ca 80%) remain under state control. They are considered a common good under the management of the State Forests. However, access to goods is limited — the monopoly and concessions apply to logging and hunting wild animals, while forest products (fruits, mushrooms, etc.) are not licensed. The state plays the role of a mechanism to prevent disturbance of biological reproduction of forest land, just as commoners did on the common pasture.

Farmstead

The functional layout of rural homesteads is based on traditional patterns (the authors of studies modernising the Polish countryside at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries referred to the layout of manor farms); however, the roots of such a pattern can be found in the models of monasteries, where the central courtyard served a production function (cultivation of herbs), while gardens and fields were located around. In the case of the Polish homestead, the buildings do not form a compact structure, but only flank an extended rectangle of the yard, through which we have access to particular functions — house, cowshed, barn.

The combination of the place of residence and work in one functional group results, to some extent, from the nature of individual agriculture, where there is no strict distinction between the time of work and rest (as was the case in PGRs, where hired labour introduced shifts and normative working time).

Estate

The history of the Polish countryside can be seen as a history of internal colonisation of the population, including — as in the case of overseas colonies — economic oppression, labour exploitation, serfdom and even slavery. On Polish lands, the post-feudal system developed large-area farms owned by the nobility, which compensated for their losses (incurred due to speculative values of selling crops to western markets), worsening the situation of peasants working there (for example, the law prohibiting them from leaving the village without the owner's consent de facto legalised slavery). Thanks to the almost free labour force, the manors became the basis for the economic strength of the upper classes of society. Their existence was ended by the Agricultural Law of 1945, which nationalised and partially parcelled out all the estates.

Land for sale

The commodification of land in the transition to a free market economy increased its value and turned it into an instrument of financial speculation. The liquidation of the State Agricultural Farms in 1991–1993 began the process of privatising public property (referred to as 'the return of assets illegally nationalised after World War II to religious organisations and former landowners'). However, the large amount of land still remains under the management of the state agency (2.1 million hectares, or almost twice as much as the agricultural area of the Netherlands) raises questions about a new strategy to use this potential: whether for agricultural production purposes (political plans to set up new private-state farms) or to implement environmental demands (afforestation of the country).

Suburbanisation

The settlements growing around the cities mostly did not meet the expectations. Built without social infrastructure (nursery schools, kindergartens, schools, community centres, common rooms) and often technical infrastructure (no public transport, pavements, paved roads), they are islands isolated from existing villages, but also not integrated internally (high fences, lack of spaces for communal interaction).

Łan (fief) urbanism

Assigning an investment value to agricultural land after 1989 coincided with a planning vacuum, which was filled by developer investments created on the basis of local building permits (*Decision on conditions of development and land use*), that is, single-issue official decisions. This practice led to the creation of housing complexes (usually single-family or terraced houses) occupying a narrow strip of land with a shape and size that were exclusively the result of administrative decisions related to the use of cultivated land, and not of a deliberate design. The building areas do not communicate with each other, creating fenced islands, separated from the context, duplicating the road and technical infrastructure.

Six Projects
for the Countryside

PROLOG +1

The search for collective forms of living and working is today
a common quest among architects and planners. Unbridled, cha-
otic urbanisation, along with its consequences, growing social
inequalities caused by the avalanche of privatisation of the
commons and the climate crisis — these are global problems,
affecting all citizens. Rural areas are the focus of the crisis that
affects our future (e.g. privatisation of seeds, access to drinking
water, policy on forest areas or the effects of liberal planning
or lack thereof) and at the same time provide many examples
of grassroots activities — cooperation, solidarity resistance

and collective action — which is why it is in the countryside that we see the potential for discussion on the future of producing what is communal and therefore going beyond the logic of the private and public dichotomy.

We can find hope in many signs of change, small impulses, which as a result can lead to disruption and changes in the current order. To outline a vision of an alternative future for rural areas, answering the question of *how will we live together?*, we have invited six design teams from different parts of Europe, who try to push the limits of architectural practice in their work. Their task was to present speculative scenarios, based on the curatorial concept of analysing three spatialities — territory, settlement, and dwelling — understood from the perspective of the commons. These projects form a diverse statement on local and global ways of defining what is rural.

Each team started from one of these areas. The interdisciplinary Hungarian project group GUBAHÁMORI + Filip + László Demeter and the Belgian collective Traumnovelle took up the search for a new definition of rural territory. The German Atelier Fanelsa, which deals with rural issues on a daily basis, and the Russian group KOSMOS, collaborating virtually, began with the exploration of what is communal for a rural settlement. The British Rural Office for Architecture, inter-ested in regionalism, and the team of the Polish architectural quarterly RZUT, which considers drawing, cross-section, text and building to be equivalent tools of architecture, studied the consequences of changes in the domesticated space in the countryside.

From the curator's point of view, the countryside is the result of mutual connections and direct interactions between the three mentioned areas, which we call horizontality. The objective of these projects was to create a complete picture by extrapolating conclusions from research in one given area to the others. In other words, to see how changes in one of the spatialities affect the others.

The Sacred Species

GUBAHÁMORI + Filip + László Demeter, Hungary

Two days have passed since the old Ash fell on the road and cut us off from the outside world. It will take sixty years for the Ash to fully decompose, sixty years for us to gain back that transportation line through the valley.

People gathered around the fallen Tree and prayers for the dead soul started right away. It wasn't a particularly sunny day, so I could see that even the families from the Old-Growth came — many on foot, but some used their cars (not that cars have so much use anymore around here).

It all happened before, I saw everything. After the mourning, the community (to be more precise: the few who decide to stay) will first break up the remaining asphalt, as far as the fallen Ash lies, to start the planting of vegetables, squash, berries and maybe walnut. You may have wheat, tomato or other plants where you live, but here in the Woodland, we don't have much choice. The Trees occupy everything. So when they enclose the village in the end, after the third or fourth summer, everyone leaves — nothing left to do here, all community owned goods will fall back under state jurisdiction.

But I'm not moving this time, too old for that.

You see that golden Sycamore over there? That's where the Old-Growth starts. Deep in the middle, she aged without much disturbance, and is now home for a great number of animals, fungi and plants. A few people live there as well, but not everyone can adapt to the dark and dense fabric of the Forest; I believe they are like isolated deep sea creatures — they live a much slower, spiritual life, almost as if they became one with the soil.

It was my grandmother who built our house, as I recall; she loved the sunshine, couldn't live in the dark down there. We are five metres above the crowns, and it takes one hundred and twelve steps to climb every day — a good workout it is! Living

up here seems dangerous, it definitely does, but the Woods protect us. After father died, it was just the two of us up here for a long time.

Then Paweł was one of the first ones who left when we started losing the roads at the valley. He moved somewhere around Kielce. Twelve hundred people live over there, I heard, and although they pray to the Trees, they don't fear them as much as we do here in the South. They are also losing spaces of production and backyards as we have been, but they have built the village centre more concentrated and more vertically sophisticated to keep the forces outside the settlement at bay. Trees grow through houses or fall on roofs once in a while, but that's fine, Paweł says — it's inspiring how those people adapt to such new situations.

I sometimes feel our life is driven by this constant threat of losing spaces. The Trees take away our roads, our urban spaces, backyards, cemeteries, and crops. Exploitation, I heard the other day. There's no stop here, the Sacred Forest of Silesia moves so aggressively. God help me, but it all seems to me like an uncontrolled chemical reaction that metabolises all formerly existing structures.

Sándor Guba, Péter Hámori (GUBAHÁMORI); Panni Bodonyi, Tamás Kovács Budha (Filip); László Demeter

GUBAHÁMORI is an architecture and urban design studio focusing on the correlation between the natural and the built environment. They are discovering architecture beyond ocularcentrism.

Filip is a collective of visual artists based at a ship repair yard on the island of Népsziget, which is a culturally uprising brownfield of Budapest. The eclectic milieu of the still functional industrial site inspires them to look at everyday situations as platforms of art.

László Demeter is a forest and ethnoecology scientific expert at the Centre for Ecological Research. He specialises in using different knowledge systems (e.g. traditional knowledge and western science) for innovative conservation management.
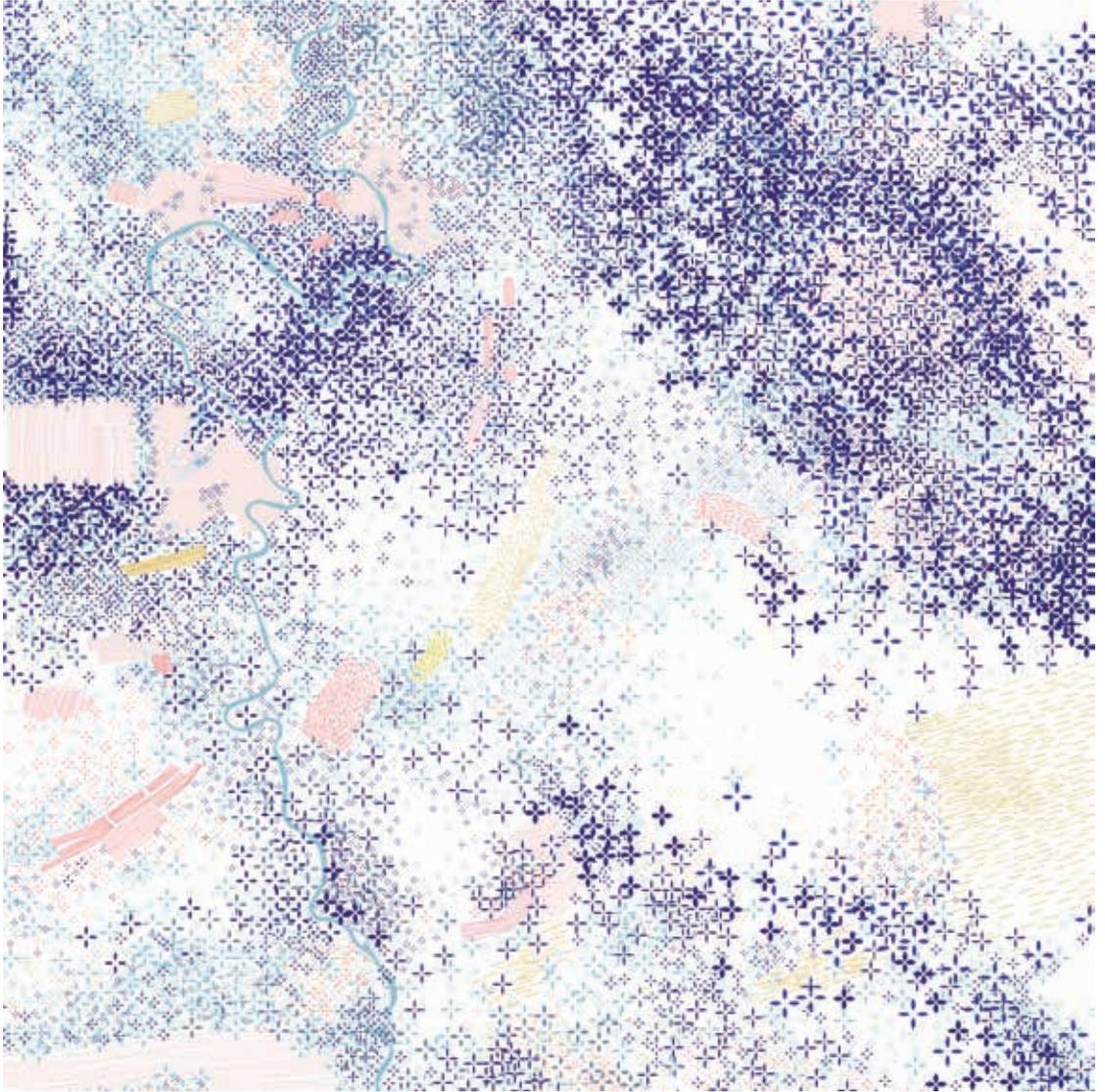
Territory

The spatial distribution of settlements, agricultural lands and forests is now undoubtedly reshaped at the landscape scale. Trees are slowly encroaching on every piece of territory that is left without proper human management.

The space of production

As wooden areas are taking over engineered lands, the production space expands under the tree canopies as well. Location and size control is under governmental jurisdiction, but the utilisation of each piece of land is community-based. This system allows for controlling the use of common resources according to their scale.
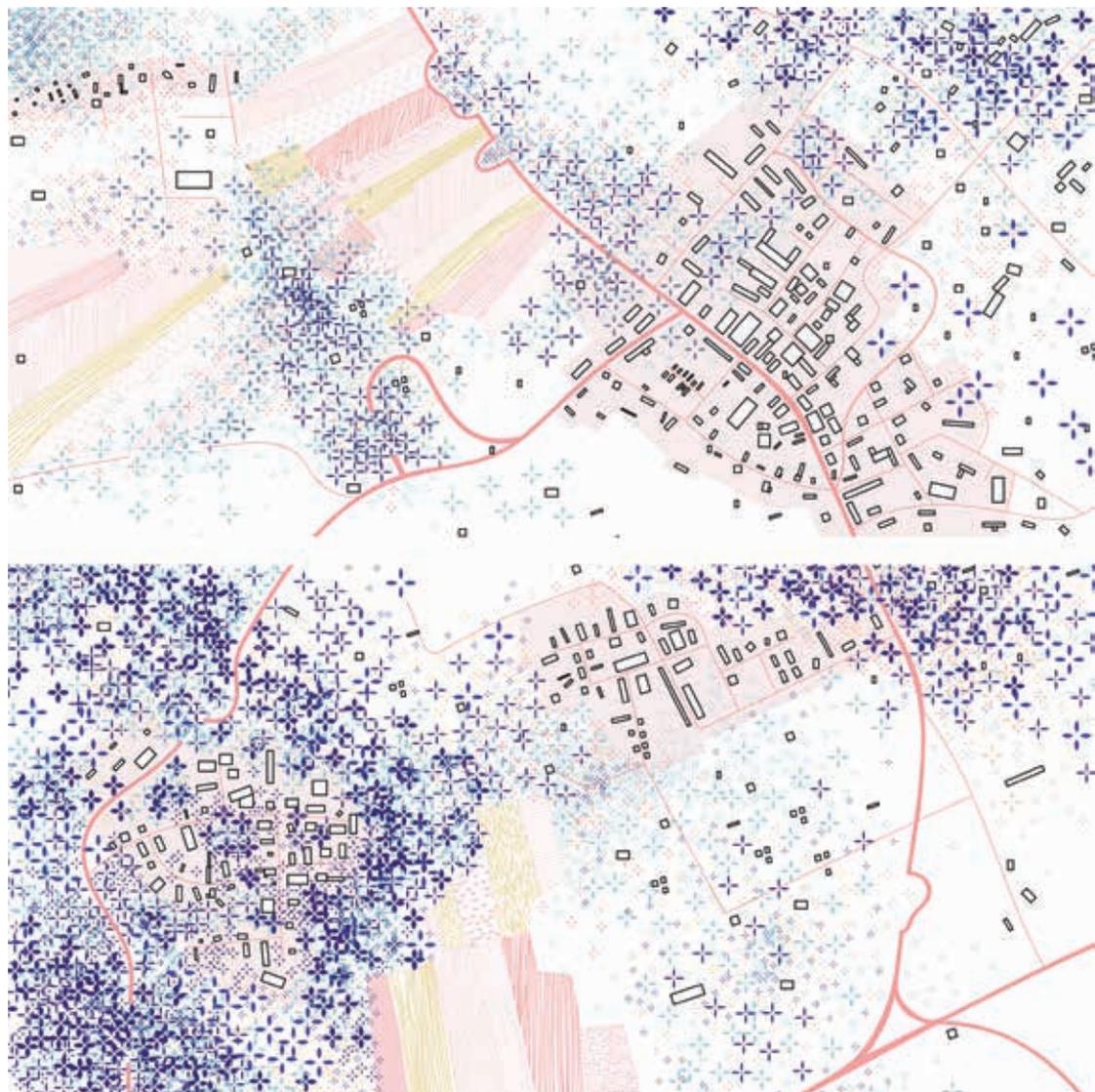
Settlement

The density of human-dominated built environ-
ment decreases along a gradient from settlement
centres to the edges. Borders become blurred
and diffuse as forests penetrate into human-
dominated territory. The invasion of forests can
even engulf whole settlement, leaving them
without any connection to the rest of the world.
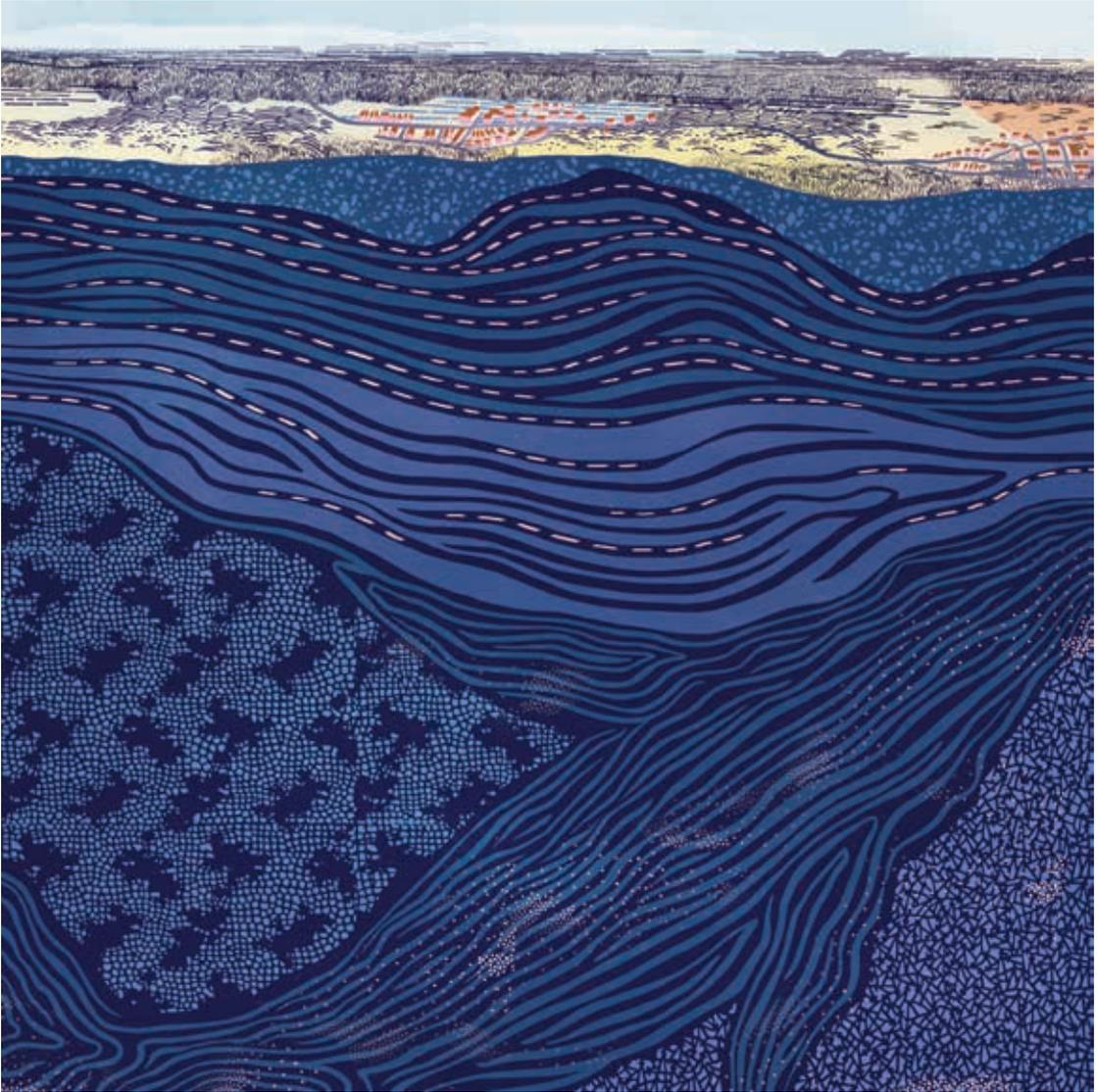
The scale of time

Perception of ecological time is not comprehensible for humans, a species that territorialises the land as an individual actor. Processes and patterns of contemporary landscape depend on the legacy of past events and changes. The timescale of most changes is far beyond individual perceptions of time. What is considered long-timescale for humans is actually very short on the scale of ecological time.

Dwelling

As the available space for human habitats shrinks,
existing buildings are transformed into co-housing
and shared spaces — most of the built infrastructure
becomes a new common resource. Shapes and
spaces of new dwellings are forced to be adapted
to the circumstances provided by the forest.

Adaptations

Trees territorialised most of the landscape
and have become the predominant species.
As the territory expands, other species must
constantly adapt their habitats for survival.
One of the driving forces is the demand for
light in the dark and dense parts of the forest.
Humans developed several construction
methods to escape from the dark reigning below.

EURECA:
EU Climate Resistance Agency

Traumnovelle, Belgium
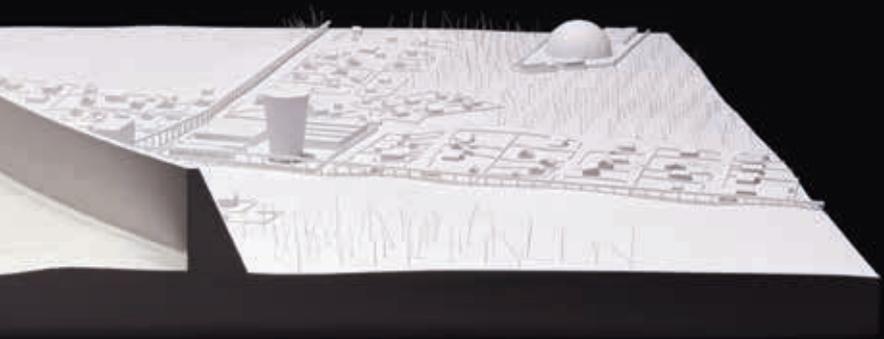
Victoria Nowakowa
1st Prime Minister of the European Union
Inaugural speech
Official broadcast

Dear European Citizens,

Thank you for your trust. I am honoured that you saw in me the first Prime Minister of the European Union. I solemnly swear that I will be up to the task and I will do justice to every vote.

My thoughts tonight go to all the victims of recent years. The thousands of deaths due to COVID-19 and following epidemics which give us no respite. The drought of 2021 and the Afsluitdijk dam leak, which left us struggling to feed ourselves for over a year. The Kozloduy nuclear catastrophe which rendered much of Bulgaria, Serbia and Poland uninhabitable. The earthquakes of Southern Italy and the terrible floods of Transylvania. My thoughts go out to those who died of starvation or dehydration in the aftermath. Those who lost their jobs, their homes, their loved ones.

This is the European Union that our forefathers have handed us!

Your conduct when facing these catastrophes has been heroic. The world thanks you for your deep involvement. You have dealt with these crises with honour and solidarity. You have fought back, rebuilding what was destroyed and sharing what had to be shared with those hit by hardship. You acted with dignity when you held climate strikes, the values of which you have taken all the way into your private lives with strength.

Citizens of Europe, I hear your voice loud and clear and on the day of my election, I make a solemn promise to you. I swear that I will protect you, that I will protect your families, that I will protect your businesses and homes from the threat of climate change. I will do this at any cost.

We are at war. Throughout this campaign, Europe has ceaselessly been struck by ecological catastrophes and it is our duty to fight back.

To protect our land and to protect our people, collectively. To construct a brighter, more secure future for ourselves, for our children.

For these reasons, my first action as Prime Minister of the European Union is the creation of EURECA: the EU Climate Resistance Agency. I have named our most valued scientists and engineers to lead it. EURECA will be working hard in the next weeks, months and years, in full collaboration with the regional and national governments of Europe.

EURECA will set up a plan of climate-resistant infrastructure on a continental scale. It will address specific threats such as the rise of sea levels, drought and wildfires, as well as anticipate and counter future hazards by expanding forest coverage and CO_2 absorption.

EURECA will increase civilian resilience by empowering localities. EURECA will deploy actions akin to those of a benevolent father on behalf of his children.

The Polish region has been selected for the implementation of a pilot project due to its widespread population and medium density, its strong community-building involvement and its historical economic ties with the EU, making it homogeneously developed. It is also afflicted with low-intensity occurrences of the climate catastrophes which burden the entire territory, making it ideal for measurement and trial-testing. For all of these reasons, Poland will serve as a prototype for the infrastructural defence system of the EU.

Dear citizens, we are at war, but we have hope. We have each other. We have EURECA. We will prevail!

Traumnovelle is a militant faction founded by three Belgian architects: Léone Drapeaud, Manuel León Fanjul and Johnny Leya. Traumnovelle uses architecture and fiction as analytical, critical and subversive tools to emphasise contemporary issues and dissect their resolutions. Their work champions a multi-disciplinary approach with architecture at the crossroads and has been published internationally.

Traumnovelle curated the Belgian Pavilion at the Biennale Architettura 2018. Their Eurotopie project pursues the construction of Europe as a political ideal. They consider Europe to be the last utopia, the only social structure able to counter nationalism and address global issues such as political, climatic and economic collapse. Traumnovelle questions the relationships between architecture and politics.

Climate related natural disasters

The dam

EURECA
European Climate Resistance Agency

INFRASTRUCTURES POLISH REGIONS

Infrastructures Polish regions

The wall

CLOUD SEEDING PROCESS
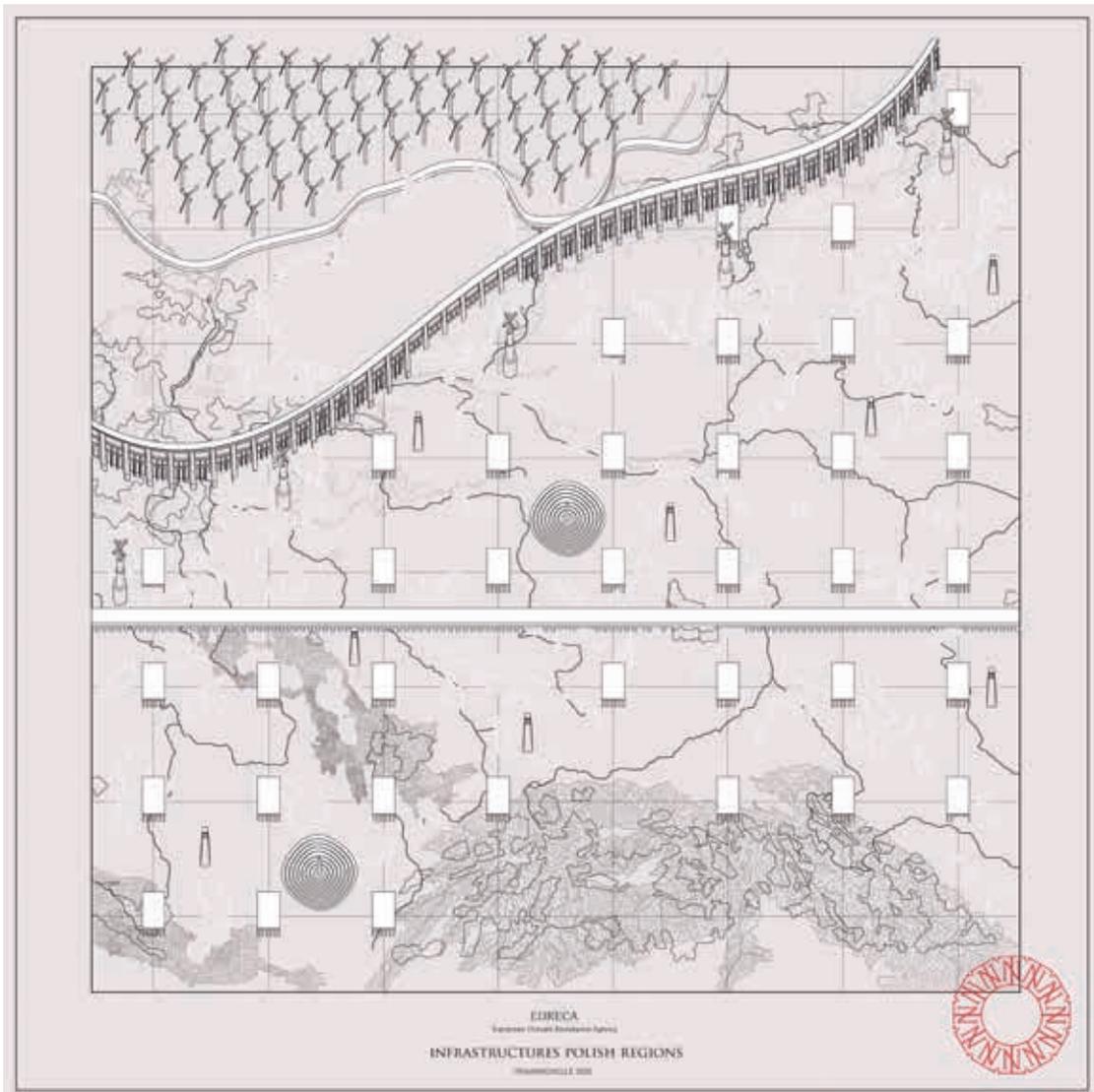
EURECA
European Climate Resistance Agency

WEATHER MODIFICATION OFFICE EQUIPMENT AND PROCEDURES

TRAUMNOVELLE 2020

Cloud seeding process

The shelter

Village Commons

Atelier Fanelsa, Germany

This speculative project proposes a new settlement typology for the Polish countryside based on the careful observation on the current condition of migration in the German-Polish border region. An existing village is transformed and becomes a prototype for an ecological, sufficient and holistic lifestyle based around the idea of commoning.

The EU policy making and further funding opportunities encourage a non-urban landscape stretching across borders. On a territorial scale of the Stettin metropolitan area, the result is an on-going migration of young families, the elderly and professionals looking for affordable land. This migration allows the existing villages to organically transition into a contemporary state. Currently this phenomenon, similar to the Stettin context, can be observed in other regions of Poland and Europe.

The settlement with a community of approximately 300 inhabitants features three distinct areas: the central common village green, the individual parcels and the outer fields and pastures. The village green with a meadow and pond is used for annual festivities and markets. This core also has common facilities like a community centre, a guest house and co-op kiosk. The shared energy production is situated in a tall tower. An elegant pergola structure surrounds the buildings and outdoor spaces forming one spatial entity.

Mixed-use buildings group around the core with dwelling typologies combining living and small-scale production under one large roof. Most of the main facades face the centre, materialising a shared facade. The outdoor space is characterised by fruit trees and vegetable gardens for a self-sufficient lifestyle. On the edge of the village, more

productive uses are positioned in close connection to the agricultural land. Next to cooperatively worked fields, the productive landscape is characterised by common energy production facilities, forests and open meadows.

Atelier Fanelsa is an international team of architects based in Berlin and Gerswalde (Brandenburg). The studio investigates contemporary forms of working, living and commoning in the countryside, the periphery, and the city. We realise private projects, public buildings, exhibitions, and workshops. Within these formats, we develop innovative and qualitative answers to questions regarding the conditions of today's society.

The labels within the map image read: WASTE, OPEN MEADOW, AUTUMN PLANTING, FALLOW, INDIVIDUAL PARCELS, COMMON, SMALL SCALE PRODUCTION, VILLAGE GREEN, SWAMP, LAKE, SPRING PLANTING, COMMON PASTURE, VILLAGE WOODS

Atelier Fanelsa
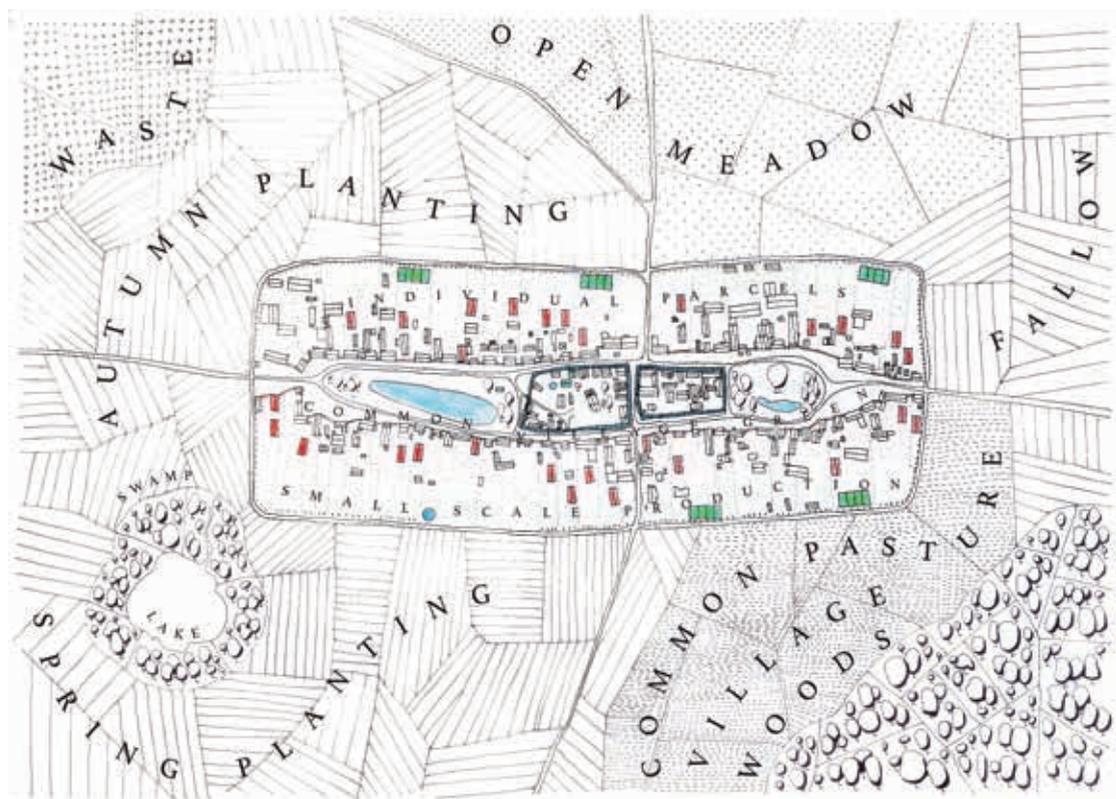
Settlement

The new settlement typology with central common
village green, individual parcels and outer fields
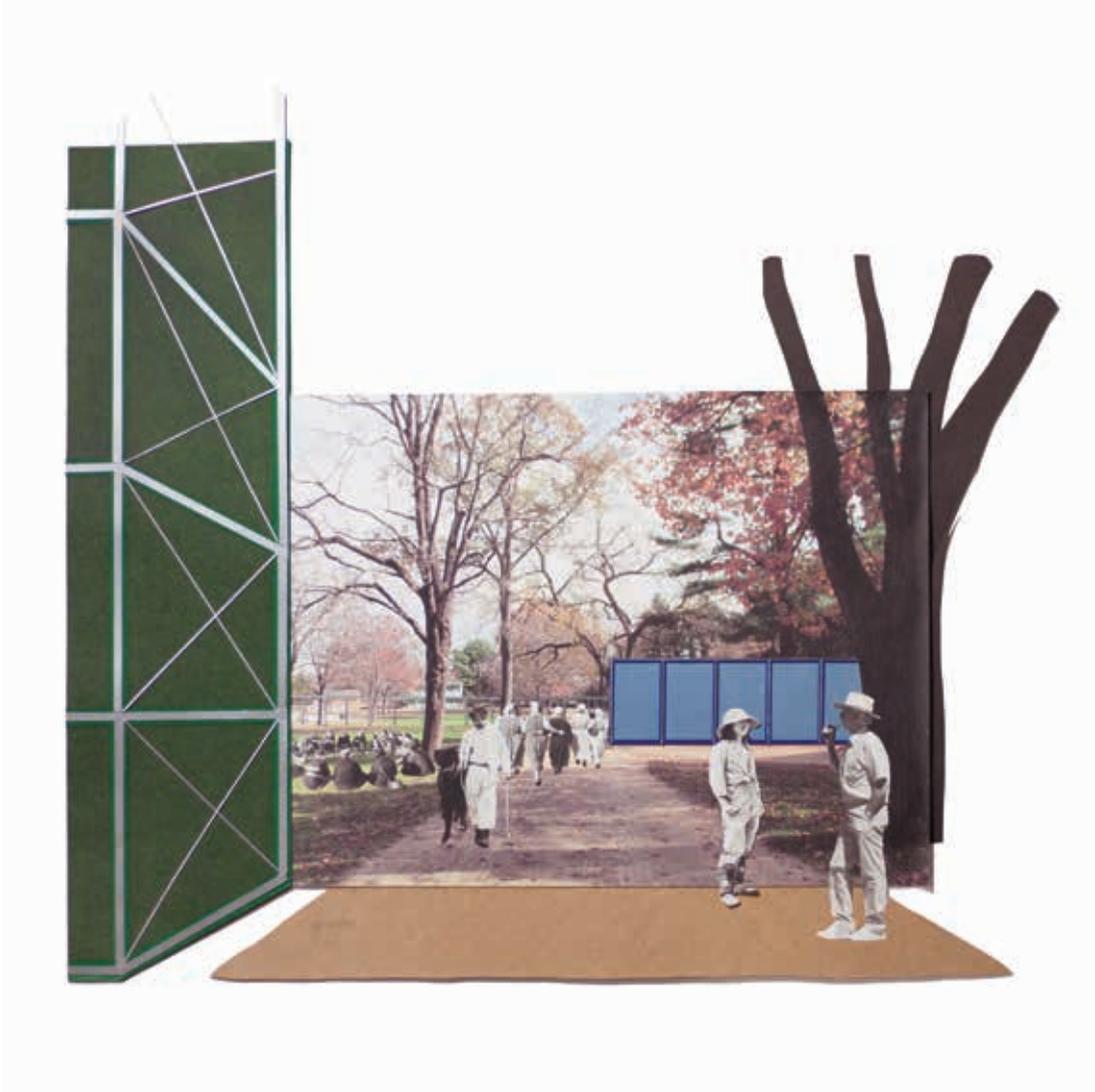
Settlement

The community organises annual festive
activities and markets in the village green
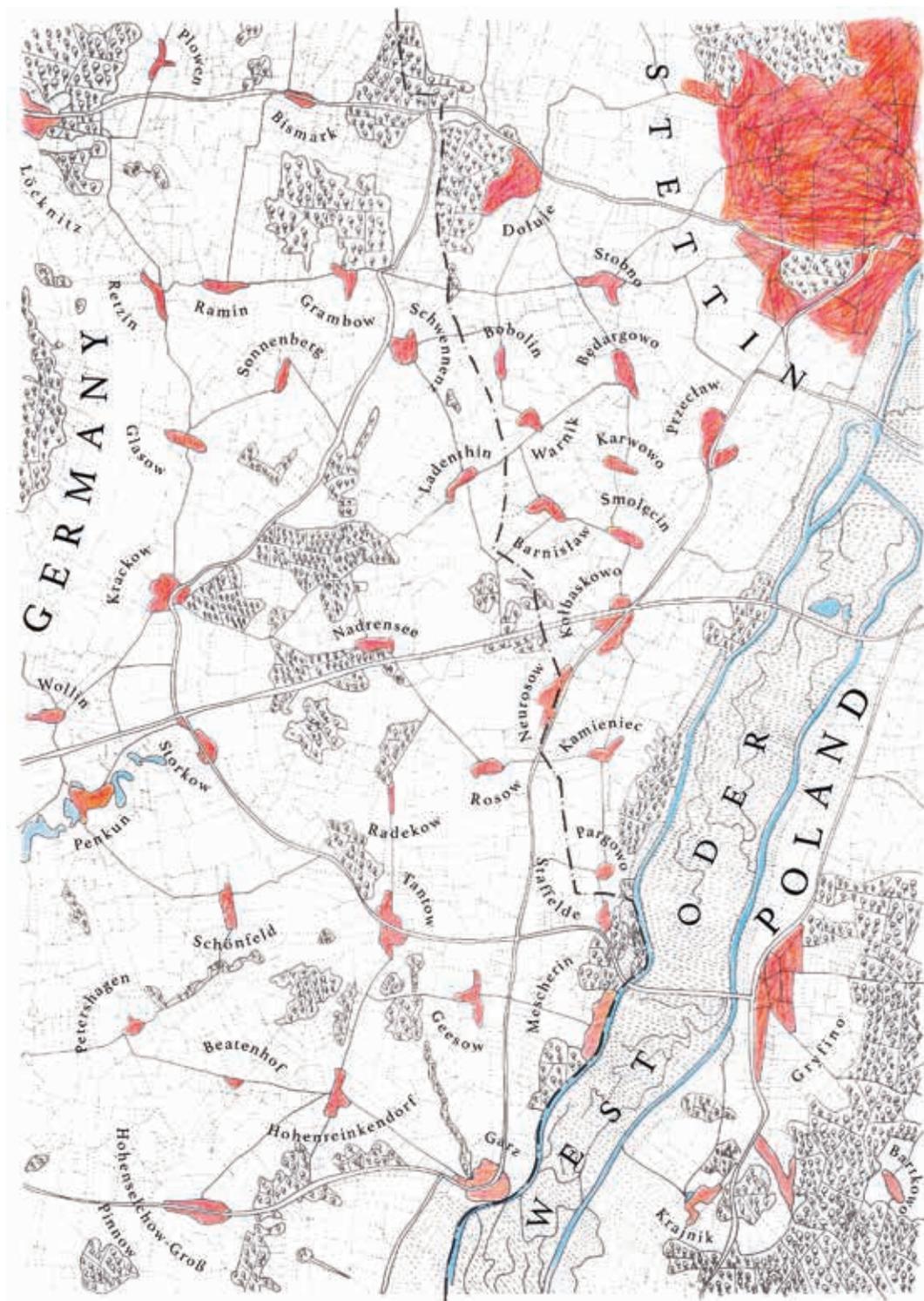
Territory

Transforming villages in the German-
Polish border region of Stettin

Territory

New settlers looking for opportunities

INDIVIDUAL PARCELS

ORCHARD

VEGETABLE GARDEN

MIX USE TYPOLOGIES

COMMUNITY CENTRE

CO-WORKING SHOP

SHARED FACADE

PERGOLA

CO-OP

KIOSK

WINTER GARDEN

COMMUNAL ENERGY TOWER

COMMON VILLAGE GREEN
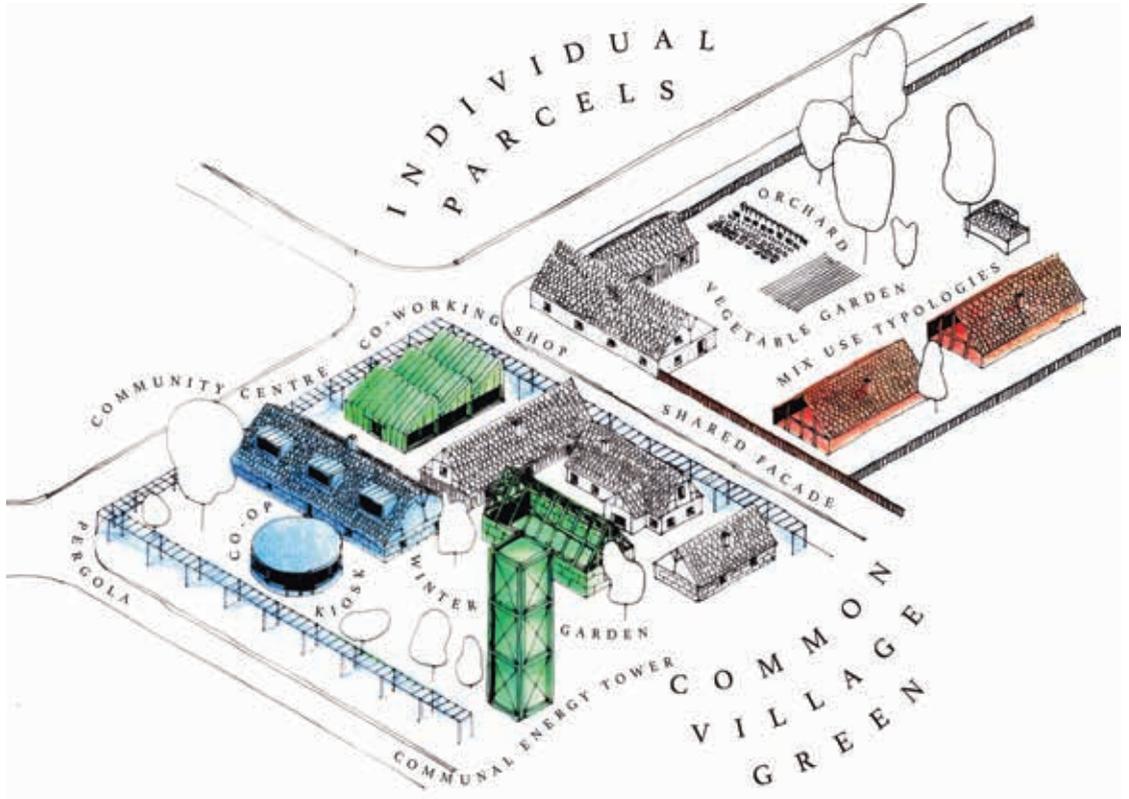
Dwelling

New building typologies form the spatial
relationship of the prototype

Dwelling

A self-sufficient
lifestyle emerges

Countryspine
KOSMOS Architects, Russia, Switzerland, Austria
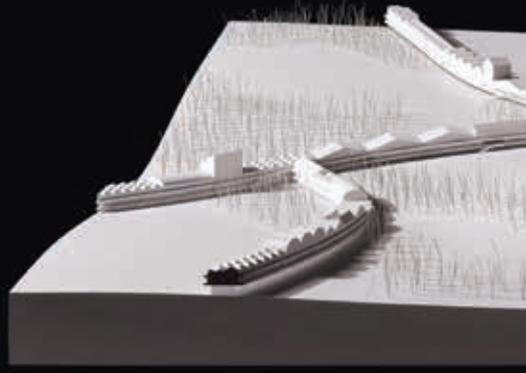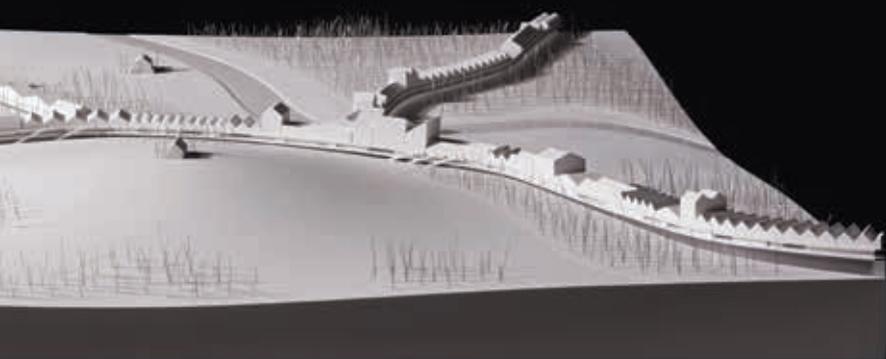
How to develop the countryside and still preserve green land?

How to create a common active social space and provide enough privacy?

Can people simultaneously be involved in agriculture production and intellectual work?

What should be the difference between the countryside and the city in the near future?

Even though we are used to imagining the countryside as the opposite of the city, in fact it is not 'pristine untouched' nature, but a continuous landscape of man-made infrastructure: greenhouses for plants, warehouses for big agricultural machines, sheds for animals, factories for production, etc., constitute a big part of it. Highways and roads are fully built areas without any volume. They connect cities, villages and settlements, facilitating all the processes in the countryside, but they remain underused most of the time. We imagine that volume which they hold in reserve could be a resource for densification while keeping the existing footprint.

We propose a project of a linear development that will take place on top of the existing roads. The roads are already built, and even if in the future, the modes of transportation progress into self-driving cars, or other ways of transport, the roads will still remain a method of connection between the cities. We propose that the new development happens above the existing roads to keep the project dense, not to use the 'wild' nature, to keep it as a 'reserve' for future

We propose to construct three-level structures on top of the roads. The first level will feature the road itself, where the cars, trucks and any other transport of the future can freely circulate from city to city, from settlement to settlement. Above it is the residential layer, hosting housing for people. It will be built as a simple shell and core structure, allowing occupation of it

step-by-step, and free customised housing units. Above it is the third level: greenhouses, occupied by agriculture and human public activity, the main space for common functions. Here traditional functions of the agricultural greenhouse, such as growing vegetables, crops, fruits, are combined with shared public facilities like common kitchens, playgrounds, sport facilities, and units of private business like stores and services of all kinds, as well as offices and places for leisure and relaxation. As part of the MEP system, we integrate computer servers which facilitate all the digital process of the settlements and the produced hit used to create the required indoor climate.

The project is a self-sustainable system based on circular economy and local production where people live, produce and grow the food in the direct proximity, while having opportunity of immediate transportation and direct access to the real, untouched nature. Using the existing roads gives a very compact footprint and keeps free land, whereas cross-programming of the greenhouses and different regimes of use create a very active countryside settlement model. This type of settlement can be an alternative spatial, economical, ecological social model to the traditional city or suburban models.

KOSMOS Architects is an office collaborating virtually, bringing together partners based in Geneva, Moscow, Graz and New York. KOSMOS designs pro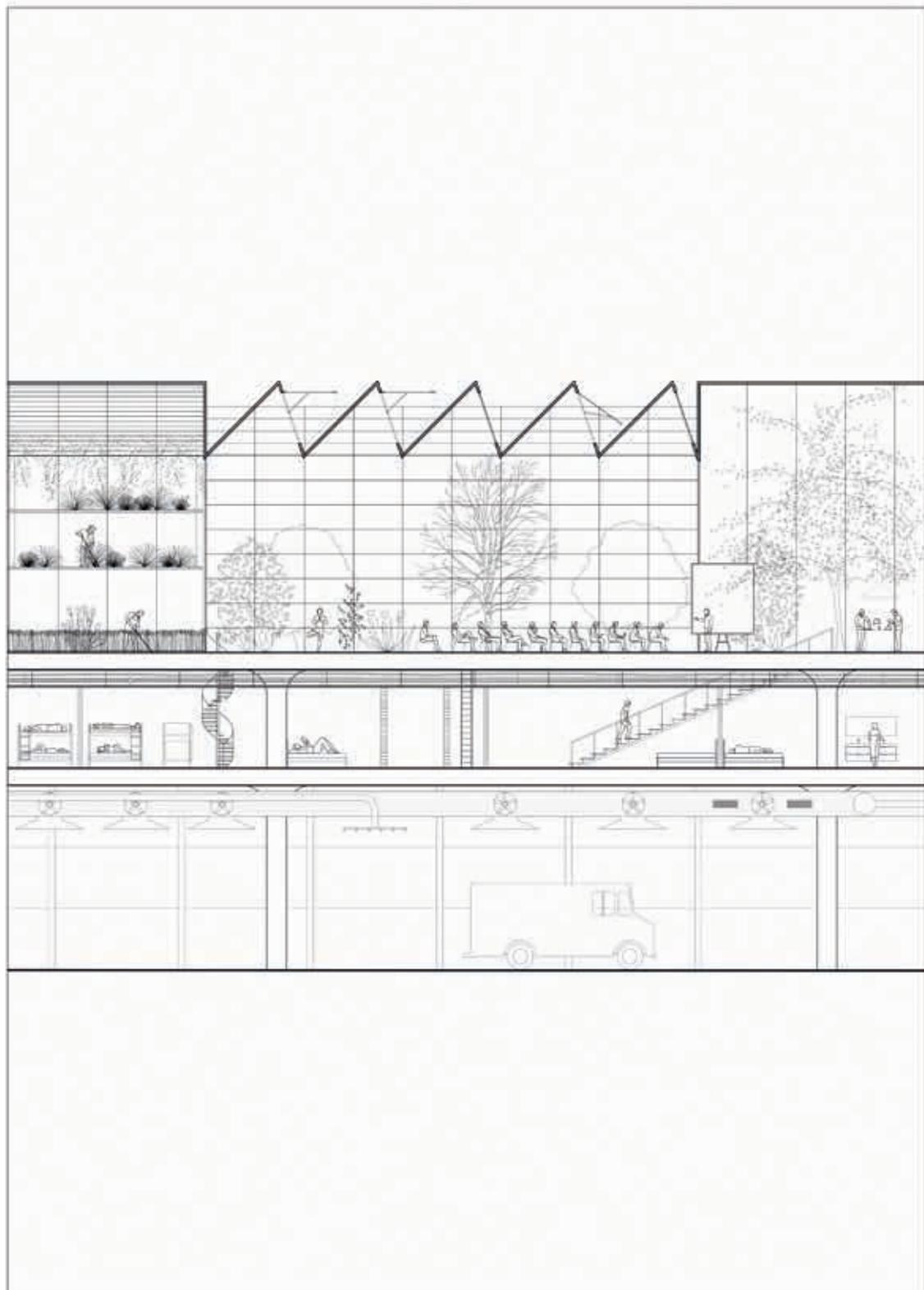jects and environments of all types and scales: from a door handle to a city, from hardcore architecture to pop-up art installations. The office combines art and technology, global experience with respect to local context, academic research and practical architecture.
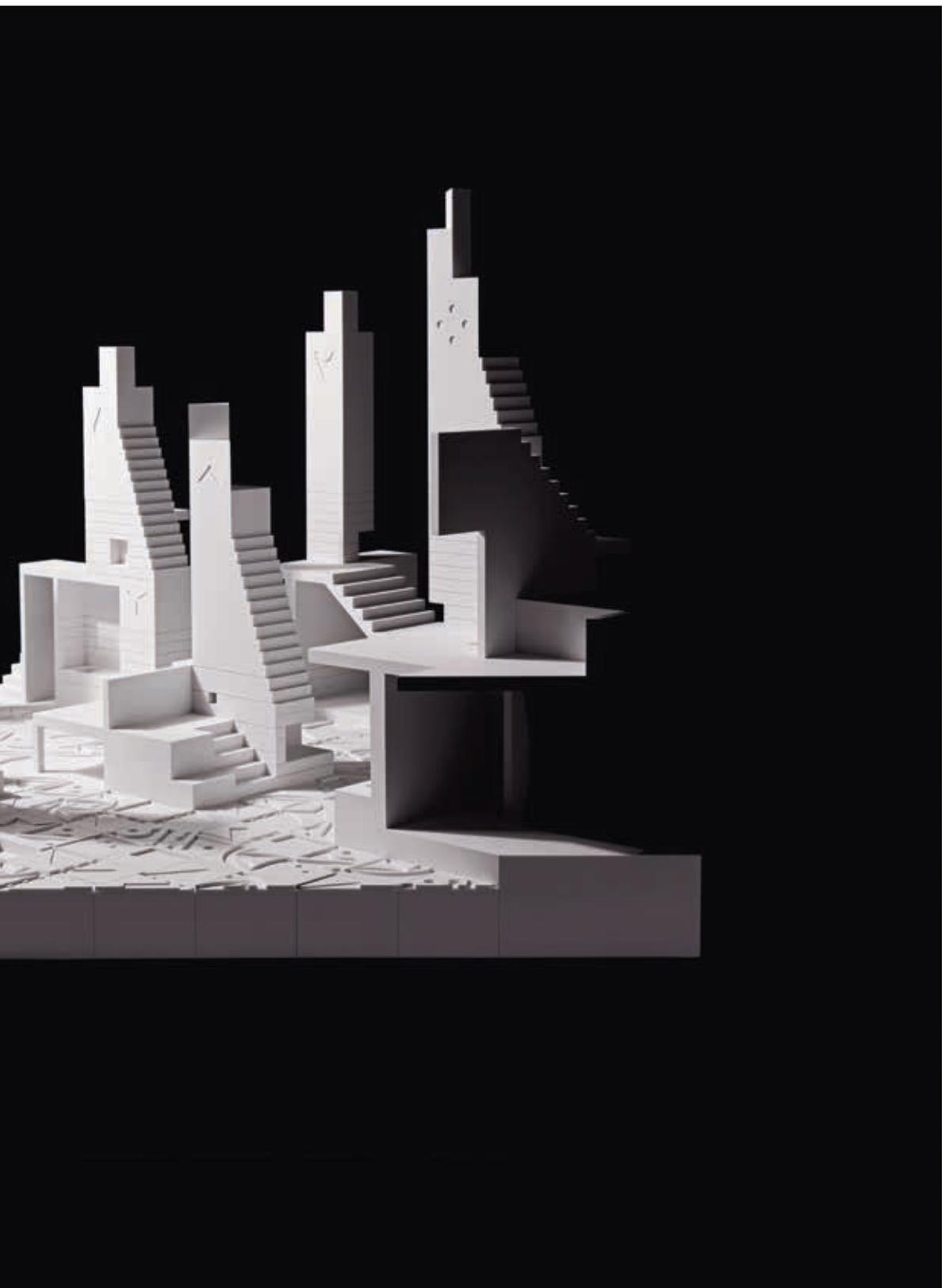
Elevation

Floorplan
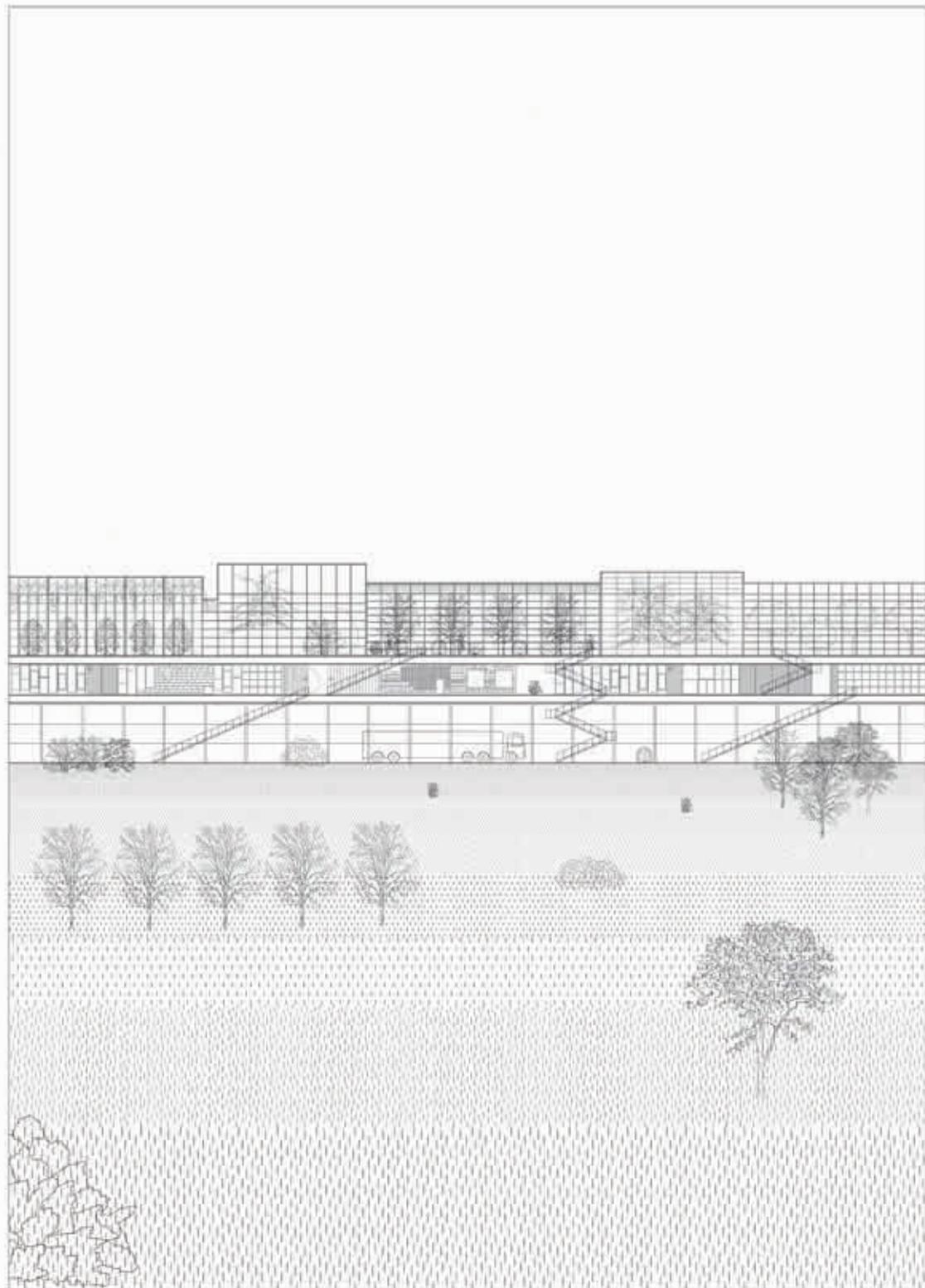
Section

Spolem

Rural Office for Architecture, United Kingdom

We believe in the notion of togetherness; the spirit of working and living together, collaborating and sharing. Drawing on Poland's rich history of collective society we examine how we can live together in this current rural context. This project draws on two key references, Oskar Hansen's Open Form, published in 1959, and Władysław Matlakowski's survey of the vernacular condition in Zakopane, published in 1892.

Hansen states, 'Open Form is about variable compositions — the processes of life highlighted by backgrounds;'[1] an architecture conceived as a framework to support everyday life.

Matlakowski described the layout of the Góral [Highlander] hut[2] as split between a winter room and an unprogrammed summer room. The winter room, blackened by smoke from its stove, is defined as the black space: the fundamental spaces necessary for survival. The summer room, clean from soot, was the white space: open in plan and programmed to accommodate new furniture, new residents, and the detritus of everyday life.

These two references hold close semblance and this is how the project is conceived, with Hansen and Matlakowski combined: a black space core provisioning a hearth, kitchen and bathroom that literally and figuratively supports the white space for everyday life. The black space hosts the perfunctory; the white space accommodates living, experiment and expansion.

Hansen also established a framework for how this was to be realised. In his application of the Open Form he discussed three scales of intervention: the state, the housing association and the individual. In this context, the state build the infrastructure, the housing association build the black space, and the individuals build the white space. The housing association produce the pattern books for the individual to choose their hearth, their kitchen, their bathroom. The individual then builds their own home through the private market.

[1]   Quoted after: Agata Pyzik, 'Oskar Hansen (1922–2005)', *Architectural Review*, 8 October 2015.

[2]   The Góral hut is the native architecture of the Podhale region and a source of national identity during the 19th century while the country was entirely partitioned.

[3]   *Działkowanie* is the art of cultivating and relaxing on a small piece of land — an allotment. An assemblage of individual parts, an opportunity for multi-generational use, a collective force.
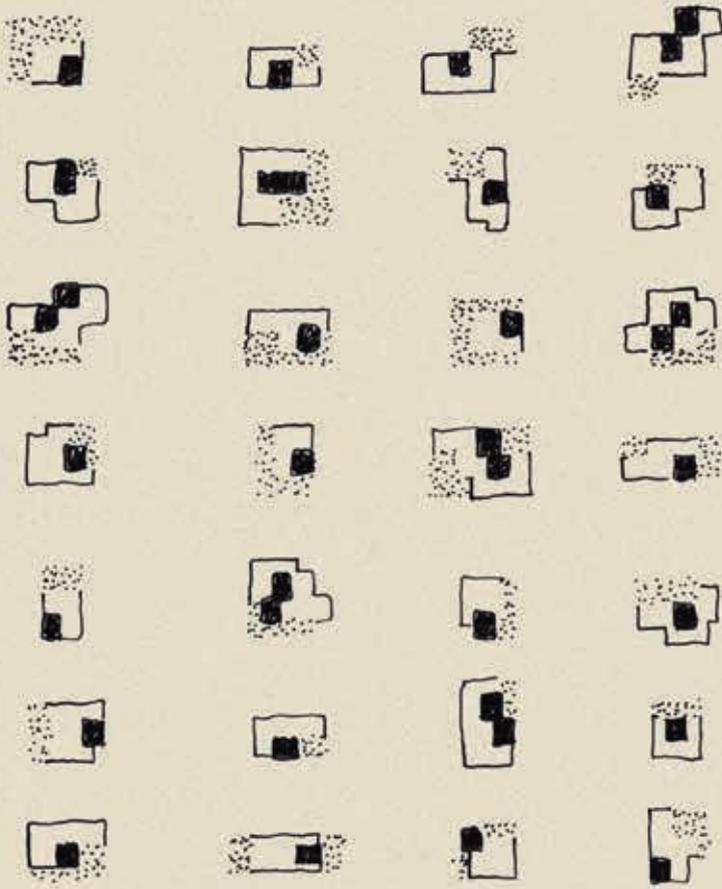
Whilst Poland has a long, rich history of co-operatives, housing pattern books and collective society, one cannot be naïve about the realities of self-determinism and individual agency in Poland's post-Soviet state. This system endeavours to accommodate both.

The project therefore seeks a balance between these individual black and white desires and the importance of the common, in-between, grey spaces. The clustering of dwellings creates liminal unclaimed territory: small pieces of land left to be wild or to be cultivated. This sharing and enjoying of common land is integral to Polish cultural identity: the spirit of *działkowanie*[3] is thus integral to the project. The in-between addresses the balance of individualism and collectivism: the necessity for an individual piece of world and the value of the void.

The perceived failure of rural Polish housing today is to refuse the existence of communal amenity and to isolate the individual within their own dwelling. Our proposal seeks a balance between these polar opposite issues — this black and white dichotomy — through the creation of the black, white and grey.

Taxonomy of dwellings

A diagram indicating the different scales of dwelling units and
user groups, based on Polish demographics and traditional space
standards. An indication of the black and white spaces indicating
the importance of the core and hearth within the plan form.

Dwelling

A domestic scene centred around the hearth to demonstrate the potential growth and personalising of space that may evolve through a free market model. We make a specific reference to Enzo Mari and the assembly of an interior.
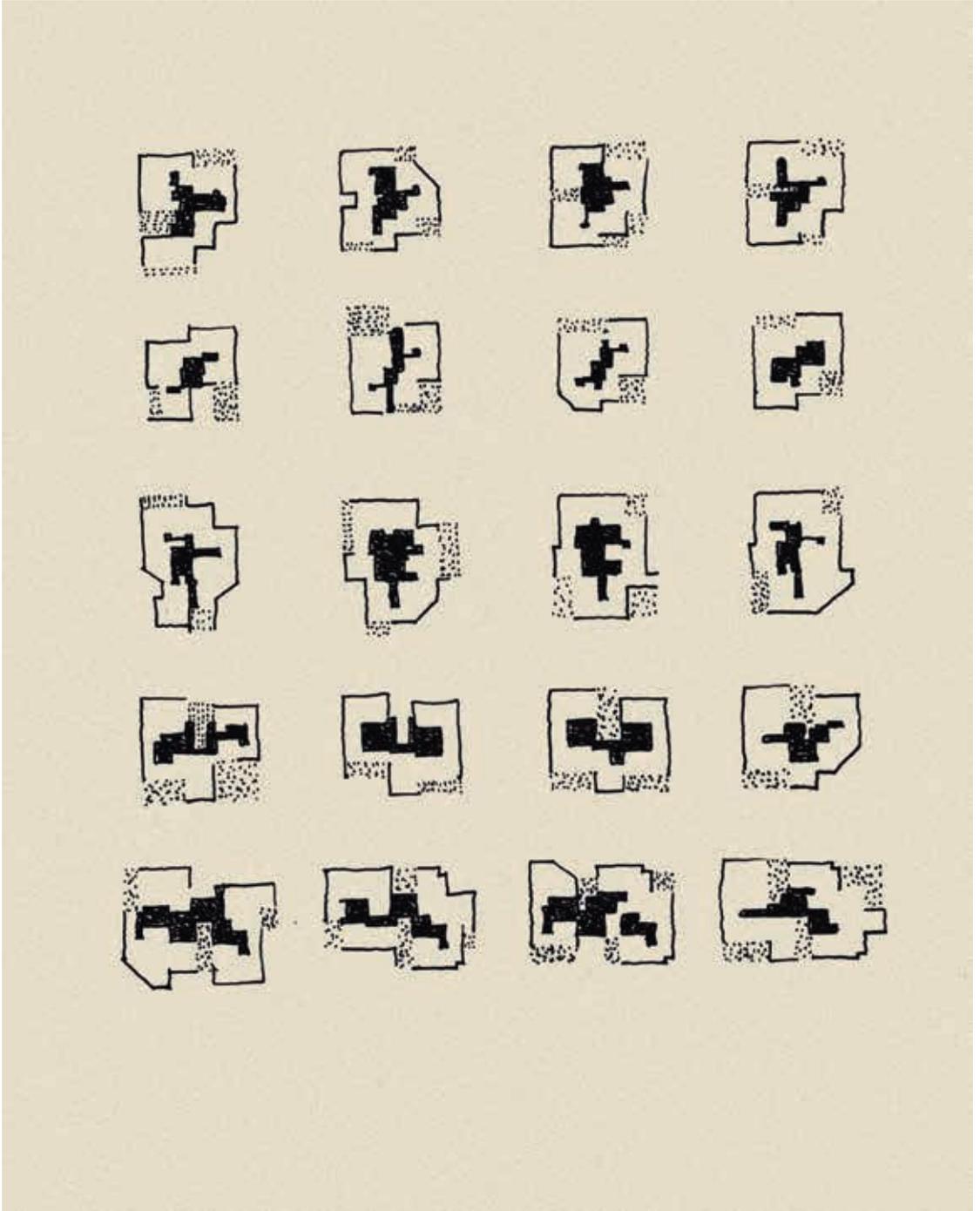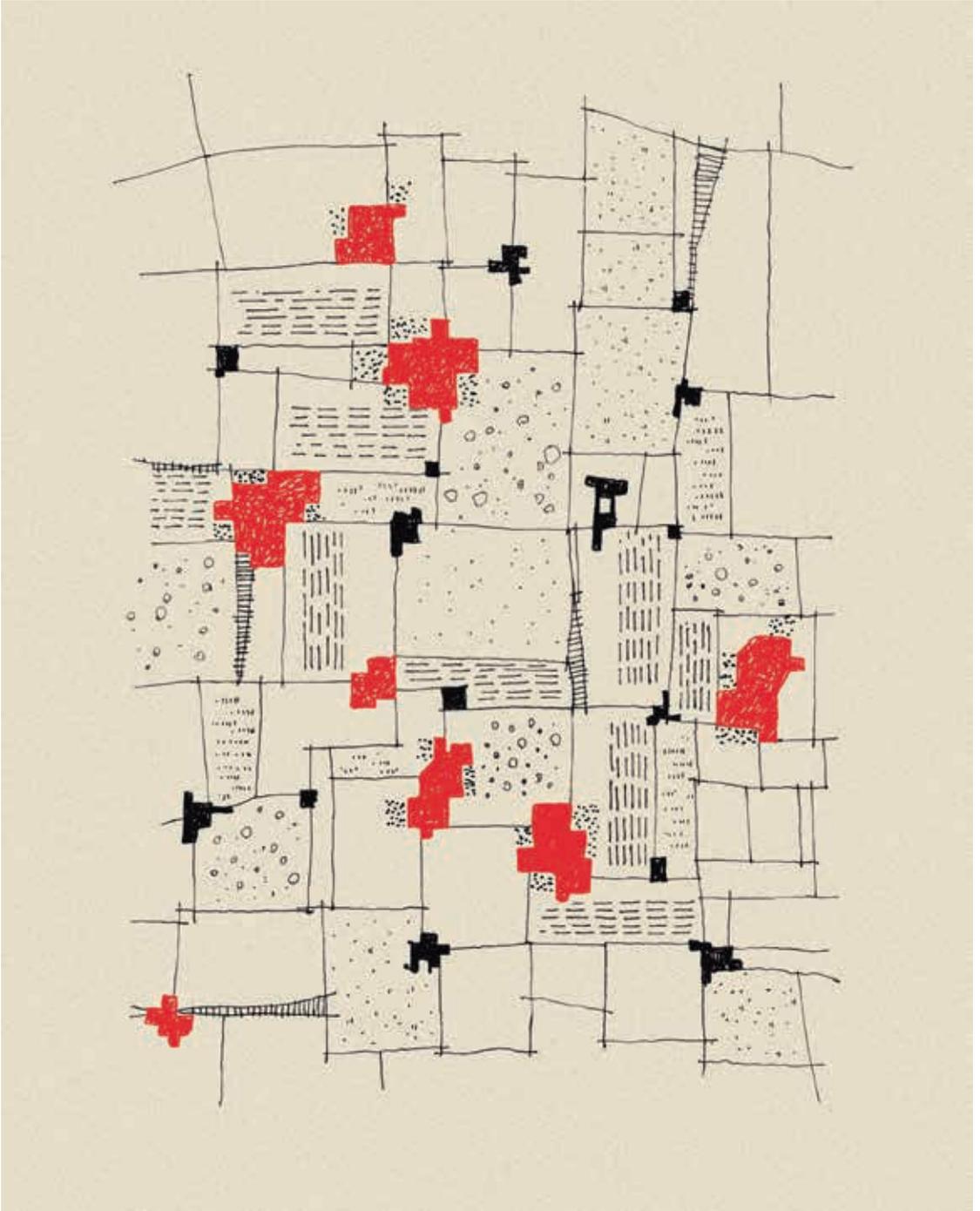
Settlement

A set of diagram plans to explain the grouping of dwellings to form mini settlements, where the black spaces are fragmented to address the adjacencies between different dwellings and the introduction of vertical circulation.

Settlement

A scene depicting the shared territory or common between
dwellings within the settlement, set within a rural landscape
of growing and 'making do'. The interior view relates back to
the image on page 223, the long view to the image on page 227.

Territory

A landscape plan of group settlements set within an abstracted
fictional landscape, indicating the spatial importance of the
działkowanie. The relationship of black, white and grey extends
beyond the settlement into the territory. The red represents completed
settlements, the black structures that are ready for development.

Territory

A scene depicting the settlement with a long view suggesting context of landscape and mountain views. A reference to Polish cultural practice in foreground, with a range of structures in varying stages of development and at different scales and uses.

Social Infrastructure

RZUT, Poland

Rural areas can be a large, green power plant.
Minister of Agriculture Jan Krzysztof Ardanowski, 2020

One day, the countryside was transformed into a power plant. The old structures of post-socialist agricultural conglomerates, tired of the capitalist reality, were linked by a ribbon of infrastructure producing green energy.

The residents quickly realised that this new element in the familiar landscape not only brought them profits, but also promoted directness of relations. This was the birth of the energy cooperative, which soon replaced the morally outdated model of extra-city production.

People quickly discovered how to take advantage of the surplus energy. Those who wanted to earn more began to drastically reduce consumption in their own homes. The rooms that required a power supply were moved to the ground floor, which became a collective tool for minimising consumption and shared generation of heat. The upper floors were turned into luxurious enclaves of privacy, and the top floors were stripped of their roofs, so the residents could once again enjoy all times of day and the changing seasons. Nothing else was needed — the countryside finally allowed people to live and die in the same place. Infrastructure became a tool of transformation, a new shelter for civilisation.

The countryside is no longer a paradise. If we are to believe the stories, over the course of 6,000 years, we have gone from stealing the fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil to raising fur animals and corn monocultures, which will soon drown us with glucose-fructose syrup. The abundance characteristic of the paradise myth has turned into wastefulness today, but it does not have to be. That is why a new model of living in the countryside was created, using a resource that is still in abundance here — land.

It is not about fertile fields, which according to EU law can only be cultivated today, but about the areas of former State Agricultural

Farms (PGR) — relics of agricultural nationalisation. We have transformed them into a real community infrastructure.

The farmers of the future use them to 'grow' green energy, which feeds their small businesses, based on remote working and local services. Excess energy is sold to cities. Profit from the sales frees the residents from the heartless logic of speculation.

The production lanes are interspersed with the post-PGR house blocks of flats, the spaces between them teeming with life powered by green energy. New farms use it in the community ground floors of terraced houses converted from blocks. The private space on the first floor and the open terraces above it separate the public from the individual, but also the warm, heated and year-round, from the cold and seasonal.

Homesteads between the houses and the green power plant are built of a network of small modules — rural volumes, complementary, as in the past, individual parts of a traditional farm: a vegetable garden, a cattle shed, a barn. Experimental farms, places for working and resting, kindergartens, galleries? Who knows what other functions this new structure will acquire? The multiplicity of possibilities makes the space between infrastructure and housing a space of conversation, negotiation and dispute — toilsome community building.

Commons means shared ownership, shared social practice, and finally, knowledge developed together. *Common sense* is a trait of the settlers, which will be the foundation for wise management (the first virtue of rural life). The infrastructural balks (branches that move away from the trunk of the energy belt) will connect individual dwellings into a settlement in its physical and social dimension. Within this framework, practice based on individual dreams, aspirations and goals will become the basis for building a true community.

RZUT

Katarzyna Billik, Matylda Gąsiorowska, Igor Łysiuk, Karolina Matysiak, Andrzej Olejniczak, Zofia Piotrowska, Przemysław Sobiecki, Łukasz Stępnik, Milena Trzcińska

We are a group of people who write, tell stories and offer critique. We summarise the stories we observe in a quarterly published since 2013. We are not a design studio, and our goal is not to build. Nevertheless, we feel like architects and use our experience to deepen our reflection on the subject of space. Text, drawing and building are for us equal elements of a world where there is no division between theory and practice.

Dwelling

Residents of the cooperative want to make money from
saving the world, so they save energy to be able to sell it.
Only the common ground floor is connected to the infra-
structure; the vacant spaces enable wasteful use of the
space — terraces appear in houses, whole storeys begin to
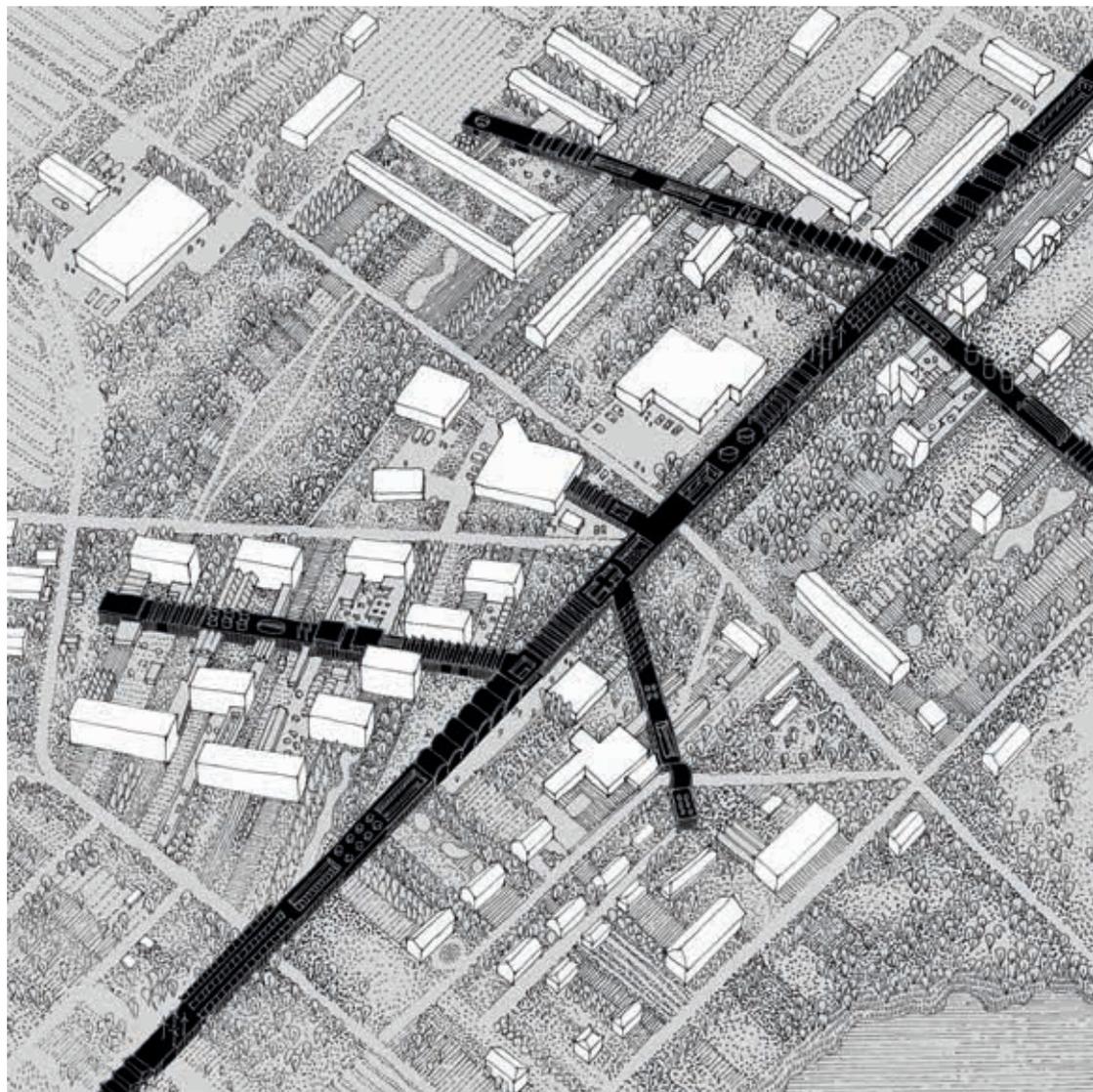function according to the rhythm of the changing seasons.
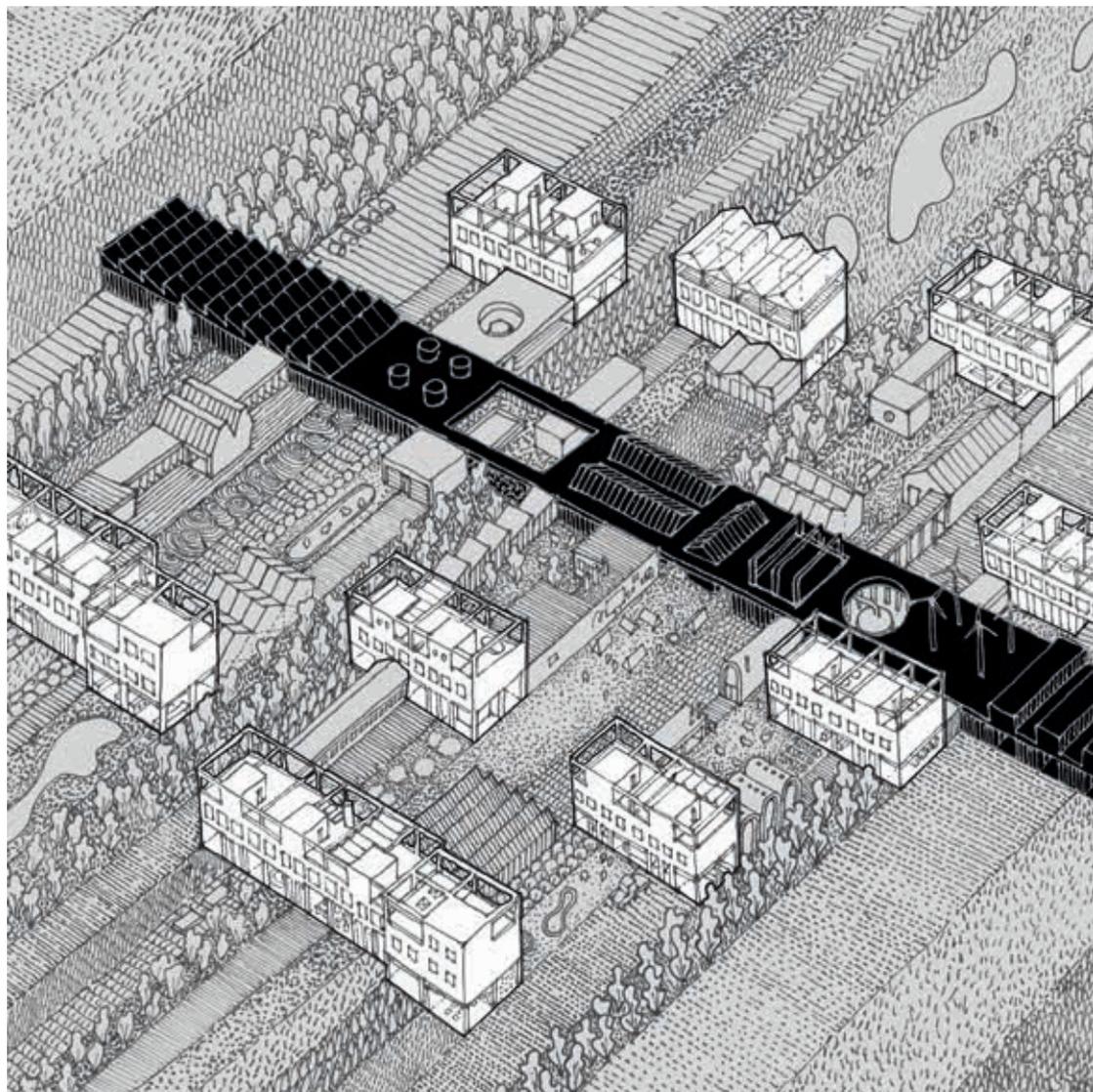
Settlement

The space between homes and the new infrastructure
fills up with new functions over time; the wealthy
residents realise their private and collective fantasies
in it. The power plant becomes an axis that marks
a new parcellation of land within the estate.

Territory

The power plant is a linear structure linking various forms of
settlement into infrastructural strips, the beginning and end of
which are marked by the boundaries of a specific territory. Its
long range allows the transmission of surplus energy and cre-
ates a communication backbone for future rural development.

Paradise on the Horizon
PROLOG +1

Territory

Poland is located in Eastern Europe, between the Baltic Sea and the Western Carpathian mountain range, in the Central European Lowlands. It is characterised by a rather monotonous, flat landscape. Politically, the country itself is described today as Central European, historically belonging to the Eastern Bloc. Therefore, an inherent feature of this location is the balance between global geopolitical forces. Here, between what is natural and what is political, the definition of territory is formed. The GUBAHÁMORI

+ Filip + László Demeter, and Traumnovelle teams tried to define a rural area, by questioning the previous understanding of its territory. In the presented projects, they look for answers to the questions of the extent to which human activity will affect the environment, how we are able to respond to the challenges of a climate disaster, as well as what political narratives are needed to alter the current territory.

Both projects propose a radical transformation of the territory based on climate change response policies. It seems, however, that despite their common goals, they look at the problems they have encountered quite differently. The GUBAHÁMORI + Filip + László Demeter team bases their strategy on the cultivation of the afforestation process. In *The Sacred Species* project, the existing relationship between humans and the surrounding nature is being radically changed: people are treated on an equal footing with other species of animals and plants, and the forest becomes an object of a kind of worship, care and atten- tion. Instead of fighting, community action leads to an active, incremental transformation of the territory, which may result in the climate becoming future-proof. Traumnovelle, on the other hand, accepts the status quo and their strategy of resistance can only be implemented with a top-down plan. The *EURECA* project presents a belief in human omnipotence: Poland becomes a testing ground for a pilot programme of large-scale infrastruc- ture investments. It aims to maintain order and protect people from the inevitable consequences of a climate catastrophe, regardless of its causes.

Both proposals open up the stage for reflection on their impact on the settlement and everyday living space. *The Sacred Species* project assumes that the fast-growing forest takes over the farmland, overgrowing infrastructure, settlements and dwellings. How do such speculative projects help us think

about the countryside? In the face of radically changing ways of working, automation and focus on production efficiency, should we think about strategies aimed at rebuilding the commons, not their continuous exploitation? Here, the arbitrariness of the architectural plan gives way to generativity and blurriness of the negotiated borders. In this vision of the future, which draws upon the primitive ways of life, would we be able to avoid conflicts? Open space seems like an unlimited field for adaptation. The forest — beyond a place of worship — becomes a new communal environment for living and working. In the Belgian team's project, a contrary position is presented, in which the human protective infrastructure dominates the space. How can it affect the daily lives of its neighbours? The horizontal landscape with a low building density was confronted with a barrier overwhelming in scale and height. The proposed dam seems to protect against more than just a flood. From what crisis does the eponymous EURECA protect? Altering the landscape of the countryside forever, it materialises within its form a common enemy, which lies beyond. In contrast to the negotiating action of the forest, the 'dam' introduces arbitrariness and hierarchy of division. The safe interior is separated from what is beyond protection. The commons here is understood as the practice of resisting a common threat. But who will be affected by such a solution in a crisis?

How are we able to shape our territory to respond to upcoming challenges? Do we really need a new kind of spirituality to redefine our relationship with Mother Earth? Is a future in which jointly implemented global political projects protect us from the impending disaster closer for us? When faced with it, speculation by GUBAHÁMORI + Filip + László Demeter and Traumnovelle seem not a distant future, but the subject of a decision to be taken.

Settlement

A linear reading of the history of civilisation suggests a simplify-
ing statement that the original nomadism gave way to a settled
lifestyle. However, an innate trait of human nature is to see one's
place on Earth. Polish society is characterised by a continuous
process of migration, the causes of which can be found in polit-
ical, economic and social circumstances. This seems obvious
when unhindered mobility gives one a chance for a better exist-
ence. Today, we live in an age of networks, in which the system of
mutual dependence is developed like never before. What can our
shared space look like? What will we have in common? What will
we base our identity on? The answers to these questions are
sought by two projects: *Village Commons*, an interpretation of
the Polish-German borderland by Atelier Fanelsa, and the radical
Countryspine system by KOSMOS.

    The proposal by Atelier Fanelsa references the contemporary
phenomenon of mobility. The designers recognise the potential
of the currently observed migration flows on the Polish-German
border — undoubtedly, living in the border area gives a lot of
opportunities. The German team identifies exactly the same
typologies of settlements on both sides of the border; however,
the development strategy concerns the sections on the German
side, which is related to the interest of Poles in the land available
there. The orderly, historical layout of the settlement has been
enriched with central spaces, various community-forming
functions, new typologies for non-agricultural forms of work and
open outdoor space. The division into what is Polish and what is
German seems irrelevant — the commons form a dominant struc-
ture resulting from the social contract of locals and newcomers.
Are we then able to extrapolate the project of rural enclaves
as a solution to the migration crises affecting Europe and the

world? Does the cross-linked system of settlements really create intangible connections between them, blurring the boundaries, or does it further sanction boundaries and increase the risk of growing divisions?

The question of how we are able to connect rural areas in order to build up their communal character is addressed in another way by the KOSMOS group. Roads, railway lines, high voltage cables, power plants and pipelines cross the landscape to serve the city, in a manner of speaking coincidentally supplying the countryside. Their usefulness is indisputable, but is it not possible to think of infrastructure as a potential? What other additional role could infrastructure buildings play in a given space? In KOSMOS' radical proposal, the infrastructure network is based on linearity. How does this change the current reading of the settlement? The alternative settlement system has its origins in the traditional model, which in Poland is based on linear road-related layouts. In the project, the existing traffic system and other networks were used as a tool for urbanisation. Productive connections seem to link rural areas as never before. However, what will the infrastructure necessary for the future functioning of rural areas consist of? The shared experimental space is based on the existing network, so that development is limited to areas affected by human activity today, while preserving the natural.

At the territory level, both projects form a network of links, touching upon mobility issues. How can rural areas achieve self-sufficiency and independence? In the KOSMOS project, this is literally a key infrastructure that creates a tangible territorial network. The boundaries between the individual settlements are blurred, aiming at their final integration into one system. Atelier Fanelsa, on the other hand, creates a decentralised system of comprehensive settlements. On the one hand, it emphasises their independence, on the other hand, it draws attention to their

satellite layout and proximity that fosters cooperation. The project also poses a question about a cross-border character and universal thinking about rural territory. In a time of a Europe without borders, do administrative divisions lose their meaning? Is the area of cross-border exchange really the embodiment of the European dream of freedom and equal movement of people, goods and services? What seems more important in this proposal than illustrating the phenomenon of migration, however suggestive and credible, is what is invisible in the architectural drawing, namely the question about the definition of today's space and its borders.

Dwelling

In a rapidly changing world, each generation is accompanied by a specific model of living and working with which the smallest, basic unit of the built-up environment — the dwelling — is inextricably connected. Thus, it is the spatial element most sensitive to social change. The archetype of the dwelling has changed over the years. How will we shape our domesticated space? How can it affect our daily lives? What consequences will our way of living have for community and territory? In the context of radical changes in the way we work, is the division into productive and reproductive functions no longer relevant?

What is the foundation of the rural domesticity? The Rural Office for Architecture team working in Wales based its proposal on the idea of a core. Here, the centre is a place to support the hearth, a functional core that enables the basic needs of life to be met. The *Społem* project reinterprets elements of Polish culture and rural tradition, supplementing them with the designers' experience of living and working outside the city. The proposed

structure aims to rebuild family and neighbourhood relations. The design is a rigid configuration of free-standing stems. This is where the plan ends — the space in between is beyond the arbitrary control of the architect-planner, it should be read as a soft negotiation territory with no clear boundaries. The possibility of self-determination has a positive impact on building identity and responsibility of the rural population, and it promotes the formation of community thinking. The community is therefore shaped by self-agency, based on the sharing of knowledge, tools and processes. Undoubtedly, the project is a criticism of the prevailing trends. It makes an intriguing reference to the frequent practice of erecting a dwelling using the economic method. The question is therefore legitimate: in the era of automation of all production processes, can humans remain creators?

A completely different path is proposed by RZUT. The *Social Infrastructure* project takes into account the change in the model of life and, consequently, the form of residence through the redefinition of the workplace. It uses the dormant potential of the remains of privatised State Agricultural Farms for the common economic and social stability by proposing an alternative model of a modern Energy Cooperative. Today, when agriculture is automated, many people living in the countryside look for non-agricultural forms of work. The acquisition of various forms of renewable energy is intended to breathe a community life into farms deprived of state aid. The commons is both work and the resources produced by it. However, such a process of becoming independent requires huge financial outlays, according to the designers, from the state. The settlements become part of a nationwide infrastructure. How can our lives in a dwelling be changed by this? Individual residential units are designed to optimise energy consumption and export as much energy as possible. Therefore, is there a risk that energy will become a new currency?

Both projects, although focused on the dwelling zone, respond to the problems associated with the disappearance of traditional agriculture, while at the same time questioning the validity of the separation of work and residence and seeking models that combine productivity and reproductivity. Can work within the dwelling only provide for the maintenance and care of the residents? How will the division into productive and reproductive activities work in the context of future work automation? What skills will become necessary for a future rural resident?

The presented works propose specific solutions, show a wide range of perspectives and reveal many issues that can help to understand and solve problems related to rural design. Unhindered by limitations, the architects were able to create bold visions and to emphasise the issues they were interested in. We did not expect a comprehensive answer from the teams as to what the countryside should look like — the objective was to get their opinion on the situation of the Polish countryside, to transfer their experiences into this context, to check what we do not see on a daily basis. The multiplicity of answers to the question about possible future scenarios for the Polish countryside, and at the same time for life outside the city, allows the discussion to develop in a further direction. Analysing individual projects through the prism of working pairs and areas from which the invited teams started working, one can get the impression that with each answer, new questions are appearing.

Paradise on the horizon

Our approach to the exhibition is based on looking at the countryside through the prism of three spaces — territory, settlement

and dwelling, which interact with each other. The dynamics of change are influenced by both strictly political decisions and the forces of capital, on the one hand exacerbating spatial chaos and community disintegration, and on the other hand provoking reactions of resistance or willingness to cooperate. As an alternative, we propose to focus on the commons as a form-finding factor in shaping the three spatialities and, consequently, the entire rural territory. Especially today, the climate crisis and the decline of the capitalist model of economy force us to redefine the existing paradigms. The speculations presented in the design section of the exhibition use current signs of change and concern current phenomena that may affect the future. The teams' proposals, broadening the scope of concepts used in the discussion about rural areas, become helpful in defining what falls under the category of countryside today and in obtaining an answer to the question whether it still exists at all.

By seeking an architectural form for the commons, these projects also show us the ambivalent nature of what is rural. On the one hand, the countryside can be read as a kind of political project, which allows to protect and maintain the status quo. On the other hand, it is an area of freedom and liberty — an open space for often small communities looking for their place to live, or a result of many accidental events, activities taking place outside the system. The teams interpret the immanent features of the countryside, balancing between the desire for control inscribed in the architectural design and releasing the desire for the action of the grassroots forces. Traditional forms referring to folk architecture, local knowledge about reforestation, bottom-up practices of negotiating territory, the need to provide a workplace near the place of residence clash with the proposal to control what goes beyond individual possibilities — infrastructural projects and geopolitical investments. The question is: which

direction sets a more promising vision of the future? Nevertheless, the attempt to shape the rural space through the prism of the commons and practices of commonality seems justified, and the presented projects initiate a discussion on this issue.

Looking at the rural areas from a broader perspective allows us to see many global processes on a completely different scale. The projects highlight the countryside as a territory subordinated to the forces of nature and the effects of the climate crisis, such as rising sea levels, droughts and the extinction of plant and animal species. In addition to defining the problem, they propose different directions of solutions. The evolutionary approach treats the countryside with its commons as a place of tradition, where rituals retain their continuity and special meaning. The future does not have to stand in opposition to the past, and the new does not have to deny the old — in other words, progress does not exclude tradition. More revolutionary scenarios propose reading the countryside as a landscape of experiments that consolidate rural communities using radical ideas.

The curatorial strategy we adopted, based on looking at the countryside in new way, allowed us to notice that the countryside is not an independent entity, but a sensitive network. Together with other areas — water and air — it creates conditions for life on Earth for all species of plants and animals, including humans. The processes taking place here have a direct impact on the resources and living conditions of all people. Are we then mistakenly used to seeing the countryside as a peripheral urban environment? Or are cities the exception among the rural areas? The countryside may become an arena of change, which will in turn affect urbanised spaces. In other words, observing what is outside the city gives us a critical view of the reciprocal role that city and countryside play in relation to each other.

The projects presented here may be criticised for being too conservative, too radical, going too far into the future, or presenting visions of unrealistic social constructs. The range of proposals reflects the hopes and concerns of Europeans. From maintaining the status quo, through new civil-government agreements, to dystopian visions of the future — their common point is living and working together in the countryside. It is no longer surprising that work can be done independently of the location, but the fact that the ways of production and reproduction in the countryside and in the city are no longer so different is an insufficiently researched issue.

If this exhibition introduces a new voice in discourse, it is certainly a different way of perceiving what the 93% of Polish territory classified as rural is. Administrative structures as well as segregated functional divisions (assuming the presence of one function) limit holistic thinking, so we propose to look at this figure differently: this 93% of the country's territory is subject to strong and dynamic transformation. Transformations take place at the meeting point of different areas, causing tensions and conflicts, which the commons offers a possibility of solving. Negotiations are possible when we consider the areas to be equivalent and notice the relationship between them. Let us think of a dwelling through the prism of territory, of a dwelling through the prism of a settlement, of a settlement through the prism of a dwelling, of a settlement through the prism of a territory, of a territory through the prism of a settlement, and finally of a territory through the prism of a dwelling. The change can start anywhere, both in the dwelling and in a wide area, and its impact affects other areas.

The *Trouble in Paradise* exhibition is an attempt to test the hypothesis formulated in the curator's assumptions about the village: its horizontality in the literal and metaphorical dimension,

the practice of the commons and the three spatialities: the territory, the settlement, and the dwelling.

The exhibition is addressed to all those who hold public positions, to those who are locked in their studios engaging in creative work, to those looking for transdisciplinary methods, but above all to those who focus on the common good in their daily work. The countryside, until now considered a periphery, will cease to be one when we stop considering the city as the centre. The countryside is not a hierarchical, but a horizontal entity, which we will understand by looking at its landscape. We will then notice the shape on the horizon and ask ourselves if they are a threat to paradise.

Biographical notes

Curators

PROLOG was founded in 2017 by Mirabela Jurczenko, Bartosz Kowal, Wojciech Mazan, Bartłomiej Poteralski and Rafał Śliwa. It is scattered across Europe, with a base in Wrocław, Poland. PROLOG engages with architecture through design projects, research, writing, exhibitions and workshops. PROLOG aims to frame each design from a practical and theoretical perspective. PROLOG is thought as a formative period, therefore its focus lies in the exploration, speculations and experiments. PROLOG was shortlisted in the international competition for the Tautos Namai concert hall in Vilnius, Lithuania, received the second prize in the international competition for a concert hall in Żelazowa Wola, Poland; and the second prize for a master plan for the Interrodera district in Szczecin, Poland.

PROLOG +1 is a team with the addition of Robert Witczak, working on the *Trouble in Paradise* project in the Polish Pavilion at the 17th International Architecture Exhibition.

Mirabela Jurczenko graduated from the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology and studied at the University of Minho in Guimarães, Portugal. She currently lives and works in Rotterdam. She has collaborated on research projects with the Technical University of Berlin and Technical University of Munich.

Bartosz Kowal holds an MSc Arch from the University of Liechtenstein. Previously, he studied at the Technical University of Munich, Yildiz Technical University in Istanbul and Wrocław University of Technology. Has worked as an architect in Germany, Poland and with Conradin Clavuot in Chur, Switzerland. Member of SIA (Swiss Society of Engineers and Architects).

Wojciech Mazan is an MPhil student of Projective Cities at the Architectural Association School of Architecture in London. His dissertation focuses on the post-socialist countryside of Poland. He graduated from the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology and studied at the Rotterdam Academy of Architecture and Urban Design. He has worked as an assistant researcher at the Royal College of Arts in London and previously for architecture offices in competition teams in Madrid, Rotterdam, Mexico City, and Graz.

Bartłomiej Poteralski graduated at the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology, acquired experience in architectural offices in Poland, Spain and Austria. As part of his work at the Atelier Thomas Pucher, he worked on designs of the Sinfonia Varsovia headquarters in Warsaw and the Universitätsbibliothek in Graz.

Rafał Śliwa studied architecture in Portugal, at the University of Minho in Guimarães, the University of Coimbra, and the University of Porto. He is currently working on his master's thesis at the Wrocław University of Technology, investigating the relationship between the architecture of the city and education. He worked for offices in Poland and Portugal and is collaborating on competition concepts at the ANALOG office.

Robert Witczak studied at the Faculty of Architecture at the Wrocław University of Technology. He recently completed his master's degree from the Delft University of Technology. In his thesis he investigated spatial problems of suburbanisation in Poland. Winner of numerous architectural competitions. He has gained professional experience in competition concepts in architectural offices in Poland and abroad.

Essay authors (in order of appearance in the book)

Platon Issaias studied architecture in Thessaloniki and hold an MSc from Columbia and a PhD from the City as a Project programme at the Berlage Institute/TU Delft. He is the director of the Projective Cities and a Diploma Unit master at the Architectural Association School of Architecture in London. He practices with Fatura Collaborative, a research and design collective.

Hamed Khosravi is an architect, researcher, and educator. He received his PhD within The City as a Project programme at the Berlage Institute/TU Delft. He is currently a Studio

Master at Projective Cities, and Diploma Unit master at the Architectural Association School of Architecture in London. His research and projects focus on the relationship between architecture, territory, and politics of urban form.

Pier Vittorio Aureli is co-founder of Dogma, an architectural studio based in Brussels. He teaches Diploma Unit 14 and leads the City/Architecture PhD Programme at the Architectural Association School of Architecture in London. He is a Visiting Professor at the School of Architecture at Yale University, and author of *The Project of Autonomy* (2008) and *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* (2011).

Andrea Alberto Dutto is an architect and PhD. In 2017, he received the title of Doktor der Ingenieurswissen-schaft at the RWTH Aachen in joint agreement with the Politecnico di Torino. His dissertation concerned the legacy of handbooks published in the first half of the 20th century in Italy. Since 2018, he has been a post-doctoral researcher at the Politecnico di Torino, where he is an adjunct professor in architectural and urban design.

Katarzyna Kajdanek is an urban sociologist and associate professor at the Institute of Sociology at the University of Wrocław. Her main research areas are the process of urbanisation with particular emphasis on socio-spatial aspects of suburbanisation and reurbanisation in post-socialist cities, local and regional identity, as well as applied social sciences. Author of books: *Pomiędzy miastem a wsią. Suburbanizacja na przykładzie osiedli podmiejskich Wrocławia* (2011) and *Suburbanizacja po polsku* (2012).

Łukasz Moll is a philosopher, sociologist and publicist, assistant professor at the Institute of Sociology, University of Wrocław, and the principal investigator in the *Idea of Europe in the Context of the Migration Crisis* research project at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw. He is an editor of the scientific journal *Praktyka Teoretyczna*. He is interested in theories of the commons, political philosophy of the rabble and the idea of Europe.

Jacenty Dędek is a photographer and documentary filmmaker. He studied at the Institute of Creative Photography in Opava (Czechia). He is a two-time recipient of a scholarship of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage, winner of press photography competitions in Poland. In recent years he has been working on his personal projects. He is most interested in ordinary things, happening on the margins of major events, but always very close to people.

Panorama authors

Jan Domicz is a visual artist and creator of videos, objects and installations. He graduated from the Städelschule in Frankfurt and the University of the Arts in Poznań. He lives and works in Warsaw, collaborating with the Wschód gallery. Since 2017, he has run the semi-curatorial project *Office for Narrated Spaces*. His works have been presented in exhibitions at the Museum für Moderne Kunst in Frankfurt, SALTS in Basel, the Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Arts in Warsaw, Significant Other in Vienna and Karlin Studios in Prague. He uses the narrative potential of space in his works.

Michał Sierakowski is a documentary photographer and filmmaker. He graduated in photography from the University of Arts in Poznań. He was a holder of the scholarship of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage. His works have been shown in Warsaw, Kiev, London and St Petersburg, among others. In his work, he focuses on the relationship between humans and their environment, as well as how communities reinterpret and reconstruct landscape, whether natural or in the form of urban planning and architecture.

Paweł Starzec is a photographer, sociologist and documentary filmmaker. He is a lecturer and academic teacher, creator of workshop programs, co-creator of the Azimuth Press collective of artists and publishing house. He is a doctoral student at the Institute of Applied Social Sciences of the University of Warsaw and a graduate student at the Institute of Creative Photography of the University of Silesia in Opava. A musician and sound artist, he currently performs with the Mazut project as well as solo. In his work, he focuses on the links between space, history and their social contexts.

Wrocław
the meeting place

Wrocław, sometimes called the Venice of the North, sprawls across 12 islands and has more than 100 bridges. It was founded in the 10th century in the place where the branching current of the Oder River shaped numerous islands. This is where the old Roman route from the south to the Baltic Sea and the new one from the west to Rus crossed. The meandering river made it possible to build convenient crossings, and today's bridges are the traces of those crossings. Their existence ensured the development of the city which was receiving more and more settlers. Cathedral Island — the place of the former fortress on the first settled island of Wrocław — reminds us of its centuries-long history.

In the 20th century, Wrocław (German: Breslau) returned to the idea of the archipelago in the development plans of 1920. The role of the new islands was assumed by the green satellite settlements, organising spatial order in accordance with the idea of a garden-city. In the former suburbs, Ernst May developed cosy estates of modernist buildings with a regional characteristics. In Sępolno, the best preserved pre-war housing estate in Wrocław, located on the Great Island, we can find historical modernist buildings of the highest quality, designed by architects Paul Heim, Hermann Wahlich and Albert Kempter. Nearby are the still inhabited buildings of the 1929 Werkbund exhibition *Living and Working Space* (*Wohnung und Werkraum* Ausstellung, WuWA) and the UNESCO World Heritage site — the Centennial Hall, a pioneering reinforced concrete structure designed by Max Berg.

Wrocław entered the 21st century maintaining the continuity of its history. The natural environment of this area remains a valuable aspect for the residents taking advantage of a variety of green areas — parks, squares, riverside embankments and allotment gardens. The developing Nowe Żerniki housing estate is taking up the challenge of a model project from 100 years ago. The Museum of Architecture, the only museum of this profile in the country, not only carries on the memory of the city's heritage, but by educating and promoting architectural culture, it opens up a field for discussion about the space we live in. The exhibitions become a place of dialogue with the community, more and more interested in answering the question posed by the organisers of the Biennale Architettura 2020.

It was Wrocław that was the meeting place of the six curators of the *Trouble in Paradise* exhibition at the 17th International Architecture Exhibition in Venice, and the City of Wrocław supported the creation of this book financially.

The Adam Mickiewicz Institute is a national cultural institute, whose mission is to present Polish culture and heritage on the international scene, also through the Culture.pl website — a daily updated service with information about the most interesting events related to Polish culture. As part of the activities carried out so far all over the world, the Adam Mickiewicz Institute has presented over 8 thousand events, seen by nearly 60 million viewers. A programme Visual Poland supports international dialogue in the field of the visual culture. This seems particularly important at a time when the presence and recognition of an artist in the world determines not only the value of their art, but also its direct impact. The Adam Mickiewicz Institute's activities include exhibition initiatives, broadly understood promotion of artistic events, initiating and effectively conducting research projects, as well as — in cooperation with international publishers — initiating and supporting publications. The main tasks of the programme include permanent and active cooperation with foreign institutions, curators, critics and galleries which directly results in the presence of Polish artists at renowned artistic events, and in offering them the opportunity of residency programmes.

17th International Architecture Exhibition
— La Biennale di Venezia
How Will We Live Together?
Venice
22 May–21 November 2021
(exhibition scheduled for 2020 and postponed by
decision of the organisers due to COVID-19 pandemic)
curated by Hashim Sarkis

The *Trouble in Paradise* project by the PROLOG +1
collective was selected through an open competition for
a curatorial exhibition design, organised by Zachęta —
National Gallery of Art on behalf of the Ministry of
Culture and National Heritage of the Republic of Poland,
as a result of a meeting on 16 September 2019.

The competition jury appointed by
Prof. Piotr Gliński, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister
of Culture and National Heritage, consisted of:
dr hab. inż. arch. Bolesław Stelmach (Director of
the National Institute of Architecture and
Urban Planning) — Chairman of the Jury
Mateusz Adamkowski (Director of the Department of State
Patronage, Ministry of Culture and National Heritage)
dr hab. Jerzy Bogusławski (Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw)
Marta Karpińska (Institute of Architecture, Kraków)
Aleksandra Kędziorek (independent curator)
Małgorzata Kuciewicz (CENTRALA, Warsaw)
Agnieszka Komar-Morawska (Director of
Department of National Culture Institutions,
Ministry of Culture and National Heritage)
Natalia Paszkowska (WWAA, Warsaw)
dr hab. Andrzej Szczerski (Institute of Art
History, Jagiellonian University, Kraków)
dr hab. Gabriela Świtek (Plenipotentiary of
the Director of Zachęta for Scientific Affairs,
Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw)
Piotr Walkowiak (ADD — Pracownia Architektoniczna)
dr hab. Tomasz Wendland (Art Academy in Szczecin)
Hanna Wróblewska (Director of Zachęta)
prof. Andrzej Piotrowski (University of Minnesota,
School of Architecture)

Trouble in Paradise is a critical enquiry into the social and spatial elements of the Polish countryside. The curatorial project of the Polish Pavilion aims to challenge the common understanding of the urban–rural division through a multidisciplinary perspective. It thus addresses theoretical gaps in understanding the ongoing internal migration from the cities to rural areas. The curatorial project calls for an integrated reading of the territory where settlements types, forms of labour, modes of living, familial relations, kinship as well as socio-political struggles are shaping *How we live together*.

Platon Issaias and Hamed Khosravi, *The Place Outside: Some Thoughts on Rurality, Territory and the Countryside*

Photo: Paweł Starzec