

Tämän teoksen sähköisen version on julkaissut Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (SKS) Creative Commons -lisenssillä: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 International. Lisenssiin voi tutustua englanniksi osoitteessa: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode>

Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura on saanut sähköisen julkaisuluvan teoksen oikeudenhaltijoilta. Mikäli olette oikeudenhaltija, jota SKS ei ole tavoittanut, pyydämme teitä ystävällisesti ottamaan yhteyttä [SKS:aan](#).

Kirsi Saarikangas

Model Houses for Model Families

Gender, Ideology and the Modern Dwelling
The Type-Planned Houses of the 1940s in Finland

Societas Historica Fennica
Suomen Historiallinen Seura
Finska Historiska Samfundet

Studia Historica 45

Kirsi Saarikangas

Model Houses for Model Families

Gender, Ideology and the Modern Dwelling
The Type-Planned Houses of the 1940s in Finland

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission
of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki in auditorium XII,
on the 20th of March, 1993, at 10 o'clock.

Kirsi Saarikangas

Model Houses for Model Families

Gender, Ideology and the Modern Dwelling
The Type-Planned Houses of the 1940s in Finland

SHS • Helsinki • 1993

Translated by Philip Landon and Tomi Snellman

Cover: Kirsi Saarikangas

Aulis Blomstedt, Kymro type *Enso* 1, 1944, SRM;

Aarne Hytönen, Yrjö Lindegren, Olli Pöyry, MKL-series 1943, type
MKL 6, *Arkkitehti* 1944;

Yrjö Lindegren, Kymro type, *Kymro* 1, 1944, SRM.

Backcover: Standardized kitchen furniture, *Arkkitehti* 7/1945.

The Finnish Historical Society has published this study with the permission,
granted on 9 June 1992, of Helsinki University, Faculty of Arts.

Distributor: Tiedekirja, Kirkkokatu 14, 00170 Helsinki

Tel. 358-90-635 177, Fax 358-90- 635 017

ISSN 0081-643

ISBN 951-8915-65-2

Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy

Vammala 1993

Contents

PREFACE

1. TYPE-PLANNED HOUSE, HOUSING IDEOLOGY, GENDER IDENTITIES	11
1.1. The type-planned house of the 1940s	11
1.2. How should one approach the type-planned house?	18
1.3. On housing ideology	25
1.4. Feminist paradigm and gender identities	31
2. THE DWELLING AS CULTURAL SYSTEM	41
3. HISTORICAL CONTEXT	53
3.1. Rural society in the process of industrialization	53
3.2. The »beauty of home« and the housing problem	63
3.3. The war and the reconstruction period	84
4. ARCHITECTUREL CONTEXT	90
4.1. The single-family house, type-planning and the housing tradition	90
4.2. Your own home: models and types	113
Type-plans for single-family houses	121
Type-plans for small farms	130
4.3. Functionalism: the type, the standard and the »new dwelling«	140
5. GENEALOGY OF THE TYPE-PLANNED HOUSE. AN EXCURSION INTO THE HOUSING MODELS OF FINLAND IN THE URBANIZATION STAGE	151
5.1. The rural dwelling	155
5.2. Working-class dwellings	167
5.3. The single-family house: villa, detached house and garden	182

5.3.1. Villas at the turn of the century	182
5.3.2. The garden city: Puu-Käpylä (wooden Käpylä)	191
5.4. The apartment dwelling	201
5.4.1. The bourgeois and middle-class apartment	201
5.4.2. The Functionalist minimal dwelling	219
6. THE TYPE-PLANNED HOUSE OF THE 1940S	229
6.1. Type-planned housing and the idea of the type	229
6.2. Planning process and main types	235
The standard single-family house	235
Type drawing competitions	241
The »Swedish houses»	246
Puutalo Oy	250
Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f.	254
Type drawings of the Central Union of Agricultural Societies	256
The Ministry of Social Service	260
The Finnish Association of Architects' Reconstruction Office	264
Arava and AS types	282
6.3. Architecture and organization of living space	288
6.3.1. Architectural idiom	288
6.3.2. Floor plan	305
6.3.3. »Rural Functionalism»	321
7. THE SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSE, FAMILY AND SEXUAL DIFFERENCE	324
7.1. Housing architecture and sexual difference	324
7.2. »Happy homes of our own»	330
7.3. Model houses for model families	341
7.4. Home: a woman's realm?	354
Sources and bibliography	371
Appendix	394
Name index	401

PREFACE

A dwelling is the place where our bio-culturally structured sexual differences find their historical content. It is here that general cultural norms and the unique space of people's everyday life meet. The dwelling can also be regarded as the basic architectural space, the design of which is perhaps the most fundamental challenge an architect can face. The design and construction of the architecturally unassuming type-planned houses of Finland's postwar reconstruction period occurred at a time when the dwelling and the need for rapid rehousing were central issues in architecture. As a result of the war, over 120 000 houses had either been destroyed or left behind in the territories ceded to the Soviet Union. Postwar reconstruction was much more rapid in Finland than in other countries, which was largely due to the use of these wooden, standardized houses. In their planning, the designers were looking for the primal cell of the dwelling and the lowest common denominator – the basic elements of habitation.

My study of these reconstruction period houses had its beginnings in a desire to understand people's everyday environment – something self-evidently present and thus also perhaps unnoticed. On the other hand I wanted to understand human beings as sexual subjects; in my research these two seemingly separate aspects merge. The dwelling is the locus of the social contract (family, social relations) and in it also the sexual difference is formed. Yet a dwelling also belongs to a broader historical context. My study analyses those ideological, aesthetic, technical and historical structures which formed the context in which the type-planned houses were designed and in which the architects acted. The subject of study covers housing plans and the discourse on housing – a level of idealization. To study housing design and the process and context of planning is a common way of delimiting art historical studies. But a study of the dwelling as a cultural signifying process requires not only a rigorous art historical approach but also a multidisciplinary strategy. In my efforts to understand the relationships between the dwelling and sexuality, crucial elements were feminist research, the history of the family, social history, and the semiotic approach to cultural products.

The study of type-planned houses has raised many questions concerning the nature of my chosen field, art history. An analysis of »unaesthetic« material consigned to the margins of the prevailing academic canon brings us face to face with the fundamental issues of art history and raises questions concern-

ing art, meaning, the author, intention, the inner hierarchy of art, change and continuity, the sacred and the profane, and the sexual difference. These questions are either explicitly or implicitly present in my work.

The type-planned houses – designed by different architects yet similar in appearance and architecturally conventional – evoked very little interest in the study of early 20th century architecture which emphasized individual stylistic innovation. Already at the time of their planning but also later the type-planned houses were seen as a discontinuous, intermediary period and as a regression in the evolutionary narrative of modern Finnish architecture. In these houses the borderline between art and non-art is clearly perceptible: while generally attributed to vernacular or master builders, they were in fact drawn by eminent architects, and their structures were designed by competent engineers. In closer analysis, these houses can be interpreted as part of the formation of the modern dwelling as well as part of the postwar creation of the foundations of industrialized housing construction; in them the modern order of life meets the rural tradition. Certainly their construction cannot be regarded as a separate period.

This book is a part of two research projects: *Woman, Art, History* and *The Art History of the Unremarkable*, which were both led by Docent Riitta Nikula and funded by the Academy of Finland. However, its origins can be traced back to a paper I wrote for a proseminar led by Ritva Wäre in the early phase of my undergraduate studies at the University of Helsinki. The paper discussed the detached houses of the Torpparinmäki Housing Fair (1982) aimed at developing small-home architecture. Later, when I worked in 1983 as a trainee in the archives of the Museum of Finnish Architecture, one of my tasks was to catalogue and file photographic material from an exhibition of 1940s architecture. This aroused my interest in the architecture of the period and, encouraged by Professor Henrik Lilius of the Department of Art History of Helsinki University and also by Docent Riitta Nikula, I chose as the subject of my graduate thesis and later on my doctoral dissertation the detached houses of the reconstruction period.

In my work I have received both practical help and intellectual encouragement from many people.

Professor Lilius, my supervisor and referee of the dissertation encouraged me from the very beginning. His understanding attitude was crucially important, and without his unprejudiced and broad approach to the history of building and multidisciplinary research this study would not have been possible.

I am also deeply grateful to Docent Riitta Nikula, the other supervisor and referee of my work. Discussions with her encouraged me to immerse myself in my subject, and the attention she gave to the problems in my work persuaded me to continue even when I myself had lost faith in it. I could not have hoped for a better project leader or a more inspiring example. I thank her for the friendship and warm support she extended to me throughout these years.

At the beginning of my undergraduate studies in art history I had the opportunity to enjoy the inspired teaching of Docent Ritva Wäre for which I am grateful. Unfortunately I was able to use only a few of the knowledgeable comments she made at the last stages of the writing process.

I also wish to thank Matti Viikari, acting professor of history at Helsinki University, for taking an interest in my work. His intellectually challenging teaching has profoundly influenced my academic orientation.

During the research I had the rare opportunity of participating in a broad research and discussion group. First there was the preparatory project *Woman, Art, History* to which I was accepted as a supernumerary member at a time when I was completing my graduate thesis. For one and a half years (1985–86) fourteen art historians (myself included) met regularly to discuss the problems of art history and feminist research. I wish to thank all participants in the project for challenging, stimulating and enjoyable discussions. In particular I want to thank acting Professor Eeva-Maija Viljo for her role in securing financial support for my first preliminary study.

Research in the two above-mentioned projects continued together with my colleagues and friends Riitta Kontinen, Synnöve Malmström and Renja Suominen-Kokkonen. Although we largely conducted our joint research project in different parts of Europe and I myself spent most of the time in Paris, I never suffered from the isolation that so often besets scholars. Although the subjects of our joint project were widely different, we shared a common interest in the problems of feminist studies and I had many opportunities for fruitful discussions and for testing my ideas. I received constructive criticism at various stages of my work. In particular, my work found a fruitful dialogue with Renja Suominen-Kokkonen's research on Finnish women architects and their identity. I would also like to express my gratitude for the many valuable comments and invaluable practical help she gave me during the last stages of my work.

For intellectual companionship I especially wish to thank Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen, my husband, an untiring commentator and the most critical reader of my work. Discussions with him opened up many new perspectives on the subject. My warmest thanks are also due to my friend and colleague Riikka Stewen for inspiring conversations on questions involving the study of art, gender and everyday life, as well as for the months that I spent in Paris with her in the spring of 1988.

For valuable comments and criticism on the manuscript I wish to thank colleagues in other disciplines: Irma Sulkunen, Risto Heiskala, Pirjo Markkola and Liisa Rantalaiho. For interesting discussions I also wish to thank the researchers who took part in a project on family history led by Panu Pulma, as well as the participants of the project and seminar on the history of ideas led by Matti Viikari.

I was very fortunate to be able to do my research without financial worries. I am grateful to the Research Council for the Humanities of the Acad-

emy of Finland for funding my participation in the above-mentioned projects for a period of five years (1987–90, 1991–93). I especially wish to thank Professor Päivi Setälä, chairperson of our project. Her wide knowledge and interest in feminist research were crucially important not only in launching our project but also in the publishing of this study.

An award I received for my graduate thesis from the National Housing Board encouraged me to embark on the present study. I also received funding from the Väinö Tanner Fund, which partly made it possible to do my post-graduate work abroad. I received financial support also from the Women's Science Fund whose grant covered part of the translation costs. I am grateful to both.

I would also like to thank the Finnish Historical Society for publishing my work in their prestigious series, and especially the secretary of the Society Mr. Rauno Endén for friendly assistance in getting the book printed. Cooperation with the *Vammalan Kirjapaino* printing house has been smooth in spite of the long distances involved.

This book was translated into English by Philip Landon (chapters 2, 3, 4 and 6) and Tomi Snellman (chapters 1, 5 and 7). I wish to thank Ms. Diana Russell for helping revise sections of the text. I am indebted to my translators for their careful work as well as for their patience in spite of the many changes made to the text while it was already being translated.

During these years, I have received generous help from the staffs of numerous libraries, archives and government offices. Thanks are due especially to the staff at the Museum of Finnish Architecture and in particular its curators Erkki Vanhakoski and Elina Standertskjöld. I also wish to thank Marja-Terttu Knapas of the Department of Monuments and Sites of the National Board of Antiquities for her help. Valuable last-moment assistance was provided by the Finnish Embassy in Paris and my friend Kimmo Pasanen.

Although planners and designers do not have a central role in this book, it may nevertheless be seen as a homage to those men and women who drew type-planned houses, and in effect designed much of our common, everyday environment which is far from insignificant.

I am also grateful to my parents Lea and Martin Saarikangas for the interest they took in my work, and for the practical and financial support they gave me.

From the first draft to reading the proofs, the heaviest burden has been borne by those nearest to me: my husband Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen who never faltered in his belief of my work, and my son Elias Lehtonen. In his own way my son too has participated in researching the theory and practice of the everyday, although I began my work long before he was born. Without him the book may have been completed a little earlier but the work would have been much less joyful. I dedicate this book to them.

Paris, 8 February 1993

K. S.

1. The type-planned house, housing ideology, gender identities

1.1. The type-planned house of the 1940s

In the countryside or on the outskirts of towns, the type-planned house of the 1940s is a characteristic of the Finnish landscape today, a form of habitation which is familiar to everyone. Superficially this house, dating from the reconstruction period, is easy to describe and define: it is a wooden, relatively small one-family house with a high plinth and saddle roof, usually one and a half storeys high – the archetype of the single-family house (*Fig. 1*). In general, these houses have three rooms: a kitchen, a living room and a bedroom on the ground floor; two more bedrooms were often added later in the attic. The houses were constructed using off-the-peg type drawings, or built on site from prefabricated components manufactured by the timberhouse factories, and they followed a fixed set of housing principles. Their comparatively small size, 38–80 m², was laid down in the Emergency Settlement Act and in the loan terms for single-family houses.¹ The type-planned house soon became the dominant model for single-family houses and reached the peak of its popularity in the 1950s.² Often surrounded by hedges and set out along the streets in a regular fashion, these light-col-

¹ *Siirtoväen pika-asutuslainsäädäntö* (Emergency Settlement Act, hereinafter PAL) June 28, 1940; *Asetus omakotirahastosta* (Decree Concerning the Single-family Housing Fund) December 19, 1940. Construction of single-family houses was also regulated in the *Maanhankintalaki* (Land Acquisition Act, hereinafter MHL) May 5, 1945.

² It was dominant in the areas built in the 1940s and predominant in those dating from the 1950s. Lehtonen – Lepistö 1982, 14–16. One third of the present stock of single-family houses was constructed during the reconstruction period and up to the beginning of the 1950s. *Jälleenrakentamiskauden pientaloalueen rakentamishje*, 1.



1. The type-planned house of the 1940s. Parkano. Photo Martin Saarikangas 1965.

oured houses form homogenous housing areas close to towns and population centres; outside these centres they mostly stand alone in the midst of fields. The 1940s type-planned houses both transformed the Finnish rural housing tradition and visibly altered Finnish landscape. They also played a pivotal role in establishing modern, uniform family and housing models in the countryside.

The immediate reason for the prolific production of the type-planned houses during and after the Second World War was the reconstruction programme. After the signing of the Interim Peace (March 12, 1940), Sweden donated 2,000 prefabricated wooden-frame houses to initiate the recovery effort.³ These Swedish houses have often been seen as the original impetus behind the proliferation of the type-planned house, and as a beginning of industrial construction on a large scale (*Fig. 2*).⁴ However, the idea of the type-planned single-family house had emerged as early as the beginning of the century, principally in the 1920s, and by the end of the

³ Englund 1941, 20.

⁴ See e.g. Helamaa 1983, 72; Mikkola 1978, 57.

2. Construction of "Swedish houses" in Pirkkola, Helsinki, 1940. Published in *Arkkitehti* 2/1941, p. 24. Photo SRM.



1930s the standardized, type-planned one-family house was considered one possible solution to the housing problem in both rural and urban areas.⁵ The type-planned house developed quite rapidly during and immediately after the war, and indeed the war speeded its extensive and rapid distribution; built according to pre-existing plans and thus quick to put up, these houses were particularly suitable to the special circumstances of reconstruction, although this alone cannot explain their architectural idiom or the housing ideology which they embody. When the basic model of the type-planned house had been created, it began to be replicated in most single-family houses of the period. The type-planned house thus provided a basis for the extensive rationalization of Finnish housing production – the creation of a comprehensive system of measures and norms which still regulates the design of dwellings in Finland in the form of Building Information File (*Rakennustietokortisto*). The war also emphasized the state's role in the organization of construction, and the 1940s and '50s were characterized by centralized building and planning – housing control now extended to rural dwellings as well.⁶

⁵ *Komiteanmietintö* (Committee report) 1937: 6; *Komiteanmietintö* 1939: 5.

⁶ The Act on Rural Building came into force in 1949.

Although the 1940s type-planned house played – even from a purely quantitative point of view – an important role in the development of the Finnish built environment, it has not been studied in art history. In fact the entire Finnish architecture of the 1940s and '50s remains a virtually unexplored area.⁷ In architectural histories the 1940s have generally been approached normatively; they have been seen as a period of regression and a disconnected episode between the severe and heroic Functionalism of the 1930s and the more mundane Functionalism of the 1950s.⁸ Our view of the 1940s and especially of the type-planned house is obscured by the fact that most histories of 20th-century architecture have been written from the standpoint of Modernism and its stylistic innovations. The more »traditional« residential architecture and rural housing have remained outside the scope of art historical studies. The attention lavished on Modernism and the over-emphasized status it has acquired in Finland owes much to the role which Functionalism played in earning international fame for Finnish architecture. In more recent studies, however, the architecture of the 1940s has also been perceived as a synthesis of or a compromise between the traditions which preceded it in the 1920s and '30s.⁹

The architecture of the type-planned house settled into narrow, conventional forms. Houses designed by different architects for various communities are virtually indistinguishable from one another, but they clearly distinguish themselves from other housing architecture. In outward appearance they are ascetic and simplified, with saddle roofs and unassuming details, and their floor-plans encircle the single chimney and the hearth in a similar way. Alike in appearance and without the personal touch of an individual designer, they are anonymous in character and generate an impression of a »normal« single-family house.

⁷ Type-planned houses are described in Vanhakoski 1977. The most extensive description of the architecture of the period has been Erkki Helamaa's exhibition (and its catalogue) »1940s – decade of the dugout and the reconstruction of dwellings« (Helamaa 1983). The 1940s type-planned houses have also made an appearance in some basic renovation plans such as Jarva – Saarela 1976; Kairamo 1980; Kantola – Koskela 1981. Additionally they have also appeared in Naskila 1984; Laukkanen 1987; and the inventory of small house areas made by Technical Research Centre of Finland (VTT), published in part in Lehtonen – Lepistö 1982.

⁸ Salokorpi 1971, 33–36. The pejorative attitude towards the architecture of the 1940s as a period of regression was established at an early stage, in fact already in the 1940s. See Wickberg 1946; Ålander 1954, 485; Wickberg 1959, 86–89. Although there were also more positive interpretations, for example Ekelund 1953, 11; Pettersson 1953, 201, the negative attitude was predominant and widely held. See also Salokorpi 1990, 16–17.

⁹ Salokorpi 1984, 298.

In architectural histories, the idiom and appearance of the type-planned house have been considered unsuccessful and clumsy:

This house has been regarded as the worst backward step in modern Finnish architecture. It rejects the aesthetic ideals of the Functionalism; at the same time the single-family house with its high plinth is a caricature of the traditional, low rural house.¹⁰

In other contexts, however, very positive views of these houses have been taken:

Our house in Heikinlaakso in Helsinki is a typical post-war [single-family house] ... It is the kind of good, beautiful and humble Finnish one-and-a-half storey wooden house which is known everywhere.¹¹

These divergent views of the type-planned house illustrate two different standpoints. The first takes as its point of departure the language of (modern) architecture and its innovations, the second the practice of housing. A traditional »pure« architectural-historical approach would not appear to be fruitful for a study of the type-planned house, while an approach focusing on designers, style and innovation would not penetrate its most interesting aspects.¹² This kind of designer-centred study of art which concentrates on Great Artists restricts itself to a limited part of the visual environment, i.e. to public monumental art. The interconnected (and thoroughly masculine) concepts of the Great Artist and the Genius have implanted themselves deep in the discourse of art history and have also governed the writing of modern art history.¹³ According to modern aesthetics – a legacy of Romanticism – the quality of Genius entails the capacity for the creation and expression of a personal style. It embraces the myth of independent artistic expression; the artist is a conveyor of universal experiences independent of all social structures. The modern artist creates an autonomous world of art and in this act of creation he or she is elevated

¹⁰ Salokorpi 1971, 34.

¹¹ Liukko-Sundström 1986, 55.

¹² For a criticism of the so-called aesthetic-characteristic history of style, see Lilius 1980, 45–49. Criteria for research and the setting of values, which is inevitably linked to it, comprise the conscious choice and intention of the planner, and the analysis and tracing of influences. Such research often limits itself to the history of style and to buildings which are considered to be architecturally important and which are already included to the architectural canon. Widening the perspective, architecture can also be approached, again using Lilius' concepts, as a history of building.

¹³ On the relationship between art research that confines itself to Great Artists and the masculine tradition of art history, see e.g. Nochlin 1971, 22–39; Parker – Pollock 1981, 8.

to the level of the gods.¹⁴ Paradoxically, the emphasis on personal style is also linked with the postulating of a neutral and a-historical subject.

Research which reproduces the established canon and concentrates only on the search for masterpieces and the masterpieces themselves leaves most »ordinary« architecture and our everyday environment untouched. Within the built-in hierarchy of architecture, which is also apparent in research, housing architecture has been categorized as a less-valued everyday area. But in housing architecture too there is a division into the sublime and the mundane: the personal, private villas and multi-storey houses of the affluent classes and artists are included in the field of architecture, whereas the more »ordinary« dwellings have been left out. In the architectural discourse of the period studied here, the boundary between architecture and non-architecture was fluid, and new areas were being incorporated into the field of architecture (for example the worker dwellings and social housing production in the 1910s and '20s). When we shift the focus to the notion of architecture as a cultural product in a broader sense, as social and ideological practices (using Michel Foucault's concepts), »ordinary« architecture becomes interesting. In a sense the type-planned houses, so similar in appearance, constitute an entity, a work without a single nameable author.¹⁵ Extending the analysis beyond facades, construction technology and stylistic analysis seems to be not only fruitful but necessary. In the 1980s the traditional, narrow definition of art in art history was subjected to widespread criticism: challenging the concept of art and emphasizing its process-like nature and the collective features in its production have revealed new phenomena for study in our visual environment and also dimmed the aura of the individual artist.¹⁶ The type-planned house challenges the art historian to rethink the foundations of his/her discipline. An art historical analysis of these houses requires their inclusion in a wider context; it calls for a study of the interplay between architecture, the social practice of housing and the cultural context. Thus, by approaching the type-planned house as an architectural entity in the broadest sense and taking the level of the everyday as one's starting point, it becomes possible to illuminate its elusive aesthetics.

In outward appearance type-planned houses are quite ordinary. There

¹⁴ E.g. Parker – Pollock 1987, 45; Payot 1990, 10, 22.

¹⁵ On the author-function and the problems of a nameable author see e.g. Foucault 1977, 114–138.

¹⁶ »Traditional« art history has been criticized from the feminist, the Marxist (the so-called New Art History in Britain) and the (post)structuralist points of view. See e.g. Parker – Pollock 1981; Belting 1987; Tickner 1988; Preziosi 1989. For a criticism of this process, see e.g. Kuusamo 1990, 1–3.

is nothing of heroic grandeur in them, and their simple architectural form has not seemed to require closer analysis. Yet it is precisely their simplicity and ordinariness which make them interesting: they are a kind of generalization of the housing ideas of their own time, a prototype of the dwelling. But in spite of its superficial clarity and simplicity, the type-planned house is also a contradictory building. It conceals a demand for both individuality and universality, both a »traditional» and a »modern» architectural idiom. On the one hand, the materials of its construction and its architectural idiom link it closely to a long tradition of wooden houses; on the other, its spatial arrangement and floor plan tie it to the epitome of Modernism – the Functionalist »new dwelling».

A closer look at type-planned houses reveals that they are more complex than their apparent simplicity would warrant. Contrary to some claims, they did not appear in Finnish architecture out of the blue;¹⁷ they are related to urban and rural housing architecture and housing traditions. The building of type-planned houses in the 1940s and '50s coincided with a profound change in Finnish society; the dwelling, the concept and spatial organization of housing, as well as the family and gender identities, all underwent a process of transformation from the turn of the century up until the 1940s and '50s. The essential features of the architecture of the type-planned houses can be brought to light only by emphasizing the relations and interaction between the dwelling, the family and gender identities. This leads us beyond conventional architectural study and requires an analysis of the notions of dwelling, family, man and woman, the masculine and the feminine which are perpetuated and produced by type-planned houses.

The planning process of the 1940s type-planned houses started towards the end of the 1930s and ended in the late 1940s, when the design was regarded as complete. After that, houses followed the same model down to the end of the 1950s, when the one-storey type rose to prominence.¹⁸ The main body of my research material consists of the »official» type drawings of the 1940s – designs commissioned and distributed all over Finland by public institutions – as well as the plans made in 1930s. Parallel with the public institutions, several major towns were also involved in type-planning activities of their own; this, however, remains outside the scope of the present study. Houses designed by several wooden-house manufacturers have been incorporated insofar as material has been available.¹⁹

¹⁷ Salokorpi 1971, 34; Helander 1982, 504.

¹⁸ Lehtonen – Lepistö 1982, 91.

¹⁹ A great part of the material of Puutalo Oy – the umbrella organization of the timber-frame house factories – has been lost. Only the related material published in newspapers and magazines has been available for this study.

In connection with the type-planned house itself, I shall discuss Finnish dwelling models which have appeared since the turn of the century, during a period when Finland was being transformed into an urban and modern society. I shall outline, through brief excursions, the genealogy of the type-planned house, focusing on the formation of its spatial arrangement and housing ideology. In order to understand the architecture of type-planned houses – and the notions of gender, family and dwelling produced and maintained by them – it is essential to examine the spatial organization and social practices of housing in both rural dwellings and the urban dwellings of workers and the middle-class. But an analysis of the social dimensions of housing must also take into account the changes in social organization which took place in Finland from the turn of the century up to the 1940s and '50s. While interest in the architectural planning of dwellings had started to grow as early as the beginning of the century, it was at first focused on the large dwellings and private villas of the bourgeoisie; it was only the later social and economic changes which slowly transferred attention to smaller working- and middle-class dwellings.²⁰ From the turn of the century, the housing problem became a point of growing interest, but it was a long time before the small units designed by architects began to take on a distinct form. The type-planned single-family house can be seen as a fulfilment of this project, and as such its planning was linked to the contemporary programme of social housing production for public utility. Attempts to solve the housing shortage and the social housing question disclose the concept of »normal»: the prevalent – and official – notions of the dwelling and the family.

1.2. How should one approach the type-planned house?

The type-planned house seems to defy attempts of interpretation that start from a purely aesthetic basis. In this study I shall outline the principles of the architectural organization of type-planned houses, the internal rules of their architectural form. What are the implicit rules and presumptions that

²⁰ On the changes of the basis of architectural planning and housing architecture and on the shift of the architects' focus from the solely aesthetic to what might be described as a more realistic attitude, see Ekelund 1932, XI; also Nikula 1988, 35–36; Benevolo 1971, 398.

make possible their architectural themes? A study of the architecture of the type-planned house and its principles of spatial organization requires not only an analysis of this architectural idiom, but also an understanding of the context out of which they grew. Demetri Poprphyrios has written about the organizing principles of architectural space and has emphasized the importance of studying the inner logic of buildings, their internal economy, instead of concentrating solely on formal analysis. The idea of a universal, »pure« architecture, outside the restraints of time and place, has implanted itself deeply in modern architectural aesthetics, whose extreme embodiment of the notion is the so-called international style. Architecture was seen as an a-historical and neutral method of technical creation. According to Porphyrios, earlier art historical research, written in the light of Modernism, has also emphasized the independence of the world of forms and the individuality of the creative subject: architecture was studied as an object by the creative architect-author. The idea of architect as author is linked with a notion of architecture as physical objects produced by their creator and permeated by his (but rarely her) individual vision.²¹ However, art, architecture and expression are not »pure«; they are always born in a particular historical context. Porphyrios writes about anonymous and historically determined traditions and mental habits which accommodate architectural language. This is the basis on which the organizing principles of dwelling can be outlined.²² In the present work, my aim is to study the type-planned house primarily as a dwelling, as the scene of people's everyday life. To simplify, one might ask: what are the organizing principles behind the spatial arrangement of the dwelling? What is the nature of the rationality and inner logic which govern its spatial organization?²³

Specifically designed as a one-family home, the type-planned house of the 1940s was a new form of dwelling. As a social system and within the context of the domestic practice with they supported, these houses it differed from preceding Finnish housing models. Built during and after the Second World War, the type-planned houses belong to a period of transition in Finnish society, and in rural areas in particular they signified a

²¹ Porphyrios 1981, 98; Porphyrios 1985, 17.

²² Porphyrios 1985, 17.

²³ Also see Foucault 1966. Porphyrios' terminology and research method are based on Marxist (Althusserian) tradition, but draw extensively on Foucault's studies on discourses, institutions and power, especially on *Les mots et les choses* (1966). However, Porphyrios' concept of power as a hegemonic structure differs from Foucault's notion of omnipresent and centreless power, power as a complex strategic situation. See below, pp. 44–47.

change in housing traditions. Up to the 1940s and '50s, the predominance of farmsteads and small holdings was the dominant structural feature in Finnish society, and the significance of this factor cannot be exaggerated. The architecture and housing models of the type-planned house can in essence be contrasted with the peasant house: the former differs in many respects from the traditional agrarian architecture of the latter and at the same time is clearly linked to it. By studying the relations of the type-planned houses to antecedent (and contemporary) rural and urban housing architecture, I shall outline the genealogy of the type-planned one-family house,²⁴ its similarities and differences in relation to earlier residential architecture. By analysing certain events in the history of Finnish urban and rural housing architecture and habitation, I shall attempt to show how the type-planned houses grew out of existing tradition and how they differ from it. The housing models of type-planned houses become meaningful only when they are linked to the tradition and conventions of earlier (domestic) architecture. The way in which features of earlier dwellings are transformed – or absent – from the type-planned houses has to be understood in this context. The presence or absence of these features in the new buildings represents a meaningful choice.

However, the housing model and the spatial arrangement of the type-planned house should not be studied only in relation to the architectural-historical context; they must also be seen within the broader context of the ideological and social traditions from which the dwelling idiom of these houses emerged. A survey of their housing models and ideology within the historical context provides us with a means of analysing their architectural idiom, which becomes historically meaningful only through its inclusion in the original socio-cultural context. While conventional in its visual idiom, the type-planned house was nevertheless a novelty in many ways: its architectural idiom as well as implicit family and housing models were new. It contains allusions to peasant houses and workers' dwellings as well as to middle-class town dwellings. Thus it would seem to be fruitful to relate the habitation models of the type-planned house on the one hand to

²⁴ Genealogy means here primarily the research method used by Foucault, which seeks to reveal the origins of prevalent cultural divisions that are considered self-evident, and to show discontinuities in history and changes in discourse. Genealogy originates in an encounter with an archaeological layer that is unintelligible to us. »La dimension archéologique de l'analyse permet d'analyser les formes mêmes de la problématisation; sa dimension généalogique, leur formation à partir des pratiques et de leurs modification.» Foucault 1984, 17–18. The genealogical research method alludes to Nietzsche. On genealogy and the archaeology of knowledge, see also Dreyfus – Rabinow 1982, part II.

the town-country axis, and on the other to the structuring of the social dimensions of dwelling through the social position of their occupants. Within this framework we can outline the continuities and discontinuities between this habitation model and preceding housing architecture.

Many of the solutions in the type-planned house are rooted in Functionalism. It was not until the advent of Functionalism that the dwelling and habitation became a central point of interest for Finnish architects, and in the 1930s and '40s many writings and exhibitions were devoted to the topic.²⁵ But in the 1930s only a few recently built residential areas in Finland corresponded to Functionalist ideals. The best-known of these are Sunila district (1936–39) designed by Alvar Aalto, and the Olympic Village in Helsinki (1939 to early 1940s) of Hilding Ekelund and Martti Välikangas. In spite of all the rhetoric architects' main concern was still with monumental buildings. However, since standardization, industrial mass production, functional differentiation of dwelling space and the aim of rationalizing habitation are all hallmarks of type-planned houses, they can also be seen as the first large-scale implementation of some of the ideas of Functionalism in Finland.

Designed for ordinary people, type-planned houses aimed at universality. Their ideological starting point was the modernistic doctrine of standardization and the idea of a universal dwelling which would be suitable for everyone and everywhere.²⁶ They also reflect the notion of democratic housing for all social classes. The type-planned house can be seen as a part of the 1930s' and 40s' ideal of Finnish lifestyle: the emphasis on permanent values, the family and work. It was in the architecture of these houses that the prevalent idea of everyday life becoming organized within the framework of a certain family structure achieved its most concrete expression. It was a family and dwelling model constituted by a society in the process of industrialization, urbanization and modernization.

Housing architecture has rarely been studied from the point of view of day-to-day life, habitation practices and ideologies.²⁷ In art historical studies, dwellings and their principles of spatial organization have usually been

²⁵ E.g. *Pienasunto?* (the Small Dwelling Exhibition) 1930; *Asuntonäyttely* (Dwelling Exhibition) 39, *Asuntonäyttely ja rakennusmessut* (Dwelling exhibition and the construction fair) 40.

²⁶ On the type and typology in Functionalism, see e.g. Banham 1989 (1960), 211–213.

²⁷ The research tradition in housing architecture and dwellings is weak. During the course of my research, however, parallel works have appeared which I have used both as material for comparison and as support for analysis: Anneli Junto's study

overshadowed by public spaces and facades.²⁸ Type-planned houses have been conceived as »ordinary» housing architecture, totally lacking in monumentality and individuality, and thus they have been denied esteem on two counts. In recent years, however, interest in people's everyday lives and the private sphere has become a more significant factor in historical research (witness the French *Annales* school and the rise of social history in general), while new feminist history has also sought to elevate ordinary people to the status of historical subjects equal to political heroes and exceptional individuals (such as artists). Furthermore, the anthropological approach to the practices of the everyday has focused attention on the ordinary individual (Freud's *der gemeine Mann*), on the Others amongst us, and on the silent majority at the margin. The universal Everyman has become fragmented and has acquired a face, a history and a gender.²⁹ The study of the ordinary challenges the universalizing discourse of modern

of housing policy, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa Topeliusesta tulopolitiikkaan* (The Housing Question in Finland from Topelius to Incomes Policy) (1990); Paul Rabinow's *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (1989), which deals with the building of modern France and its colonies, and which in many respects is pertinent to the question of the dwelling as the engenderer of norms and as the intersection of the micro and macro levels of power; Monique Eleb-Vidal's and Anne Debarre-Blanchard's *Architecture de la vie privée: Maison et mentalités XVIIe – XIXe siècles* (1989), which studies not only the changes in the floor-plans of dwellings but also the links between this and the social relations of the occupants. Although model houses and type-planned houses have occupied a marginal position in architectural research, some studies have nevertheless been published which are important to my work: Leif Jonsson's *Från egna hem till villa: Enfamiljhuset i Sverige 1950–1980* (1985) and Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark's *Villabebyggelse i Sverige 1900–1925* (1971), as well as Gwendolyn Wright's works *Moralism and Model Home* (1980) and *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (1983). See also Handlin 1979; Rybczynski 1986.

²⁸ This field of research – the formation and transformation of different dwelling types – is a more or less uncharted area. There is a lack of both comprehensive general surveys of dwelling types and analyses of different floor-plans. In Finland this theme has been touched upon in studies of urban housing (Lilius 1983; Lilius 1984; Wäre 1983; Wäre 1989; Nikula 1981; Nikula 1988), which provide the basis for my study, and in ethnographical studies of habitation, e.g. Talve 1980; Kuronen 1980. In recent years, studies that touch upon my subject have been published in Finland (Kolbe 1988; Nyman 1989; Hurme 1991), but the approaches employed in them do not open up theoretical or empirical angles that would be fruitful for the present study. Nyman's work is an ambitious attempt to create a comprehensive philosophic-architectural concept, »the language of houses», but with its generalizations it is very different from my historical point of view. In Kolbe's study the spatial organization of dwellings does not occupy a central position, while Hurme's work concentrates on a basic survey of the construction of suburbs from the 1950s to the '70s.

²⁹ The characterizations could be extended to cover religion, class, race...

science and emphasizes the contextuality and particularity of everyday practices.³⁰ In a new way, it also raises questions about the subjects of history: »People make history yet they do not make it.«

In art historical research housing architecture has generally been studied as a phenomenon separate from people's everyday lives and the users of the dwelling.³¹ One central aspect of traditional, modernist history of art is the invisibility of the viewer (and of the researcher); in housing architecture this has meant the disappearance of the user. Studies of the technical and stylistic changes in the floor-plans of dwellings have mainly concentrated on a mechanical comparison of the plans, without questioning the significance of the spatial organization of the dwelling in people's day-to-day lives – its practical and ideological implications. On the other hand, in social surveys of habitation the housing models studied have often been regarded as given and unproblematic. In a certain sense these studies have been unable to read the floor-plans and spatial organization of dwellings. The dwelling is a cultural system which is loaded with meanings connected to everyday practices, and thus its analysis requires a multidisciplinary approach to complement art historical studies.

In this study I approach housing architecture as a cultural signifying system which constitutes a central organizing space in people's lives. For an analysis of the relationship between the spatial organization of the dwelling and the everyday, the notions of family and gender identity produced and perpetuated by the dwelling are crucial. How do they organize architectural space? My aim is to expose these interconnected notions of dwelling, family and gender by analysing the architecture and floor-plans of the dwellings, while at the same time examining the language used about the dwelling and housing, the *discourse on housing* – the putting into discourse (*mise en discours*) and representation (*mise en scène*) of body, sexuality and gender identities in the speech about dwellings. »Discourse« is used in its semiotic and Foucauldian sense. It implies not simply speech and discussion, but encompasses the institutionalized practices inherent in discussion too. Likewise, within the context of housing architecture discourse contains all those aspects – linguistic as well as operational and institutional – which can be interpreted as meaningful. Thus a discourse on housing implies not just housing debate, but includes all the ways in which the planning of the dwellings themselves can be understood as speech or text. On the other hand, it is possible to speak of a *discourse of hous-*

³⁰ Certeau 1980; Foucault 1975, Rabinow 1989. See also Kearney 1984, 17–18.

³¹ However, see Paulsson 1950; Gejvall 1954.

ing which is constituted by the spatial arrangement of and the ideological aspects contained in the dwelling and the social practices of housing.³² The division is a complementary, not an antagonistic one; a field of superimposition (the dwelling, spatial organization, ideology) and the framework for my study. To refer to Foucault, discourse is the bridge between the material and the theoretical, between dwellings and housing debate, and it is of key significance in that it produces both knowledge and power.³³

From the turn of the century onwards, the public debate on housing in Finland was fairly lively. It reflected the architects' conscious or unconscious notions of housing as well as the general housing ideology of the time.³⁴ Housing practices, the spatial arrangement of the dwelling and the discourse of dwelling do not exist independent of each other; they are profoundly interrelated.

Meanings are generated by and within the dwelling on all levels. Architecture in itself can be approached as a »language» or a cultural sign system which produces meanings (cf. Julia Kristeva), but meanings are also produced by the fact of habitation and by the dwelling as a social practice – the dwelling as a material and discursive institution (cf. Foucault). These

³² For discourses contained in architectural space, the internal discourse of institutions, see in particular Foucault 1976, 39–40. My approach is a synthesis of the terminologies used by Foucault (discourse, discursive strategies, non-discursive practices) and by Kristeva (approaching the work as a signifying process).

³³ One example of the simultaneous transformation (instead of a causal relation) of the fields of knowledge and power is the relation between the affirmation of the *cogito* as truth and the 1657 decree ordering the large-scale confinement of the insane. Foucault 1972, 106; see also Braidotti 1991, 62–63. In her brilliant study Rosi Braidotti discusses in a sophisticated and elaborate way themes which are also connected to my study. Unfortunately her book is so recent that I was not able to use it to sharpen my own analysis.

³⁴ The opinions of private individuals, organizations and authorities can be studied in e.g. *Arkkitehti* and *Rakennustaito* magazines, as well as in the published material of housing exhibitions, congresses and seminars. The subject of this study includes the standpoints of architects as well as those of the various housing authorities (who might be described as technicians of general ideas). At the beginning of the 20th century, architecture was discussed in several magazines, but this changed after the establishment in 1903 of *Arkitekten* (later *Arkkitehti*) magazine, published by the Finnish Association of Architects. After the First World War this was for some time regarded as the only forum for writing about architecture. See Wäre 1991, 38. Material relevant to the present study was published and discussed in *Arkkitehti*, but it appears elsewhere too. Discussions on »ordinary» architecture and housing can also be found in *Rakennustaito* magazine as well as other publications; the dwelling was the subject of discussion in many forums and on many levels. For example, the contemporary middle-class notions on family, home and dwelling are well illustrated by *Kotiliesi* magazine, aimed at women and families.

meanings are connected to the discourse of housing, with all its ideological content.

In my attempts to create a theoretical foundation for the study of housing practices and the analysis of dwelling architecture, I have benefited from the study of art which arises out of semiology and also criticizes it (e.g. Kristeva) and from the historical analysis of power, discourses and institutions practised by Foucault; both approaches have been central to my work. In their works Kristeva and Foucault move – in their various ways – within the sphere of the formation of the modern world, culture and the (sexual) subject. What is interesting is not only *what* they study, but also – and above all – *how* they approach issues, combine theories, refuse to separate theory from practice or the private from the political level. A key feature of their work is the new emphasis which they give to the body and corporeality, to material that was previously either treated as marginal or ignored. Foucault in particular has extended his analysis to cover the everyday – the social practices which touch each and every one of us. These themes have provided both an incentive and an inspiration to my analysis of the Finnish type-planned house, and they have helped me uncover aspects which would otherwise have remained hidden. Through these themes it is possible to distinguish three levels in my study that are partly implicit and partly explicit: the history of housing architecture, the analysis of gender identities, and the philosophy and semiology of architectural space.

1.3. On housing ideology

The analysis of the architectural idiom and the historical context of the type-planned houses outlined above are interconnected, but they are not sufficient alone to describe the foundations of housing architecture. Notions regarding its inhabitants are always implicit in a dwelling. A central factor in defining people's everyday life, a dwelling in itself contains wordless view of women and men: images of the feminine and the masculine. This leads us to study the idea of gender which is constituted in a specific historical situation, part of a broader patriarchal ideology and invisibly present in housing architecture.

Housing architecture implies significant choices which do not allude to public, »visible» ideology in the same way as the iconography of public monumental buildings does. A dwelling implies the creation of a space and a place, and also the specification of a certain ideology which touch-

es the inhabitants through the dwelling. The object of study is a kind of ideal model of housing – i.e. a notion of the dwelling and habitation which becomes manifest in housing architecture and the prevailing discourse. The ideal and reality do not necessarily coincide; the idea of how people should live in their houses might contradict the way they actually did live in them. Old habits and traditions in habitation survive for a long time, and on the level of lived experience there is evidently a wide range of social practices – representatives of the French *Annales* school, such as Fernand Braudel, speak of a slow transformation of mentalities or social practices.³⁵

The housing models and ideals contained in the type-planned house form a level of idealization, and it is on this level that my analysis of the notions of habitation and ideology operates, without making any claims as to the reality in which the houses with their housing models were actualized. The notion of a practice of housing is a kind of idealization within idealization: it is a hypothesis, constitutive of an idealization, on how people should and would live in their houses, not an empirically verified series of the social history of housing. In my analysis the empirical is a methodological concept which describes my primary material (dwelling designs) as distinct from theoretical schemes. In the process of research, however, these cannot be separated; mutually dependent, each makes the other possible: any concept, such as the dwelling, is a theoretical choice in itself, and it does not, any more than *empiria*, exist in isolation.

Housing architecture both perpetuates and produces meanings, and the dwelling (for example its spatial organization, floor-plans, aesthetics) and the discourse on housing are never innocent: they always contain ideological choices and implications about the family and gender identities. Despite the fact that art and architecture cannot be read directly and do not reflect reality like a mirror, it is still possible to detect in them the historically constructed and therefore always specific patriarchal ideology, or prevalent discourse. A certain relationship does exist between the dwelling, the family, gender identities and the way they are transformed. Art and architecture do not passively reflect an existing ideology, they participate in its formation. Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock write:

Art is not a mirror. It mediates and re-presents social relations in a schema of signs which require a receptive and preconditioned reader in order to be meaningful. And it is at the level of what those signs connote, often unconsciously, that patriarchal ideology is reproduced.³⁶

³⁵ Braudel (1949) 1990, 13, 325. Une histoire lentement rythmée, ou une histoire sociale.

³⁶ Parker – Pollock 1981, 119.

I do not use the word ideology to mean any publicly expressed political ideology, but in the broader sense of the justifications and foundations of thinking and conceptualization which govern all choices. A study of ideology as a discursive practice differs from the liberal bourgeois and the traditional Marxist sense and also from Louis Althusser's and the Frankfurt School's way of conceiving ideology as an exercise of power by the dominant social class over dominated and as »false consciousness»: a kind of conspiracy of the rulers towards the ruled, as part of a superstructure.³⁷ This pejorative notion contains an opposition between ideology and science, between false beliefs and objective truth, and thus it also implies the idea of non-ideological thinking and correct consciousness.³⁸ There is, however, no such thing as an ideology-free discourse and ideological aspects are present in every discourse including the scientific, literary and legal-political spheres. In this sense there is no difference between transparent documents and purely ideological texts. Thus ideology can be understood more as a process by which different kinds of meaning are produced or reproduced than as a conscious or unconscious product of an individual or a group.³⁹ Even if the notion of ideology today needs to be used with great circumspection, I should like to employ it to refer to that which in social practices is assumed to be natural, the unquestioned truth; images, myths, representations which are taken as natural, and which are unconscious, to echo Althusser's useful ideas (despite the criticism levelled against some aspects of his thoughts). »Truths», i.e. things regarded as being true, are produced and delimited by a particular discourse; they are historically determined naturalized myths. The differentiation between reality and its representations becomes quite illusory, and in a sense ide-

³⁷ See chapter 2 and Foucault's analysis of power. An ideology can be interpreted as centreless in the same sense as Foucauldian power lacks a centre. The Foucauldian analysis of power and the critique of ideology share the same basis and are part of the same idea.

³⁸ Althusser 1976. Despite the notion of ideology as a false consciousness, Althusser's concept of the omnipresence of ideology has been central to the critique of the classic concept of ideology. The analysis of ideology as false consciousness is always an analysis of the ideology of others, but no nonideological position is available. Ricoeur 1986b, 2–8. See also Hoy 1986, 125–135; Foucault 1980 b, 131–132.

³⁹ Hayden White's notions of ideology come close to this. For White, the question of ideology is always central in an analysis of meanings. White 1987, 187–193. Cf. also Raymond Williams' distinction between three marxist versions of ideology, especially the third where ideology is understood as a general process producing meanings and ideas. Williams 1977, chapter I, 4.

ology – or power – cannot be demystified because »truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power.«⁴⁰

In architectural studies, it is often presumed that only public and political architecture contains ideological aspects, and »ideological« has been almost synonymous with »political« – or »superstructural«.⁴¹ On the other hand, the notion of ideology as false consciousness is characteristic of, for example, Manfredo Tafuri's studies on the relations of architecture and society, where architecture is presented as pure ideology and an instrument and reflection of the dominant power structure.⁴² However, ideological attitudes are implicit in all architecture, including dwellings. Ideology is a level of meaning which is present in all kinds of speech and writing and in buildings too:

The function of that particular class of legends known as myths is to express dramatically the ideology under which society lives; not only to hold out to its conscience the values it recognizes and the ideals it pursues from generation to generation, but above all to express its very being and structure, the elements, the connections, the balances, the tensions that contribute to it; to justify the rules and traditional practices without which everything within a society would disintegrate.⁴³

The meaning contained in a building is stratified, ranging from the conscious, intentional communication of its builders and designers to unconscious meanings which are born of their time and out of the designers' hands. It is precisely these unconscious meanings which are open to different interpretations. The presumed irrelevance of authors' intentionally expressed meanings opens up the possibility of several interpretations – there is no longer a single, correct interpretation or description. As Juan Pablo Bonta puts it in his discussion of the interpretation of architecture: »There is no such thing as an 'objective' description of a building. Buildings can be described only from the point of view of certain interpretations, which entail value judgements and refer to classes.«⁴⁴

⁴⁰ An often quoted passage by Foucault. Foucault 1980b, 131. See also Foucault 1980b, 118; Althusser 1976, 114; Porphyrios 1985, 16–19; Braidotti 1991, 86.

⁴¹ E.g. Jencks 1973, 30; Warnke 1984, Millon – Nochlin (ed.) 1978.

⁴² Tafuri 1980.

⁴³ Dumezill 1970, 3.

⁴⁴ Bonta 1979, 165. On architecture as a system of expression, see also e.g. Eco 1980. Although Bonta's books is problematic in its use of the formal semiotic method, its analysis of architectural interpretation is fruitful. Instead of the meaning of forms, it focuses on *how* they arrive at their meaning; the process of signification itself.

In an analysis of the housing ideology of the type-planned house, it is essential not only to reconstruct the designers' intentional notions of housing, but also to examine both the conscious and the unconscious foundations of conceptualization. Moreover, it is also possible to study those levels of meaning which cannot simply be assigned as the author's; actions (works of art) can be ascribed meanings which are collective and which are generated in and by their changing contexts.⁴⁵ These meanings can justifiably be called non-intentional, and their analysis is an integral part of any historical study of art. Within the context of their emergence, as well as in later contexts, the type-planned houses produce meanings which have neither been »willed» (Fr. *vouloir-dire*), consciously or unconsciously, by the creator-subject, nor could they be connected to his/her intentional actions; historically, however, they are important. Historical acts and events – and the type-planned house can be interpreted as such – initiate a semiosis which cannot be reduced simply to its authors' intentions but which happens, subject-less, within a field of collective meanings, sign systems (»architecture», »dwelling») and other particular, signifying events.

In addition to, and instead of, *what* architectural forms mean, what is relevant is *how* they mean – the study of the signifying process and of systems of expression. According to Julia Kristeva, the analysis of the sign and signification has to be supplanted by an analysis of the signifying process: it is precisely in this process that ideology becomes manifest. Like ideology, the sign is both an end-product and a process which reproduces reality and is continuous.⁴⁶ Understood as a cultural system, the dwelling is a process which produces meanings; ideology finds its expression precisely in this process of signification but it cannot be reduced to it alone. The focus of interest shifts from the author to the meanings that are organized in architecture itself and their formation, i.e. the significance of architecture – to paraphrase Kristeva, a kind of subject of architecture. Architecture is no longer approached as an object and an expressive projection created by the architect.

Porphyrios criticizes the research tradition which is based on the closely linked notions of architect as author and architecture as object, as an instantaneously given, uniform and coherent physical entity; instead, he emphasizes the notion of architecture as productivity. Rather than an analy-

⁴⁵ See Paul Ricoeur's view on text, interpretation and intentionality. Ricoeur 1986a, 26, 137–159. For Foucault, authorship is not an individual matter, since all texts are collectively produced. Foucault challenges the notion of author as one coherent, nameable entity. Foucault 1977b, 113–138; Foucault 1980b, 129.

⁴⁶ Kristeva 1969, 35.

sis of hidden influences, attention is then focused on an analysis of the relations of architecture and society as productivity and interplay, not just as relations of cause and effect, representation and idea, form and content.⁴⁷ The object of investigation is not the mere effect or the reflection of social reality on architecture, but the definitions which are made in architecture and in architectural discourse, and the relations between architectural discourse and the so-called non-discursive practices (such as institutions, economico-political practices, etc.). These levels are equal: the social does not determine architecture alone, and the world of forms has its own internal logic (although it is not autonomous). The architect is merely one agent in a social system of intersections, but at the same time his/her actions continuously transform and redefine that very system. In the present study I shall analyse the relations and interplay between architecture and (ideological) context, without giving priority to either one: their interaction is stratified, not a linear causal relation from thoughts to architectural forms, or vice versa.

Aesthetics, morals and politics meet in the dwelling. One quality which has been regarded as characteristic of architecture and which has distinguished it from other forms of art is its social nature. More than any other kind of art, architecture is also tied to the economic and social conditions of a society.⁴⁸ It is not an autonomous totality of aesthetic and functional solutions but a part of the process of society and culture. Art historical analyses of architecture can only arise against the background of recognizing it as a product of its ideological and historical context. As in literature, so in architecture the aesthetic and political meanings cannot be separated and opposed: »A Kristevan approach to Woolf ... would refuse to accept this binary opposition of aesthetics on the one hand and politics on the other, locating the politics of Woolf's writing *precisely in her textual practices*.»⁴⁹ Similarly, it is impossible to separate the various aesthetic, technical-practical and socio-political dimensions in the architectural idiom and housing models of the type-planned house: these levels coexist in the planning process.

⁴⁷ Porphyrios 1981, 98–101.

⁴⁸ See e.g. McLeod 1985, 9; Jencks 1973, 30–31.

⁴⁹ Moi 1985, 16. see also Kristeva 1974. In *La révolution du langage poétique* (1974) Kristeva seems to have combined a certain avant garde manner of writing with a textual and social revolutionariness. In her later writings she has given up such direct linking of poetical and political revolution. But the new logic and rationality of modern society also contain a new kind of subject and a new manner of writing. The intertwining of the political and the aesthetic or the personal levels, the impossibility of separating them as opposites in the signifying process of the work of art, remain. See e.g. Kristeva 1980.

A dwelling is an organized space, which can be read as a form of speech (*parole*) that contains the hierarchical structures of a certain housing ideology; it is a way of organizing everyday life and privacy.⁵⁰ The floor-plans of dwellings shape and reinforce certain modes of behaviour and they also structure gender identities. In type-planned houses the difference and the differentiated genders are created by redifferentiation of the living spaces. Architecture is thus supported by an ideology and a system of beliefs, but it cannot be reduced simply to a representation of them; it is also an independent form of expression and thought.⁵¹

1.4. Feminist paradigm and gender identities

The relationship between the dwelling and gender takes place on multiple levels: the sexual difference orders the dwelling, the interaction between its users and the relations of the occupants to the dwelling. Feminist research has emphasized the crucial effect which gender and sexual difference have in defining people's lives; they are central factors in language, culture and day-to-day behaviour. However, they are also problematic concepts – full of meaning yet meaningless at the same time. We are gendered subjects and gender is culturally coded; moreover, our entire cultural system, the symbolic order (*l'ordre symbolique* of Jacques Lacan and Julia Kristeva), is also gendered.⁵² The constructions of femininity and masculinity define not only our notions of women and men but the totality of our culture too, and thus the concept of gender and sexual difference are present everywhere. Although the dwelling can be interpreted as a cultural system and therefore as constituting part of the symbolic order, it is often considered to be a neutral space. Nevertheless, it also contains historically changing notions of sexuality, family and gender; it maintains and supports certain presentations and representations of femininity and masculinity.

⁵⁰ Foucault 1976, 39–40. The very idea that thoughts (e.g. housing ideology) and practices (e.g. dwelling as an event, the social practice of housing) cannot be sharply separated is interesting. Aesthetic and conceptual meanings are concomitant, but architecture has its own code and a certain degree of autonomy.

⁵¹ Jacques Derrida has discussed architectural thinking and conceived of architecture as a possibility of thought which cannot be reduced to the status of a representation of thought. Thus architecture is not a technique separate from thought. Derrida 1986, 17.

⁵² See also Borchgrevink – Solheim 1988, 35–36; Scott 1985 1074–1075.

Although in many feminist studies the sex/gender system has been perceived as clearly permeating our (Western) culture and thinking, our entire everyday life,⁵³ and thus as having an influence on architecture too, the relations between gender identities and architectural space – our built environment – have nevertheless only rarely been analysed by comparing them with other areas of culture, in spite of the fact that a problematization of these relations might enable us to uncover the organizing principles of dwelling.⁵⁴ Instead, our everyday environment has become almost unnoticeable and self-evident, given. Therefore my study also represents an attempt to outline a feminist view of architecture, to provide theories and methodology that were previously lacking. One consequence of this is that theoretical presuppositions and considerations occupy a central position here even when they are not explicitly stated.⁵⁵

While the concepts of gender and sexual difference – important in all feminist research – have been widely discussed since the 1970s, it is by no means fruitless to deal briefly with them here too. The feminist approach to the problems of art history differs in relation to the various feminist positions and their interpretations of »femininity«. Moreover, the redefinition of »art« and »history« touches the broader question of sexual difference and its formation.⁵⁶ The difference is never a given, it must be produced. Regardless of its manner of coming into being, it always exists and

⁵³ According to Sandra Harding, notions of femininity and masculinity define not just our ideas of woman and man but also, in a broader and deeper sense, the totality of our culture; moreover they have an effect even where one would not assume this to be so, as in architecture: »Now we can detect sex/gender in the details of domestic and public architecture, in what the problems of philosophy are supposed to be,...«. Harding 1983, 312.

⁵⁴ Research has centred primarily on women architects and feminist planning. E.g. Torre (ed.) 1977; Hayden 1986. In Finland, Renja Suominen-Kokkonen has completed – at much the same time as my work – a study on early Finnish women architects; rather than one more search for »forgotten women architects«, her study focuses on the relationships between architectural tradition, the architectural profession and femininity. Suominen-Kokkonen 1992.

⁵⁵ One theme in architectural discussions has been feminist design. Architects have sought to create buildings and housing areas based on the needs of their users, especially of women, which would take into account local conditions as well. (This is in part a reaction against the »international style« in modern architecture and is linked to a broader architectural discussion.) E.g. Erleman 1985; Kennedy 1981; Vepsä – Cronberg 1983.

⁵⁶ On the complicated encounter between feminism and art history and the different relations between art and sexual difference, see Tickner 1988. According to Tickner, »feminist art history« does not exist because feminism is politics, not a methodology. But a feminist approach to the problems in art history does exist. Tickner 1988, 92–93. Ever since Linda Nochlin's seminal essay »Why Have There Been

is in a constant state of re-formation. The concept of difference refers not only to the difference between men and women; it also encompasses the differences among women and the differences within each individual, the multiple layers of the subject.⁵⁷

When housing architecture and the concomitant ideals and models of habitation (the level of conceptual idealization) are analysed as a signifying process, questions arise concerning the sexual difference and gender and their relation to architecture. How do these concepts influence or order housing architecture and on what levels do they operate? Do they always manifest themselves in connection with the gender of architect – and how should that gender be defined? What are the forms of thinking and the analogies which connect, for example, woman and the dwelling, motherhood and home? Furthermore, what innovations can be introduced to the interpretation of the dwelling by taking sexual difference as an aspect of

No Great Women Artists?» (Nochlin 1971), the absence of women from general works on the history of art has formed a central starting point in such studies, although Nochlin herself pointed out that the project of rehabilitation in itself was not enough. But her article still left the notion of Great Artist untouched. The »filling the gaps» in art history was methodologically conservative; the concept of gender and the relationship between perceived femininity/masculinity and art were treated as more or less unproblematic and straightforward issues. While leaving the field of art historical research – both art and history – untouched, it also left women on the margin of art history and perpetuated the stereotyped division between men's and women's art. Sexual neutrality and male artists remained as norms, women as exceptions. The aim of feminist art history is not to fill any gaps or to link women to the existing canon of art history. This was a central point of departure for Rozsika Parker's and Griselda Pollock's influential book *Old Mistresses. Women, Art, and Ideologies* (1981). Unlike earlier general expositions it does not seek to constitute a history of women artists; rather, by attempting to avoid an evaluative approach it studies for instance how the notions of femininity and art which have become implanted in the discourse of art have separated women's art from Art by either ignoring it or ascribing it to the category of the essentially feminine. Parker and Pollock unearthed the foundations of art history itself and analysed the relations between gender, art and ideologies. They questioned the central concepts and tacit premisses of art history, such as the interrelated concepts of the Great Artist and the Genius (the masculine hero), the internal hierarchy of art, the concept of art, the autonomy of art and art objects, evaluations of art and the concomitant demand for (stylistic) innovation. Parker – Pollock 1981; however, see also Alpers 1977. What is relevant in feminist research is the relation of these notions to sexual difference; the historical nature of femininity, masculinity and art, and their historically changing relations. For more about the relationship between feminism and art history see e.g. Gouma-Peterson – Mathews 1987; Pollock 1988; Tickner 1988; Saarikangas 1990.

⁵⁷ Braidotti 1989, 50. This underlines the particularity of each individual as well as the significance of race, culture, class, etc. along with gender.

analysis? On the one hand, it is evident that the concept of gender which is relevant to the analysis of architectural space has emerged historically; on the other, the analysis is also linked with the broader questions of the sexual difference in sign systems, representations, discourses and language, and the formation of sexual difference itself.

The spatial organization of type-planned houses seem to be similar regardless of the gender of their author. This is why I have concentrated on the analysis of sexual difference structured in and by the dwelling, instead of looking at architects as persons or comparing the works of male and female architects. The central question is: how does the dwelling as cultural practice produce the sexual difference, femininity and masculinity? What were the positions ascribed to woman and man within the dwelling, and how did this take place? What precisely was the way in which »femininity» and »masculinity» were categorized in newly urbanized 20th century Finland in general, especially in its housing models? To simplify, one might ask: how and what kind of »woman» and »man» does the dwelling create?

This viewpoint shifts attention away from the architects' gender to focus on gender identities and sexual difference produced and maintained in and by the dwelling itself. In my analysis of the relationship between the dwelling and gender there are (at least) two interacting levels: first the way in which gender identities and sexual difference determine the spatial organization of the dwelling; second, the way in which the spaces of dwelling regulate and order people's social relations and thus also structure sexual difference. Although sexual difference and gender identities cannot be regarded as initiating the formation of architectural space, they are nevertheless relevant categories in housing architecture. The differentiation and allocation of the rooms and spaces in the dwelling also imply certain notions of gender and give them a visible form.

The distinction between sex and gender has been central to the analysis of gender as a historically and culturally constructed structure rather than as an innate property. One is not born, one becomes a woman – according to Simone de Beauvoir's classic analysis.⁵⁸ Norms on what in a given situation is considered to be »feminine» or »masculine» are formed

⁵⁸ Beauvoir 1949, II. Beauvoir has been a theoretical (and phallic) mother for feminists on both sides of the Atlantic. In spite of the the wide criticism of her work, her main ideas (gender as culturally constructed structure, the otherness of woman, the link between each woman's situation and the women's historical status in general) have remained highly influential. See e.g. Braidotti 1991, 158, Saarikangas 1991, 145.

over and above biological necessities. The formation of a sex/gender system is, however, a process in which social gender identities and biological sex are attached to each other.⁵⁹ The idea of culturally constructed gender has been a useful category in questioning gender as a biologically given quality and in disputing the cultural aspects of sexual difference, yet the distinction contains problems. Gender has been divided into two radically discontinuous areas, sexed bodies and culturally constructed genders, while the body and corporeality have been forgotten. Thus woman, man and gender roles have remained disconnected categories and the distinction between perceived masculine and feminine properties, between mind and body, continues. A division that separates the biological from the social is in fact a continuation of the old nature/culture and body/mind dichotomies.⁶⁰

Sexual difference – and the subject as corporeal entity – is historical as well as bio-cultural. We must, however, also bear in mind the cultural and historical nature of biology. Biology, too, belongs to the social field and cannot therefore be considered as natural and given; it is difficult – if not impossible – to keep the so-called pure or natural body and corporeality separate from cultural factors. The body is a field where the biological and the symbolic, nature and culture, intersect.⁶¹ The body acquires meanings only in discourse, and according to Foucault the (sexual) subject can be understood as an open and complex historical system of discourse and power, an effect rather than an origin. »Sex» does not have an autonomous existence, it is produced through the interaction between discourses, practices, truth and power. »Woman» itself becomes a term in

⁵⁹ In Anglo-American feminist research the contrast between sex and gender has been generally accepted; this has been criticized only recently. Gerda Lerner writes: »Sex is the biological given for men and women. *Gender* is the cultural definition of *behavior* defined as appropriate to the sexes in a given society of given time. Gender is a set of cultural robs [sic], therefore it is a cultural product which *changes* over time.» Lerner 1986, 10. See also the classic work of the cultural formation of gender: Rosaldo – Lamphere 1974, 7.

⁶⁰ The relations and interactions between the biological, social and psychological aspects of gender have not been discussed until recently. Historian Joan W. Scott has criticized the concept of the sex/gender system and has emphasized the significance of gender as an analytical category. Scott 1985. On two different critics of the separation of sex from gender and the discontinuities which this presupposes, see Butler 1990; Braidotti 1991.

⁶¹ See e.g. Foucault 1976; Foucault 1980c, 209–222; Butler 1990; on the psychoanalytic theories of sexual difference see e.g. Brennan (ed.) 1989; Feldstein – Roof (eds.) 1989. The distinction between nature and culture is a product of language and culture, formulated inside »an already established cultural order». Braidotti 1991, 129.

process, whose meaning changes according to historical and social context.⁶²

By questioning the notions of fixed identities, an integrated sexual subject and the relationship between a work and its author's sexuality, the writings of Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigaray and Hélène Cixous have been a fruitful point of departure in problematizing the notions of sexual difference, femininity and masculinity in architecture. By using their schemes, it has been possible to develop an interesting angle on the relationships between the gender of the work, the author and the scholar. It is no longer woman which is the focus of study, but the construction of sexual difference and the system of differences which orders our existence through the unconscious and through language. In the »French« theory which arises from (and criticizes) Jacques Lacan's interpretation of Freud's psychoanalysis, the biological and socio-cultural aspects of gender are not set against one another; rather, gender is viewed as a psychosexual structure which is inseparable from corporeality.⁶³ Among other things, it aims at undermining the prevalent man/woman and mind/body dichotomies.⁶⁴ The primacy of the unconscious, the stratified nature of the subject and the notion of language are central to this. The subject and sexual difference are constructed through language and signifying systems in general. Kristeva has analysed the intersection of the psychosexual and the social order, and she has laid particular emphasis on the fleeting, process-like nature of the sub-

⁶² Foucault 1976; Foucault 1980c, 210. For an interesting essay (inspired by Foucault) on sexuality as a fundamental pillar of identity rather than the wilful choice of gender roles, see Butler 1990.

⁶³ In essence, the »French feminist« theory also represents a criticism of Lacan's theory in which woman becomes a selfless black hole and a place of negativity; an absent opposite to the masculine presence (of phallus). See e.g. Irigaray 1974; Cixous 1975. Today, the interesting difference between the French and Anglo-American approaches has already become a cliché, although much more important are the different cultural and theoretical traditions' convergences and elaborations on the question of sexual difference or gender and the concomitant redefinition of sexual subject. The question here is not whether to use the concept of sexual difference rather than that of gender; both notions are used in parallel. Moreover, in spite of certain universal features, it is misleading to regard either »French feminism« or the Anglo-American school as a unified movement. Scholars have different approaches to the questions of sexual difference, woman and femininity. See Saarikangas 1989; Saarikangas 1991; Braidotti 1991; general reviews Marks – Courtivron 1980; Moi 1985; Eisenstein 1984; Sivenius 1984.

⁶⁴ Instead of hierarchies, the relationships between body and mind, nature and culture, subject and object, woman and man can be seen as differences and complementarities where the other always exists, even if it is not necessarily present and visible. See also Derrida 1991, 26.

ject and its continuous transformation. As a linguistic and sexual being the subject-in-process (*le sujet en procès*) is formed by the interaction of the semiotic and symbolic levels of meaning as the child enters the order of language and culture. Gender and the symbolic order – the world of communal agreements and social laws (for example the family) – are reached through language.⁶⁵ Through the unconscious and through language sexual difference is present everywhere and structures both the symbolic order and our positions in it, although masculine discourse – which we deem neutral – rejects the feminine.

In the study of art, attention is directed away from women as persons towards the manifestations of the sexual difference on the level of the text

⁶⁵ Kristeva 1974; Kristeva 1977; Kristeva 1980, 82. See also Lacan 1966. For Kristeva the social order rests on a fundamentally symbolic structure. In the progress towards the symbolic our contact with the semiotic does not disappear, but the stratification of the subject and the disunity of gender identities prevail. On the basis of the psychosexual formation of the subject it is impossible to speak of a woman's authentic experience or of a uniform category of women united by femininity. Instead of Lacan's division into *imaginaire-réel-symbolique*, Kristeva uses the concepts of semiotic and symbolic (*le sémiotique* as opposed to *la sémiotique*). In her division, the pre-Oedipal semiotic amplifies Lacan's concepts *imaginaire-réel* without supplanting them, whereas the symbolic corresponds to Lacan's symbolic. The world of social laws, communal agreements, control and naming – the symbolic order – which represents the Name of the Father is preceded by a semiotic stage in the symbiotic, primal union between the child and the maternal body. The semiotic, corporeal and rhythmic meaning (or potentiality for a meaning) which differentiates without naming is articulated in the relationship with the mother's body in the pre-verbal and pre-Oedipal stage. But the mother and the mother's body also play a central role in the transition to the world of culture and language: the mother is always already inside the symbolic order, the codes of which she transmits to her child both verbally and non-verbally. She (or the person taking care of the child) is the person against whom the child has to develop his/her own subjectivity and who introduces the child to representation, the symbolic and lack. For a child, entering the world of syntactical structure implies the first victory over the mother. Kristeva challenges the Lacanian narrative by focusing on the »primary maternal body« and by describing the pre-verbal meanings which it bears. Kristeva's notions of the fleeting nature of identity, the splitting of the subject and the stratification of meanings have opened up an interesting perspective on the relationship and interaction between body and culture, verbal and non-verbal thinking. Despite the currently quite widespread criticism of her concepts, Kristeva's thinking can be seen as a radical attempt to end the masculine/feminine dichotomy and to transcend its boundaries. With the aid of the concept *abject*, she has attempted to describe that area which falls between nature and culture, body and language, object and subject; the state and process where a child does not necessarily belong to either category, but oscillates between them. See e.g. Kristeva 1974b, 22–99, *passim.*; Kristeva 1977a, 57–69; Kristeva 1977c, 484; Kristeva 1979, 17–19; Kristeva 1980. On recent criticism of Kristeva see e.g. Rose 1986; Tickner 1988, 109–110; Braidotti 1991, 229–238; Butler 1990, 79–93.

and works, towards their »femininity» (or »masculinity»). When, as a psychic structure, femininity is not connected solely to women but can also be displayed by men, the relativity of sexuality and the metaphysical nature of the opposition is accentuated.⁶⁶ Kristeva, Irigaray or Cixous do not seek the forgotten women of the past but rather the femininity – the difference – that is suppressed by language and the unconscious. Femininity as such – separated from the symbolic – cannot be isolated: women are a part of the prevalent »masculine» culture, and they use its language in communication. In a masculine culture woman – or femininity – can only be expressed between the lines, signs and meanings, in a kind of subtext.⁶⁷ Contrary to the thinking of the 1970s utopian feminists who based their ideas on the moral superiority of women and on essential femininity, it is impossible to settle in any feminist counter-reality outside the existing masculine culture.⁶⁸

To the analysis of the relationship between gender identities and type-planned houses – each so similar, yet all planned by different architects – the questioning of the notion of the integrated subject has brought a new perspective. The architecture of these houses cannot be approached as a reflection of the gender of their planners; the sexual difference which divides our culture lies deeper in architecture and cannot be reduced to a planner's gender. It is (invisibly) present in the symbolic as well as the social and historical levels.

Although the »French» research mentioned above undermines the identity and contextuality of sexual difference, it often lacks the historical dimension which is important to the present study. My aim is to construct, within a certain historical context, the particular contents of the concepts of gender identities. The historical and conceptual levels of gender are both important in my analysis: they are both formed in relation to language and culture. Owing to the complexity of the formation of gender and sexual difference, it is important to detail the different levels, although in my analysis I am not actually discussing the bio-cultural formation of sexual difference; instead, I examine sexual difference as one ordering principle in architecture and people's everyday lives. Sexual difference exists both

⁶⁶ Kristeva 1974c, 20–21; Kristeva 1979, 17–19; Cixous 1984, 51–54. Kristeva's semiotic and symbolic are sometimes also described as maternal and paternal. However, as such they are not directly linked to actual existing women or men but to the stages and levels of the (formation) of subject.

⁶⁷ See e.g. Irigaray 1974, 20–21; Kristeva 1977, 39–44.

⁶⁸ Kristeva 1974a, 42–43; Kristeva 1979, 17–18; see also Foucault 1980c, 220.

in works of art and in the ways in which they are viewed and discussed; it orders housing architecture, the relationship between the dwelling and its user, and the discussion on housing. As a system of representation, art, architecture and art history continuously produce and maintain sexual difference.

Regarded as historical change, the transformations of gender identities and the practices of housing are not presented in this study as a teleological progress from worse to better – neither is my aim to make any idealized projections to the past. The examination of the relationship between housing and gender is not in itself a question of defining a good or a bad dwelling, but an analysis of established thinking habits: it brings out aspects of housing architecture which would otherwise be unremarked. Incorporating the family and gender – along with the historical context and the social practice of housing – into an analysis of type-planned houses assigns new meanings to their architecture, while their relation to previous Finnish housing architecture reveals other aspects than if the focus were simply on the architectural idiom.

In an object-centred (and woman-centred feminist) history of art in which women can only remain in the marginal position to which they have been relegated, the interaction in the signifying process between the building and its user, the work and the viewer, has attracted little notice.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the feminist study of art confronts a problem that is common to every examination of visual material: the picture or the building is both without a language and more than language. The mutual relationship of language and image is in a certain sense unending and infinite, not so much because of the limitations of language as because of their incommensurability; image and language are mutually irreducible.⁷⁰ We are bound by language when we analyse a work of art, and language, like gender, is never neutral or pure. In feminist research this is compounded by the problematic – to say the least – concept of gender: we are faced with the complex question of interactions between gendered work, its author, the gendered scholar/viewer/user, and the conventions and traditions of art. Art always stands in relation not only to its socio-historical context but also to the conventions and traditions of art. The notions of woman and man in art cannot be read directly from a single work and its historical situation, they grow from earlier (masculine) representations and inherent notions of art. Furthermore, works of art and the identities of the artist and of woman/

⁶⁹ Tickner 1988, 97.

⁷⁰ Kristeva 1977b, 383; Foucault 1966, 25; Todorov 1977, 168.

man change, and they are interrelated⁷¹ The problems become even more complex when one analyses feminine expression, the differences between female and male artists, or the different levels of gender in any work.

⁷¹ See e.g. Parker – Pollock 1981, 98; Stewen 1987.

2. Dwelling as cultural system

Thirty spokes surround the hub:

In their nothingness consists the carriage's effectiveness.

One hollows the clay and shapes it into pots:

In its nothingness consists the pot's effectiveness.

One cuts out doors and windows to make the chamber:

In their nothingness consists the chamber's effectiveness.

Therefore: what exists serves for possession

What does not exist serves for effectiveness.

Lao Tzu

The type-planned house is a standardized, private space constructed in accordance with the existing »housing norms« – a dwelling that is on the one hand extremely private and personal, but simultaneously also generic and prevalent. It is both a physical space and the locus of the everyday life of its occupants. Studying the dwelling – the most basic building – involves the fundamental philosophical questions at the root of architecture and architectural analysis. It is possible to think that, in the past, all demarcated spaces were dwellings – of the gods, the deceased and the living. Non-domestic buildings first appeared with the onset of profane publicity. In the modern world, the dwelling too, has lost its sacral aspect, and become secular.

In architectural tradition and research, »more valuable« monumental public buildings have often taken precedence over dwellings; on the other hand, beginning with Vitruvius, written architectural history has always regarded the dwelling as the basis of architecture. Images of the first human habitation – Adam and Eve's dwelling in Paradise, »lost« by definition – have regularly risen to the surface.¹ Accounts of the experience afforded

¹ Rykwert 1972.

by the architectural space, and of architecture as the everyday living environment, often release an accompanying flood of personal narratives: the multiple layers of privacy.

Meanings are constructed by, and within, the dwelling; this takes place on multiple levels, from verbal to the non-verbal and preverbal – on the other hand, the dimensions of the meanings range from the private and extremely personal to shared historical and cultural level. As John Burnett puts it, »Houses are physical structures, homes are social, economic and cultural institutions.»² Similarly, the analysis of the house and home involves both architectural-historical analysis of formal idiom and analysis of the changing historical, social and private meanings associated with habitation. Martin Heidegger treats housing as a form of »being-in-the-world» (*Dasein*), and describes the building as a habitable (*Gewohnte*), essentially social and communal space. For Heidegger the dwelling is the essence of man's »being-in-the-world».

Building as dwelling, that is, as being on the earth, however remains for man's everyday experience that which is from the outset »habitual» – we inhabit it, as our language says so beautifully: it is the *gewohnte*.³

The constructed space always also entails the relationship between the individual and space, between person and place. In the phenomenological study of architecture, which is based on Heidegger's philosophy, habitation has been seen as the fundamental space and condition of humanity: a kind of »local feeling,» a mental and emotional experience of the *genius loci*.⁴ As a human construction, a non-given space, the dwelling has a certain produced message and social meaning.⁵

The dwelling is not a permanently fixed »empty» space, but a site of intimate encounters, saturated with personal and social meaning: the image of our privacy and intimacy, as Gaston Bachelard has suggested in his study of the poetics of space. The dwelling is our »corner in the world» (*notre coin du monde, notre premier univers*); as an extension of the mother's womb, it fundamentally structures our experience of the world and of space.⁶ Sensations, scents, smells, colours, flavours and sounds can mo-

² Burnett 1985, 3.

³ Heidegger sees an etymological relationship between »to dwell» (*wohnen*) and »to build» (*bauen*) and links building back to thinking (*ich denke*) and being (*ich bin*). Heidegger 1971 (1956), 146–149, 156–157.

⁴ Norberg-Schulz 1985, 12, 22.

⁵ Norberg-Schulz 1985, *passim*.

⁶ Bachelard (1957) 1984, 24; see also Foucault 1986, 23.

mentarily revoke and evoke (*évoquer*) a sensation of space, the childhood experience of space and place.⁷ Phenomenological analysis of the meaning of the dwelling has in fact often focused on precisely the *genius loci* and on the individual's private experiences of the dwelling and memories of childhood. The dwelling, the home, accommodates a portion of the daily life of the individual. The home strengthens and bolsters the identity, offering security and »domestic peace«. Ever since Antiquity, the home, the household, has been understood as a microcosm – a space in space.⁸ According to Jacques Derrida, architecture consists in the establishment of space (espacement); to create a space is also to create a place:

The question of architecture is in fact that of place, of taking place in space. The establishing of a place which didn't exist until then and is in keeping with what will take place there one day, that is a place. As Mallarmé puts it, *ce qui a lieu, c'est le lieu*. It is not at all natural. The setting up of a habitable space is an event, and obviously the setting up is always something technical. It invents something which didn't exist beforehand and yet at the same time there is the inhabitant, man or God, who requires the place prior to its invention or causing it. Therefore one doesn't quite know where to pin down the origin of place.⁹

The spatial arrangement of the dwelling can be regarded as a field of social relations where ideas and practices intertwine and perpetually interact. Analysing the dwelling as a social practice and as an event of daily life brings together the levels of ideology and quotidian.¹⁰ As a cultural product, the dwelling is a process that produces meanings; a given event of habitation is produced in the interaction of the ideological level, the spatial organization of the dwelling and the social practices of housing.

The dwelling – and architecture in general – is closely associated with the problem of power; it is, in Nietzsche's phrase, »the rhetoric of power in space«. The dwelling can be seen as both wordless production of mean-

⁷ Manlio Brusatin has written of colour – and scents and flavours – as organizers of memory. »Mais il les (couleurs) comparer aussi aux odeurs et aux parfums, qui sont en même temps stimuli et sensations, qui excitent le flux de la mémoire en se répandant à travers le corps par où ils s'introduisent, suscitant des frissons et des souvenirs.« Brusatin 1986, 14–15. Sensations and perceptions also magically recall the world of the past in Marcel Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu*.

⁸ Norberg-Schulz 1985, 91; Bachelard (1957) 1984, 24.

⁹ Derrida 1986, 18.

¹⁰ The dwelling as social practice includes habitation, made possible by the spatial organization, i.e. arrangement of rooms, as well as social relations and the spatio-temporal domestic convention associated with the arrangement of rooms.

ing and as the indirect exercise of power. To study the relationship between the dwelling and gender identities is also to study power. Architecture is one way of ordering people's lives; being a private space, the dwelling particularly determines the order of daily life and privacy. When architecture is interpreted as an independent »language« or cultural sign system¹¹ and as such a means of expression and control, it expresses – and produces – a certain ideology, and thereby controls and orders people's lives.¹²

The works of Michel Foucault open up an interesting angle on the relationship between the dwelling and gender identities, and into the associated problem of power. In studying the history of the matrices of thought and the history of power, Foucault has also addressed architecture, specifically in the context of his analysis of the formation of the modern sexual subject, and the birth of the modern penal system and self-discipline.¹³ In fact, Foucault has touched upon space and related problems since 1961 when he published *Histoire de la folie*. He has studied modern society by mapping the historically woven network of power relations. According to Foucault, (historical) research has generally overlooked both power mechanisms and power in its strategic aspect, which is simultaneously general and detailed, and has concentrated instead on the possessors of power. Even less attention has been given to the relationship between knowledge and power and the articulation of each on the other.¹⁴ The analysis of power is linked with the analysis of housing and family ideology. If the dwelling

¹¹ Julia Kristeva has analysed the nature of painting as a signifying process. Visual art is always more than a sign; it is both without a name and more than a name. According to Kristeva, analysis of visual art always entails a certain kind of second degree of naming; of inserting the signs of language into an already-produced reality-sign (*signe-réel déjà produit*). See Kristeva 1977, 383. Image and language, architecture and language, are mutually untranslatable forms of expression. In this context, the idea of architecture as a »language« means a cultural sign system – or system of (re)presentation. Being a cultural symbol, architecture (e.g. the type-planned house) can be treated as a system of signs or representations – but it can also be seen as producing meanings, and, in this sense, as an »independent« language and possibility of thought.

¹² Foucault 1976, 39–40. See also Porphyrios 1982, 114. On relations between the dwelling, sexuality, the family and ideas of gender, see e.g. Donzelot 1977; *Politiques de la'habitat* 1977; Eleb-Vidal – Debarre-Blanchard 1989.

¹³ See Foucault 1975; Foucault 1976; and also Foucault 1984b.

¹⁴ Foucault 1980d, 51. Women's history has also urged that the focus of research should be shifted to those who are powerless, but Foucault has also problematized the concept of power on another level, not only by shifting attention to the powerless but by demonstrating the problematic, multidimensional quality of the very concept of power.

is analysed in Foucauldian terms, it can be seen as a structure of so-called *bio-power* – as a kind of mediating factor. Like ideology, the dwelling is a means of controlling the human body – it is »mediated« power.¹⁵ Its walls demarcate a space in which habitation can occur, which involves not just a domestic building but also the people functioning inside and the system of control and discipline produced by discursive and social practices. According to Foucault, the formation of a new penal practice in the early 19th century involved a new prison architecture, a new matrix of thought, and a new strategy:

Toute une problématique se développe alors: ... celle d'une architecture qui serait un opérateur pour la transformation des individus: agir sur ce qu'elle abrite, donner prise sur leur conduite, reconduire jusqu'à eux les effets du pouvoir, les offrir à une connaissance, les modifier. *Les pierres peuvent rendre docile et connaissable.*¹⁶

In housing, the capillary forms of power can be reached. In the dwelling, power reaches the mentality of individual persons, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, and their everyday lives.¹⁷ The dwelling is not of course the only thing that affects the arrangement of people's everyday lives, but together, spatial arrangement, housing practice and ideological aspects sustain and produce certain housing conventions. Together, they determine the use of the dwelling, and the social relations between the occupants.

In his analysis of modern society, Foucault has diagnosed »bio-power« as the form of power/knowledge specific to our time. Bio-power can be defined as the way our current practices work so as to bring about an order in which Western men will be healthy, secure and productive.¹⁸

The dwelling, and the socio-hygienic and moral norms (e.g. segregation of the different sexes, parents and children, growing demands of hygiene and health) associated with the dwelling from the 19th century (in Finland, from 1900 onwards) can be studied as an intersection between the micro and macro level of power.

Foucault's conception of power is (radically) new. In traditional theories, power has usually been associated with the state, production or an individual; Foucault, by contrast, has attempted to delocalize it. Accord-

¹⁵ Foucault 1975, 31.

¹⁶ Foucault 1975, 174. My emphasis.

¹⁷ Foucault 1980d, 39.

¹⁸ Dreyfus – Rabinow 1986, 116. Biopower is the discursive constitution and appropriation, through social practice, of the body and physicality.

ing to Foucault, in the modern society power cannot be localized or returned to a definite centre. Instead, power does not entail place and substance, subject and object, guilt and innocence, but constitutes an invisible and faceless structure that is present everywhere – in every human relationship. Relations of power are simultaneously both intentional and non-subjective.¹⁹ Control and order arise in consequence of the structure of modern society.²⁰ Power is productivity, not just repressiveness, and it characterizes all aspects of modern society. Power cannot be possessed but is a strategy in which the dominated and the dominator are equal participants. At the same time, power always also contains its own resistance. According to Foucault, knowledge and power are interlinked and mutually dependent, but also mutually productive. He illustrates the affiliation and the relationship between knowledge and power through the *Panopticon*, a surveillance system associated with prisons at the end of the 18th century and in the beginning of the 19th century.²¹

Despite the criticism levelled against them, Foucault's analyses of power, institutions and sexuality provide interesting dimensions also for the study of the relationship between gender identities, housing ideology and the dwelling, and the concomitant problem of power. Foucault's analysis of power is fruitful in that it does not indict any individual person, and particularly because it demonstrates the subtle presence of power in everyday life.²² It identifies the body as a site of power and emphasizes the specific and local modes of operations of power – the microphysics of power – and the crucial role of discourse in producing never separable power/knowledge. Although many feminists have claimed that Foucauldian formation of sexual subject is gender-blind and that Foucauldian body escapes from sexual difference,²³ crucial is that for Foucault body is not »sexed«, but »sex« (and body) are produced by complex interactions of discourse and power. Sexual subject is an artificial concept which gains meaning in

¹⁹ Foucault 1976, 121–129. On Foucault's conceptions of power (and their development), and on the virtually metaphysical nature of power in late Foucault, see e.g. White 1987, 131–134.

²⁰ Foucault has tried to analyse that network of power relations into which the human subject is born, and without which the subject would be incomprehensible.

²¹ Foucault 1975, 201–206. See also Bentham, *Panopticon* 1791.

²² What Foucault presents is not so much a comprehensive theory or a causal explanation as a method of analysis. On his critics, see e.g. Hoy 1986; on feminist critique and the convergences of feminism and Foucault (especially his analysis of power and the formation of the sexual subject), e.g. Peterson 1987, 67–72; Braidotti 1991, 86–97; Butler 1990, 91–106; Honkasalo 1991; Diamond – Quinby 1988.

²³ Braidotti 1991, 95.

the historically specific organizations of power, disciplinary practices and rationalizing discourses of the modern era.²⁴

The dwelling can be analysed as a system of controls focused upon the family, comparable to the controls imposed upon children and adolescents at school. With its spatial organization, and through the different private spaces allocated for the performance of different functions, with which it surrounds the individual, the dwelling controls and orders people's everyday life, differentiating sexuality and the maintenance of the family and the home. In Finnish ideology of the 20th century and particularly the 1940s, the woman was seen as the pivot of the family and the home; my work is in this sense an inquiry into the »controls» imposed upon the woman. The woman was »situated» in the family, and her being was determined by everything that had to do with the family.²⁵ The dwelling was one of the places that defined normal and abnormal family and gender identities. The dwelling is thus one of the clearest control systems affecting the family. It controls sexuality and sets its norms. To simplify, one might ask, what functions and forms of control hold sway in the dwelling?

Thus all architecture, private as well as public, can be seen to contain ideological and power-related aspects. In the dwelling, power appears in the interaction between spatial organization, housing ideology and domestic practice; architectural form as such is not (cannot be) political: the meanings arising from idiom and spatial arrangement are always cultural. The meanings of architecture are actualized in a particular historical and social situation. Analysing the multifarious dynamic of Foucauldian power does not exculpate the individual agents of power from moral responsibility, but allocates a quota of power to a larger group – including architects.

The dwelling is a social space and part of the symbolic order; it is a culturally determined totality. Both the dwelling and the people who move inside it exist in relation to, and through, language. The dwelling is the scene of a person's private everyday life, but also a point of intersection between the private and the public. The social and cultural order – or symbolic order – is not left behind when we cross the threshold of the dwelling and close the door.²⁶ The dwelling, like architecture in general, can be thought of as social and communal; it is part of the symbolic order. The

²⁴ Diamond – Quinby 1988, x–xxi; Butler 1990, 92.

²⁵ Cf. woman as sign, »situated» in a passive sense.

²⁶ Mircea Eliade has written about the threshold as a separator between spaces; various rites have been associated with entry into domestic space. Eliade (1957) 1987, 28.

dwelling, too, is a social space for its inhabitants – only in a more private way. The difficulty of analysing the meanings articulated in the dwelling, and the meanings that order the dwelling itself, lies in precisely this multiplicity: in the encounter of the private and the communal.

Reading power in a private space such as a dwelling is more complex compared to political exegesis of public spaces. The dwelling as cultural system contains both a private and a social and cultural level: in it, the private and the public perpetually interact. It can be said that architecture, which is considered the most social art, embodies the symbolic and cultural order in a uniquely pure form. But it can also be thought of as creating non-verbal meanings at the level of the unconscious and the body.

The dwelling is a physical space experienced through the senses; it produces meanings not only at the level of the symbolic order and communal agreements and practices, but also on another, even less conspicuous level. According to Walter Benjamin, architecture is characterized by a distracted and random way of observing. He sees that buildings are utilized in two ways: through use and viewing, i.e. by tactile and optical means. What determines each perception is habit and custom rather than acumen.²⁷ Being self-evidently present, (domestic) architecture and our everyday habitat have, as it were, become invisible: their production of meaning is imperceptible, silent and mute.²⁸ How does the experience of architectural space penetrate our bodies when we move in it? How do we, through the body and the senses, apprehend space as movement, as a system of relations, as rhythm and materiality? What does it mean that we spend our days in different kinds of spaces? And how does the »empty« space demarcated by walls produce meanings?

This unnoticed, silent and material creation of meaning is distantly related to both Freud's idea of dream work and Julia Kristeva's concept of the semiotic production of meaning and the semiotic *chora*, or the unconscious, rhythmic and »corporeal« formation of meanings, which she calls *semiotic*. The semiotic is, according to Kristeva, the non-linguistic level

²⁷ Benjamin (1936) 1973, 46–47.

²⁸ This invisible production of meaning may be compared with Heidegger's (*Sein und Zeit* 1923) notion of the »Being«, or being »ready-to-hand« (*Zuhanden*) of unnoticed, familiar utensils (or »equipment«, *Zeug*, Heidegger's translation for the Greek word *pragmata*). Equipment is that unnoticed material of everyday activity which is always already present before the question of placement even arises. This world »ready-to-hand« always already surrounds you as vague totality of meanings, before you begin to subject it to objective inquiry. The utensil emerges from behind its unnoticeability, becomes »unready-to-hand« or »present-at-hand« (*Vorhanden*) for example when it fails in its work function. Heidegger 1962, 96–99 (H68–H69).

of expression: a preverbal and physical expression that appears as rhythm, rhythmicity, intonations. It is a state of production of meaning governed by instincts and rhythmic pulsions and rooted in the body and the unconscious, and has connotations of the mother and the maternal. The semiotic stage and the semiotic level are governed by the body of the mother, from which the »becoming subject« does not distinguish itself and its own boundaries. However, both the semiotic and the symbolic are always already present in the mothers's body: the mother is inside the symbolic order. The semiotic production of meaning has associations with the notion of the semiotic *chora*, or rhythmic state, which Kristeva developed on the basis of Plato's *Timaeus*. The *chora* precedes expression, exists before the sign, meaning and subject. It is a fluctuating receptacle that might be metaphorically characterized as nourishing and maternal. The semiotic is the materiality and spatiality of language. The symbolic on the other hand is the order of language, a social and cultural system – its temporal dimension. Kristeva writes:

Cette chora est l'articulation non verbale du procès: une musique, une architecture sont des métaphores qui la désignent mieux que les catégories linguistiques grammaticales qu'elle redistribue. Elle est la logique des »opérations concrètes«, de la »motilité« (dont parle Artaud) traversant le corps pratique dans l'espace social (transformations des objets, rapports aux parents et à l'ensemble social).²⁹

Semiotic meaning can be seen as something that appears as relations (e.g. the body's relation to space), whereas symbolic meaning always points to another. The *chora* is a state and location that articulates meanings on non-verbal level. It is »a room in which a thing is.«³⁰

The idea of the semiotic *chora* can be metaphorically used in architectural analysis. The formation of architectural meaning is articulated not only by cultural and symbolic meanings, but also by the non-verbal level of sensations, rhythm and movement. Being in space (*Dasein*) and utilization of space is always being in relation to another; it is movement into and within the other. Metaphorically, it repeats the child's relation to the body of the mother, and their differentiation, which facilitates space, language and the localization of the subject. The movement into the other, the formation of meanings in relation to another is, according to Michel

²⁹ Kristeva 1977a, 69. The subject moves from the semiotic to the symbolic via *thetic* thresholds, pronouncements and namings. CF. also Kristeva 1974b, 22–30; Kristeva 1977a, 57–69.

³⁰ Whitman 1987, 171–172.

de Certeau, the prerequisite of space, while the use of space is repetition of childhood sensations of space – being and movement into the other.³¹

In connection with the physical, unconscious, non-verbal and material allocation of meaning Kristeva writes of the »cartography of the body» (*cartographie primaire de ce corps que j'appelle sémiotique*), of the meanings that inscribe themselves in the body. This »physical» allocation of meaning is always formed – chronologically and logically – in relation to the rules of the language and the symbolic order.³²

Without going any further into Kristeva's subtle theory of the subject and the formation of meaning, it appears that the experience of the space of the dwelling can also be analysed as a physical, sensuous production of meaning. The body and space interact perpetually. The active body, with its movements and gestures, gives shape to space; conversely, spatial arrangements touch the body. As Ivan Illich writes: »Gender shapes bodies as they shape space and are in turn shaped by its arrangements.»³³ Gender, physicality and space are linked together and shape the home, the home as cultural system.

The question of the body, and of the person as a sexual, physical subject, is in many ways related to the spatial organization of the dwelling. The problem is more than just a question of the historicity of the body: the body can be seen as belonging to both the private and the political sphere. According to Foucault, the body is always also political:

Mais le corps est aussi directement plongé dans un champ politique; les rapports de pouvoir opèrent sur lui une prise immédiate; ils l'investissent, le marquent, le dressent, le supplicient, l'astreignent à des travaux, l'obligent à des cérémonies, exigent de lui des signes.³⁴

Together with disease, bacteria and physiological functions, the body and biology also include ideological and institutional meanings formed in specific historical situations and relations.

Physicality is linked with the juxtapositioning of architectural spaces that can be seen as deriving from the dichotomous thinking that structures

³¹ Certeau 1980, 163–164. Certeau refers to both Freud's wellknown analysis of the *Fort-Da* game (the casting off and retrieval, in space, of a ball of wool that compensates for the mother) as the original structure of the experience of space, and to Lacan's theory of the mirror stage of the (male) child, when he recognizes himself in the mirror as one, whole and simultaneously other. Cf. also Kristeva 1977a, 66–67; Kristeva 1977c, 484–491.

³² Kristeva 1980, 87.

³³ Illich 1983, 117–119.

³⁴ Foucault 1975, 30.

western culture: nature/culture, body/spirit, woman/man. The custom has been to categorize architectural spaces on the basis of oppositions accepted as given, »For example between private space and public space, between family space and social space, between cultural space and useful space, between the space of leisure and that of work. All these are still nurtured by the hidden presence of the sacred.»³⁵ Architecture has often been discussed on the basis of its supposed male and female qualities, e.g. in the doctrine of the anthropomorphic nature of the Classical orders, and the corresponding application of each.³⁶ On the other hand, an association has been drawn between the space inside the building and the female, and between the facades and the male. Habitation has been identified with the female and femininity. Architecture has often been categorized in terms of uterine and phallic analogies. For example, according to the historian Friedrich Heer, medieval churches were seen precisely as »Mother-churches,» through which you could be united with Mother earth and the Mother of God.

Space was essentially feminine, a sacred cave, a sacred womb – in fact the womb of »mother church» ... Sacred enclosures protected the dead until the time of their rebirth, for enclosure meant security.³⁷

The dwelling has been seen a counterpart of the womb: a place of protection and seclusion, beyond the reach of the chaos of the external world; the mother's lap, tender, warm and secure. Precisely the idea of enclosure, of diving into shelter, into a cave or a nest, and the notion of the labyrinths and cavernous spaces, and of course passivity, have been seen as the essential feminine attributes in architecture. The opposite poles are of course male archetypes: activity, soaring phallic columns and towers, the conquest of external space.³⁸ Like, say, a vase, the dwelling, and its enclosed seclusion, has been seen to contain an archetypal reference to the womb and to the woman as mother – all are places of shelter and retreat.³⁹

³⁵ Foucault 1986, 23.

³⁶ The Orders have, from the time of Vitruvius, been described according to their supposed female and male qualities. The Doric has been identified with the man, the Corinthian with a young, virginal girl. By contrast, the comparatively non-sexed Ionic has vacillated between the masculine and the feminine. Vitruvius associated it with feminine sweetness (and thus aligned it with the Corinthian), whereas in the Renaissance it was variously associated with either a middle-aged woman or with a mature male. Vitruvius, book IV. c. I, 6–9; Lilius 1978, 19–20; Summer-son 1978, 12–13.

³⁷ Heer 1962, 380–381.

³⁸ LeFévre 1980, 28–31; Kennedy 1981, 53.

³⁹ Myer 1983, 52–62; see also Lilius 1978, 16.

In analysing Plato's cave myth, Luce Irigaray has compared the cave to the womb, and asked whether the cave *is* the womb. She argues that when the myth interprets the external world as the real, and dismisses the shadows as mere imitations of the ideal world, something is forgotten and rejected: the ability of tones and shapes to interpret the world and to be »real.« Irigaray seeks for a way to persist within the cave, of eradicating the evaluative distinction between the cave and the external world.⁴⁰ Housing and everyday life can be compared to the Platonic cave, which, our culture decrees, one must abandon in favour of the real knowledge and world outside. Their history is invisible and silent, but no less real for that.

The dwelling is a network of social relations and power, as well as an extremely personal space. It controls social relationships between people, but also gives rise to »positive« private meanings, some of which are born on the unconscious or physical level, in the relationship between body movements and space.

The physical or sensuous and non-verbal formation of meaning constitutes another personal level which is on a par with the verbal and social levels, but which is harder to reach and which evades analysis. The social and private meanings of architecture are both in part unnoticeable and unconscious: they, as it were, inscribe themselves »directly« in the body, cutting across the rules of language and culture, as we move in space. This »cartography of the body« and early, archaic sensations of space travel with us. Physical experience of space is archetypal even when it is most personal. It involves one's sense of one's own separateness and coincident blending into space, reminiscent of one's symbiotic coexistence with the mother in early infancy: a simultaneous sense of physical distinctness and inseparability, and a movement between the two – the evanescence of the boundaries of the body.

The dwelling carries inside itself the aesthetic of hidden detail. Even this architectural production of meaning occurs in relation to language and culture, to communal contracts and practices. The analysis of the dwelling entails the relationship between the visible and invisible, the verbal and the non-verbal: it is to give words and language to the wordless. This language is always the voice of the Other (in relation to the object of research and the researcher).

⁴⁰ Irigaray 1974, 301–309, 350–351.

3. Historical context

3.1. Rural society in the process of industrialization

The context in which the Finnish type-planned houses were designed and built was a social and economic shift that was accelerated by the Second World War. With these type-planned dwellings specifically designed for single-family proprietorship, a new housing model emerged as Finland was being transformed into an urban and industrial country.¹ The idealization of the »natural«, suburban lifestyle (the idea of the garden city), urbanization and industrialization were largely complementary developments in Finland during the first half of the 20th century, but it is equally important to remember that Finland was essentially an agrarian »peasant«² society up until the Second World War. The inception of modern capitalist industry in Finland goes back to the 1840s, when cotton factories were founded in Tampere and Forssa. Large-scale industrialization and urbanization did not, however, occur until the late 19th and early 20th century.³ At the turn of century, most Finns still lived off the forest and the land.⁴

¹ The villa and the one-family house are here treated as urban housing models. See Stavenow-Hidemark 1971. For the relationships between industrialization, urbanization and modernization, see Hietala 1987, 30.

² Compared to other small European countries, Finnish society (and Finnish »peasant«) differed by virtue of its nonfeudal class structure and the comparatively strong position of the peasantry, reminiscent of the situation in Sweden and Norway. In the first half of the 19th century the Finnish agrarian population mainly comprised landowning peasants and crofters. The crofters were tenant farmers with small leased holdings; they subsisted on agriculture and paid their rent by working a certain number of days for the landowner. In the early 19th century, their situation resembled that of the »freeholding peasant«. In the late 19th century, the number of landless peasants (both crofters and agricultural workers) escalated and social differences increased. Alapuro 1988, 12–51.

³ Vattula 1981, 67–68; Haapala 1986, 12–15.

⁴ 81 % of the working population in 1890, and 74 % in 1910. Alapuro 1980, 42. Roughly 90 % (2,7 million people) of the population lived in rural areas at the turn of the century.

The process of industrialization gathered momentum after the Second World War. During the war, Finland was still an agricultural country on the threshold of the approaching transformation into a modern, industrial and urban society. The agricultural character of the country was reflected in its architecture which was dominated by rural vernacular traditions. Despite the growth of the cities, even after the war, the majority of the population (almost 70 %) still lived in rural areas.⁵ As late as 1940, 64 % of the working population worked in farming and forestry, and about 50 % continued to do so after the war.⁶ By 1950, the proportion of agricultural and forest workers was less than half (46 %) and in 1980 it was 13 %.⁷ A period of rapid industrial expansion began immediately after the war and continued into the 1970s.⁸ But it is not until the '60s and '70s that Finland can actually be considered an industrial society.⁹

After the war ended, Finland continued to pursue its pre-war policy of establishing agricultural self-sufficiency; the food shortage also made rebuilding agriculture a central postwar concern.¹⁰ Not only was the farming population a numerous one – it also had considerable political weight. One of the motives of the postwar housing and settlement project was to create stable political conditions and to reward the front-line veterans. At the end of the 19th century, social differences increased within the rural population; conflicting interests were particularly evident between the farm-owners and landless peasantry. After the Civil War (1918), various legislative measures were implemented to improve the position of the crofters (i.e. tenant farmers) and landless population: the agrarian reform laws (*Torpparilait*) of 1918, or the Crofters Liberation as the reform is sometimes called in Finland, and the Settlement Act (*Lex Kallio*) of 1922 enabled tenant farmers to acquire ownership of the land they held on lease, and facilitated the creation of small holdings.¹¹ With this reform Finnish peasant holding began to move in the direction of the family farm.¹²

⁵ Virrankoski 1982, 57.

⁶ 54 % of the entire population. Alapuro 1980, 79.

⁷ Alestalo 1980, 103–104.

⁸ Waris 1974, 19.

⁹ Alestalo 1980, 103.

¹⁰ Alapuro 1980, 78; Hietanen 1982, 227; see also PAL, 7.

¹¹ The proposal for the so-called Crofters' Enfranchisement Act (*Torpparivapautuslaki*) was already prepared before the war, and the law was ratified with small changes after the war. Siipi 1967, 96. In recent Finnish sosio-historical studies the terms tenant farmer and crofter have been used in parallel to mean small lease holders who obtained their main livelihood from farming and paid their rent mainly in labour. Alapuro 1988, 49–51; Peltonen 1992, 416.

¹² Peltonen 1992, 320, 423.

In the interwar period, the main practical aim of Finnish housing policy was to resettle the landless population.¹³ As a result of the new legislation, the percentage of landowners among the population almost doubled by the Second World War.¹⁴ The structure of Finnish farms changed almost beyond recognition during the 20th century. Large farms and extensive land holdings, still common in the early part of the century, have almost disappeared, and small farms now constitute the mainstay of agricultural production. The postwar settlement project also increased the number of small holdings, mainly one-family farms.¹⁵

Rapid industrialization in the country as a whole and vigorous building in rural areas radically transformed the agricultural landscape. For the first time, hard technology was deployed in farming, as thousands of hectares of land were cleared for cultivation, leaving permanent traces in the rural landscape.¹⁶

The interwar period was a time of strong nationalism and celebration of native values: the Finnish peasant and the rural tradition were idealized, as they had been during the Finnish nationalist movement of the turn of the century. Finnish identity and rural identity were apprehended as one and the same thing, and country life was lauded and extolled. The novelist F.E. Sillanpää, for one, ardently proclaims the pastoral lifestyle of the Finnish peasant and emphasizes natural values. During the 1920s and '30s, the character of the rural areas began to change, and the farming population became the focus of an extensive education and information campaign.¹⁷ The period preceding the Second World War may in fact be seen as the heyday of an idiosyncratic rural romanticism marked by idealization of »healthy country life».¹⁸ The type-planned house of the 1940s can be seen as a descendant of this »national project».

From the turn of the century to the 1940s and '50s, it is impossible to speak of »the Finnish family», men and women or gender identities as coherent concepts. In the period in question, the concept and institution of the family, femininity and masculinity, and the concomitant housing models

¹³ Juntto 1990, 25.

¹⁴ 21 % of the population in 1910; 40 % in 1940. Alapuro 1980, 80.

¹⁵ Alestalo 1980, 117; Hietanen 1982, 22–30.

¹⁶ Hustich 1982, 83.

¹⁷ Siipi 1967, 96; Ollila 1989, 96. Several organizations took an active role in propagating these values, e.g. the Central Union of Agricultural Societies (*Maatalousseurojen Keskusliitto*), the Farmers' Societies (*maamiesseurat*) and, from 1914, the adjoining Agricultural Women's Societies (*maatalousnaiset*). The Martha Association (*Martta-yhdistys*), or Home Economics Extension Association, was also set up to offer information and advice to farmers' wives and working-class women.

¹⁸ Siipi 1967, 103.

all undergo a transformation. There were also significant differences between the various ranks and social classes: different views of housing and different views of family and gender identities existed side by side. The family may be studied as a function of the typical modes of housing and labour at a given historical moment. (This is to select one many possible ways of defining the family.)

The agrarian tradition had left a strong mark on popular attitudes towards the family and on the customary housing models, and in the country, the most typical unit of employment was still the peasant family household.¹⁹ During the process of industrialization, the agricultural tradition remained relatively strong in Finnish cities, particularly in suburbs. The turn-of-the-century urban milieu was still rural in character: towns largely consisted of wooden houses, and the traditional subsistence economy remained at least partially intact. In the late 19th century, a range of productional activities still took place even in bourgeois town homes.²⁰ The working classes maintained an even closer relationship with the rural areas and had, in the early 20th century, strong structural ties with the rural population and its world view.²¹ In the old agricultural society, each individual artisan or peasant household comprised a separate production unit where both men and women worked side by side at their own respective tasks – and where women continued to work after marriage.²² In the country, the employment prospects of women depended on social class, ranging from household management to outside employment as a maid, whereas during the period of urbanization, at first, most women who worked outside the home worked as servants.²³ From 1840s onwards, in some towns, the earliest industrial factories also offered employment for women. Both woman-servants and female factory workers were usually young and unmarried, and had roots in the poorest agricultural classes, i.e. in the landless class (tenant farmers and agricultural workers).²⁴ If they married, working-class

¹⁹ Family household is here used as a general name for economic unit and for the people living under the same roof.

²⁰ Harmaja 1928, 9.

²¹ Sulkunen 1986, 276. Many urban workers were first-generation city-dwellers born in the country. See Waris 1932; Eenilä 1974; Haapala 1986, 97.

²² Household is a more appropriate term here than family, as many members of the household were not members of the family. In the pre-industrial era of the four Estates, there were some Noble households in which not a single family member took part in production. Vattula 1981, 64. On wage labour among rural women, see Markkola 1989a, especially pages 170–176.

²³ In 1879, 71 % of all employed women in Helsinki and Turku. Vattula 1981, 67–68.

²⁴ Vattula 1981, 67–68; see also Waris 1932. (Waris speaks of »the womanization» of the cities.)

women – and urban women in general – often gave up their paid jobs outside the home. They would, however, continue to be employed in the domestic sphere, boosting the family income by performing work such as sewing and laundering.²⁵

At the turn of the century, there were two kinds of rural household: large households with hired members, and smaller single-family units. Members of the latter type of household were agricultural workers who often also worked for others. Unmarried maids and farmhands lived and ate in the household they worked for.²⁶ The working classes also lived in loosely defined households which often included not only the core family, but close relatives and lodgers as well. Only the gentry (*säätyläiset*; *Sw. ståndspersoner*)²⁷ and members of the middle class usually lived in their own single-family dwelling, and they, too, had servants living under the same roof. Idealization of the home formed an important aspect of bourgeois culture in the second half of the 19th century. Women were associated with the home, which defined their sphere of action. However, the home was not yet exclusively the domain of the woman.

In the modern world, industrialization has been regarded as one of the most important factors defining and changing living conditions, particularly women's.²⁸ The consequences of industrialization seem indeed enormous if we restrict our focus to non-domestic wage labour. However, as the most recent studies have shown, to limit one's attention to paid employment is to overlook much of the work that was done by women. Similarly, recognizing the fact that women of the landless class often performed wage labour outside the home calls for a revision of received ideas of the relationship between industrialization and non-domestic wage labour performed by women. In the country, unmarried women commonly worked as maids or servants in the hire of outside employer.²⁹ The employment

²⁵ Oittinen 1989, 61–62.

²⁶ According to Arvo M. Soininen, in 1910, 40 % of the rural population lived off their own land, 20 % were tenant farmers and 40 % were paid agricultural workers. Soininen 1976, 211–225; Markkola 1989b, 39–40; also Peltonen 1992, 414.

²⁷ The bureaucracy formed the heart of the gentry. In Swedish, the concept gentry originally referred to the nobility, the clergy and their peers; later, it also came to include officials (functionaries) and other corresponding groups. According to Risto Alapuro, the gentry constituted a Weberian status group united by a common social identity: higher education, employment in the high levels of the administration, an appropriate standard of living and the use of Swedish, the language that dominated public life. Alapuro 1988, 26.

²⁸ Jallinoja 1980, 243. The main focus has been on women with paid employment outside the home.

²⁹ Markkola 1989a, 175.

pattern changed more abruptly among urban women. In Finnish cities, wage labour among women seems to have been common already in the 1870s, which is often seen as the period of nascent industrialization. For example, in Helsinki in 1870, 39 % of all women who were of working age were wage-earners, and the figure was as high as 55 % on the period from 1900 to the 1960s. For men, the same figure has been close to 90 % throughout this century. Single and married women were in a very different situation, for it was for a long time extremely rare for the latter to work outside the home. In 1920, 10 % of all married women worked for wages. The figure was 34 % in 1950.³⁰

In Finland, the total number of wage-earning women increased both after the Civil War and during the Second World War, when there were fewer men on the job market. After the Second World War, in most countries, jobs that had temporarily offered employment for women were usually given back to men once peace had been established.³¹ However, in postwar Finland, the proportion of married city-dwelling women who worked outside the home remained at 31 %, the level it reached during the war, and even exceeded it, rising to 34 %.³² The fact that many women had paid jobs outside the home before the war has sometimes been explained by pointing to the high number of unmarried women in the population: the marriage rate fell sharply in the 1920s and '30s, as did the birth rate, which reached its lowest level in 1933. In the '20s and '30s, the marriage rate in the country as a whole was lower than ever before or since.³³

The housing model associated with type planning is best understood with reference to the new urban middle-class nuclear family and its relation to the traditional rural household on the one hand, and to the bourgeois city home on the other. Recent research on the history of family has cast doubt on the received assumption that industrialization played a crucial role in shaping the nuclear family. In fact, the whole notion of the »birth» of the nuclear family calls for revision. However, industrialization may be as-

³⁰ Jallinoja 1980, 246–249. During industrialization, in Finland, the employment situation of women has often been exceptional compared with the other Western countries. Since the turn of the century, going out to work has been relatively common among Finnish women. The number of employed women has fluctuated according to general trends in society, e.g. it rose in the '20s, but fell again in the '30s. After the '20s, popular opinion turned against the idea of mothers working outside the home. See Sulkunen 1989, 82, 103.

³¹ *Komiteanmietintö* (Committee Report) 1944:7, 6–7.

³² Jallinoja 1983, 120–121.

³³ Jallinoja 1984, 120–121.

sumed to have a certain effect in changing the purpose of the family; in making family increasingly private and domestic.³⁴

From the turn of the century to the 1950s, as wage labour became more common and modern class society was slowly established, the new middle-class nuclear family gradually superseded both the socially fluid production unit of the rural household and the family model of the older bourgeoisie.³⁵ This development was linked with a shift in the system of gender, and in gender identities: the separation between the male and female sphere became more strict than it had been before. In the old agricultural society, men and women had inhabited the same collective world which now became fragmented, leading to the installation of a new gender-based division of labour, and to the creation of a world where the private and the public, and male and female space, were separated. According to Irma Sulkunen, the conception of civic identity incipient in this period is polarized according to gender.³⁶ Revised conceptions of the family and the home, and of masculine and feminine identity, also entailed revision in the area of domestic architecture. Thus the dwelling, the family and gender identity were all transformed between the turn of the century and the 1940s and '50s.

Migration into the cities was accelerated in the 1920s and '30s, and the size of the rural population began to shrink. Urbanization led to the expansion of the middle class, which by the year 1940 included 10 % of all families.³⁷ It is widely accepted that the new middle class placed enormous values on the family, the home and domestic privacy. In the bourgeois culture of the latter half of the 19th century, the home and the family were closely associated; home and family gradually acquired strong moral connotations and came to be seen as fundamental to the support of society and the individual. Thus the housing milieu also became a matter of importance.³⁸ In the old rural society, the concept of the family did not have such self-evident significance.

The new middle-class nuclear family is a Trinity of mother, children and father, and the increasingly private home is »the realm of the woman«. The nuclear family has many points of convergence with the bourgeois family ideology associated with the 19th-century gentry, which also

³⁴ On the relationship between the nuclear family, industrialization and modernization, also see Häggman 1991, 144–145; *Journal of Family History* 1987: 1–3, various articles.

³⁵ See Sulkunen 1989, 11–12, 28.

³⁶ Sulkunen 1987, passim.

³⁷ Alapuro 1980, 93.

³⁸ Burnett 1985, 95–108.

stressed the domestic, maternal role of the woman, and dictated that her main duties were to create a home and bring up the children.³⁹ However, the two concepts of the family also differ in crucial ways. The woman at the centre of the 19th-century bourgeois household was the mistress who controlled the servants, but in the new middle-class ideology she was replaced by the housewife who *herself* nurtured the ideal family and home. The new ideal woman is active and purposeful. As the family identities of the woman and the man gradually changed, the patriarchal prerogative of the father was gradually eroded and an emotional mother-child relationship became the main focus of discussions of nursing and child-rearing.⁴⁰ This emphasis in fact already appears among the 19th-century bourgeoisie.

Middle-class ideology and middle-class women played a decisive role in forming the new concepts of »family» and »woman». Middle-class women took an active role in different organizations and in the women's right movement, and contributed to the new idea of woman which was disseminated as a model not only among the middle classes themselves but also among upper-class women, in contrast with the earlier situation, when the new model had been exclusively directed at women of lower classes.⁴¹ A new, different notion of the household and the woman's role emerged, which centered around active, emancipated maternity.⁴² As the professional vocation and subjective identity of the housewife were formed from the 19th century onwards, the idea of femininity was also reconstituted, with maternity and reproduction as defining principles.⁴³ The new feminine identity was condoned by the different women's organizations. In the early 20th century, the Finnish women's movement projected two ideal types of woman: the unmarried wage-earning woman who was active in society, and the married mother who acted mainly, but not exclusively, in the family sphere.⁴⁴

During the 1920s and '30s, ongoing changes in the system of gender interacted with the new household ideology. The arrangements pertaining with the private household began to be reshaped, and from the '20s on-

³⁹ See Smith 1981, *passim.*; Häggman 1991, 145–150.

⁴⁰ Irma Sulkunen argues that the child, and the nurture, protection and upbringing of children constituted a particularly prominent theme after the Civil War. Sulkunen 1989, 80.

⁴¹ Sulkunen 1989, 30.

⁴² Sulkunen 1978, 158–161; see also Ollila 1989.

⁴³ See Rosenbeck 1987, *passim.*

⁴⁴ See Ollila 1989, 25.

wards, household became established as a concept of national economy.⁴⁵ The tendency, current in the '20s and '30s, to attach importance to the home, the family and the woman's work relates to the presence of a sisterhood of middle-class women who esteemed feminine identity and also emphasized the importance of the woman's housework and the household itself.⁴⁶ New ideas of the household gradually achieved expression in the housing architecture of the period, especially in Functionalism.⁴⁷

The cult of the family and domesticity was particularly prominent in the late 1940s, which is reflected in the social policy of that decade.⁴⁸ By turning the population issue into a question of national survival, the war brought population policy into the limelight. The background to the situation lies in the sharp decline in the marriage and birth rate during the '20s and '30s. After the war, between 1945 and 1947, the annual number of marriages was almost double what it had been in the '30s and early '40s.⁴⁹ Finnish population policy strongly favoured large families. The Finnish Population and Family Welfare Federation (*Väestöliitto*), founded in 1941, campaigned on behalf of mothers and families with children, acclaiming maternity as a special calling. As the aim was to increase the Finnish population and to boost the birth rate, six children per family was positioned as the norm, with four children per family as the bottom line.

If we succeed in establishing four as the minimum and five to six as the standard number of children in all families in the land, we shall have saved the situation and secured the healthy growth of our nation.⁵⁰

Appropriate measures were introduced to support families and their position in society. Public attitudes were manipulated in favour of the home and the family, and attempts were made to change the legislation to improve the lot of families with children e.g. by reducing their tax burden

⁴⁵ The work and writings of Laura Harmaja, and for example *Kotiliesi* (Domestic Hearth) magazine were particularly influential. See e.g. Harmaja 1925; Harmaja 1928; *Maatalouden tietosanakirja* (Agricultural encyclopedia) 1929. See also Vattula 1981, 28; Ollila 1991, 131; Harmaja 1931.

⁴⁶ The official manifestation of polarized male and female civic identity was the new marriage act of 1929. The act had a capital importance in recognizing the contribution of women to the welfare of the family – and the civic society – by their role in the home management. Sulkunen 1990, 93; Harmaja 1946; 13–14; Saurio 1938, 119.

⁴⁷ See e.g. Setälä 1929, Setälä 1931; *Pienasunto?* 1930. On Setälä's architectural activities on this field also see Suominen-Kokkonen 1992, 71–79.

⁴⁸ Waris 1974, 32.

⁴⁹ Jallinoja 1984, 60.

⁵⁰ Sukselainen 1942, 296.

and introducing mandatory maternity leave; the Act on Child Benefit was passed in 1948.⁵¹

The home and the family were also a favourite theme in discussions of housing. In 1946, Heikki von Hertzen published a book titled »A home or a barracks for our children» (*Koti vaiko kasarmi lapsillemme*), where he wrote:

The question of housing has fundamental social importance, particularly in relation to population policy. The home is the very heart of society. It is the main prerequisite for all family life, and constitutes each family member's main hold on life... A healthy society is unthinkable without homes that can rear citizens who are free and balanced, and healthy both in body and mind... From the point of view of the formation of real homes, housing conditions are just as important as spiritual conditions.⁵²

The dwelling, the home and the family were inseparable concepts. Since the 19th century, the home has constituted a centrally important elements of everyday life in northern Europe, Britain and the United States. In Finland, housing plans and the general discussion were in large part modelled on British ideas of villa architecture, the single-family house and the garden city.⁵³ In the wake of the Second World War, in Finland, family life became an issue of such vital consequence that it attracted the active interest of the state. Too important now to be left to the discretion of individual citizens, the family and private life became endowed with major political significance. With the expansion of middle-class culture, the home ceased to be merely a practical project, but took on moral meaning as well.⁵⁴ According to Riitta Jallinoja, the veneration of the family in the 1940s resulted from an interesting synthesis of individualism and familism which produced a climate that favoured families. In practice, however, different family models do not occur in their »pure» form, except in people's imagination. »They are mental images through which people analyse their own family lives.»⁵⁵

The accentuation of the home and the family is vividly documented in Finnish films from the 1940s. Especially those that chronicle the fate of »The Suominen family» (*Suomisen perhe*; Fin. *Suomi* = Finland) were very popular in Finland in the 1940s and '50s. This ideal family illustrates the

⁵¹ *Väestöliitto 1941*, 19–20; Jallinoja 1984, 50; Valkonen 1980, 21.

⁵² Hertzen 1946, 5.

⁵³ Wäre 1983, 260. See e.g. Brunila 1909, 201–212; Strengell 1911.

⁵⁴ Frykman – Löfgren 1979, 104.

⁵⁵ Jallinoja 1984, 55, 70. On the family and individualist family model.

lifestyle and values of the white-collar urban middle-class and thus exemplifies pre-war middle-class ideology. The films emphasize idyllic domesticity and middle-class gender identity, and project a coherent world where everyone has an allotted place. The patriarchal head of the family is a severe but just father who works as a civil servant. The mother is a guardian angel who creates and sustains the domestic spirit – the woman's »proper place« is at home and with the family. Housework is taken care by an eternally loyal and contented servant. Finally, there are the inevitable children who are sometimes rowdy but never undisciplined. These cinematic idealizations of marriage and the family institution also have a distinct patriotic colouring.

The development of the modern city, with its new public and private spaces and with its increasing differentiation between the male and female sphere, is said to have a profound effect on the experience of urban space. Griselda Pollock has uncovered a gendered logic in the binary spatial divisions of the modern bourgeois city that took shape in Europe in the late 19th century: the public, social sphere belonged to men, while private spaces belonged to women.⁵⁶ Puzzling here is the relationship that obtains between the differentiated male and female sphere, i.e. between the public and private. How does the woman exist in relation to the public, social space? Does the public somehow also infiltrate the private? Or are the public and the private two autonomous spaces and worlds, with no overlap between them, as Pollock posits?

3.2. The »beauty of home« and the housing problem

Housing is no recent phenomenon – nor is wretched housing. It was not, however, until the late 18th century and the onset of industrialization that the Western world began to treat housing as an object of theoretical scrutiny.⁵⁷ The question of housing, industrialization and urbanization are inter-related phenomena. The advent of open social and communal interest in the housing question is related to social and utilitarian engagement with individual health and private life.⁵⁸ According to John Burnett, the modern housing problem is a relatively recent development caused by indus-

⁵⁶ Pollock 1988, 68–69.

⁵⁷ See Collins (1971) 1984, 42–43.

⁵⁸ See Tarn 1971, 1–3.

trialization and, above all, rapid population growth and urbanization. It is not that housing was not dismal, inadequate and cramped in the past as well, but that it is not until the emergence of modern society that housing becomes a point of social interest and the focus of various improvement schemes.

But, in a real sense, the modern housing problem was a creation of the nineteenth century – both because new demographic trends multiplied and exacerbated the inherited problems, and because new social trends gradually raised housing expectations and produced a climate of opinion in which, for diverse reasons, housing evils came to be regarded as unacceptable. The nineteenth century therefore witnessed both an acceleration of the housing problem and the origin of politics aimed at its solution.⁵⁹

During the emergence of modern city society, a new conception and discourse of housing is formed, with main emphasis on medical science, hygiene, health policy and the social sciences: the social hygiene of housing.⁶⁰ In France and Britain at the turn of the 18th century, physicians and medical science are »specialists of space.»⁶¹ The spatial differentiation of prisons, barracks, hospitals and housing is revised, and through the new differentiation architecture begins to control human sexuality and the physical body. At the same time, sexuality and the body also creep into architectural discourse. Michel Foucault has touched upon the different ways in which architectural space and urban space took on fundamental significance in the political and administrative theory and praxis of the 18th and 19th-century France. Although not necessarily reflected in texts written by architects, this change is evident in the political texts of the period. Architecture and town planning came to be seen as part of »the arts of government.»⁶² The rise of the discourse on the housing problem means in itself a formation of a new discursive field: modern housing architecture becomes discursively existent within and by this formation. It is part of a broader discursive event which is creating for example the modern notions of society, family, gender and hygiene.⁶³

⁵⁹ Burnett 1978, 3. In Finland, urbanization begins at the end of the 19th century, i.e. much later than in Britain. In his study of the industrialization in Tampere Pertti Haapala argues that the poor quality of housing was a consequence of growing industrialization and population growth. Haapala 1986, 162. Marjatta Hietala also makes reference to the connection between housing problems and industrialization in her study of services and urbanization. Hietala 1987, 54.

⁶⁰ *Politiques de l'habitat* 1977.

⁶¹ Foucault 1977a, 14–15.

⁶² Foucault 1984b, 240.

⁶³ Foucault 1984, 239.

The planning and internal arrangement of the family dwelling was a central practical and theoretical concern in 19th-century European architecture.⁶⁴ In aesthetic discussions, the dwelling was treated as an artistic and architectural entity; discourse on housing centered around ideas of the »beautiful home« and the spiritual effects of the dwelling. Towards the end of the century, the bourgeois home became more private, and its spatial divisions became differentiated in a new way that privileged privacy.⁶⁵

The developing modern bourgeois city home was seen as an institution that, in connection with its tendency to stress privacy, intimacy and domesticity, fostered the habit of apprehending the world from within the dwelling; public life came to be seen as morally inferior to private life. Closely associated to this development was the new genre of domestic art, or *l'art de la maison*, which, together with the new ideals of housing design and whole canon of domestic manuals, mainly focused on the dwellings and villas of the more prosperous classes.⁶⁶ Architectural and aesthetical discourse stressed the relationship between the family, the interior arrangement, and the spatial organization of the family dwelling. The dwelling, i.e. the home, framed the family and formed what César Daly called »*le vêtement de la famille*,«⁶⁷ and simultaneously constituted a self-portrait of the inhabitants. In housing design, the degree of spatial differentiation, i.e. the number of different rooms allocated for particular purposes, was a precise function of the material wealth of the occupants it was meant for. The most extreme degree of spatial differentiation was perhaps seen in British housing discussions and planning.⁶⁸

At the turn of the century, the »beauty of home« and the »art of living« provided a topic for a number of aesthetic and architectural studies and manuals, all of which emphasized the significance of the home and stressed ideas of intimacy and privacy. In Finland, too, from the turn of the century, a large amount of aesthetic and moral guidance on homemaking addressed itself to the well-to-do and the middle classes, who received both practical advice on domestic architecture and instruction concerning the proper way of creating a domestic milieu inside their villas and single-family houses.⁶⁹ The home offered a refuge from, and constituted the po-

⁶⁴ Olsen 1986, 89.

⁶⁵ In Holland, the idea of privacy already gains importance in the 17th century. See Rybczynski 1987.

⁶⁶ See e.g. Kerr 1864, Havard 1884.

⁶⁷ Daly 1964, 10.

⁶⁸ See e.g. Muthesius 1908.

⁶⁹ Kekkonen 1908; Elenius 1915; Brunius 1911; Strengell 1923; *Kotitaide* (Domestic art) magazine and *Suomen Teollisuuslehti* (Finnish Industrial Magazine). The

lar opposite of, the chaos of the world outside.⁷⁰ Moreover, the home exercised an immediate negative or positive influence on the members of the family, particularly on the children and the way they developed. The home was seen as the critical space of human life where either loveliness or ugliness was infused into individual existence, prompting Ellen Key to call for »beauty for all» (Sw. *skönhet för alla*). The home exercised a direct effect on the individual's senses and nervous system.⁷¹ Although aesthetic discussions of the dwellings of the well-to-do give priority to visual beauty, that beauty was not an end in itself but a means – the aesthetic beauty of the private domestic environment is a way of manipulating the soul. The dwelling is an instrument of aesthetic education and a vehicle for higher spiritual development, as well as a projection of the innermost strata of the selves of its inhabitants. Together, housing design, housing practice and architectural discussions on the subject constitute a new discourse of housing.

Texts celebrating the idea of the beauty of home tend to identify the woman both with the home and with the beauty. The woman is the soul of the home. By creating beauty she effectuates her feminine nature, and thereby also sweetens the lives of the other members of the family.⁷² It was up to the woman to create the domestic milieu and the homely atmosphere (Sw. *hemtrevlighet*). In this spiritual private woman we glimpse the domestic angel in her purest form.

The 19th century is also the period when the problem of urban worker housing also first emerges in the industrial countries of Europe. Architec-

building of the home was discussed in, for example, publications concerning architecture, interior decoration, the single-family home ownership movement, women and the home. Cf. Stavenow-Hidemark 1971. On discussions in *Kotitaide* (1902–1918), *Suomen Teollisuuslehti* (1882–1918) and *Rakentaja* (1901–1905) (Builder) magazines, see Wäre 1991, 38–52, 64–71. I am indebted to Ritva Wäre for drawing my attention to discussions in these magazines. The writings in *Rakentaja* magazine discussed the questions of construction and materials, the new home architecture which emphasized homely domestic milieu and the interior spaces instead of facades, rural vernacular architecture and also occasionally workers' housing problems. In connection with housing architecture the »new style» or the »new taste» was often mentioned. *Kotitaide* magazine was connected with the British »home arts» trend as well as with folk art and the homestead (*Heimatskunst*) movement. It was anti-urban, and was oriented to the preservation and development of rural vernacular tradition, with the motto of making homes »simple, cosier and more homely.» The growing interest towards housing architecture is visible in both magazines. On rural vernacular architecture see also *Talonpoikaistalo ulkoa ja sisältä* (Peasant house inside and outside) 1903.

⁷⁰ See e.g. Elenius 1915, 15.

⁷¹ Key 1899, 14.

⁷² Key 1899, 6; Daly 1864, 13; Kerr 1964; Havard 1884.



3. Bourneville villa suburb. Published in Muthesius 1908.

tural solutions to the problem were not, however, sought until late in the century. According to John Tarn, the planning of the Bedford Park suburb (1876, Norman Shaw) constitutes the first instance in Britain of an architectural effort to solve the housing problem.⁷³ Although social ideals were involved in the initial project, Bedford Park was eventually taken over by middle-class residents and artists. Previously, no overlap was thought to exist between the aesthetic pursuit of architecture and the social problem of housing; the architect was essentially regarded as an aesthetic practitioner, while social issues belonged to the economic discipline. The social aspect was seen primarily in terms of economics, morals and health. However, in the late 19th century, planning of worker housing came to be seen as an architectural challenge as well, just as town planning was being subjected to new kind of aesthetic scrutiny (*Fig. 3*).⁷⁴

⁷³ Tarn 1971, 17.

⁷⁴ Muthesius 1908; Sutcliffe 1981. Writings on the subject of new villa suburbs focused on the new planned working-class model towns such as Port Sunlight and Bourneville.

It was believed that the dwelling and its immediate environment had an immediate effect on the senses, the body and the mind, and this brought a preoccupation with hygiene and healthy natural lifestyles on a par with beauty as a main theme in the housing discussion. Concern for the aesthetic quality of the home and the concomitant idea of the beauty of everyday life already encompassed the dwellings of the poorer social classes as well. The housing problem, which was first treated as a question of working-class housing, became a topic of general debate in Finland in the second half of the 19th century, when the pitiful state of working-class housing was brought into the public eye by city health officials, idealistic and philanthropic intellectuals, labour organizations and journalists.⁷⁵ Early discussions of working-class housing also made much of the idea of the home, but more as an issue of health, morals and propriety than as an aesthetic phenomenon. Mostly educational and didactic in tone, the debate greatly emphasised the significance of the environment in relation to individual development.⁷⁶

In the present century, the housing problem and the social importance of housing reform came to the fore both during the Great Strike of 1905 and immediately after the Civil War (1918). From the 1910s, and especially during the '20s, architects, too, became increasingly interested in the housing problem and in social housing projects. In addition to working for private land development companies not immediately concerned with housing reform, they were also active in the Association of the National Economy (*Kansantaloudellinen yhdistys*, founded in 1891), and in the Association for the Advancement of Non-Profit Building (*Yhdistys Yleishyödyllisen Rakentamisen Edistämiseksi*, YYRE, founded in 1910; renamed *Asuntoreformiyhdistys* or the Dwelling Reform Association in 1919).⁷⁷ The latter soon became a key organization for architects and had

⁷⁵ See e.g. Groundstroem 1897, 22–23; see also Wäre 1983, 257; Markkola 1991, 210. The first writer to publicly address the pitiful state of worker housing was Z. Topelius, who in 1858–59 called attention to the housing conditions of the Helsinki poor. Åström 1956, 144–145.

⁷⁶ Cf. the Enlightenment ideas of the influence of environment and education to child's development as well as 19th-century ideas of the importance of the immediate physical or mental environment, e.g. Darwinian, Marxist and Freudian discourses, Hippolyte Taine's environmentalist psychology, August Comte etc.

⁷⁷ Wäre 1983, 257. Architects wrote occasionally about workers housing already before. Wäre 1991, 55; see e.g. Nyström 1902; Federley 1902. For information on the land development companies see Harvia 1936, 59–65; Waris 1936, 261; Peltonen 1983; Kolbe 1988; Nikula 1988, 48. Between 1895 and 1930, some of 21 join-stock and co-operative land development companies, which were also called land speculation companies in their time, operated in the Helsinki area; most of

a capital importance in the discussions on housing.⁷⁸ An entirely new class of modern professionals was active both in the earliest social housing projects and in the private land development companies that were founded in Helsinki during the first decade of the 20th century. Planners, social reformists, doctors, architects and engineers, a new modern class of professionals comes into view in the middle ground (or »middling modernism») between high culture or science and the practices of everyday life. These people are »specific intellectuals» and social modernists whom Paul Rabinow calls »technicians of general ideas,» echoing Hubert Lyautey. Their aim was to create the kinds of norms and forms that produce a healthy, efficient and productive social order: to find scientific and practical solutions to general problems.⁷⁹ As their name suggests, they concentrated on solving, sometimes in great detail, the problems of their own special field.⁸⁰ Housing and the dwelling were discussed on the borderline between architectural and non-architectural disciplines. In the resulting interaction of architecture and discourse, a distinct ideological level may be discerned.

In the first decade of the 20th century, labour organizations initiated various studies into worker housing to document the grim, cramped and wretched conditions in which much of the Finnish urban population lived. Dwellings consisting of a single room, or a single room and a kitchen were standard among the working class.⁸¹ The deficiency of the housing conditions among the landless rural population at the turn of the century was made publicly known through statistics reported by an official committee studying the landless population (*Tilattoman väestön alakomitea*, TVA).⁸² At

these had been launched at the turn of the century. The question of worker housing and agricultural policy were central issues of the association of the National Economy.

⁷⁸ Its most active period was the 1910s: 17 publications came out between 1912–1919, one in 1925, one in 1937 and after, that, one in 1968, one in 1978 and the latest in 1983. Cf. also Junto 1990, 399.

⁷⁹ Rabinow 1989, 9–16, 251.

⁸⁰ On »specific intellectuals» see also Foucault 1980b, 126. The changing role of architects, engineers and technicians and the new »technician ideal» in Finland during industrialization are also discussed in the Suominen-Kokkonen 1992, 21.

⁸¹ In 1900, 67.6 % of the working-class population in Helsinki had just one room, or one room and a kitchen, as compared with 64.6 % in Turku in 1915, 39.0 % in Tampere in 1909 and 34.6 % in Viipuri in 1901. In 1900, 34.6 % of the total population of Helsinki lived in one-room dwellings. Snellman 1906; Snellman 1909; Sucksdorf 1904; Waris 1932, 272. The typical worker dwelling in Tampere (one room and a share in a communal kitchen) has here been treated as a single room.

⁸² Gebhard 1910.

the turn of the century, the social reformists regarded one room and a kitchen as the minimum size for a family apartment: »To ensure that the dwelling offers some degree of comfort, the room and the kitchen should be separate.»⁸³ The houses built by the various workers' associations during this time were also divided into apartments consisting of a single room and a kitchen. The »beauty of home» thus clearly had little to do with the everyday life of the working class and the rural folk. Cramped living was very much a problem of the urban workers and the landless rural population, but by the present century, the worsening housing conditions of the middle classes also began to attract attention.⁸⁴ In the field of housing research, the turn-of-the-century dwelling censuses were gradually replaced by studies that prescribed normative goals.⁸⁵ Instead of only outlining the contemporary housing situation, studies always reveal (and stress) current housing ideals. Both the dwelling censuses and studies meant that the workers' housing conditions became discursively existent and also a pivotal topic of public discussion.

The detached single-family house was adopted as an ideal early on in the social housing reform project. Aside from social considerations, the private house was also associated with the idea of the beauty of everyday life. Health and aesthetics were high priorities in the planning of the »own homes»,⁸⁶ whereas working-class housing was discussed in terms of health, hygiene and practicality. The one-family house was a prominent ideal during the timid, early attempts at social and non-profit building in Finland. The detached house was repeatedly posited as a viable type of small dwelling; what was in the late 19th century projected as the ideal but unattainable model for worker housing became reality in the type-planned houses of the 1940s. Small apartments were the subject of two strands of critical discussion: there were complaints about cramped living conditions, and efforts were made to improve the architectural design of small dwellings.⁸⁷ The use of type plans was first seriously suggested in 1917, when the Association for the Advancement of Non-profit Building organized the First

⁸³ Snellman 1906, 23.

⁸⁴ Strengell 1906; Böök 1912, 6.

⁸⁵ See also Juntto 1990, 109. According to Juntto, housing statistics focus on shortcomings and grievances, and on what is lacking in the various dwellings. Similarly, the statistics focus on the latest innovations such as running water, but pay less attention to the new comforts once they become widespread.

⁸⁶ Kekkonen 1908, 14.

⁸⁷ E.g. *Suomen Ensimmäinen Yleinen...1917*; *Ensimmäisen Suomalaisen asuntokongressin näyttely 1917*, *Rakennuspäivät 1919* in *Rakennustaito* (Construction skill) magazine 23–25/1919.

General Housing Congress and a simultaneous exhibition. Type plans were brought forward again in 1919, when the Finnish Association of Architects and the Association of Master Builders arranged a joint Building Convention. It was the master builders rather than the architects who at the beginning of the present century first applied themselves to the task of re-thinking the floor plan and the spatial organization of small apartments.⁸⁸

In the late 19th century, suggested attempts to solve the problem of working-class housing relied heavily on the idea of »self help». In the 20th century, however, there were increasing demands for publicly sponsored non-profit building, and for the improvement of the architectural quality of small dwellings and worker housing. Social building projects were first initiated by the municipalities, and during the 1920s, soon after the Civil War (1918), the young independent state began to practice social building on a national scale.⁸⁹

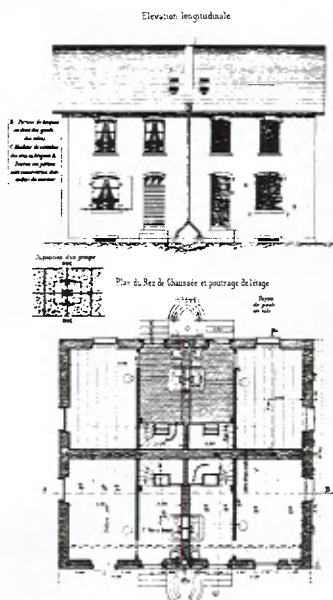
The debate surrounding housing conditions constitutes a nodal point where many social problems and ideals converge. At the end of the 19th century, the so-called Wrightean philanthropic labour movement campaigned for the establishment of privately owned working-class housing. The single-family house on the model of *Mulhouse* in Alsace (1853–1870) and various British examples was adopted as an ideal, but the aims were never achieved, due to high construction costs (*Fig. 4*).⁹⁰ Persuasive arguments were put in favour of the single-family house, and the main points remained unchanged well into the 1940s: proximity with nature, health, the sense of domesticity, privacy, private ownership, the possibility of gardening. The goal was »to turn the dwelling into a home.»

Various kinds of type drawings were employed during the construction of the garden cities and villa districts of Britain, Germany and other Northern European countries, and there is some evidence that type plans were also used in Finland, at least in the planning of the Kulosaari villa area of

⁸⁸ Suominen-Kokkonen 1989.

⁸⁹ Already at the turn of the century (1897–1904), the State had granted loans to local authorities and housing companies »for the construction of healthy non-speculative worker housing.» *Asuntokysymys* (Housing question) 1904, 49–50. The Law dates from 1898; funds ran out by 1904. See also Åström 1956, 156–158. A Housing Committee was formed on October 15, 1918 for the purpose of planning State loans for housing. The Committee submitted its report on December 18, 1918. From the year 1920, the issuance of loans and building came under the jurisdiction of the National Board of Social Welfare. Nikula 1978, 113–114.

⁹⁰ Åström 1956, 156; Hietala 1989, 53. Workers' residential district in protestant Mulhouse was planned by architect Emile Muller for the Société Mulhousienne de Cités



4. Emile Muller, Mulhouse workers' housing, group of four houses constructed in 1860. Facade and ground-floor plan. Published in Eleb-Vidal - Debarre-Blanchard 1989, p. 145.

Helsinki.⁹¹ In accordance with the garden city ideal, a single-family house in a harmonious and favourable setting was put forward as the ideal workers' dwelling. However, the Housing Congress of 1917 also saw benefits in the row house, which was regarded as a kind of second-best alternative to the single-family house. While available at a lower cost, the row house offered almost all the benefits of a single-family house (a private entrance, a garden, a degree of privacy). Inexpensiveness and healthiness were emphasized in the design of worker housing.⁹² The main focus was on family apartments, although the family was not yet a clearly defined entity. The recommended standard for a one-family workers' apartment put forward by the first Finnish housing congress was quite generous; it includ-

Ouvrières (founded in 1853). In the end of the 19th century it was highlighted in international expositions and soon came to be seen as an ideal model of workers' housing. Eleb-Vidal - Debarre-Blanchard 1989, 146; Rabinow 1989, 95-97.

⁹¹ Sketches of the type drawings have been preserved among Armas Lindgren's papers (SRM:A); Nikula 1988, 50. See also e.g. Bollerey - Hartmann 1980, 151-158.

⁹² *Suomen Ensimmäinen Yleinen...1917.*



5. Elias Paalanen, worker semi-detached house designed for the SOK (Finnish Co-operative Wholesale Society) in Haapakoski. Published in the exhibition catalogue of the First General Housing Congress in 1917. *Ensimmäisen suomalaisen...* 1917.

ed a family room,⁹³ bedrooms (2–3) and a kitchen (*Fig. 5*). The aim was to establish clearly differentiated functional spaces, in stark contrast with the multipurpose main room of the traditional Finnish farmhouse or the single room or one room and a kitchen of workers' dwellings. Moral im-

⁹³ Family room (*arkihuone*, Sw. *vardagsrum*) is an earlier (1920s and '30s) word for living room. Cf. the word *arki*, i.e. everyday, daily etc.

portance was attached to the aim of providing separate bedrooms for parents and children, and for girls and boys. The aim was to segregate people according to age and sex, and where the more affluent classes are concerned, to separate the servants from the family.⁹⁴ Humbler realism had to exist alongside such visions; one room and a kitchen was generally accepted as the minimum requirement for a decent (working-class) family dwelling. The one-family house not only connotes ideas of freedom, privacy and individuality, but is also associated with control and morality, i.e. the enforcement of hygienic and moral discipline.

In the early part of present century, discussions of worker housing focused primarily on the cramped and deficient quality of existing dwellings; the link between diminutive apartments, disease and indecency was forcefully proclaimed. The discourse that treats of the nefarious effects of cramped housing is thus simultaneously a discourse about health, hygiene and sexuality. The human body is crucial to the housing discussion in two ways: in relation to considerations of the physical health on the one hand, and with regard to sexual morals and general propriety on the other. Both aspects are employed in arguments criticizing the lodger system, a favourite theme in writings on worker housing. From the turn of the century, a clear line was gradually drawn between men and women, adults and children, family and »not family». The intermingling of these separate groups is a situation of unseemly intimacy, inflicted by the small dwelling upon its inhabitants. Such life at close quarters is seen as a health hazard and above all, as a moral hazard which calls for removal.

The living conditions of the indigent population are greatly impaired by the practice of keeping lodgers, or boarders, that is, non-family members who yet reside in the family. Not only does this system naturally make the accommodation even more congested – it also causes far more serious *moral* harm. The system may not, however, be readily abolished by legislative means but only through improving wage prospects ... and by elevating workers' ideals so as to enable each worker to apprehend the advantageousness of family life unimpeded by strangers.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Thus worker housing was beginning to differentiate spatially, at least on the level of discourse. The earliest and most extreme differentiation of space is found in Britain, and British examples were often referred to in Finland as well. One of the earliest references to the idea of having separate bedrooms for persons of different age and sex is found in John Wood's book of models for worker housing *A Series of Plans for cottages or habitations, of the labourer*, London 1799. Segregation was also established in social housing construction in France in the 19th century. See *Politiques de l'habitat* 1977, 280; Foucault 1976, 63.

⁹⁵ Snellman 1906, 53.

The dwelling, or home, is in itself a reflection of morality, as well as an instrument of moral discipline. But who in fact were the lodgers? And what does the practice of keeping lodgers tell us of the concept of the dwelling, the home and the family?

Views of sexuality, the body and biology also appear in twentieth-century debates about housing, and in related changes in the spatial organization of the dwelling. Nowadays biology is no longer treated as a self-evident given category but is also seen to be culturally determined; in the modern world, biology must be analysed as just one ideology among others. Biology, the body, sexuality and gender identities are interlinked; however, they are not simply natural or inborn but also include impermanent ideological, cultural and historical aspects.⁹⁶

In the early 20th century, an immediate link was perceived between housing conditions and social conditions in general. Deficient housing conditions not only injured individual citizens but threatened the whole of society. Housing conditions and happy family were directly related, and the significance of the dwelling went far beyond the idea of merely physical shelter:

More is required for the successful solution of the housing question than merely giving people a roof above their heads and walls against the rain and the frosty winter; the housing question is also a social question. The main priority is to provide the family, that crucial constituent of society, a protective framework within which it can lead a happy life of its own. From the point of view of the individual, the one-family house is the most propitious form of housing. From the point of view of individual, this house and its surroundings must be harmonious and beautiful.⁹⁷

The linking together of the state, (civic) society, the family and housing is crucial. The dwelling was perceived as a means of conferring citizenship; it was both a measure of civic fitness and a vehicle for social education. »The history of human civilization is the history of housing»⁹⁸ is a typical example of the rhetoric associated with the campaign for housing reform. A fundamental element in the discourse of housing, the home and the household was the conviction that »the home is the foundation of so-

⁹⁶ See for example Michel Foucault's analyses of the historicity of sexuality. Foucault 1976, Foucault 1984a. See also Rosenbeck 1987; Braidotti 1991, 128–129; Butler 1990, 128–130.

⁹⁷ *Suomen Ensimmäinen Yleinen...* 1917, 100–101.

⁹⁸ Böök 1912, 14.

ciety.»⁹⁹ The apartment was not only the scene of the private life of the family and the individual but also constituted a bond between the family and society: »Dwellings, homes, were not mean to be objects of speculation but havens of tranquil and pleasant family life. This is the heart of the matter. We must turn the restless and selfish payroll-people of today into citizens.»¹⁰⁰

Although from the turn of the century onwards the dwelling received increasing architectural attention in Finland, it was not before significant social and economic changes had taken place that architects turned their eyes from luxury housing to small dwellings. After the First World War, attitudes began to change within the architectural profession, and the everyday environment, social housing reforms and the design of small apartments gradually began to attract more attention.¹⁰¹ Along with the housing question and the single-family house ideal also architects got acquired with the problems of »ordinary» housing.¹⁰² Writing in 1932, Hilding Ekelund argued that the relationship between the architects and social housing projects had changed and that

... the earlier, almost exclusively aesthetic view of the purpose of the art of building had been superseded by more realistic ideas when the necessity of solving problems of worker housing, factory buildings and rental accommodation forced architects to realize that their profession was an important one, and involved social responsibilities and duties.¹⁰³

At least in Helsinki, social building was busiest in the early '20s (1920–24), but slowed down towards the end of the decade when state credits for housing dried up almost completely. A limited boom also occurred in the production of single-family houses in the early '20s, and levelled out soon afterwards. Housing production as a whole was comparatively busy throughout the '20s; towards the end of the decade, construction focused on apartment blocks owned by housing companies and on rental flats. In

⁹⁹ This is a recurring sentiment; for example, it provides the motto of *Kotiliesi* magazine, which was founded in 1923.

¹⁰⁰ *Ensimmäisen suomalaisen...* 1917, 72.

¹⁰¹ Research has frequently focused on the relation between changes in housing design and the status of architect. Tarn 1971, 17–18; Benevolo 1971, 398; Nikula 1981, 25; Nikula 1988, 35–36.

¹⁰² Cf. also Wäre 1989, 156.

¹⁰³ Ekelund 1932, xi. Ekelund also writes about the reverence »with which modern architects treat the planning of simple houses and their floor plans,» and discusses the earlier privileging of public buildings or luxury houses. Ekelund 1932, xiv.

this period, housing production moved from private individuals into the hands of companies.¹⁰⁴ It was not until the '40s and '50s that the state assumed a significant role in the issuance of housing loans.¹⁰⁵

Once social housing production had gradually been accepted as an architectural challenge, the housing problem, the planned small apartment and the related issue of the design of the one-family house were repeatedly on the agenda at various functions, e.g. at the housing congresses of 1917 and 1925, at the Building Convention of 1919, and at the Women's Housing Convention of 1921.¹⁰⁶ Housing education now also began to concern dwelling design and fixtures. Worker housing reform was the main topic at the housing congresses, although the deterioration of housing conditions among the middle classes had also been attracting attention since the beginning of the century.¹⁰⁷ Even at the beginning of the present century, the art of building and worker housing were still commonly seen as separate fields.¹⁰⁸ The housing congresses engaged in a rather general analysis of the relationship between the dwelling and society. While the design of worker housing was discussed at the First Congress (1917) and prospective and already completed housing developments and buildings were presented for review, the Second Housing Congress (1925) no longer treated worker housing as a central issue, but focused on finding ways for funding the construction of apartments and single-family houses (on a private basis), and discussed town planning and the relationship between housing and society in general terms. Where attention had previously been directed at publicly sponsored low-rise working-class suburbs modelled on the ideal of the garden city, energies were now concentrated on making available general (private) loans for housing.

¹⁰⁴ Andersin 1930, 339. See also Kuosmanen 1972, 83; Nikula 1988, 36; Juntto 1990, 144–151. The Act on Housing Companies (*Asunto-osakeyhtiölaki*) came into force in 1926. After the First World War, throughout Europe, architects increasingly found themselves working for companies and public bodies rather than private persons. See Benevolo 1971, 398; Nikula 1981, 35; Ekelund 1932, xi.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Juntto 1990, 203–213, 231. The state-subsidized housing Act (*Arava-laki*) was introduced in 1949. In the sixties Finland moved again into an era of privatization and *residual* housing policy. Thus the Finnish state has had an active role in housing policy only in periods of crisis.

¹⁰⁶ *Suomen Ensimmäinen Yleinen...* 1917; *Suomen Toinen Yleinen...* 1925, *Rakennuspäivät* 1919; *Naisten Asuntopäivät* 1921. The Association for the Advancement of Non-profit Building had been founded in 1910, inspired by similar projects elsewhere in Europe, and it organized the First General Housing Congress in Finland in 1917.

¹⁰⁷ Strengell 1906; Böök 1912, 6.

¹⁰⁸ See e.g. E. Bk. 1919, 39–45.

The period between the wars saw vigorous debate concerning the relations between the dwelling, housing design and the household; the dwelling was now expected to facilitate regular household management and family life.¹⁰⁹ The kitchen became a focal point of modern dwelling design.¹¹⁰ The dwelling and society were now also associated through the idea of the household; housekeeping and household management were seen to play an important role in the national economy. The woman's role as the family housewife and as the economic operator of the household was a central one, and the relationship between the household and the dwelling, and between housing and family life, were discussed at, for example, the Women's Housing Convention of 1921. In various organizations and publications, women exchanged ideas on the practical improvement of the dwelling, particularly the kitchen; women often also specialized in designing apartments and kitchens.

Little by little, the concept of the »social» associated with housing architecture expanded and changed, and two separate discourses (the beauty of home and the housing question) came together at least as early as in the 1920s: Classicism and Functionalism, with their aesthetic of simplicity and appreciation of the beauty of everyday life. The idea of the beauty of everyday life was a synthesis of aesthetic and practical values, giving rise to the call for »more beautiful everyday things» (*Sw. vackrare vardagsvara*).¹¹¹ In Functionalism, if not before, pragmatic considerations were absorbed into and became part of, a new aesthetic. The marriage of beauty and practicality entails a new aesthetic and perhaps even heralds a transformation in the nature of architectural knowledge, which now gives priority to the demands of health and the body. The norms that define the healthy dwelling are dictated by hygiene, which is both a »negative» fight against dirt and a »positive» means of controlling the environment.¹¹² The needs of the body and the importance of privacy set new moral and physical demands on housing; the control of sexuality is also relevant. General cri-

¹⁰⁹ *Suomen Toimen...* 1925, 14. The relationship between housing design and the household was already addressed before the First World War, e.g. in the magazine *Työläisnainen* (The working woman) that was published by the Working Women's Association (*Työläisnaisjärjestö*) between 1907 and 1914. I am indebted to Pirjo Markkola for this observation.

¹¹⁰ e.g. Setälä 1931; Harmaja 1928; Harmaja 1931.

¹¹¹ »*Vackrare vardagsvara*» was particularly a Swedish movement which, in the '20s, also had an influence in Finland. The phrase is the title of a book by Gregor Paulsson (1919).

¹¹² Douglas (1966)1991, 2.

teria for the evaluation of the dwelling (lack of space, tidiness, pleasantness) give way to details (hygiene, practicality, the design of different parts of the house).

Towards the end of the '30s, attention once more returned to the social housing question and to housing policy. There were calls for public, social building projects and for tighter control in the building sector. Tolerable housing conditions were seen as a basic prerequisite for »public health, social concord and the strength of the nation.«¹¹³ In the '20s, urban building was vigorous, but the boom came to an end with the economic depression of the '30s. The cities remained the main focus when the construction sector picked up again after the slump. The production of housing for the population at large, and the rural housing problem were largely ignored.¹¹⁴ It was noted as a matter of particular concern that there was a shortage of proper family flats of medium standard between the one-room flat and the luxury apartment. In 1937, dwellings consisting of a single room, or a single room and a kitchen, accounted almost 60 % of rural housing, and for some 50 % of urban housing.¹¹⁵

In the '30s, the design of small houses had been neglected as an architectural question as a result of the focus on apartment blocks.¹¹⁶ It was not until the end of the decade that more attention was given to rural housing problems and non-profit building. Housing became an object of public interest, with broader social implications than before. The Third General Housing Congress in 1937, and the government committees appointed to study the improvement of rural (1937) and urban (1938) housing stand as evidence of the significance of the problem, and of the attention it received. The Third Congress saw as its main task the revival of public housing policy, after ten years of stagnation and recession. It was predicted that housing would become one of the foremost social issues over the next few years. Moreover, it was widely held that, following national insurance reform, »the political sector will have to find itself new tasks.«¹¹⁷ At the very eve of the war, a housing exhibition was arranged under the title *Asunto 39* (Dwelling 39). The first general exhibition in Finland, it was followed by the Housing Exhibition and Building Fair (*Asuntonäyttely ja rakennusmes-*

¹¹³ Harvia 1937, 7.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ *Suomen Virallinen Tilasto* xxxii 1938, 39; *Komiteanmietintö* 1939: 5, 11.

¹¹⁶ Heinonen 1978, 223.

¹¹⁷ Harvia 1937, 7.



ASUNTONÄYTTELY JA RAKENNUS MESSUT
BOSTADSUTSTÄLLNINGEN OCH BYGGNADSMÄSSAN

1940

6. Cover of the Housing Exhibition and Building Fair (*Asunonäyttely ja rakennusmessut M 40*) catalogue, 1940.

sut) in 1940 (*Fig. 6*).¹¹⁸ The aim of the first exhibition was to seek and present ways of solving the housing problem and for improving the quality of housing, and, at the same time, to cultivate the taste of the audience. Housing was seen as a fundamental human need which also directly affected society. Through housing, the whole society could be improved, as Alvar Aalto seemed to indicate when he wrote:

Housing is an issue that concerns all individuals without a single exception. The matter is, for all of us, equally problematic and hard to solve. Its economic basis is uniquely difficult to reconcile with people's general needs and resources. An economically and efficiently managed housing culture is everywhere a fundamental precondition of dignified human existence... Strange, indescribable bonds run from

¹¹⁸ *Asunto 39* in the Messuhalli building in Helsinki (October 7–22, 1939) had only been open to the public for four days when war broke out and the exhibiton had to be closed. *Asunonäyttely ja rakennusmessut 40* was arranged in the same place between September 29 and October 13, 1940. Both were organized by the Dwelling Reform Association, the Finnish Association of Architects and *Ornamo*, also called The Applied Art Association in Finland.

the house we live in to the sensitive parts of our souls. The nurture of this strange plant – in itself a way of helping and improving human life – is among the most important objectives of this our first humble exhibition.¹¹⁹

The exhibition of 1940 already had close thematic ties with the reconstruction project. Before the war, the aim had been to produce affordable and pleasant housing for masses, and yet to get rid of the still common one-room flat.¹²⁰ The moral and medical views concerning housing concentrated on crowded conditions and overpopulated bedrooms. It was considered immoral for persons of opposite sex to sleep in the same room. Although conditions were more spacious than they had been in the '20s, most families still lived huddled together in small, unhygienic apartments.¹²¹ The slight increase in space available was thought to have mainly resulted from demographic developments rather than any deliberate housing policy. Indeed, Anneli Junto has, in her research on the housing question in Finland, characterized official Finnish housing policy as consistently slow and lethargic »non-policy».¹²² For example many of the apartments produced in Helsinki in the late '20s and early '30s consisted of just a room and a kitchenette. The Housing Congress of 1937 accepted such flats as only suitable for unmarried professional women, but deemed them inadequate for families with children.¹²³ When, previously, people had mainly talked of the problems of accommodating the working classes, the discussion now expanded into a campaign for housing reform throughout society; social housing production came into agenda. Attention was shifted from the »proper family dwelling» in general to the special needs of the family members inside the dwelling. It was now taken as a matter of course that the dwelling would be exclusively occupied by a single family. Lodgers, for example, were no longer discussed in the 1930s; nor did researchers include them in their housing statistics.¹²⁴

In the battle against disease and vermin, more hygienic housing conditions were emphasized. A correlation was perceived between the cramped and poorly equipped dwellings (particularly common in the rural areas of Finland) and the high level of infant mortality and low life expectancy (ap-

¹¹⁹ Aalto 1939, 4.

¹²⁰ Harvia 1937,7; Similä 1937, 15.

¹²¹ Modeen 1937, 21–22. Crowded conditions were seen to obtain wherever three or more people lived in one room. Cf. earlier housing congresses, where the norm was defined identically.

¹²² Junto 1990, 369.

¹²³ Modeen 1937, 29. See also Andersin 1930.

¹²⁴ *Suomen Virallinen Tilasto xxxii* 1938; *Komiteanmietintö* 1939:5.

prox. 50 years). People pointed to the situation in Sweden where the average life span was approximately 60 years – the second highest in Europe – and where concerted efforts to improve housing conditions had already begun in the early 1930s.¹²⁵ Sufficient floor space, through ventilation, sunlight and cleanness were seen to be crucial from the hygienic point of view. »Fresh air, light and cleanliness are poison to vermin.»¹²⁶ To be adequate, a dwelling had to offer its occupants sufficient space for spiritual and physical rest and renewal, as well as for work:

In a cramped dwelling, it is impossible to maintain sufficient tidiness and order. In such an abode, it is impossible to take proper care of one's children and to nurse the sick; it is also impossible to maintain seemliness at night by separating the two sexes, and the parents and their grown-up children, from one another. Where such crowdedness exists, the parents have no opportunity to teach and foster their developing children at the moments that should be devoted to rest and renewal. Such a dwelling can hardly provide opportunities for spiritual and physical repose, no source of gladness and refreshment. Tired after work, the inhabitant of such a dwelling will prefer to spend both his working hours and his leisure elsewhere. The dwelling is a mere shelter against bad weather, a night's lodging, where confinement, noise, foul air and filth make it impossible for all but the weariest of bodies to find rest.¹²⁷

In discussions of housing, people's private life becomes the object of a broad public discussion, and »scientific» principles and »housing hygiene» are used to create norms for everyday life. Knowledge is used for the control and appropriation for the human individual and body. The dwelling and its related functions were studied with the aim of attaining »an objective understanding of the dwelling» and in order to teach people the »right» way of living.¹²⁸ (Foucault calls this »political technology of the human body.»¹²⁹) Concepts such as family and woman received their current narrow, standard meanings.¹³⁰ Stressing the importance of separate sleeping quarters for the different sexes implied the construction of a new, more strictly defined form of privacy. A certain optimism attached to the project of housing design and the discussion surrounding it – a belief in enlight-

¹²⁵ Similä 1937, 14.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Similä 1937, 12–13. The entire text was republished in almost identical form in the catalogue for the *Asunto 39* exhibition.

¹²⁸ Tandefelt 1946, 168–169.

¹²⁹ Foucault 1975, 31.

¹³⁰ According to Foucault, homogenizing discourse is characteristic of modern society.

enment and progress, and faith in the power of architecture, and its ability to influence people's lives. It was thought that by controlling housing production it would be possible to improve people's lives through changing their everyday habitat. It was also felt that improving housing conditions would provide a way of influencing the living conditions of women and children in particular.¹³¹ The question of crowdedness was primarily and pre-eminently a children's welfare issue – thus the whole of society, and »the future of the nation,» hung in balance.¹³² Attention was mainly focused on details inside the dwelling and the surrounding milieu was discussed indirectly. In the period in question, the single-family house was treated as the advisable alternative to and antithesis of the rental barracks (*vuokrakasarmi*); the comparison between the two served to emphasize the desirability of life close to nature.

Dwelling reform and the creation of the normal family dwelling are part of the Modernist and Enlightenment project. The social reformists of housing were »modernists»; from the turn of the century to the 1940s and '50s, they adopted the aim of creating what was considered in each period a good , modern (family) dwelling.¹³³ The notion of the house as a moral project and an instrument of social reform was not new; it was already formulated by John Ruskin and William Morris, and even earlier by the French Enlightenment architects (e.g. Claude Nicolas Ledoux and Etienne Louis Boullée) who believed that their work could be used as a vehicle for change¹³⁴ – an idea which receives its most extreme expression in the Functionalist view of the power of architecture in the '20s and '30s.

Finnish housing policy thus gave priority to family dwellings.¹³⁵ The standardized one-family house, to be constructed according to type plans, was promoted as a blanket solution for both urban and rural housing. It was considered particularly ideal for families with children.¹³⁶ Standardization of components would produce lower construction costs, and make it possible to set up the same kind of single-family home ownership movement that already existed in Sweden. In fact, Sweden, along with the United States, was adopted as the main model when efforts were made to standardize Finnish building in the 1930s.¹³⁷ Type drawings were seen as a necessary means of ensuring the proper quality of the single-family hous-

¹³¹ See e.g. *Asunto 39; Mitä jokaisen...1940*.

¹³² See e.g. *Komiteanmietintö 1939*: 5, 16.

¹³³ See also Juntto 1990, 27–28.

¹³⁴ On Enlightenment architecture, see e.g. Vidler 1987.

¹³⁵ Modeen 1937,29.

¹³⁶ E.g. Meurman 1937, 67.

¹³⁷ Similä 1937, 15; Meurman 1937, 72.

es – the aim was to make »better dwellings at a lower cost.»¹³⁸ But the standardization of single-family houses was not all – the broader aim was to rationalize and industrialize building as a whole; it was thought that nothing less would bring about cheaper production of dwellings. The single-family house was meant as the first phase of a long-term project. In the late 1930s, the ideal model for a »perfect dwelling» comprised a living room, a kitchen, bedrooms, a bathroom and storage space. The rooms of the model dwelling had to face in the right direction, and there had to be sufficient sunlight and the means for through ventilation.¹³⁹

3.3. The war and the reconstruction period

The war and the reconstruction period both left their mark on Finnish architecture of the 1940s and '50s, and influenced the type-planned house, affecting its shape and, in particular, its rapid distribution. Although type drawings had already been produced in the past, they were first widely used in the postwar reconstruction period. The war put a new face to the housing problem – the housing question became closely bound up with the project to resettle the refugees and with the reconstruction process in general. Destroyed houses had to be rebuilt, and evacuees from the territories ceded to the Soviet Union had to be reaccommodated after the Winter War (1939–40), and again after the Continuation War (1941–44). New dwellings had to be built in higher numbers and at shorter notice than ever before. The type-planned house was quick to build and suitable for suburbs and rural districts alike; it thus became a main resource in the reconstruction period, when large numbers of people required rehousing. As distributor of type drawings and controller of building activity, the state came to play a prominent role in building.

In the 1940s, building focused on the rural areas. The most important factor encouraging rural housing production was the Land Acquisition Act (*Maanhankintalaki*; MHL May 5, 1945), which led to the creation of 100,000 new holdings, and almost 75,000 residential houses between 1945–58.¹⁴⁰ It was not until the late 1940s that the active promotion of urban

¹³⁸ A. Ahlström Oy: Leaflet advertising *A-talo* house, early 1940s.

¹³⁹ Ekelund 1937, 59–60.

¹⁴⁰ 28,400 of these residential houses were built to Karelian refugees. Alestalo 1980, 117; Waris 1978, 321; Juntto 1990, 201.



7. Views from Rovaniemi, Lapland in 1945. Published in *Arkkitehti* 1945, p. 136.

housing production picked up again with the institution of the state-subsidized housing Acts (*ARAVA*) in March 3, 1949. These Acts also applied to the building of single-family houses.¹⁴¹

The reconstruction period may be divided in two or even four stages. The first stage began at the end of the Winter War (1940), and the second phase spanned the years from the end of the Continuation War (1944) to the early 1950s. An additional third reconstruction project took place in the recaptured areas of Karelia, where vigorous rebuilding went ahead during the Continuation War.¹⁴² A fourth rebuilding campaign was needed in Lapland, which was devastated during the war against the retreating German troops (1944–45) (*Fig. 7*). In the housing policy and housing construction the reconstruction period has been considered to continue at the end of the 1950s.¹⁴³

The reconstruction process was regulated by the Emergency Settlement Act (*Siirtoväen pika-asutuslainsäädäntö*; PAL, June 28, 1940), which was later superseded by the Land Acquisition Act. New homes had to be built for a number of mainly Karelian refugees at the end of both the Winter War and the Continuation War; in 1940, the number of evacuees was estimated at 458,000 (the real figure was approx. 440,000). Some 230,000

¹⁴¹ On *Arava* see Juntto 1990, 206–215.

¹⁴² Kulha 1969, 75.

¹⁴³ Juntto 1990, 229.

– more than half – were rurals. The enforcement of the Emergency Settlement Act was interrupted by the onset of the Continuation War, by which time some 13,000 buildings had already been completed, or almost completed. When the war finally ended, the displaced population numbered 423,000, i.e. 12 % of the total Finnish population, and some 120,000 dwellings, i.e. more than 10 % of the total amount, had been destroyed or left to the area ceded to the Soviet Union. Most of the lost dwellings (75 %) were in the countryside.¹⁴⁴

The land Acquisition Act enormously increased the number of people entitled to land. Unlike the Emergency Settlement Act, the new law allocated land not only to the refugees but also to disabled veterans, war widows and their families, war orphans and veterans with families. Regulations pertaining to actual building, however, remained the same. The aim was to resettle the displaced Karelians in southern and central Finland, and to enable them to continue to practice their old livelihood in an environment reminiscent of their home.¹⁴⁵ The Land Acquisition Act was still being applied in the 1960s.¹⁴⁶ Aside from the aim to ensure that the Karelian farmers could continue to pursue their occupation, the creation of new small-holdings was considered necessary because »it was absolutely essential that new arable land be created so as to facilitate sufficient production of food.»¹⁴⁷ In carrying out the settlement project, the state aimed to increase the number of independent smallholders, to enhance the position of smallholders in general and to improve rural housing conditions.¹⁴⁸

The housing was stressed in the resettlement project. The creation of small farms was a deliberate aim of the settlement campaign, although measures were also taken to prevent the formation of uninhabitable scrap holdings. The typical Karelian small holding of 3 to 10 hectares was adopted as the basic standard.¹⁴⁹ The largest type of holding to be created was the *full-time farm (viljelystila)* which comprised 6–15 hectares of land and was designed to support an average-size proprietor family. The Emergen-

¹⁴⁴ Hietanen 1982, 105, 227; Waris 1978, 306. After the war the first phase of reconstruction was the rehousing of evacuees and veterans and the rebuilding of Lapland. The resettling of evacuees took only five to six years. Waris 1978, 26.

¹⁴⁵ MHL, §18–38, 172–175.

¹⁴⁶ Hietanen 1982, 13. It was gradually replaced by the Land Usage Act that came into effect in 1958.

¹⁴⁷ PAL, 7.

¹⁴⁸ *Emännän tietokirja* 1948, 79.

¹⁴⁹ Karelian farms had been partitioned in the late 19th century during the abolishment of the granted land system. This coincides with the onset of the dissolution of the extended family. Hietanen 1982, 67.

cy Settlement Act created a new type of farm which was not recognized in previous settlement legislation, namely, the *part-time farmer's holding* (*sekamuotoistila; asuntoviljelystila*). With 2–6 hectares of land, it was meant to enable its owner to earn a living through a combination of farming and part-time work; such holdings were often located in the vicinity of population centres. The smallest type of holding was the *residential holding* (*asuntotila*), which includes a maximum 2 ha of arable land, and was mainly meant as a dwelling for its proprietor, who was thus expected to have a main source of income elsewhere. The Land Acquisition Act also made it possible to form *residential plots* (*asuntotontti*, 2 000 m²/0.5. ha) in towns and population centres.¹⁵⁰

The Ministry of Agriculture set up a special settlement department (*Asutusasianosasto*, ASO) which was responsible for the enforcement of the Land Acquisition Act, and was assisted by the different agricultural organizations, particularly the Central Union of Agricultural Societies, and the associated agricultural and economic societies.¹⁵¹ These societies had special settlement committees that worked in close cooperation with the 21 district architects, who were in charge of coordinating the work of the master builders and other construction professionals in the municipalities. Both the settlement department of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Central Union of Agricultural Societies' settlement committee (*Asutusvaliokunta*) provided local settlement committees and building calculations with model work specifications, and with type plans and calculations showing the amount of materials needed. It was recommended that ready-made type plans be used in the building of new farms.¹⁵²

The Land Acquisition Act facilitated what has been seen as one of the most radical land reform projects ever carried out in Europe. In the 1940s and '50s, Finland was the only country in Europe where the formation of small holdings was still actively promoted. The purpose of the legislation was to improve political stability and also to give the front-line veterans the reward they had been promised during the war. The settlement process has played a decisive role in 20th-century economic and social policy in Finland. The Emergency Settlement Act and the Land Acquisition Act have been seen as direct addenda to the crofters' enfranchisement legislation and the so-called *Lex Kallio*, the Settlement Act of 1922. Just as

¹⁵⁰ Naskila 1984, 213; MHL, § 8.

¹⁵¹ There were some 30 acts and decrees regulating the reconstruction. Junto 1990, 229.

¹⁵² MHL, §34, 175, §97–104, 187–188. For the planning of larger buildings the help of district architects could also be used.



8. The dugout designed by Ilmari Tapiovaara. SA-photo. Main headquarters.

before, the legislation of the 1940s aimed to create moderately prosperous freehold farmers who cultivated their own land, and to create new small holdings. The Settlement Act of 1922 had turned the crofters, scrapholders and farmhands into independent smallholders. It also gave rise to an extensive rural building project – in the period before the Second World War, some 17,000 *full-time farms* and 10,000 *residential holdings* were parcelled out on the strength of the new legislation.¹⁵³

The contingencies of war also forced the architects to rationalize and economize. A compromise had to be made between aspirations and resources, with an enormous need for building on the one hand, and a shortage of materials on the other. Wood was the only raw material in ample supply. The war also altered the architects' range of tasks and created new priorities. Reconstruction, and the resettlement of the displaced population were seen as a social responsibility and as the pre-eminent aim in domestic policy.¹⁵⁴ Although Functionalism's progressive aspirations were dispelled, the reconstruction era, a time of optimistic faith in future improvement, has been described as the age of »heroic materialism» and »modern innocence».¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Alapuro 1980, 81.

¹⁵⁴ Kallio 1982, 32–38. See also various writings in the journal *Arkkitehti* in the 1940s.

¹⁵⁵ Junto 1990, 192.

By no means did the war put a stop to the architectural debates, on the contrary, the topic of reconstruction provoked a lively discussion.¹⁵⁶ A common and widely held view of the architecture of the reconstruction period has been that in the 1940s, Finnish architecture acquired romantic and soft features, and favoured idyllic domesticity over the rigours of Functionalism.¹⁵⁷ In the 1930s, Finnish architecture – but by no means the whole of Finnish culture – readily embraced international trends and values. In the 1940s and '50s, instead of breaking with Functionalism, housing architecture continued its practical and rational aims in its own unpretentious way, but combined them with material and vernacular features. It was a modest and »human« combination of architectural tradition and nature. Sweden and other Nordic countries were the main source of models and contacts, together with the United States.¹⁵⁸ Although there is also much continuity, it is clear that the war caused an inevitable pause in Finnish architecture, and that the postwar situation is a thing unto itself, as the post-war Finland takes shape.

¹⁵⁶ It was continually discussed in, for example, the journals *Arkkitehti* and *Rakennustaito*; the former also published three special reconstruction issues (1942, 1943 and 1944).

¹⁵⁷ As already mentioned (chapter 1, note 7), this conception is rooted in the writings of 1940s and '50s, and has continued to the 1990s.

¹⁵⁸ For example the exhibition *Amerikka rakentaa* (United States constructs) 1945.

4. Architectural context

4.1. The single-family house, type-planning and the housing tradition

An individual building is part of a larger system – the convention and traditions of architecture – and acquires its meaning in relation to both this system and to the historical context. Thus all architecture springs from the architecture that went before, and architectural expression is never empty of tradition. According to contextual semantic theories, meanings are only definable in relation to their contexts.¹

Architectural research has generally focused on study of the architectural context, and on the conscious intentions or artistic influences affecting the architect; mainly static facts about buildings and architecture.² When research focuses on domestic architecture, and the relations and interplay between ideology and the social practice of housing, to restrict one's focus to the conscious intentions of the designer, or »author«, is to ignore the stratified nature of the process of the formation of meaning – the unconscious, and the historical and cultural level. Julia Kristeva's theory of the subject in process (*sujet en procès*) recognizes the problematic nature of the idea of the author's intention, but yet retains the author. What is crucial is that the author does not master all the meanings and levels of meaning contained in the work.³ The fragmentation and dissolution of the

¹ Such theories include Wittgenstein's late philosophy and speech act theory as well as Peircean semiotics and Saussurean semiology. See Lyytikäinen 1989, 68.

² Nowadays, by contrast, the architectural context is often seen as a broader cultural and socio-economic interaction and dialogue. Research into architectural context has grown from a study of an internal stylistic process into an analysis of the relations between architecture and the rest of the world. The recent architectural histories are reviewed in Trachtenberg 1988, see especially p. 211–212.

³ Kristeva 1977a, 55–106. See also Foucault 1977b.

subject and the author does not imply their disappearance; nor does scrutinizing the work of art as something other than a product of intention, fully controlled by the author, imply denial of the existence of intention. The text, the work, is given priority over the intention of the author. According to Jacques Derrida, the »metaphysics of presence« casts the original self of the subject (intentional meaning, *Bedeutung*, *vouloir-dire*) in a position of primacy over all of its expressions.

Architectural meanings are actualized within a certain context; in the interplay of the discourse of housing and the discourse on housing, domestic architecture itself also produces certain meanings and types of behaviour, or determines gender identities. Architecture only exists in the unfolding of events, in the always temporal and local encounter between subject and space. Time and place bring with them the historico-social context, the architectural idiom and the technical solutions, which all generate meaning.⁴ Architecture produced anonymously or by eminent designers, textual material and buildings all provide equally valuable research material – materials that interact perpetually.⁵

Attitudes towards architecture and ideas of what architecture – the art of building – is, are fluid and it is important that research also be extended to the kinds of domestic architecture that have, in their own day, been considered conventional and left outside the canon. In fact the majority of housing is precisely such faceless and nameless architecture. To investigate unremarkable housing is thus to foreground the »silent majority«

⁴ See chapter 5 and intertextuality, p. 154. The tradition of hermeneutic interpretation projects two levels of interpretation: meaning and significance, or *signifiance* and *sens* (in French). In simplified terms, »meaning« refers to the original meaning of the text or building that was also intended by its historical author. »Significance« contains the various levels of meaning that the text gives rise to, and is formed in relation to other meanings. Meaning can remain unchanged for the interpreter, but significance can change with the context. See Bloomfield 1972, 301; Hirsch 1972, 249–251. Analogous to Bonta's view of the different levels of meaning of a given building. Paul Ricoeur has criticized J.R.Hirsch for separating different levels of meaning; according to Ricoeur they cannot be separated in interpretation, but interact ceaselessly. Ricoeur 1977, 216. In recent years, Finnish art-historical research has seen conscious moves towards the newer hermeneutic tradition: Lukkarinen 1989; Wäre 1991.

⁵ The relationship between written material and architecture has often constituted problem in research. Nominal acknowledgement of the equality of the two is futile without analysis of the relationship that obtains between them. In such a case the two levels remain isolated from one another and no dialogue is recognized between them, and the old one-way movement from idea to representation is reinstated between text and architecture.

(Michel de Certeau's *la majorité silencieuse*) at the margin.⁶ Contemporary discussions (and retrospective research) single out new objects for naming, and new kinds of phenomena »become architecture» (for instance social housing and the small home in the 20th century Finland). For example the type-planned houses of the 1940s were, in their day, already regarded as architecture (although the visual idiom of the buildings has subsequently been pronounced a failure), whereas many of their antecedents in terms of housing models and architectural themes had not yet attained the status of architecture. Aside from the artistic tradition and the historical context, the position of the author of the research also influences the formation of the meanings of a given building and the interpretation thereof. Life and research do not take place in a vacuum, nor is the relationship between the object and the author of research value-free – the historically and culturally constructed, gendered personality of the author also inscribes itself in the research. We are tied to our own historical position and its cultural system, and this position offers us our only access for analysing the past. To interpret the meaning of buildings is to oscillate between the views held at a past historical moment and the views of our own historical moment.

The meaning of the housing models of the type-planned houses is a joint product of the historical context, artistic tradition and the position of the author of the research. To acquire meaning, the houses must be situated in relation to a whole tradition of residential architecture. The houses are linked with notions of type planning and standardization, and they are also part of a more general tradition of domestic architecture, particularly the tradition of timber houses meant for a single household or family. Even more specifically – and obviously – the genre is a new form of dwelling that emerged in the 20th century: the *single-family house* (Fig. 9).⁷ Investigating the floor plans and housing model implanted in the type-planned house yields a less straightforward view of the houses in relation to architectural tradition. The domestic arrangements associated with the houses do not unequivocally align them with the rural or urban building tradition, but places them somewhere between the two; the houses are related to both traditions. They combine traditional timber construction with the new Functionalist views of housing – an admixture of »national» qualities and international trends. The type-planned houses do not seem to fit the received

⁶ Certeau 1980, XLIII.

⁷ According to Ernst Gombrich, identifying the genre of a work of art has interpretative significance, and also serves to locate the work in a certain tradition. Gombrich 1972, 5.



9. Single-family house in Tapanila, Helsinki. Photo Eino Leino. HKM.

formulae of the architectural history – they have been omitted from histories of rural vernacular architecture, urban architecture and modern architecture. In fact, what seems crucial is not the manifestation of a distinction between the rural and urban housing tradition, but the interaction between them.

Buildings shared by a single household constitute the traditional housing model in Finland both in rural areas and in towns. The multipurpose main room (*tupa*) was the main part of these dwellings. In addition to the house itself, both rural and urban households also had various outbuildings and yard buildings. Together, the house and the utility buildings – the yard milieu – constituted the household, or *oikos*. The boundary between rural and urban housing is hard to draw – at the turn of the century, the agrarian tradition remained relatively vigorous in Finnish towns, particularly in suburbs. In the 1880s, 75 % of all dwellings in Helsinki consisted of single-storey wooden houses, and the predominant type of building was the low Empire-style house with horizontal boarding, surrounded by a fenced yard and utility buildings.⁸ Life in these wooden houses was largely based on the old subsistence economy. With its wooden fence, each house formed an enclosed and clearly demarcated totality; the houses also projected continuous street facades. The long elevations of the residential houses normally faced the street. In terms of architectural expression, the

⁸ Rönkkö 1986, 36.

wooden towns and the rural districts were of course different, despite the fact that the interior arrangement of the dwellings and the general housing models were in part similar.

Henrik Lilius makes a conceptual and historical distinction between the *agrarian trade town* and the *industrializing town*.⁹ In the second half of the 19th century, the agrarian trade towns (a category that included most Finnish towns) saw the emergence of a different kind of urban development – the industrializing town (Helsinki, Turku, Viipuri, Tampere, Pori, Vaasa).¹⁰ The prevalent housing model of the agrarian trade town comprised a building that stood on its own plot and was owned and occupied by a single household (Fig. 10). Industrialization not only introduced new building types to the cities but also ushered in a new housing model: rented accommodation which, by the early 20th century, had become the most common housing model in the largest towns.¹¹ From the late 19th century, in towns where industrialization was more advanced, the bourgeoisie increasingly moved into apartment blocks built of masonry. The apartments were primarily occupied by the bureaucracy and the affluent segments of the middle-class, the floor plans varied a great deal, but often centred around a core wall (*sydänseinä*) or different passageway solutions. However, in the poorly industrialized towns, the ideal was still that each household should have its own plot, and the most common type of building was the rectangular, often saddle-roofed single-storey wooden house.¹² According to Lilius, the industrializing town differed from the previous agrarian towns both socially and economically, and also in terms of its urban function and architectural structure. Both the dwelling and the city itself became spatially differentiated. The new industrial town characteristically included masonry-built apartment blocks for the bourgeoisie in the centre of town, and workers' neighbourhoods on the outskirts.¹³

The early 20th century has been regarded as an architectural watershed when architecture (domestic architecture in particular), underwent radical transformation.¹⁴ From the turn of the century, and with the emergence of urban society, new types of dwelling appeared alongside the wooden house

⁹ Lilius 1983, 155. For a more detailed account of these concepts, see footnote number 1, 263. See also Åström 1957, 14.

¹⁰ Lilius 1985, 36–37.

¹¹ Lilius 1983, 165; Wäre 1983, 256. For example in 1910, 85 % of dwellings in Helsinki and 88 % of dwellings in Tampere were occupied by rent-paying tenants.

¹² Lilius 1983, 218; Lilius 1984, passim.

¹³ Lilius 1985, 36–37. By 1910, Helsinki had clearly differentiated into a («better») bourgeois and middle-class district and workers' outskirts. Åström 1957, 289.

¹⁴ Wäre 1983, 261; Nikula 1988, 35.



10. Wooden houses on Erottajankatu 11 and 9, Helsinki. Photo Ida von Gericke. HKM.

of the agrarian trade town, the bourgeois city residence and rural and workers' habitations: the *single-family house*, the *villa* and finally the new *high-rise apartment* which stressed middle-class values and was saturated with a set of assumptions regarding family and gender which subsequently filtered through to the dwellings of the lower (and loftier) segments of population. From the 1910s, and after the First World War, social housing became an architectural challenge in Finland, and in the 1920s and '30s, there was an increase in the proportion of dwellings designed by qualified architects.¹⁵ Planning often focused on large developments rather than individual buildings. In the internal hierarchy of architecture, social or single-family housing do not, or did not, qualify for membership in the canon of Great architecture. The view that publicly sponsored residential ar-

¹⁵ Heinonen 1978, 223; Nikula 1988, 35; Nikula 1990, 150.



11. Puu-Käpylä (wooden Käpylä), Helsinki. View from Kalevantie 17 and 15. Photo Heikki Havas. HKM.

chitecture only rarely achieves architectural excellence has been common.¹⁶ But in fact in Finland, during the interwar period, the finest design work was commissioned not only by the most richly endowed housing companies but was also – and especially – channelled into social housing production, as happened for example in Vallila and Puu-Käpylä (wooden Käpylä) in Helsinki (*Fig. 11*).¹⁷ At first, one-family houses received less attention and the building of single-family housing developments was slow, despite active official promotion.¹⁸ The earliest suburban neighbourhoods had an anonymous and unplanned appearance. However, insofar as the for-

¹⁶ See Nikula 1978, 113. A move away from the canon of Great Architecture can be seen for example in Nikula's article, which as the first one in Finland paid attention to type drawings of the 1920s, and to the aesthetic qualities of social housing production.

¹⁷ Nikula 1981, 272; Nikula 1990, 150.

¹⁸ Block 555 in Vallila was originally planned as a workers' single-family housing district, while Eira was reserved for the villas of the bourgeoisie. The plans did

mation of the type-planned house and housing tradition in general are concerned, this anonymous building is every bit as important as the individual villas and one-family houses designed by architects.

The history of the dwelling and the city overlap in the context of the simultaneous urbanization of society and inception of new ideas concerning town planning.¹⁹ In Finland, the industrial masonry-built city and the villa-style suburbs were built at more or less the same time. New types of housing did emerge; however, separate housing and building traditions, separate types of dwellings, housing practices and details changed slowly, and lived on side by side for a long time.²⁰

Early in the century, the bourgeoisie and the rising urban middle classes found their housing ideal in the latest novelty: the apartment block built of masonry (*maison à loyer*) whose floor plan had been differentiated into a number of distinct types of room. In Finland, this new type of town residence became established as the ideal during the 1880s, with the emergence of the masonry-built neo-Renaissance apartment building (Fig. 12). These new solid apartment houses were panegyricized in architectural reviews.²¹ The same bourgeois apartment building was used as a »prototype« in the 19th-century French housing design.²² On the other hand, the wooden houses, which were built in large numbers but according to traditional plans, were almost entirely neglected in architectural discussions in Finland.²³ The popularity of the new block of flats in a certain market is illustrated by the fact that for example the very small wealthy circle in Helsinki preferred the apartment blocks in the centre to the newly planned villa districts in the environs of the city.²⁴

According to Jonas Frykman, bourgeois housing began to change radically in the Nordic countries at the end of the 19th century. Even in the

not materialize; apartment buildings were erected in both areas. Nikula 1981, 236–238; Nikula 1983, 227. On the competition to design single-family housing for Vallila, see also *Pienten asuintalojen...* 1915, II–VII.

¹⁹ In the 19th-century Paris, Haussman's urban reforms and the architectural discussions at the École des Beaux-Arts had remained separate discourses with no overlap between them. Style and architecture on the one hand, and the city on the other, remained distinct epistemological spheres, despite their physical proximity. Rabinow 1989, 79.

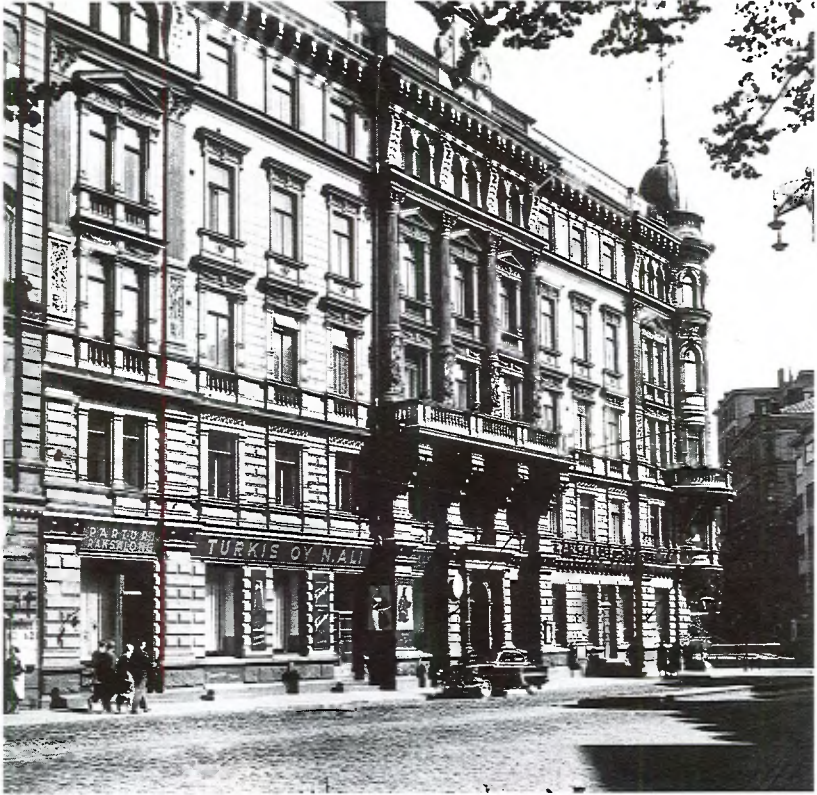
²⁰ See Belting 1987, 35. According to Belting, art history often encourages the impression that a new tradition begins when the old one ends.

²¹ Wäre 1983, 239.

²² Eleb-Vidal – Debarre-Blanchard 1989, 165.

²³ Wäre 1983, 240. However, the wooden buildings of rurals and workers received a certain amount of attention in the journal *Rakennustaito*.

²⁴ Nikula 1983, 227; Åström 1957, 259.



12. Apartment blocks from the late 19th century. Erottajankatu 11, Helsinki. Photo C. Grünberg. HKM.

mid-19th century, the bourgeois residence was comparatively simple: the furniture was placed along the walls and each room had several uses. Towards the end of the century, the floor plans became more intricate and a new kind of dwelling was formed in which each room had a differentiated function, and the different spheres of everyday life were separated.²⁵ In this bourgeois milieu, a man was expected to have the means to support a wife, which meant, among other things, that marriage was subject to substantial preconditions, one of which was having a furnished residence

²⁵ Frykman – Löfgren 1979, 105–106. See also Gejvall 1954, *passim*.

that had to comprise at least a parlour, a reception room (*förmaaki*), a bedroom, a kitchen, a nursery and servants' rooms.²⁶ Signe Lagerborg-Stenius describes this turn-of-the-century bourgeois ideal as follows:

The architect once faced a clear list of expectations: parlour, gentlemen's room, bedroom, dining room, nursery, maid's room and kitchen. He would give the principal rooms large proportions, and he would position them on the street side, while the rest would be small rooms facing the yard.²⁷

The street and the facade were pivotal factors determining design, and also had a regulating influence upon the distribution and mutual relations of the rooms. Another significant factor was the deep building frame which often created a need for numerous and various passageways inside the dwelling.

Aside from the multi-storey apartment buildings, the late 19th century also saw the beginning of the formation of other types of dwelling peculiar to the urbanizing society: the *one-family house* and *villa* specifically designed for single-family occupancy. The former principally belonged to workers, and the latter was meant for the well-to-do. Both types have affinities with the villa communities and the garden city movement that spread to Finland mainly from Britain and Sweden.²⁸ Whilst in city centres the old stock of timber buildings gave way to the new apartment buildings, wood endured as the main building material in the suburbs until the 1920s and '30s, the only difference being that log construction was gradually superseded by board construction techniques.²⁹ Both the new apartment buildings and villas of the turn of the century incorporated the new ideals of architecture and housing, and the new changes in the spatial arrangement inside the dwelling, whereas the single-family house received less attention.³⁰ Architects had been particularly attracted to the chal-

²⁶ Frykman – Löfgren 1979, 93.

²⁷ Lagerborg-Stenius 1921, 24.

²⁸ Turn-of-the-century writings on villa and single-family housing districts foreground British examples; later discussions extend the focus to German, American and especially Swedish models.

²⁹ Rönkkö 1986, 40; Wäre 1989, 123. The masonry-built apartment buildings were mainly brickwork.

³⁰ Architects designed villas and apartment buildings as well as public buildings. The dwelling had a pivotal position in architectural theories and trends at the turn of the century. Apartment buildings and villas designed, for example, the office of Gesellius, Lindgren and Saarinen, and others, exemplified the new concept of the dwelling and the new architectural aesthetic. Nikula 1988, 22–27; Wäre 1989, 164–167,

lenge of designing single-family villas since the late 19th century; they tried out new ideas and designed villas for themselves and their friends. Architectural periodicals also focused on unique and exclusive architecture.³¹ In the early part of the present century, with the backing of various land development companies, bourgeois and middle-class villa districts began to emerge outside the urban centre of Helsinki; the villa communities (*huvilakaupunki*) founded in the period in question include, for example, Kulosaari (*Oy Brändö Villastad* 1907), Kauniainen (*AB Grankulla* 1906) and Haaga (*AB MG Stenius Oy*). The new moneyed middle class played a central part in this development – it was »free» from the symbolic milieu of the past generations, and also had the means to commission residences from the pre-eminent architects of the day who, in turn, were also more broadly involved in the creation and planning of the villa communities. These new middle-class villa settlements were different from the bourgeois villas of the country villa type, which were built in Helsinki in Kaivopuisto, Eläintarha and Meilahti in the second half of the 19th century.³²

Even before the appearance of the villa communities, following the ultimate victory of industrialization, unplanned and spontaneously built workers' settlements emerged in the outskirts of different cities, outside the reach of town planning (Kyttälä and Pispala in Tampere, Kolikkoimäki in Viipuri, the area north of Pitkäsilta bridge in Helsinki). The inhabitants of

³¹ Wäre 1983, 256.

³² According to Yrjö Harvia, land development companies were set up as soon as there was a market for villa plots outside the city; the emergence of villa suburbs was also encouraged by the improved rail transport facilities; most of the new villa settlements were located on the western or northern railway line. Harvia 1936; HKA, archives of land development companies active in the rural municipality of Helsinki. The social and architectural ideals of garden cities as well as the notion of the villa as an ideal mode of habitation inspired the foundation of villa communities. The garden city ideals, expressed in Ebenezer Howard's influential *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1902) (originally published already in 1898 without significant success, and entitled *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*), combined income and living in a harmonious milieu. In reality, the new villa communities were only residential suburbs. Of the architects in the period, for example Lars Sonck, Bertel Jung and Armas Lindgren took part in the planning of Kulosaari, while Eliel Saarinen designed part of Munkkiniemi and Gustaf Strengell had a hand in the (single-family) housing company AB Egna-Hem Oma Koti Oy (AB Parkstad-Wanda Puistokylä). See Aström 1957, 259; Peltonen 1983; Nikula 1983, 227; Nikula 1988, 61–64; Kolbe 1988. On the concept of villa community and on the distinction between the garden city and villa communities see also Wäre 1988, 59–65. In Helsinki Bertel Jung, who was also the city planning architect of Helsinki (1908–1916), aimed consistently and early on (for example with the unrealized Meilahti villa community plan, 1901) to the establishment of villa communities.

these settlements lived in single-family huts or in larger multi-family tenements; the most popular type of building was the single-storey wooden house. There were also some two-storey houses in Helsinki and Turku with a ground floor built of stone and timber floor on top.³³ As early as the late 19th century, the cities themselves began to acquire land and draw up town plans for worker housing (e.g. Tammela, in connection with the redevelopment of Kyttälä in Tampere, Port Arthur in Turku). However, workers' housing districts, such as Kallio in Helsinki, were often only incorporated in the town plan only after they had already been built.³⁴ Workers' lodgings were often small, with a single room or one room and a kitchen; in the early 20th century, the latter was regarded as the minimum type for a healthy family dwelling. In Tampere, workers' dwellings often consisted of a room and a share in a common kitchen. The floor plans of the dwellings were relatively simple; the wooden houses had rectangular rooms situated back to back or side by side, and for example in Port Arthur in Turku, the apartments within a workers' tenement often formed a row of rooms or a four-room rectangle (*Figs. 13 and 14*).³⁵ The four-room plan was common in worker housing in the early phase of industrialization and was used for example in the two-storey »fourfold houses» at the Mulhouse worker housing development (1853–1870) highlighted as models at international exhibitions and in journals (*Fig. 15*).³⁶ The sleeping quarters dominated the interior; shared bedrooms and beds were common among both the workers and the rural population.³⁷

Although the residents of these early workers' suburbs lived in wooden houses, often even single-family houses, the areas themselves were not actual single-family housing districts. Most of the new suburbs founded in Helsinki in the 1910s were villa settlements for the wealthy; however, areas in the vicinity of industrial plants gradually evolved into working-class single-family housing districts. One such was for example AB Parkstad–Wanda–Puistokylä Oy in Malmi–Tapanila; most of the plots at this development were owned by AB Egna-Hem Oma Koti Oy.³⁸ Gustaf

³³ Wäre 1983, 255. This mode of construction aimed at fire protection. Wooden houses of more than a single storey were forbidden from 1810 onwards. Lilius 1985, 176.

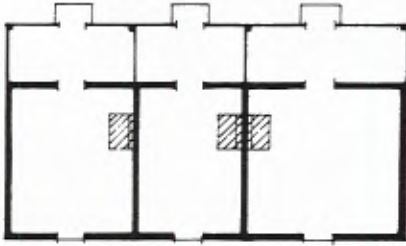
³⁴ Voionmaa 1932, 516–521; Waris 1932, 261.

³⁵ Eenilä 1974, 108–115.

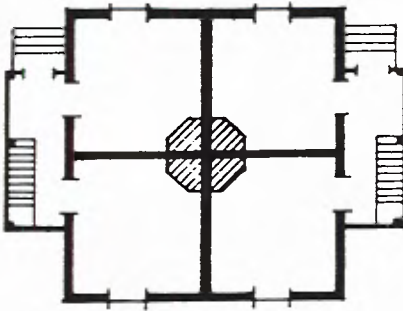
³⁶ Eleb-Vidal – Debarre-Blanchard 1989, 143–146.

³⁷ Snellman 1909; Waris 1932, 272; Eenilä 1974, 124; Haapala 1986, 161. This custom reveals the mutual influence of cramped dwellings and housing practice.

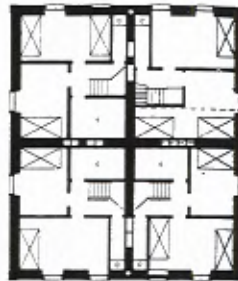
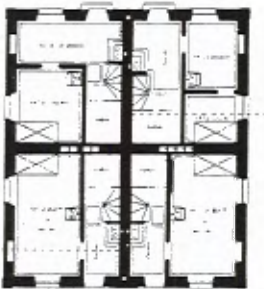
³⁸ Each of the suburbs of the early part of the century mainly catered for a single type of clientele: wealthy, Swedish-speaking or working-class residents. A common denominator of the suburbs compared to the city centre was the high proportion



13. Worker dwelling of the so-called row-of-rooms type in Port Arthur, Turku, by an unknown planner. Published in Eenilä 1974, p. 111.



14. Four-room plan which could be divided into four different dwellings as here, or into three rooms and a kitchen, or into two different dwellings each with one room and a kitchen. Type used in Port Arthur, Turku, from the 1860s to 1912. Published in Eenilä 1974, p.111.



15. Emile Muller, the "fourfold house" (le "carré mulhousien", 1854) in two storeys with four different dwellings consisting of a multifunctional family room with one bed (chambre d'habitation et un lit), or a multifunctional family room and a sleeping alcove, or a separate kitchen (cuisine et demeure) and bedroom on the ground floor (on the right). Each have two bedrooms on the first floor (on the left) and a small garden. Published in Eleb-Vidal - Debarre-Blanchard 1989, p. 146.

Strengell designed type plans for three workers' single-family houses for AB Egna-hem Oma Koti Oy in 1909; he also produced the initial town plan for Malmi-Tapanila. Strengell's type-planned houses had two storeys and were designed for one to two families. The layout varied from a kitchen, living room and sleeping alcove to two rooms and a kitchen.³⁹ These were meant for a prosperous manual labourer and his family.

Single-family housing construction escalated in connection with the First World War and was encouraged, in the 1920s, by municipal and state loans, although large-scale building did not occur before the reconstruction period in the 1940s and '50s. The most crucial issues were the standardization of the type-planned house, the distribution of type plans, and loans and legislation in support of building. Municipal and state sponsorship in the 1920s meant that more attention was paid to the quality of the design of single-family housing: various municipalities produced designs of their own, and to qualify for a state loan the builder had to use plans that were accepted by the Ministry of Social Service. The busiest phase of single-family housing construction before the Second World War occurred in the early '20s, when the state issued loans for social building; these credits financed the building of 933 single-family houses and semi-detached houses of the total number of 6 438 dwellings built between 1920–26. In the '20s, a total of 5 584 single-family houses were built in Finland, which accounted for 12.2 % of the total 45 698 dwellings built. The most energetic own home construction took place in Tampere where the »idea of detached, self-contained family home has received strong support from the city authorities.»⁴⁰

of families (and families with a large number of children in particular), and the low proportion of single persons. Harvia 1936, 80–92.

³⁹ Sketch for a single-family house for Ab Egna-Hem Oma Koti Oy, with two rooms and a kitchen on the ground floor and two rooms, which could also be rented out, on the first floor. SRM:A. Town plan for Malmi-Tapanila, draft signed by Strengell 1907 HKA. See also Strengell 1909, 6. Ten ready-made houses were built, and although they were meant for prosperous workers, they were too expensive for them.

⁴⁰ Modeen 1934, 7–14; Böök 1928; Kuusi 1921, 8–9; see also Nikula 1978, 123–124. State-sponsored single-family housing construction was also vigorous in Kuopio, Turku and Kotka, whereas in Helsinki it was slight in proportion to the number of inhabitants in the city. Single-family housing developments constructed after the First World War: Viinikka, Lapinmäki (founded 1914, city building types by Max Frelander) and north-east hillside in Pyynikki (not specifically single-family housing area, building types by Bertel Strömmer) in Tampere; Toukola and Käpylä in Helsinki (types from Ministry of Social Service; also specially designed types); Kel-

The privately owned *single-family house* is a relatively new housing model and concept, and for a long time, the distinction between the single-family house and the villa remained fluid and ambiguous; the distinction between the two was primarily a matter of size – and of the social standing of the occupants: the single-family house was smaller and simpler. The official definition of the single-family house was given in 1927, in the Act and Decrees concerning the single-family housing fund. A single-family house was a house for one, or, paradoxically, two families, which served as the builder's own home and included a small garden. The single-family housing fund issued loans for houses up to 100 m², and covered 30–40 % of building costs.⁴¹ In the 1920s, the single-family house was still associated with manual labourers, although the law of 1927 did not specify the social standing of the occupants.

The word *single-family house* (*oma koti*, Sw. *egnahem*) referred both to the mode of habitation and to the home ownership. It first appears in texts concerning housing in the 1920s; earlier, the usual terms were »small home», »one-family house» and »small house» – »detached little house».⁴² Thus the typical single-family house was a relatively small one-family house, located on a plot large enough to accommodate a small garden, and owned by the occupying family, as indicated in the Finnish word *omakotitalo* (»own-home-house»). In addition to motives of social housing reform, the idealization of the single-family house hinged upon the notion of the freedom and privacy associated with ownership; the virtues of life in a single-family house were extolled by contrasting with life in a rental barracks. As a social system and in terms of the domestic practice it upholds, the single-family house differs from the single-household buildings of the towns (and rural areas). The houses are normally aligned along roads and surrounded by a garden and sometimes a hedge, and the plot seldom contained other buildings.

kkala in Viipuri (types by Otto-I. Meurman with Elli Ruuth and Clare Meuschen); Itkonniemi and Haapaniemi in Kuopio (types from Ministry of Social Service; specially designed types). See also *Kuopion kulttuurihistoriallisesti...* 1980; Voionmaa 1935, 182–191; Nikula 1990, 104.

⁴¹ In the Decree of 1934, the loan was made to cover 75 % of the building cost of the smaller 40–60 m² single-family houses. In the '40s, the Emergency Settlement Act (June 28, 1940) and Land Acquisition Act (May 5, 1945) curtailed the size of single-family houses qualified for loans to 38–80 m². Act Concerning the Single-Family Housing Fund, January 8, 1927; Decree Concerning the Single-Family Housing Fund, May 28, 1927; revised March 2, 1934.

⁴² This name was used in, for example, the publication entitled *Pienten asuintalojen piirustuksia* (Plans for small houses) 1915, III.

Although in Finland the building of single-family housing developments only stepped up after the First World War, efforts were already made early in the century to launch a *single-family housing movement* along the lines of the international garden city ideal (the main models were British and Swedish).⁴³ Already at the beginning of the century, the privately owned home was seen as the best solution to the housing problems of the expanding proletariat and middle class.⁴⁴

From the 1870s, in Sweden, the single-family housing movement coincided with the emergence of philanthropic organizations working to improve workers' housing conditions. Home ownership was seen, among other things, as a means of reinforcing local attachments and patriotic sentiment, and thus as a means of discouraging emigration. But moral education and resistance to socialism were also high priorities.⁴⁵ In Sweden, single-family housing construction and the single-family housing movement went through a vigorous phase in the early part of the 20th century; from 1904, single-family housing construction was encouraged by special state loans. In Stockholm, city support was important, and single-family houses were built in large numbers from the first years of the century to the year 1930. The '30s was the heyday of the apartment building and Functionalism, but single-family housing production picked up again in the '40s and '50s.⁴⁶ Towards the end of the 19th century, private land development companies had set up mainly middle-class villa communities in the vicinity of Stockholm (e.g. Djursholm, Saltsjöbaden, Lidingö, Storängen), but municipal construction of garden suburbs with houses built in the »single-family idiom» also began relatively early.⁴⁷ The specific aim was to alleviate the housing shortage among workers – however, the garden suburbs were soon appropriated by the bourgeoisie and the middle class.⁴⁸ Building first commenced in Enskede (Gamla Enskede), which was the earliest municipal

⁴³ British and Swedish examples were widely discussed in the press after the turn of the century. E.g. Strengell 1911; Kekkonen 1908. The garden city movement also had a large following in Germany. The *Deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft* was founded in 1902, immediately after British Letchworth; one of the most well-known garden cities in Germany is the Hellerau suburb of Dresden. Hartmann 1976, 27.

⁴⁴ *Asuntokysymys* 1904; Åström 1956, 100, 122.

⁴⁵ Frykman – Löfgren 1979, 123–124. See also *1899 års Egnahemkommittés betänkande* 1:14.

⁴⁶ Stavenow-Hidemark 1971, 305–306.

⁴⁷ The villa communities keenly advertised themselves, see for example the publication *Stockholms förstäder och villasamhällen 1911* (Stockholm's suburbs and villa settlements 1911), in which a total of 30 developments vied for publicity.

⁴⁸ Johansson 1987, 412; Stavenow-Hidemark 1971, 305.

garden suburb in Sweden, and utilized a range of building types, from low apartment blocks to row houses and single-family houses.⁴⁹ Various type plans were used in the project; the *Enskedestugan* was intended for a typical working family and comprised a kitchen and a family room on the ground floor and one room in the attic (Figs. 16 and 17). Although the garden suburbs were not uniformly composed of single-family houses, the construction of single-family houses and developments is closely linked with the garden city movement. The first municipal garden suburb in Finland was Puu-Käpylä in Helsinki, built in the early 1920s.

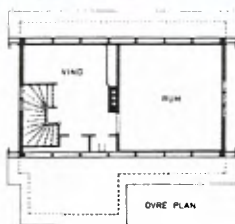
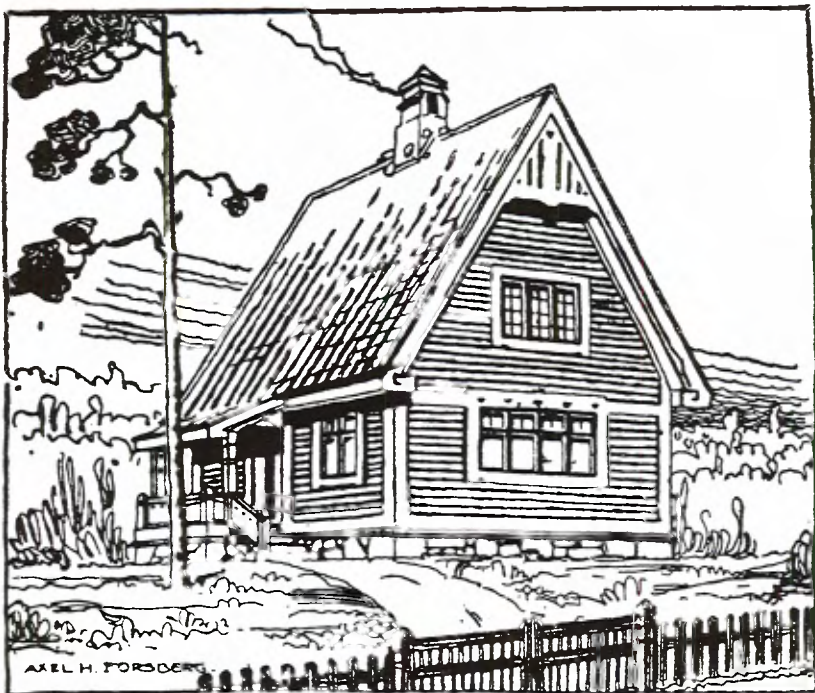
Worker housing built to serve various industrial factories merits its own chapter in the history of single-family housing production. The owners of the earliest Finnish iron works in the 17th century already built houses for labourers close to the workplace and the tradition has continued in the twentieth century, with its large, modern factories. In each period, the houses were usually variations of one basic type. The iron workers' settlements were characteristically composed of wooden, regularly distributed multi-family houses. During the interwar period in the present century, smaller one or two-family houses were also adopted as worker housing in industrial locations. These industrial settlements were hierarchical: the size and location of the house and dwelling and the arrangement of each facade denoted the status of the occupants in the hierarchy of the workplace – accommodation for different groups of workers' dwellings was characteristically simple, anonymous and, in a certain sense, generalized; they were often constructed according to model plans drawn up for the area in question.⁵⁰ The type-planned house of the 1940s is a natural upshot of this anonymous tradition. The paternalism that characterizes the housing model associated with iron works and other industrial sites is also strongly present in the new worker model towns and garden suburbs, where it appears alongside social ideals and reformist aspirations (e.g. Bournville (founded in 1879), Port Sunlight (1888), Letchworth (1902), Hampstead Garden Suburb (1907)).⁵¹

Structural hierarchy and spatial segregation of different social groups also informed Eliel Saarinen's plan for Munkkiniemi-Haaga (1915), which allocates separate areas and types of dwelling for wealthy, middle-class

⁴⁹ Gamla Enskede 1974; Stavenow-Hidemark 1971, 305–314. P.O. Hallman's town plan of 1907 is closely related to Raymond Unwin's and Barry Parker's Hampstead Garden Suburb.

⁵⁰ For example Kauttua, Karhula, Sunila, Varkaus. On Kauttua, see Korvenmaa 1989.

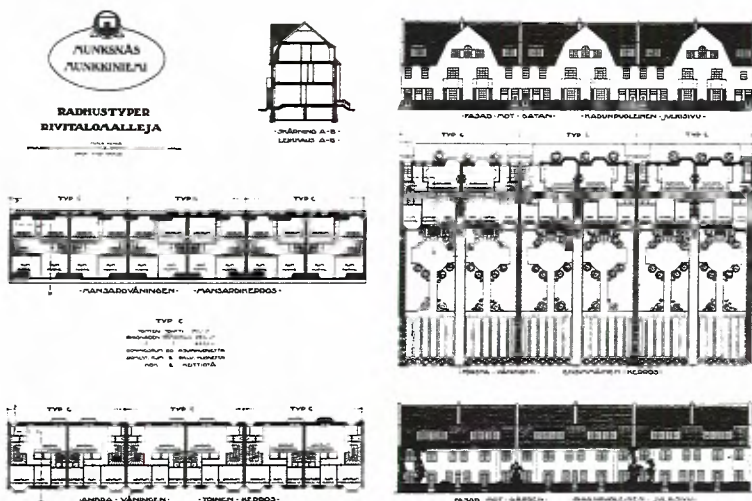
⁵¹ The paternalism and male/female difference central to Ebenezer Howard's garden city, and to garden cities in general, is analysed in Wilson 1991, 101–117.



16 & 17. Axel H. Forsberg (external architecture) and C.A. Andersson (floor plan), Enskedestugan, single-family house with two rooms and a kitchen exhibited at the Stockholm Exhibition in 1909. Picture published in *Rakennustaito* 1909, floor plans in *Gamla Enskede* 1974, p. XXIV.

and working-class inhabitants (*Figs. 18 and 19*).⁵² The same principle of different residential classes, or different types of dwelling for different so-

⁵² Saarinen distinguishes between the wealthy, the middle-class and the working-class. The single-family villas at the seaside and the nearby low apartment buildings were



18. Eliel Saarinen, row house for the wealthy, Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan, type C. Ground floor: kitchen, living room, dining room, room. First floor: 3 (bed)rooms, servant's room. Second floor: four bedrooms. Saarinen 1915.

cial categories, was also pervasive in the exhibition of the First General Housing Congress of 1917.⁵³ In Saarinen's plan, the workers' »own homes» were to be built as row houses. This traditional British type of house, com-

meant for the wealthy, the middle class was assigned low and high apartment blocks, and the working population was allocated tall apartment blocks, row houses and semi-detached houses in the Western part of the area. Row houses were available for all the population segments, but the size of the dwellings varied. Saarinen 1915, 82–99.

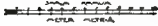
⁵³ Among the items on display at the exhibition arranged in the conjunction with the Housing Congress of 1917 were housing developments and types designed for industrial locations, and suggested type plans for workers' dwellings. Workers' dwellings designed for towns were usually stacked apartments with one room and a kitchen. Some industrial companies (e.g. SOK Vaajakoski, Elias Paalanen) built detached two-family houses at their workers' estates – however, one and two-family houses were almost always reserved for functionaries and foremen, and workers were housed in buildings shared by four families or more. *Ensimmäisen suomalaisen... 1917*. The spatial segregation of different social groups has for a long time been a key principle of town planning and housing design. According to Paul Rabinow, in France, two schemes were produced in the first half of the 20th century in which class difference was not explicitly recognized: Tony Garnier's *La Cité Industrielle* (1901–), which was designed for a single (*working*) class, and Le Corbusier's *La Ville Radieuse* (1935), designed for the universal *homme-type*. Rabinow 1989, 338.



MUNKSNÄS
OIKSI
HAGA

MUNKKINIEMI
JA
HAAGA

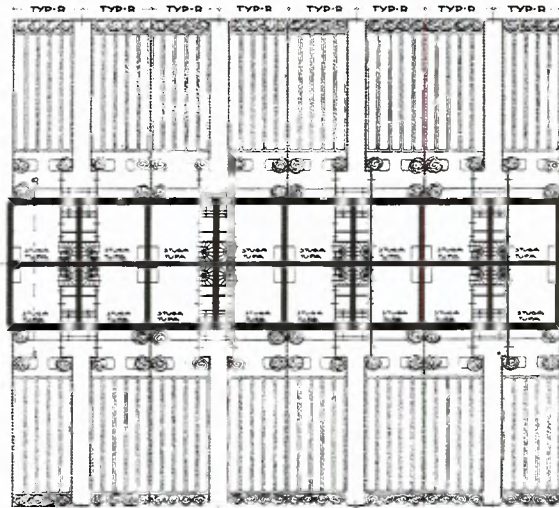
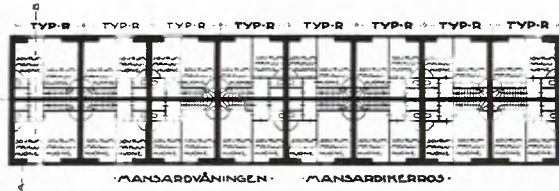
RADHUSTYPER
FÖR ARBETARE
TYÖVÄN
RIVITALO-
MALLEJA



TYP - R.

TONTIN TONNITTI 130 m²
BESÖGNADEN BÄNDRUMS 33 m²
" " " 290 m²
BONINGSRUM 3 ÅRINRUMMET

SKÄRNING A-B
LEIKKAUS A-B



19. Eliel Saarinen, worker row house, type R, Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan. Main room (ground floor) and two bedrooms (attic). Saarinen 1915.

mon in the garden cities there, was unusual in Finland. It was repeatedly discussed in the 1910s, but did not gain popularity before the '50s, by which time it was no longer reserved for a working-class market.⁵⁴

The tendency for buildings to conform a certain »basic type« or formula is manifested more clearly in rural dwellings than in urban worker housing. In fact, the inclination to produce variations of a single theme or basic form is probably as old as building itself – ancient Greek dwellings arranged around a peristyle courtyard and the atrium houses of the Romans, also reiterated a certain basic shape and theme – a fact that the Finnish proponents of standardization were desirous to emphasize in their own favour:

As a result of cultural unification, the art of building has in all ages inclined towards similarity of forms. A Classical temple, a medieval Finnish stone church and an old rural utility building can all be seen as manifestations of this impulse towards a unified idiom. We consider this to be natural, even beautiful. The *conscious* standardization taking place in the art of building today is committed to precisely the same ideal.⁵⁵

However, model houses and type-planned houses entail a different conception of the standard and the type: the aim was specifically to create a reproducible basic type for housing construction that would conform to the current ideals concerning the dwelling. The houses are linked with both the tendency (during and after the First World War) to use type plans in social housing production, and with the tendency towards building from prefabricated standardized elements.

According to Elias Cornell, already in the Middle Ages, peasants on the Western coast of Götaland in Sweden lived by hewing and selling prefabricated house timbers. Similarly, from the 17th century, in Russia it was possible to buy prefabricated wooden »house packages« whose floor plans were more or less standardized. The 19th century prefabrication boom, on

⁵⁴ Various architectural competitions were arranged to generate plans for row houses, e.g. Helsinki (Vallila) and Tampere (Viinikka), a certain number of municipal row houses were in fact built in the latter area. *Ribbinghof* row houses (designed by Armas Lindgren in 1916) were also built in Kulosaari, and row houses were discussed at the 1917 Housing Congress. In Sweden, row houses were already built at an early stage, but there, too, the idea met with an unenthusiastic response – for example, the row houses planned for Gamla Enskede had to be abandoned when the first house failed to match the sales of »real« single-family houses. Gamla Enskede 1974; Nikula 1988, 52–53.

⁵⁵ Waltari 1942, 15.

the other hand, mainly involved summer villas and other temporary buildings.⁵⁶ The Swedish Crown already used ready-made type plans in building the 17th and 18th century; for instance in the late 17th century, Erik Dahlberg designed type plans for housing military officers – e.g. the cavalry captain's residence and the captain's residence, ratified in 1687. The design depended on the military rank of the occupant. In 1765, Carl Wijnblad published a collection of plans entitled *Beskrifning, huru Allmogens Bygnader, så af Sten, som Träd, Måge med största besparing uppföras*.⁵⁷ It is astonishing how little difference exists between these simple cabins and the type-planned single-family houses produced in the 1920s – or indeed the type-planned houses of the 1940s – despite of the latter one's totally different industrial production and modern economic and social context (Fig. 20).

In Sweden, the golden age of type plans and model books during the first decades of the 20th century was mainly associated with the building of the bourgeois villa settlements, but also with the single-family housing construction.⁵⁸ Soon afterwards, collections of models and types were published in Finland as well. Type plans were used in the construction of the *Oy Kansanasunnot* (People's Housing Ltd.) houses in the garden suburb of Käpylä in Helsinki; the project also involved experimenting with the new industrial construction method based on prefabricated components. Built of logs and clad with boarding, the houses were erected swiftly, using logs that had been sawn and perforated according to agreed measurements in advance.⁵⁹ The Building Convention of 1919 raised the possibility of creating types of small dwelling for relieving the housing shortage, and the early '20s saw the completion of the first official type plans for small dwellings and single-family housing, commissioned by the National Board of Social Welfare.⁶⁰

Single-family housing production followed various architectural trends, and different styles coexisted. The most interesting aspects of this domestic architecture are not a matter of so-called stylistic innovation. In the 1930s, private individual builders still continued to exhibit and be influenced by the late 19th-century »craftsman styles» and the turn-of-the-century Art

⁵⁶ Cornell 1969, 30, 44.

⁵⁷ »An account as to how stone and timber housing for the populace, may be most economically constructed». Wijnblad 1765. These model drawings were used in Finland to some extent. Cardberg 1977, 27.

⁵⁸ See for example Jonsson 1985, 53–54.

⁵⁹ See Toivonen 1920, 150.

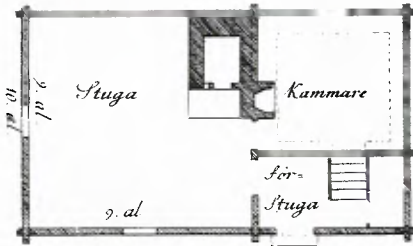
⁶⁰ The National Board of Social Welfare was suppressed in 1923, and its duties were transferred to the Ministry of Social Service in 1923. Paalanen 1924.

Utsjende af en Stugubyggnad
 för et Fierdedels hemman.

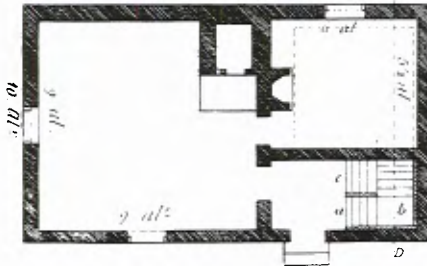
Fig. 8.



Grundritning af Trä Fig. 9.



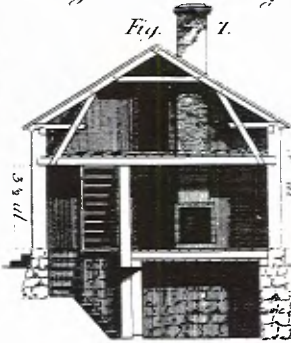
Grundritning af Sten. Fig. 5.



Tab. II.

Genomskjuring.

Fig. 7.



Gaf- uel Fig. 10.



Gaf- uel Fig.



20. Carl Fredric Wijnblad, stone-built peasant house, *fierdedels hemman* ("quarter cabin") consisting of a multipurpose main room (*tupa*) and smaller room (*kamari*). Wijnblad 1765.

Nouveau – a kind of »late Art Nouveau» endured.⁶¹ However, from as early as the 1910s, »official» model plans and type drawings designed by architects were employed in an effort to cultivate the taste of rural and working-class home-builders – an issue that was stressed in connection with type planning was the way »the facades acquire a plain but well proportioned external appearance.»⁶² The exterior was supposed to reflect the hierarchical value of the building in the landscape or townscape – Elias Paalanen’s type plans of 1915 garnered special praise for the fact that their facades »do not assert claims in excess of the purpose of the buildings.»⁶³ This commitment to simple and matter-of-fact elevations continued in the 1920s and ’40s.⁶⁴

4.2. Your »own home»: models and types

The publication of plans for villas and single-family houses in the form of model books and type plans was common at the turn of the century, particularly in the »promised land of home ownership» – the United States.⁶⁵ Various guides and model books were also published in Finland for the benefit of people interested in building their own home; these appeared both before and contemporaneously with the actual type plans. At the turn of the century, this literature was devoted to villas, but in the 1920s the guides also discuss actual single-family houses. As their titles suggest, the books were educational and didactic in flavour. The plans given in the model books were of a general and prescriptive kind, whereas the type plans were meant to be executed as such.⁶⁶

Jalmari Kekkonen’s book *Asuntomme sisältä ja ulkoa. Neuvoja »oman kodin» rakentajille* (Our house, inside and out. Advice to builders of »own

⁶¹ On the terminology under discussion (National Romantic, Jugend, Art Nouveau) see Nikula 1981, 21–22; and especially Wäre 1991, *passim*. Here used as conventional, descriptive concepts.

⁶² *Pienten asuintalojen...* 1915, IV.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ See Nikula 1978, 122, Mandelin 1948, 15–16.

⁶⁵ Wright 1980, 3.

⁶⁶ Cf. Kekkonen 1908; *Oman kodin piirustuksia* 1913; Paalanen 1924. Cf. the situation in Sweden, where a number of model books on villa and single-family house construction were published in the early 20th century, for example Brunius 1911, Enblom 1908; Sandberg 1908; Östberg 1913; discussed also in Stavenow-Hide-mark 1971.

homes», 1908) is a primarily aesthetic tract on the subject of the middle-class villa. The book reviews a set of foreign (particularly British) and domestic, already existing »model» villas, and describes the Bournville worker housing development. Aside from aesthetic considerations and healthy life close to nature, Kekkonen draws attention to questions of hygiene. His advice on home construction ranges from siting to the interior decor of the villa. Planning must take place »from inside out», in keeping with the requirements of domestic and familial comfort, and shunning unnecessary embellishments. The relative position and interior decoration of each room was determined by its particular nature. Already during the late 19th century, building instructions for villas and single-family houses foregrounded the importance of proper orientation, and the issue remained important in the 1940s. Kekkonen recommends the British practice of locating the residential quarters in such a way as to maximize solar gain in each room at the appropriate time of day. Thus the bedrooms should be oriented to the east, the living rooms and work rooms south, and the dining room should face west; only the kitchen (domain of the domestics) would face north, and receive no daylight.⁶⁷

The middle-class villa described by Kekkonen was divided into three spaces: public and private quarters and a servant's area. The public area consists of the reception (which Kekkonen constituted the spiritual centre of the home), the dining room, or so-called material centre, and separate rooms for the master and possibly the mistress of the house. The private section includes bedrooms and nurseries; the servant's room and kitchen constitutes a separate third space.⁶⁸ The spatial arrangement tended to detach the different spheres of life and the different occupants; in addition to the demarcation between public and private, a separation was made between family and non-family, parents and children, and the different sexes. In the new insistently private apartment buildings and villas of the bourgeoisie and the middle class, the servants could move »invisibly» along their own staircases and entrances. This arrangement is visible in Hvit-

⁶⁷ See also Paalanen 1935. The kitchen was not generally considered to need daylight. A similar preoccupation with the orientation of individual rooms recurred in Functionalism. But cf. Ingman 1939, 73, who drew attention to the work facilities and the kitchen, and also put forward the kitchen's claim to sunlight.

⁶⁸ Kekkonen 1908, *passim*. Cf. also Elenius. In addition to Finnish books, many foreign guides and studies were available. See advertisement of *Akateeminen kirjakauppa* from 1911, published in Laitinen 1911 (Fig. 21). Kekkonen was not alone in writing about new middle-class villa ideals, but he was among the first in Finland to publish his views on the ideal of habitation in book format. On the model books, see also Stavenow-Hidemark 1971, 163–179.

Luettelo Akateemisessa kirjakaupassa saatavana olevasta rakennus- ja asutokysymystä koskevasta kirjallisuudesta.

<i>Andersson, C. A.</i> : Boken om egna hem	3:—
<i>Boklund, H.</i> : Våra Bostäder	1: 50
<i>Brunius, A.</i> : Hus och hem	5: 65
<i>Busch, O. A.</i> : Entreprenadboken	7: 15
<i>Böök, Einar</i> : Asutokysymyksen alalta	1:—
<i>Carlson, G.</i> : Svenska allmogehem	2: 25
<i>Ekberg, F. R.</i> : Lärobok i allmän husbyggnadslära	3: 75
<i>Ekman E. N. L.</i> : På egen torva. Om ordnande, förbättrande och förskönade av det egna hemmet.	3:—
— » — <i>K. A.</i> : Anvisning om sättet att erhålla egnahemslån samt billigaste bostäder för egna hem	3: 75
<i>Ekström, Alf.</i> : Om uppvärmning av våra bostäder medels elektricitet	1: 15
<i>Enblom, R. S.</i> : Ett hem på landet	5: 25
<i>Hansson, C.</i> : Centraluppvärmning för bostäder	1: 15
<i>Herbold, K. J.</i> : Om centraluppvärmning och ventilation av byggnader	—: 40
<i>Kekkonen, J.</i> : Asutomme sisältä ja ulkoa. Uusi laajennettu painos tekeillä.	
<i>Lagerholm, A. T.</i> : Handbok för villa- och egnahemsbyggare	4: 90
— » —: Villabyggnader och egna hem	4: 90
<i>Lindencrona R.</i> : Kostnadsförslag och beräkningsbok för byggmästare och byggnadsegare	4: 50
<i>Löfgren, P. & Otterström, E.</i> : Tjugofem förslag till egna hem	5: 25
<i>Lönnebeck, F. W.</i> : Om uppvärmning och ventilering av byggnader	1: 25
<i>Otterström, E.</i> : Skisser till egna hem	3: 75
<i>Rhodin, Jacob</i> : Egna hem för yrkesidkare och landtmän	3:—
<i>Rudblad, H. S.</i> : En bok om egna hem	3:—
<i>Sandberg, G. H.</i> : Om villor och egnahemsbyggnader	1: 50
<i>Sjöström, H.</i> : Hållfasthetsberäkningar för byggnadskonstruktioner ..	6:—
<i>Widell, C.</i> : Handbok för praktiska byggnadskonstruktioner	3:—
<i>Ostberg, R.</i> : Ett hem	—: 40
<i>Beetz Max</i> : Kleinwohnungs-Häuser. Mit 50 Abbildungen	3: 50
<i>Breuhäus, A.</i> : Landhäuser & Innenräume. Reich illustriert 4:o	12: 50
<i>Erbs, K.</i> : Kleinstadtbauten. Illustriert	1: 90
<i>Ficher, Th.</i> : Wohnhausbauten. Mit 131 Bildtafeln gr. 8:o	12: 50
<i>Flur, F.</i> : Wie wohnt man im Eigenhause billiger als in der Mietwohnung. Mit 80 Abbildgn	1: 35
<i>Gessner, A.</i> : Das Deutsche Miethaus. Mit 220 Abbildgn	10:—
<i>Haanel & Tscharmann</i> : Das Einzelwohnhaus der Neuzeit. Mit 216 Grundrissen & farbigen Tafeln	9: 40
Hausgärten, Skizzen & Entwürfe aus dem Wettbewerb der Woche ..	3: 75
<i>Kahm, Ph.</i> : Heimatliche Bauweise. Preisgekrönte Anleitung zur Ausführung ländlicher Bauten illustriert	7: 50
<i>Karplus, A.</i> : Neue Landhäuser & Villen in Oesterreich. Mit 113 bildtafeln in 4:o	25:—
<i>Konwiczka, H.</i> : Einfache & billige Familienhäuser Sommer und Winter bewohnbar. Mit 65 Abb.	1: 35
<i>Kossmann, W.</i> : Arbeiter-Wohnhaustypen (Einfamilienhäuser). Illust.	10:—
<i>Landé R.</i> : Stadt- & Landhäuser Mit 24 Tafeln in 4:o	9: 40
<i>Lange, W.</i> : Land- & Gartensiedlungen. Mit 215 Abb. & 16 farb. Tafeln ..	12: 50
<i>Mayer, L. K.</i> : Kleine Wohn- & Bureauhäuser. Mit 31 Tafeln	5: 30
<i>Mertens, J. H.</i> : Wohnungskunst für jedermann	2: 50
<i>Migge, L.</i> : Ein modernes Gartenbuch, illustriert	3: 25
<i>Muthesius, H.</i> : Landhaus & Garten. Mit 240 Tafeln	15:—
<i>Seidl, E. von</i> : Mein Landhaus. Mit 56 Tafeln	15:—
<i>Siebert-Schölermann-Krauss</i> : Wie lege ich einen Garten an? Mit 200 Abbildgn	9: 40
<i>Tief, Th.</i> : Fassaden für freistehende hölzerne Wohnhäuser	5: 75
<i>Viemann, Fr.</i> : Einfamilien-Häuser, Mit 36 schwarzen & farb. Tafeln ..	7: 50
<i>Zahn, R.</i> : Moderne kleine Häuser, 30 Tafeln mit erläuterndem Text ..	5: 65
A second series of over 60 designs for Family Homes	1: 75
<i>Adams, M. B.</i> : Moderne Cottage Architecture. Illustrated	15:—
The book of the exhibition of houses and cottages. Romford Garden Suburb Gidea Park	1: 75
<i>Elder-Duncan, J. H.</i> : Country Cottages and Week-End Homes. With numerous coloured plates	8:—
Letchworth Garden City in Pictures	1:—
<i>Weybride, H.</i> : Ideal designs for Houses. Illustrated	1: 75

Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, Helsinki.

21. Advertisement of *Akateeminen kirjakauppa* from 1911 of manuals and guide-books on the housing question and home construction. Published in Laitinen 1911.

träsk, the residence designed and occupied by the Gesellius-Lindgren-Saarinen Architects' Office at the turn of the century; however, the same pattern is also repeated in smaller and less spectacular villas.

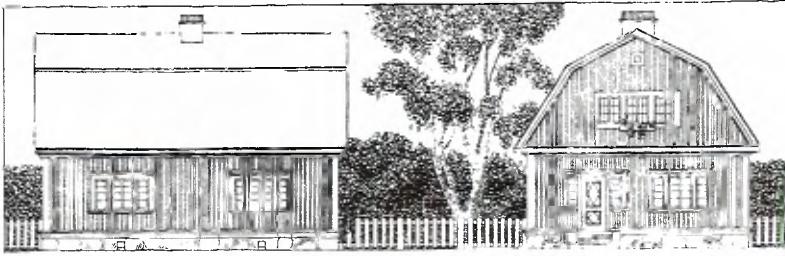
In Finland, industrial production of wooden houses already began in the 1890s, contemporaneously with the development of the so-called American technique of board and pole construction. These experiments were mainly restricted to summer villas, in which efficient insulation was not indispensable.⁶⁹ The »own homes» that contestants were called to design in the model drawing competition for cheap dwellings arranged by the publishing company Otava in 1913 were in fact summer villas. A total of 81 entries were submitted, and the prizewinners were published in a separate booklet.⁷⁰ The layout, architectural appearance and construction of these published submissions varied, yielding a whole spectrum of styles and floor plans. Habitability in winter was considered a merit; in fact, both the exteriors and the floor plans of the proposals approximate the more traditional villas or single-family houses and the current stylistic/style-historical convention of the Classical. Many entrants faced particular problems when trying to design the floor plan of the »own home». The entries that reaped the best prizes have lucid and simple exteriors and floor plans.

In 1914, the Social Welfare Committee of the City of Helsinki arranged a competition to plan small houses for block 555 in Vallila; these small dwellings were to be semi-detached houses or row houses for workers. The prize-winning entries were published with slight modifications in a separate booklet the following year as general guidelines for use in other suburban areas. The buildings were of four different types: three for two families and one for three-family occupancy.⁷¹ The entries have diverse floor plans and exteriors. Their idiom ranges from the conventional subdued

⁶⁹ Wäre 1983, 241. These experiments were soon given up. Although summer villas are closely associated with type planning, the ideological background of 19th-century summer villas (e.g. Ruissalo in Turku, Kaivopuisto in Helsinki) is different. In the 1840s, different versions of the pre-sawn frame, of which Balloon frame system was the most popular, significantly reduced construction time, and gained popularity in United States. Handlin 1979; Korvenmaa 1990, 47; see also *Amerikkalaista rakennustapaa* 1906 (American modes of construction).

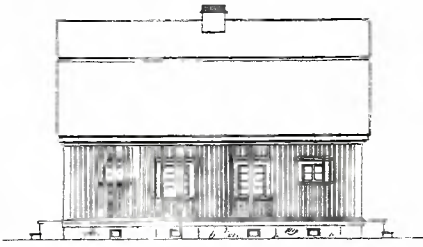
⁷⁰ *Oman kodin piirustuksia* 1913 (Drawings for the own homes).

⁷¹ *Pienten asuintalojen...* 1915, IV–V. The competition originally had two divisions: A for detached wooden houses, and B for so-called row houses made of fireproof material. The results were unsatisfactory in the latter category, and the prizes were therefore withheld. The jury claims that the idea of the row house had not yet been sufficiently elucidated in Finland. Competitions were also used elsewhere to find types for municipal housing developments; examples include above-mentioned Lapinmäki and Viinikka in Tampere (1914).

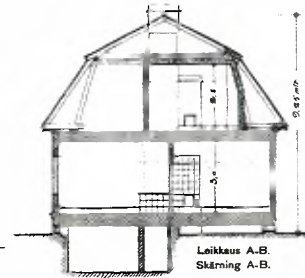


Kadunpuoleinen julkisivu
Fasad åt gatan

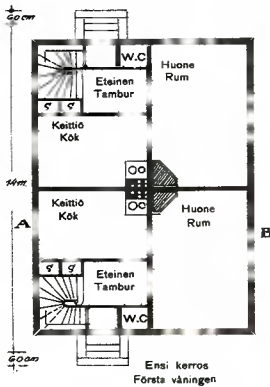
Pihanpuoleinen julkisivu
Fasad åt gården



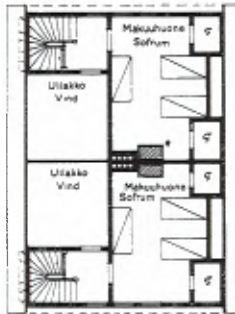
Pihanpuoleinen julkisivu
Fasad åt gården



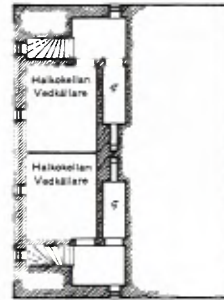
Leikkaus A-B.
Skärning A-B.



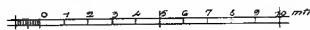
Ensi kerros
Första våningen



Uilakkokerros
Vindsvåning



Kellarikerros
Källarvåning



22. Elias Paalanen, single-family house plan for the competition of small houses for block 555 in Vallila, Helsinki. Published in *Pienten asuintalojen piirustuksia* 1915, p. 3.

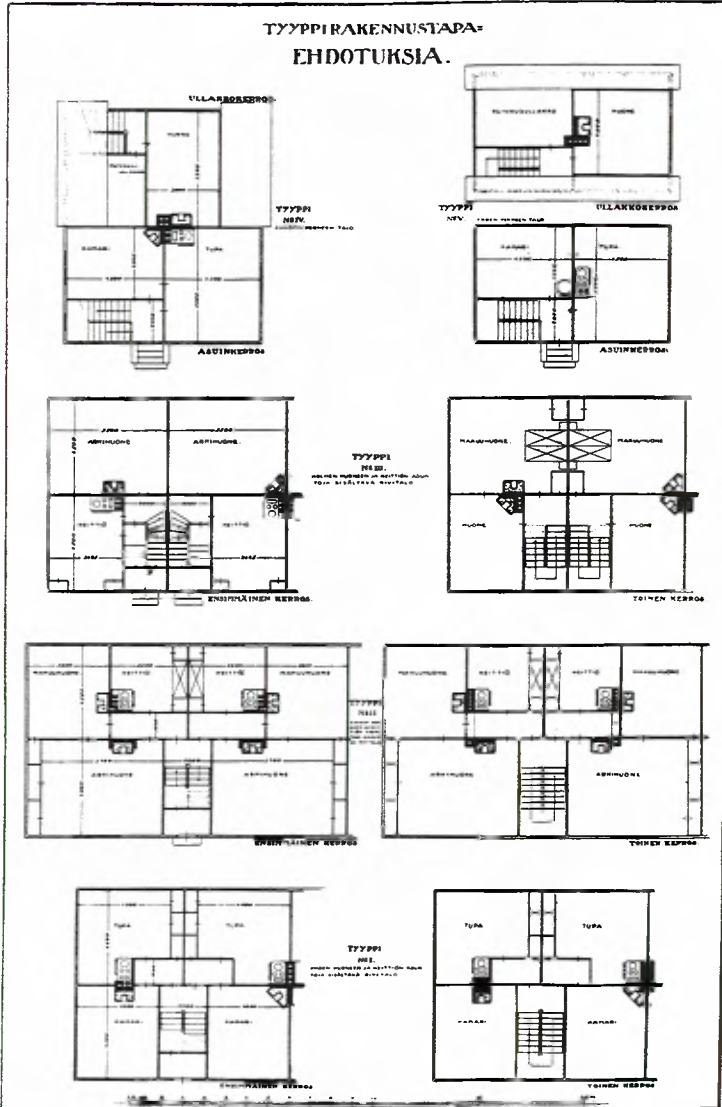
Classicism to the more richly adorned Art Nouveau. Either square or rectangular, the buildings are usually clad with vertical boarding, with the exception of a few rendered schemes; most houses have either saddle roofs or mansards roofs, the latter being a Classical favourite. Elias Paalanen's classical submissions were the ones most clearly related to the idealized »red cottage style»; his designs also include open porches and whitewashed decorative highlights in the outside corners, and around the doors and windows (*Fig. 22*). The windows vary in size and proportion. The dwellings are large for the period; with their one or two rooms, kitchen, WC and varying amount of attic and basement space, they often exceed the recommended ideal size for a worker dwelling. The floor plans are simple but not all similar; the different rooms are about equal in size, and are laid out in the form of clear rectangles, forming »separate» units joined by doorways. With the exception of Karl Malmström's single-storey submissions, all the buildings had two storeys and the rooms of the individual apartments were located on either one or two floors.

Type plans, as opposed to model plans, were usually put forward in connection with different suggestions for the alleviation of the housing shortage. Their design was associated not only with the hope of eliminating the housing shortage and overcrowded conditions, but also with the improvement of aesthetic, moral and hygienic quality of housing. Type plans were used both in London in the 1840s and in New York in the 1860s with the particular aim of assuaging the wretched housing conditions among labourers.⁷² Various discussions that took place at the Housing Congress (1917) and at the Building Convention (1919) focused on the necessity of creating new economical building and dwelling types and the potential offered by standardization for the reduction of construction costs and for mitigating the housing shortage. Type plans for small dwellings were also presented for review (*Figs. 23 and 24*).⁷³ Building standardization began with components – the first Finnish plans for standard (normal) doors and windows were completed in 1915, and revised in 1921 by the joint Standardization Committee of the Finnish Association of Architects and the Finnish Association of Master Builders, which was founded in 1919. However, the types never came into wide use.⁷⁴

⁷² Handlin 1979, 70.

⁷³ On the Building Convention, see *Rakennustaito* 1919, esp. Toivonen 1919.

⁷⁴ *Arkkitehti* 6/1921, 6; Nikula 1981, 68–70.



23. Akseli Toivonen, plans for small dwelling types presented at the Building Convention in 1919. Types 1 to 3 are row houses, types 4 and 5 semi-detached houses. All houses have two storeys. Published in *Rakennustaito* 1919, p. 262.

TYYPPIRAKENNUSTAPA=
EHDOTUS.
LANKKUSEINÄSOVITELMA.



24. Akseli Toivonen, plan for an economical way of construction presented at the Building Convention in 1919. *Rakennustaito* 1919, p. 263.

Type plans for single-family houses

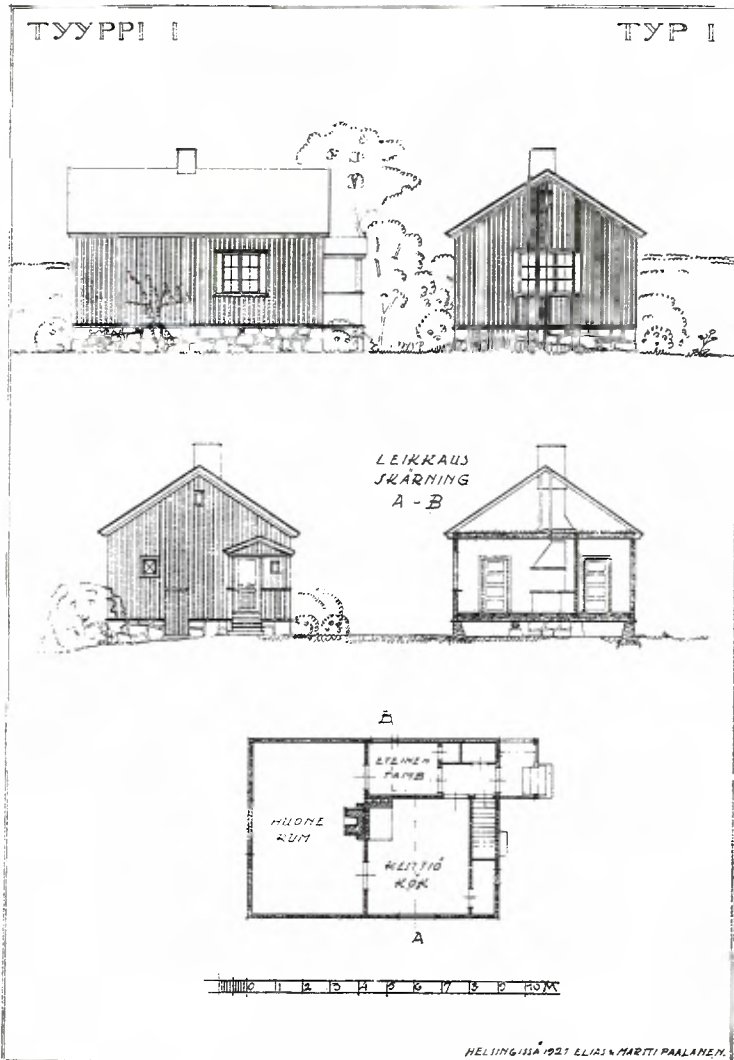
Although low-rise residential building is sometimes said to follow its own independent and distinctive course,⁷⁵ the various sets of plans produced early in the century and in the interwar period for urban and rural single-family housing were more or less closely aligned with the architectural drifts of the day; restrained Classicism was a characteristic feature, particularly in plans from the '20s. A few collections of type plans were published between the wars; plans were separately designed for rural or urban settings, which is reflected in the layout solutions used.

The earliest type plans of single-family houses have been published and distributed across the entire country date from the beginning of the 1920s. After the Civil War (1918), both the municipalities and the state took steps to relieve the housing shortage among the labouring classes, and the National Board of Social Welfare started to issue loans to municipalities for non-profit building. To qualify for the loans from the National Board of Social Welfare, the applicant had to utilize officially accepted plans; a collection of ready-made type plans was produced as an alternative to the practice of inspecting and amending plans drawn by the applicant. The plans were commissioned from the architect Elias Paalanen; copies were sold by the National Board of Social Welfare. In 1922 they were also published in a separate booklet *Pienasuntojen tyypipiirustuksia* (Type plans for small homes) that contained 11 types, and was issued in an edition of 1 000 copies. Four new types were added to the series the following year, and in 1924, both series were reissued as a joint publication.⁷⁶ The collection included both dwelling types and work drawings (Fig. 25). The purpose of the plans was to encourage the building of dwellings that were suitable to urban conditions, and were an adequately high standard architecturally

⁷⁵ Heinonen 1978,

⁷⁶ Elias Paalanen had experience of both type planning and single-family housing: he had designed type plans for Cooperative Wholesale shops for rural areas (published in *Rakennustaito* 1916) and won second prize in both Otava summer villa competition (1913) and the Vallila small home competition (1914). He also participated in the publication for model drawings for farm buildings (*Valikoima maatalousrakennusten piirustuksia* 1919). He had also designed workers' single-family houses, for example for the Haapakoski development of the Finnish Co-operative Wholesale Society. At the request of the Women's Housing Convention (1921), »a few female experts» took part in the final revision of the type plans. Paalanen 1916, 249–252; Paalanen 1924, 3–4; *Suomen Ensimmäisen Yleisen...* 1917. See also Nikula 1978, 113–114. Type plans were also used for small public buildings such as rural elementary schools. Nikula 1990, 113–114.

Yhdenperheentaloja. – Enfamiljshus.



25. Elias and Martti Paalanen, single-family house for the Ministry of Social Service, type I with kitchen, one room and entrance-hall passage. Elias Paalanen and his brother Martti had a joint architect office where the drawings were done. Paalanen 1924, p. 8.

and in terms of salubrity. The preface to the booklet drew attention to the fact that one and two-family housing in towns contained clear affinities with rural buildings and housing customs – affinities which were inappropriate to urban conditions. It posited a distinction between the city and the country without, however, describing the inappropriate rural features in any detail. In Finland, the agrarian system endured as the prevailing cultural structure for a long time, and its presence was still conspicuous in the 20th century, particularly in suburban timber housing.

Type plans were divided into five different series, or types; the eight single-family houses constituted the largest category.⁷⁷ The external architecture of the buildings was clear and simple, with windows divided into small square panes, and very little detail, in accordance with Classical conventions. All the buildings in this series have vertical weatherboarding. The houses have a clear rectangular shape, open porches and sometimes whitewashed highlights in the outside corners – all have saddle roofs. The arrangement of the facades is hierarchically dependent upon the size of the building: the larger houses have more details than the smallest houses which fairly clearly echo the »cottage tradition». The houses were meant to be built by the owner using traditional construction methods. The facades are regular and tend towards symmetry with their evenly distributed and identically sized windows. In addition to containing »national» features, the architectural idiom also refers back to 18th-century Finnish and Swedish wooden houses and small towns.⁷⁸ Classicism already involved the pursuit of the universality of application, anonymousness and simplicity – the subordination and humbling of the individual in the face of the totality.⁷⁹ Disciplined Classicism and features pointing to the 18th-century small towns and iron works are also common in Swedish suburbs and type planning of this period (*Fig. 26*).⁸⁰

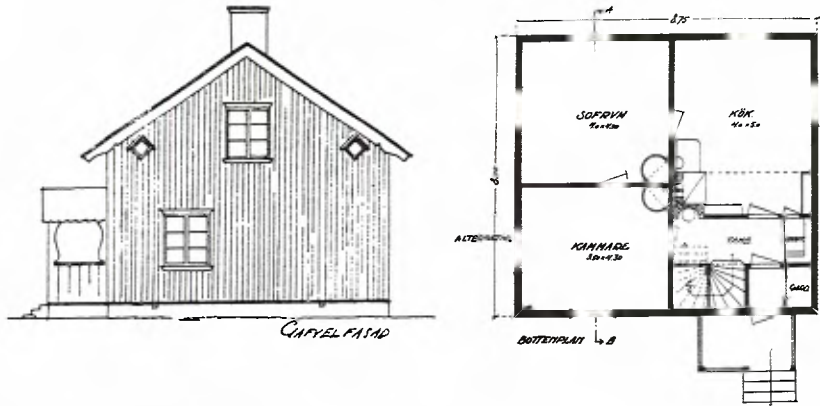
Type plans now particularly emphasized the arrangement of the kitchen and household work and the practicality and rationality of housing design. In addition to the individual components – window, door, porch and oven drawings, and plans for the garden – the above-mentioned publication also included kitchen interior drawings. The layout ranged from the

⁷⁷ The total number of type plans, including variations, was 22, consisting of 8 single-family houses, 5 two-family houses, 2 four-family houses, 4 larger multi-family houses and 3 row house types. Paalanen 1924.

⁷⁸ Nikula 1978, 118.

⁷⁹ Nikula 1981, 26.

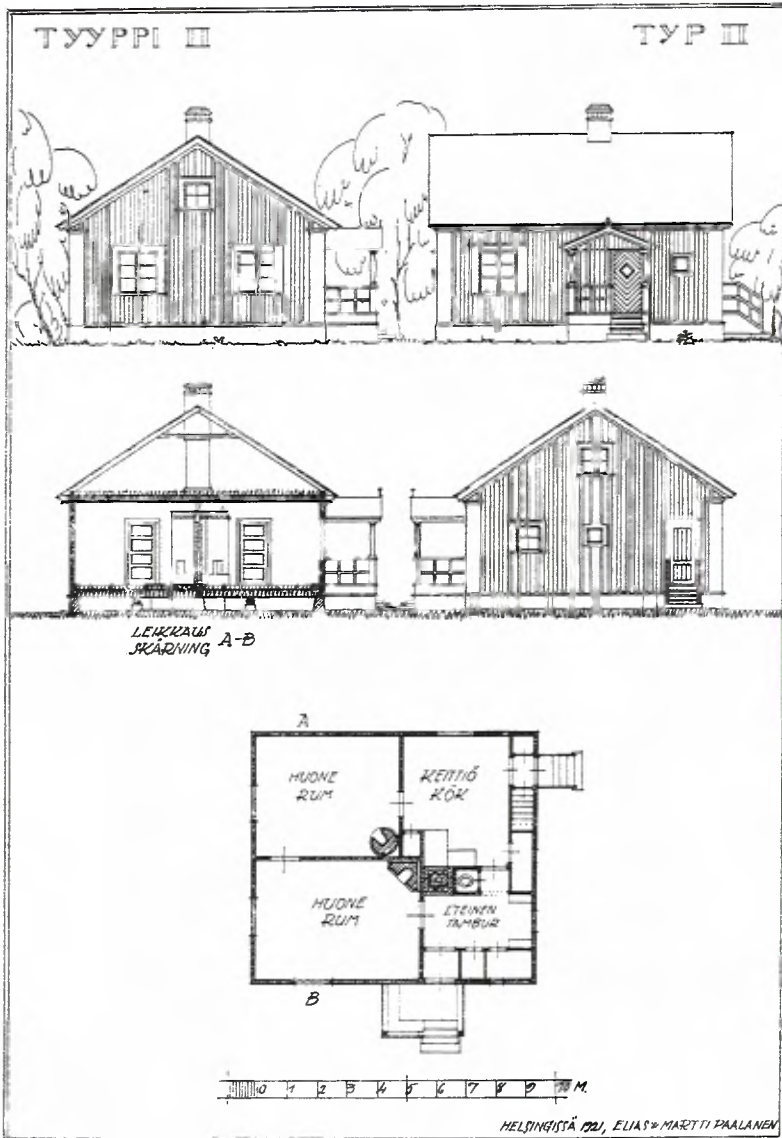
⁸⁰ E.g. Enskedalen (1919) and Äppelviken (1921) in Stockholm, the *Bygge och Bo* exhibition in Lidingsö (1925); see also *Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder* 1921.



26. Osvald Almqvist, worker single-family house (Domnavarvets järnverk). Elevation and floor plan of ground floor. Published in *Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder* 1921, figs. 72 and 77.

small one room and kitchen type to a house with four rooms, a kitchen and a servant's room – half the houses consisted of two rooms and a kitchen. The rooms are generally located on a single floor, but one and a half storey solutions that utilized the attic space were also common (3/8). The floor plan is clearly rectangular and the rooms are clearly delineated and form enclosed totalities; the rectangular rooms are either located side by side or in a square sequence (*Fig. 27*). The kitchens are large and the amenities vary – with one exception, the smallest houses do not even have a WC, whereas the two larger ones have both a bathroom and a WC. The dwellings were closely related to the housing practice of both the rural and urban labouring population. The living rooms are larger than the kitchen, although the kitchen too is spacious enough to serve as a rural-style multipurpose living room. Although the preface to the booklet stressed the differences between town and country, the plans themselves made little distinction between the two. The most common types comprise two rooms and a kitchen, and access into one of the rooms was from the entrance-hall passage; this room is the first from the front door, whereas the kitchen is at the rear of the house, and also has a separate entrance. The third room can only be accessed through the other rooms.

The Ministry of Social Service commissioned a set of new *Omakoti-rakennusten tyyppiäirustukset* (Type plans for private homes) in 1934, which were published with building instructions the following year; the



27. Elias Paalanen, single-family house for the Ministry of Social Service, type II with kitchen, two rooms and entrance-hall passage. Paalanen 1924, p. 9.

plans were specifically designed to qualify for the new single-family housing loans.⁸¹ Of the twelve plans published, nine fell into the smaller category (40–60 m²) entitled to a maximum (75 %) loan and three were larger (max. 100 m²) dwellings which qualified for a 30–40 % loan.⁸² Both the exterior architecture and the floor plan of the houses is different compared to Paalanen's previous collection (*Fig. 28*). Functionalist features may be detected in both the exterior and the arrangement of the interior space. Although the houses are of wooden construction, the plans do not highlight the quality of the material – the walls are smooth. The majority (8/12) have very gently sloping saddle roofs – or a lean-to roof, which at first glance looks like a flat roof.⁸³ The dimensions of the windows have increased. The irregular size and asymmetrical distribution of the windows is determined by the floor plan; the largest windows are in the living room. The strip window is common, and even the traditional windows composed of small square panes have acquired new proportions. Exteriors tend to be austere and ascetic; details are limited to small round windows at the gable end of some of the houses. All the houses have either a porch, the shape of which varies, or just a canopy above the door, marking the entrance. Two of the houses have a second floor; the rest are single storey. As with the previous drawings, efforts have been made to cheer up the appearance of the drawings, but the means employed are more meagre: a small or large tree has been drawn to one side of each house. The general volume of some of the plans recalls the Classical schemes of the previous collection, although the treatment of the facades and the details has changed.

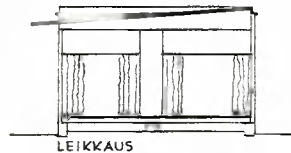
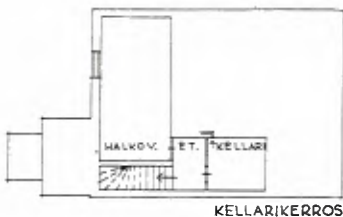
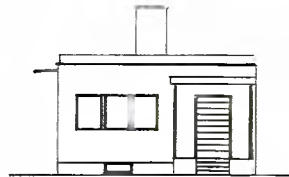
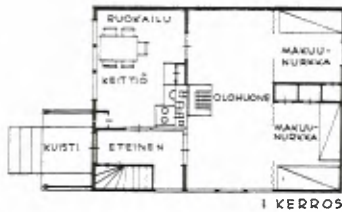
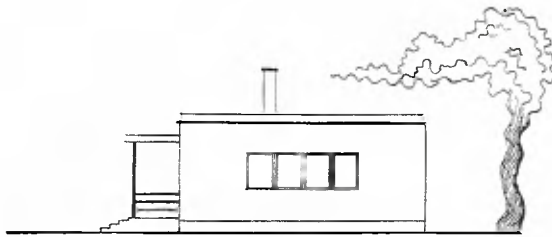
New Functionalist-flavoured design principles may also be discerned in the floor plans: the living room is generally the largest and most important room in the dwelling, whereas the bedrooms and kitchens are small (*Fig. 29*).⁸⁴ With the differentiation of the size of the rooms, a new spatial arrangement is also introduced: the rooms are no longer positioned »sche-

⁸¹ Paalanen 1935.

⁸² In addition to the single-family houses, plans for two semi-detached houses and one row house were also published.

⁸³ The Functionalist-style detached houses and single-family houses built in the Stockholm suburb Södra Ängby in the 1930s also project a flat-roofed impression, although they in fact have very gently sloping pitched roofs. Although very few Functionalist developments were built in Finland in the 1930s, the single-family housing area designed by Väinö Vähäkallio for workers at Imatra Kaukopää factory (1936) was pure Functionalism.

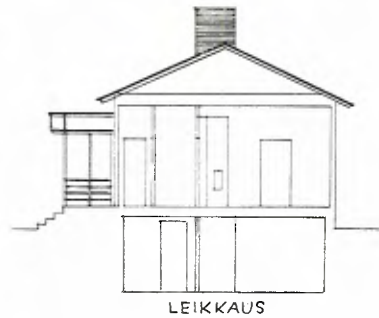
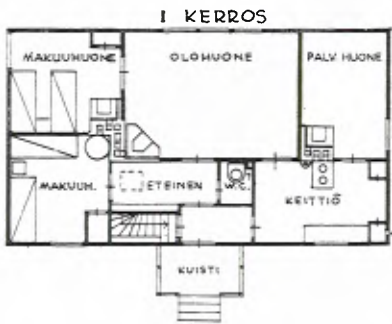
⁸⁴ The words *living room* and *bedroom* now appear in the plans, having previously simply been referred to as rooms.



28. Elias Paalanen, single-family house for the Ministry of Social Service, type I with kitchen, living room and two sleeping alcoves. Paalanen 1935, p. 7.

matically» in a row or square, or at least the scheme is different – the rooms seem to grow around the living room.⁸⁵ The living room is the centre of the house, the space for social interaction and family gatherings. The kitchen facilities are sometimes openly adjoined to the living room; most

⁸⁵ Despite the »free» arrangement, the floor plans of type 10 is reminiscent of the Carolinian plan.



29. Elias Paalanen, single-family house for the Ministry of Social Service, type X with kitchen, servant's room, living room, two bedrooms. Paalanen 1935, p. 16.

often, however, the kitchen is clearly demarcated as a separate unit. Dining is usually allocated to the kitchen or an alcove or corner in the living room. The spatial organization stresses functional differentiation and aims to facilitate familial conviviality, and also to allow the family members access to isolation and privacy inside the dwelling. The internal arrangement of the houses connotes not only Functionalist ideals but also the urban middle-class home with its servant's room. The kitchen-living room axis is crucial; the aim is to separate the bedrooms from these. While the smaller types of the previous collection were near the worker dwellings, the larger types of the new collection belong to the housing practice of the middle class.

The building instructions stressed the significance of light, fresh air and sun, and therefore the significance of the proper orientation of the building on the site: bedrooms to the east or south, living room to the south or west. The possibility of careful orientation on a private plot was also seen as one of the special advantages of the single-family house:

The single-family type offers several benefits: the availability of plenty of light, fresh air and sun, the option of arranging both the inside and outside of one's home in accordance with one's private tastes and needs and the reduced risk of contagion during epidemics. Moreover, living in one's own home induces a profound sense of domesticity that encourages thrift and fosters a sense of self-reliance and independence.⁸⁶

The design instructions stressed efficient household arrangements. Although neither the position of the kitchen in the dwelling nor its proper orientation were defined in the instructions as was done with the other rooms, much emphasis was placed on the fact that the kitchen should be designed in such a way that »household chores may be performed in the best possible way and without wasting time and effort.»⁸⁷ In contrast with the previous one, the new collection did not include specific plans for kitchen fittings. Amenities vary from one type to another; the basement usually includes a washroom and sometimes also a sauna, but only some buildings have a WC, and the larger houses (100 m²) have a bathroom as well as a washroom and WC. A servant's room – or a servant's corner beside or inside the kitchen – has also been included in some houses. In violation of the contemporary norms of hygiene, a bed has often also been located in the kitchen.

⁸⁶ Paalanen 1935, 25.

⁸⁷ Paalanen 1935, 26.

The type plans for small farms

Education and advice concerning rural domestic building is an interesting topic closely related to the type-planned houses of the 1940s. In rural areas, traditions of habitation and building changed even more slowly than in the towns, but in the second half of the 19th century and especially in the 20th century, rural housing construction also became the target of systematic educational and advisory projects. However, it took a long time before ordinary rural domestic buildings »became» architecture. National Romanticism predisposed many architects to admire the rural vernacular building tradition without actually developing an interest in rural housing design. At the turn of the century architects were worried about the degeneration of rural vernacular building tradition and in 1903 *Rakentaja* magazine arranged an architectural competition for farm plans.⁸⁸ The production of model plans for peasant buildings already began at the end of the 19th century, and after the turn of the century, model homes for smallholders were presented for review in agricultural exhibitions, first one designed by Yrjö Sadeniemi in Kuopio in 1906 (*Figs. 30 and 31*).⁸⁹

In 1864, the agricultural society of the provinces of Uusimaa and Häme (founded 1854) published the first collection of model drawings of agricultural buildings. Designed by G. Th. Chiewitz, the collection was published in both Finnish and Swedish.⁹⁰ The plans followed the »international picturesque villa style» of the mid-19th century, and openly deviated from the conventions of rural vernacular building.⁹¹ The next manual on rural building was published in 1891. Entitled »Agricultural Buildings» (*Maatalousrakennuksia, Sw. Lantmannabyggnader*) and composed by provincial agronomist Alfred Sjöström, the book appeared in two volumes and was

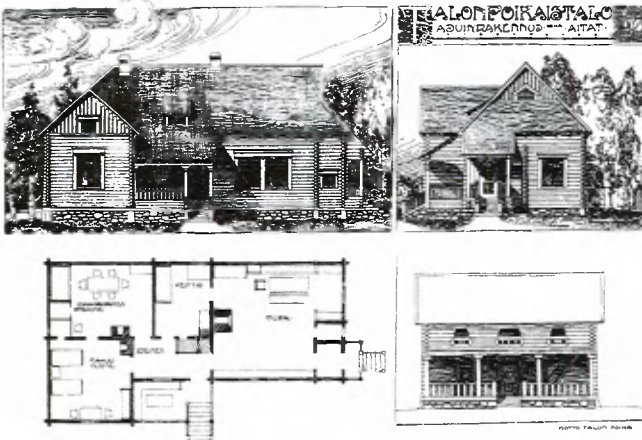
⁸⁸ Published also in 1903 (*Talonpoikaistalo sisältä ja ulkoa*). As a rule, advice and education on rural construction was not provided by architects, whereas master builders were often employed for this purpose. Lahti 1970, 331–335; Mertenen 1989, 30; Wäre 1989, 115.

⁸⁹ Published in *Rakennustaito* 10/1906, 136–138. The house was reviewed also in agricultural magazine *Pellervo* as more suitable for gentleman's villa than smallholder's home. Wäre 1989, 115.

⁹⁰ *Plan- och fasadritningar till lantmannabyggnader; Pohja- ja ulkopuolenkaavoja maamiesten rakennuksiin*. The plans were based on the winning submissions to a competition arranged in 1862, which had attracted a total of 4 entries. Utility buildings constructed according to these plans exist at least in Hakoinen manor in Janakala. See Alanko – Knapas manuscript 1985, MV.

⁹¹ See Viljo 1985, 179. According to Lars Pettersson, rural building began to degenerate at the end of the 19th century, when the vernacular architecture was already past its most rich and varied phase. Pettersson 1958, 171–179.

Palkintokipille talonpoikaistalon piirustuksista.



30. Paavo Uotila (architect student), first prize in the architectural competition for peasant houses arranged by *Rakentaja* magazine in 1903. Exterior and floor plan of the main building (with main room, kitchen, living room, room, bedroom), exterior of granary. Published in *Talonpoikaistalo sisältä ja ulkoa* 1903.

Pienviljelijän koti.

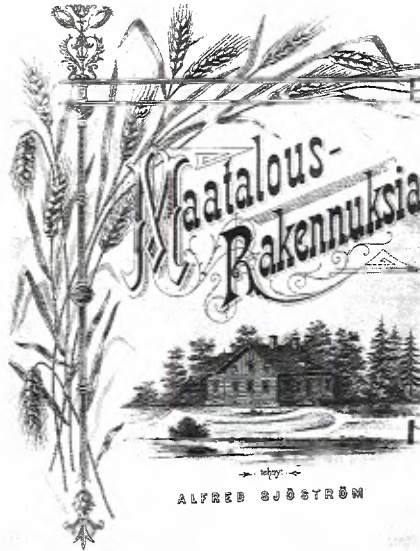
Kokonaan mallitakuu viikkokustannuksella Kuopion Maanviljelijäseuran toimesta.



Asuinrakennus.



31. Model home for small holders by Yrjö Sadeniemi, presented at the agricultural exhibition in Kuopio in 1906. Published in *Rakennustaito* 10/1906, p. 136.



32. Cover of Alfred Sjöström's book *Maatalousrakennuksia* (Agricultural buildings) 1891.

the first Finnish handbook on agricultural building. It consisted of a volume on construction science (Vol I), and a collection of model drawings of agricultural buildings, which included both utility buildings and dwellings (Vol II); the book was also meant to be used as a textbook in the so-called industrial schools (Fig. 32). The aim was to enhance the aesthetic quality of the buildings, while retaining conventional construction. Sjöström's guide discussed different construction materials and details, but the actual model drawings did not include work instructions. Most of the plans were of livestock shelters and utility buildings, and the house plans ranged from large manorial residences to cottager's cabins (*mökkiläistupa*) and worker's dwellings. The working-class houses included smaller buildings designed for families (one or two rooms and a kitchen) or so-called farm-hand's cottages (*renkitupa*) designed for unmarried workers; there were no separate buildings for maids.

The floor plans of the smaller rural dwellings were based on a large multipurpose main room, and always also included a small room, a porch, a dairy, a larder and wardrobe, and often also a separate kitchen. The cottagers' cabins offered the same rooms on a smaller scale. The multipurpose main room was the actual »living room» in which the inhabitants

would work, eat, gather and sleep. The small room was either used by the master and mistress of the house or served as a guest room or sick chamber. Much was made of the importance of having a separate kitchen, which protected the housekeeping sphere from disturbance and distraction. The separate rooms bestowed privacy and separated the master and mistress of the house from the rest of the household, and segregated those who were visiting, sick or women (i.e. »Others»). In the larger houses, the rooms were positioned side by side in two rows; the smaller houses had traditional rooms, but their floor plans did not resemble existing patterns. The houses had quiet exteriors with saddle roofs, timber cladding and little in the way of decoration; however, despite the traditional features, the facades also departed from the predominant conventions (*Fig. 33*).⁹²

More systematic rural construction consultation began at the beginning of the 20th century, when the Central Union of Agricultural Societies began its work in 1906. Agricultural advisement and education were important from the start, but actually building advice remained a minor sector until the 1920s. However, the first post of »agricultural master builder» was created in the province of Northern Karelia (Joensuu) already in 1904 (*Fig. 34*).⁹³

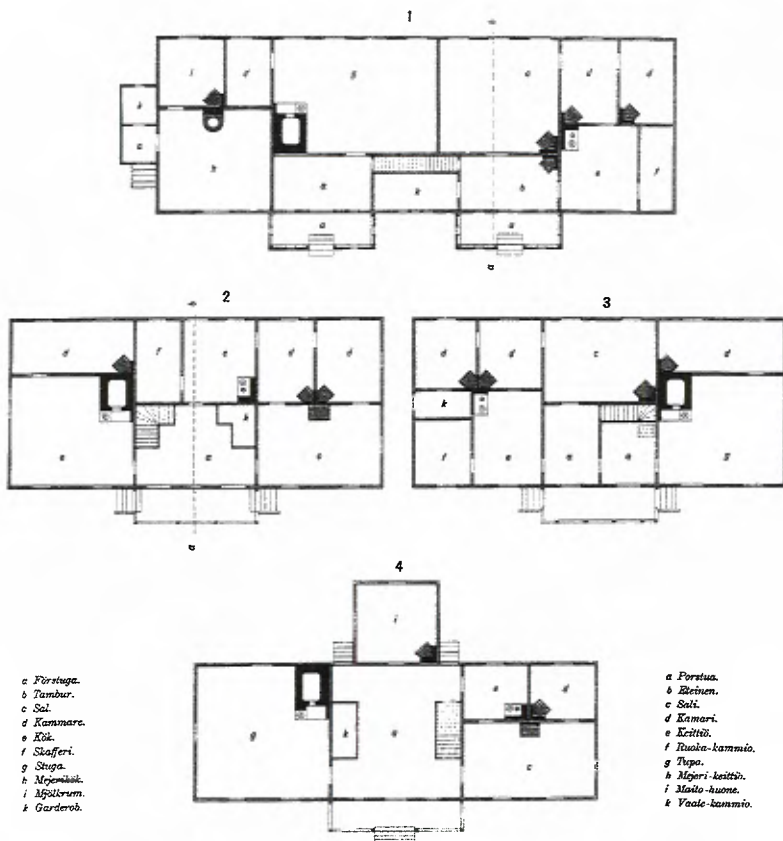
In the 1920s and '30s, small holdings became the staple of Finnish agriculture and visibly altered the rural milieu; at the same time, rural areas became the target of social and ethical guidance and education. The changes taking place in agricultural production techniques also gave a boost to construction activities.⁹⁴ In 1921 and 1922, the Central Union of Agricultural Societies organized type planning competitions for rural housing, which provided the basis for a collection gathered up in 1922 containing plans for 16 houses, livestock shelters, a sauna and a kiln. The plans could be bought through, for example, local agricultural societies, but they were not actually published.⁹⁵ In 1928, the State Board of Land Settlement published a booklet entitled *Maaseudun pienasuntojen tyyppipiirustuksia* (Type drawings of rural small homes) specifically designed for smallholders – the collection only includes plans that would both qualify for loans issued by

⁹² Sjöström 1891.

⁹³ During the 1920s and '30s, the number of building consultants increased; in 1920, there were 21, and by 1939 there were 51. Mertanen 1989, 28.

⁹⁴ Despite social and structural changes, the rural areas remained rural. Siipi 1967, 98–100; on rural building in the 1920s and '30s see Nikula 1990, 147–149.

⁹⁵ The plans sold well. A single set of plans cost FIM 10–50, and the whole collection could be had for FIM 550; by 1921, sales already totalled FIM 8 000. Mertanen 1989, 43. Some of the plans have been published in the collection Räsänen 1925.

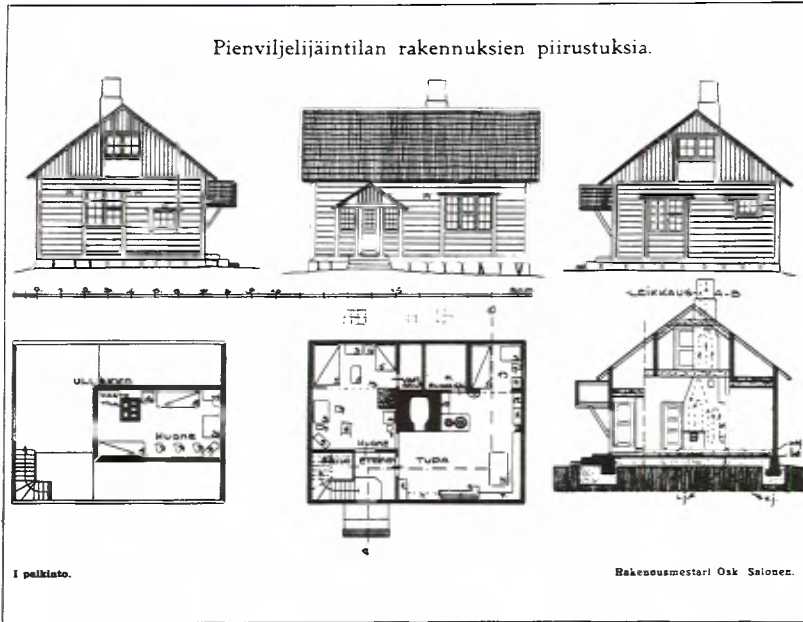


33. Alfred Sjöström, floor plans for farms. A entrance-hall passage, b entrance, c parlour (*salī*), d room (*kamari*), e kitchen, f pantry, g multipurpose main room (*tupa*), h dairy kitchen (*meijerikeittiö*), i milk room (*maitohuone*), k clothes room (*vaatekammio*). Sjöström 1891.

the housing fund and be suited for rural conditions.⁹⁶ Some are low, single storey houses with Classical details, they recall the rural cottage tradition, with its multipurpose main room and back chamber (*Fig. 35*).⁹⁷ On

⁹⁶ *Maaseudun pienasuntojen...* 1928.

⁹⁷ Types 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10.



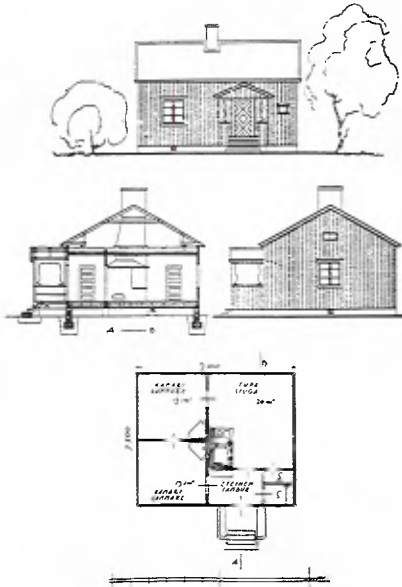
34. Advice on rural construction was mainly given by master builders, who also planned the majority of agricultural buildings. Osk. Salonen (master builder), model plan for a small holding with main room (*tupa*) and smaller room (*kamari*). Published in *Valikoima maatalousrakennusten piirustuksia* 1919.

the other hand the higher cube-shaped one-and-a-half storey-houses, with their habitable attics, also contain references to the idiom of the suburban villa. The houses have conventional windows composed of small square panes. Type 9 has no porch but the rest of the houses have an open porch sheltered by a saddle roof.

What most clearly distinguished these houses from the types meant for town environments is the layout rather than the exterior. The focus of the design in all the houses is the large multipurpose room, and there are also one or two additional small rooms next to the main room – sometimes there is even a second or third room in the attic. The floor plan thus adheres to rural housing practice. Type plans designed for rural or urban areas in the 1920s are relatively similar in terms of external appearance. In accordance with the stylistic conventions of the day, they all have quiet

TYYPPI 3.

TYP 3.

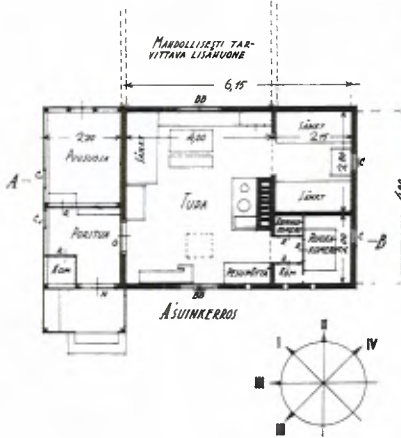
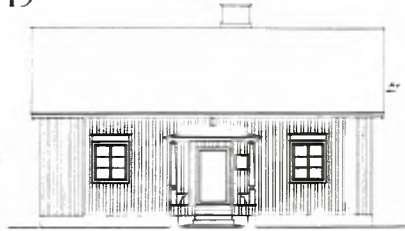


35. The State Board of Land Settlement, rural small home type 3 with main room and two smaller rooms. *Maaseudun pientasuntojen tyyppipiirustuksia* 1928, p. 12.

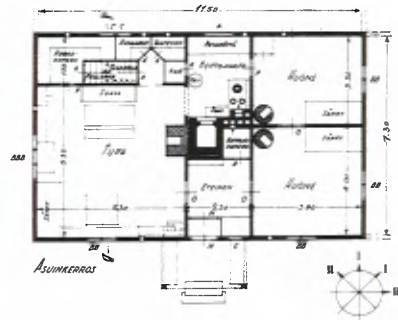
Classical facades. Even the floor plans share the same general principle, featuring either two rooms placed side by side (or in a sequence) or, if the house is larger, variations of the four-room plan. In the disciplined and ascetic classicism the basic floor plan was a clear rectangle. The only difference is that in houses meant for small farms, the main room which also serves as a kitchen is the largest room of the dwelling, whereas in the suburban models the family room is largest. The large kitchen of the town types is a natural outgrowth of rural housing practice. The rural type plans often exploited older construction techniques (logs and boarding), whereas houses in towns increasingly used a plank and board construction. With its aims of rationality and practicality, Classicism suited rural building well and remained the predominant rural style also in the 1930s.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Nikula 1990, 148–149. No Functionalist plans existed for rural buildings, and in the 1930s construction in the countryside was in any case less vigorous than in the '20s – the Classical type plans were later reprinted and were still in use in the '30s..

113



36. Heikki Siikonen, model plan for small farm, type 101. Copy MV.



37. Heikki Siikonen, model plan for small farm, type 113. Main room, kitchen section, two rooms, could be extended to the attic. Copy MV.

Heikki Siikonen's plan for a farmhouse centres around a large multipurpose room which provides a centre around which the other rooms are grouped.⁹⁹ Both the room types and the spatial arrangement spring directly out of rural housing tradition. The layout varies, ranging from a large main room and adjoining sleeping sections or alcoves (type 101) to larger schemes with a main room and separate cooking section, two rooms and an attic room (Type 113) (Figs. 36 and 37). The larger houses also have servants' rooms. The buildings are either single-storey, or higher, with one

⁹⁹ Type plans by Siikonen from the the 1930s, MV; Siikonen 1931. On Siikonen's plans and manuals for farm buildings see also Knapas – Ivars 1991, 117–132; Alan-ko – Knapas manuscript 1985 in MV. Cf. Nieminen – Esti 1931, plans also based on a multipurpose main room.

PIENVILJELIJÄIN KESKUSLIITON JULKAISUJA

PIENVILJELIJÄN RAKENNUSOPAS



PIENVILJELIJÄIN KESKUSLIITON

TOIMESTA LAATINUT

HEIKKI SIIKONEN

38. Heikki Siikonen, site plan of small farm in which buildings are grouped around a rectangular closed yard. Cover of Siikonen's *Pienviljelijän rakennusopas* 1926. Similar plans also in Siikonen 1931; Siikonen 1942.

and a half storeys, but have no basements. The large main room is usually the site of the various forms of household labour – two houses also offer additional workspace such as a carpentry workshop and a room for cleaning fish.

In constructing rural buildings we must eschew all temporary solutions and superfluous eccentricity and keep our eye instead on sensible and practical considerations. We are, after all, erecting permanent shelters for a stable and steady agriculture, not temporary buildings such as villas. Therefore, the practicality, expediency and beauty of our buildings must be of a permanent and not ephemeral kind. Every inch of our buildings should harbour a sense of serious and confident life securely rooted in the soil.¹⁰⁰

The ideology behind *Pientilojen rakennuspiirustuksia* (Building plans for small farms 1931, repr. 1932 and 1943) and the Building handbooks for smallholders by master builder Heikki Siikonen centres around the independent, self-sufficient smallholder.¹⁰¹

In addition to individual buildings for smallholders, Siikonen also proposed site plans for entire farms, with the aim of designing harmonious and self-enclosed settings: the buildings are grouped around a rectangular yard, which thus encloses a separate totality (*Fig. 38*). The architectural features accentuate permanence and continuity, echoing and partly revising the rural vernacular tradition. In construction guidance for rural areas the recommendation from the beginning of the 1920s onwards was to concentrate the separate buildings (common vernacular tradition) in a uniform yard milieu for both aesthetic and practical reasons.

The agricultural instruction organization run by the Central Union of Agricultural Societies and its local offices, and the resettlement project of the State Board of Land Settlement in the interwar period, provided a ready-made framework for reconstruction in the 1940s and '50s.

¹⁰⁰ Siikonen 1929, 6.

¹⁰¹ Siikonen 1929; Siikonen 1926, repr. 1930

4.3. Functionalism: the type, the standard and the »new dwelling«

The idea of the type, industrial mass production and the search for the basic elements of architectural space were central ideas in Functionalist architecture and the Modern Movement of the 1920s and '30s. Functionalism¹⁰² also led to the establishment and distribution of new housing concepts, such as the *minimum dwelling* (*Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*) in Finland and the other Nordic countries. In Finland, Functionalist doctrines were first presented to the audience at large in 1929 at the Turku exhibition and in 1930 at the Rationalization of the small dwelling (*Pien-asunnon rationalisointi*) exhibition, the theme for which was borrowed from the 1929 Frankfurt exhibition entitled *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*. The term Functionalism entered the Finnish vocabulary in the late 1930s, and referred to the new, supposedly rational architecture.¹⁰³

Nowadays Functionalism denotes a clear stylistic and historical phenomenon associated with a more or less consistent idiom and overt ideology.¹⁰⁴ Functionalism was, from the beginning, aligned with an open commitment to internationalism. It conflicted with the so-called Finnish nationalist ideology of the 1930s, and insulated architecture from the nationalist sentiment that affected the other arts.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand Functionalism was regarded as the style of the new independent and national Finland. In Fin-

¹⁰² The concept Functionalism is here employed in parallel with Modernism as a historical term denoting architecture that was mainly produced in the 1920s and '30s in Continental Europe, and in the 1930s in Northern Europe, and which was thought to express a »new«, modern style and principles. In Finland and the other Nordic countries, Functionalism is a more general and historically precise concept than Modernism for the purpose of describing the »new architecture« of the interwar period. Thus the Functionalists were those architects who regarded themselves as »Modern« and who openly advocated the »new architectures«. In Finland, the actual Functionalist period was brief, but certain Functionalist features may also be seen in the architecture of the 1940s and '50s. A conceptual and stylistic distinction must be made between interwar Modernism and the subsequent architecture of the 1960s and '70s and the so-called International Style. Although the architecture of this period continued to subscribe to some of the ideas promulgated by Functionalism, it nevertheless constitutes a separate social, historical and aesthetic phenomenon. Cf. for example Kaj Nyman's *Husens språk*, in which all Modern architecture from the 1920s to the present is labelled Functionalist. Nyman 1989. See Saarikangas 1990, 74–76.

¹⁰³ Heinonen 1986, 2–4.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ On the Finnish nationalist ideology between the wars, see Klinge 1972, 170–185.

land in the 1930s, social housing production and the project to reform the dwelling according to Functionalist ideals did not acquire the same thematic prominence as it did in, for example, Sweden, Germany and Holland.¹⁰⁶ The deterioration of the economic situation in the 1930s stimulated theoretical interest in housing reform, but the new ideals were not realized in more than a handful of dwellings or housing developments.¹⁰⁷ These included, for example, the Olympic Village (1939–40) designed by Hilding Ekelund and Martti Välikangas for the planned Helsinki Olympics in 1940 and the housing estate at Sunila factory (1936–39) by Alvar Aalto (often mentioned in architectural writing as the first fulfilment of Functionalist town planning in Finland), as well as the hitherto relatively unknown military housing and barracks built at the behest of the Ministry of Defence in the 1930s.¹⁰⁸ The last-mentioned projects constitute perhaps the most imposing example of the severity, heroism and masculinity of the »white Functionalism», despite the fact that a large number of the buildings were designed by women.¹⁰⁹

The designers and theoreticians at the forefront of the avant-garde architectural thinking of Europe were according to common view Walter Gropius (1883–1969), Le Corbusier (1887–1965), Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969) and, in Finland, Alvar Aalto (1898–1976). With the exception of Mies van der Rohe, these architects all focus their texts specifically on the housing question and on the design of housing developments: the »new dwelling» (*Die Neue Wohnung*). Texts written by the above-mentioned figures and their Finnish colleagues convey the impression that the authors feel they are taking part in the creation of a new, indispensable view of the dwelling; many texts also contained a strong propagandist incentive.¹¹⁰

The avant-garde architectural thinking of the 1920s nurtured the myth of an architecture independent of tradition. Functionalism proclaimed it-

¹⁰⁶ Heinonen 1986, 25–26. A lucid account of the appearance of Functionalism in Finland.

¹⁰⁷ Heinonen 1986, 208–209.

¹⁰⁸ On the latter, see Mäkinen 1987, 167–189; Mäkinen 1991, 159–176.

¹⁰⁹ Between 1927 and 1939, 9 female and 13 male architects were in the service of the Construction Bureau of the Finnish Ministry of Defence. For example Elsa Arokallio, Elsi Borg, Martta Martikainen-Ypyä, Aino-Kyllikki Halme, Märtha Lilius-Tallroth. Mäkinen 1987, 186–188.

¹¹⁰ The texts primarily addressed other architects and decision-makers. Housing exhibitions were used to proclaim the ideas to the public at large. In Finland, also e.g. Bruno Taut was important. The present study does not concern itself with the differences that exist between the views of Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius or other avant-garde architects of the 1920s and '30s.

self anti-historical – its central aim was to discard historical styles and to dissociate itself from the past. This was self-conscious Modernism: the present era was regarded as different from the past, as an entirely new epoch. The new age, *l'esprit nouveau*, demanded a new architecture that would reflect the spirit of the era. But according to Anthony Vidler, this very notion of the style of an age, and of the harmony of period and style, associates Functionalism with 19th-century theories of the *Zeitgeist*.¹¹¹ The new architectural expression was thought to be detached from tradition and free of historical meanings. The aim was to create a dwelling suited to modern life, and to improve housing conditions. The transformed society and the new lifestyles also demanded a new conception of the dwelling.¹¹² In fact, Functionalism was a deeply historical movement.

A conscious effort was made to create a new type of dwelling in which rooms had clearly defined and demarcated functions. Ideally, functional differentiation implies that each activity is clearly confined to a space of its own. The goal was classless habitation – the attainment of a democratic dwelling for all individuals in all locations.¹¹³ Architecture was a form of social utopianism. Housing design was seen as an instrument of social reform.¹¹⁴

Standardization and industrial mass production emerge as central themes. This mass production of architecture is specifically focused on housing. Standardization is seen as the key solution for lowering the cost and improving the efficiency of housing production, and for alleviating housing conditions.¹¹⁵ Planning involved a prominent moral dimension – the idea of the absolute moral indispensability of the economic products that standardization was expected to deliver.¹¹⁶ Much weight was placed on the uniqueness of spatial objects – yet the aim was to industrialize and seri-

¹¹¹ Vidler 1979, 2; see also Tafuri 1980, 11–14. The notion of an architecture independent of tradition and the harmony of period and architectural idiom were strong also in architectural histories of the period (Giedion, Pevsner, Banham) and continued in teaching in the 1940s and '50s. Colquhoun 1983.

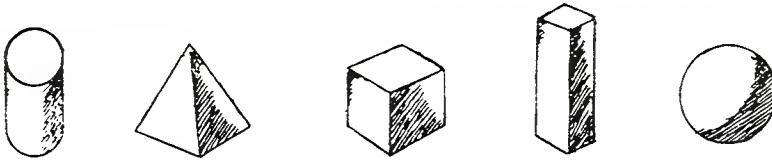
¹¹² Gropius 1928, 56–57; Le Corbusier 1923, 187.

¹¹³ Gropius 1935, 36–37; Le Corbusier 1923, 89–96. Many of the ideas promulgated by Functionalism were not in themselves new but had roots in the preceding architectural tradition, particularly the garden city movement.

¹¹⁴ This is also the connotation of Le Corbusier's exclamation «*Architecture ou Révolution!*», Le Corbusier 1923, 227. Functionalism is linked with the idealist and utopian traditions, and with the optimistic »progressive« architectural schemes of the 19th century in which the dwelling enjoyed pride of place. Choay 1965, 16–19.

¹¹⁵ Gropius 1935, 39–40; Le Corbusier 1923, 187–222. See also Moneo 1978, 32.

¹¹⁶ Gropius 1935, 40. See also Watkin 1978, 27–41.



39. Le Corbusier, pure shapes: cylinder, triangle, square, circle, rectangle. Le Corbusier 1923.

alize production. The industrial prototype, such as Le Corbusier's *Domino* would facilitate endless duplication. Industrial mass production was one of the key concepts of *l'esprit nouveau*.¹¹⁷ Aside from cost efficiency and speed, the background behind the idea of mass production has also been seen to involve the idea of the »duplicability« of art put forward by the Cubists in the 1910s, whereby the original work of art is no more valuable than its copy, and the ideal would be an art that lent itself to production in multiple copies. It was generally assumed in the 1920s that only geometrically simple shapes were suited for cheap serial production.¹¹⁸ The demand for mass production and standardization went hand in hand with the search for the permanent elements of architecture – the type – and with the idea of the objectivity of architecture. Architecture was seen as a virtually ahistorical and neutral method of technical creation that could be used to bring about a totality composed of pure shapes (triangle, square, circle) and proportions (*Fig. 39*).¹¹⁹ In Functionalism, discarding historical style was itself a means of creating style and meaning; the works have an idealistic colouring, and irradiate faith in the power of architecture. There is a conspicuous belief in progress, modern technology and reason. Rationality connoted humanity. On the other hand the idiom that was regarded as »rational« or »funtional« was associated with industrial production methods.

¹¹⁷ See for example Moneo 1978, 32.

¹¹⁸ Banham 1960, 206; Moos 1971, 54; Le Corbusier 1923, 189–222.

¹¹⁹ Banham 1960, 162; Moos 1971, 54; Le Corbusier 1923, *passim*. According to Rosalind Krauss, the Modernist aesthetic is an aesthetic of originality, which yet paradoxically entails repetition and rehearsal. The grid and repeatable geometric shapes embody the originality and distinctiveness of Modernism. Krauss 1986, 157–162.

Even if the idiom and architectural style of Functionalism did break with the past, many of its tenets were nevertheless continuous with tradition.¹²⁰ The Functionalist idea of the dwelling combined the aesthetic and practical aspects – which were previously seen as opposites – into a new totality. The idea of the minimum dwelling and of the delineation of minimum requirements – the »existence minimum« – was a crucial theme in Functionalism. The definition of the »minimum dwelling« was also on the agenda at the second *CIAM* conference in Frankfurt in 1929.¹²¹ Gropius' view of the minimum dwelling was based on the definition and satisfaction of putative biological minimum requirements. The dwelling was expected to provide its occupants with a certain vital minimum quantity of space, air, light and heat and it had to fulfil these requirements without functioning as a constraint – it was to be »*ein minimum modus vivendi an stelle eines modus non moriendi.*«¹²² The idea of habitation comprised eating, cooking, sleeping, washing and storage, and all activities required a specific, separate space.¹²³ The most important purpose of the dwelling was to facilitate familial conviviality and provide individual family members with opportunities for isolation and rest. Ideally, each family member would have a separate bedroom.¹²⁴ It was thought that life was becoming increasingly collective, and that society was taking responsibility for some of the old functions of the dwelling.¹²⁵ Functionalism sought to differentiate the city into separate districts (residential, industrial, traffic, public services). It also established habitation, work and circulation as the (interrelated) main purposes of the modern city.¹²⁶ Functional differentiation of urban space is also the basic idea behind Tony Garnier's plan *Une Cité Industrielle* (begun in 1901, published in 1917).¹²⁷

¹²⁰ On the other hand, recent discussions have highlighted the previously neglected relation between the early Modernism and the Classical tradition. A strong Classical undercurrent has been detected in the works of Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, for instance. Similarly, Alvar Aalto's work in the beginning of the 1920s was explicitly Classical. The »pioneers of Modernism« had all been trained in the spirit of Classical architecture. See for example Vidler 1979; Rowe 1976 (1950), 39; Porphyrios 1982.

¹²¹ *CIAM= Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne*, founded in 1928. The idea of the »minimum dwelling« was launched at an exhibition arranged in connection with the second *CIAM* conference, entitled *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*.

¹²² Gropius 1928, 58.

¹²³ *Der Fragebogen I* 1928, 57–58.

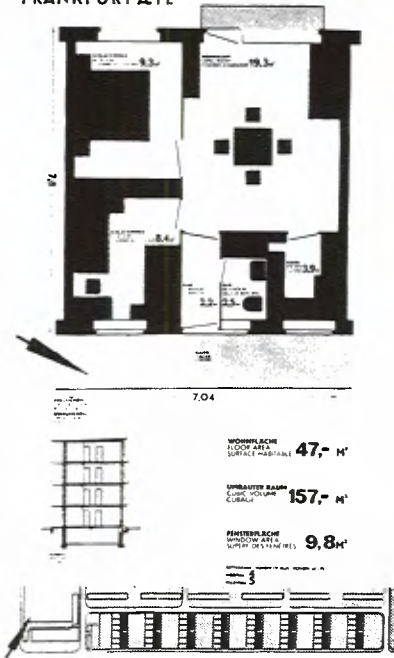
¹²⁴ Gropius 1928, 57–58.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* Also Le Corbusier 1923, 187–222.

¹²⁶ Le Corbusier : *demeurer, travailler, passer.*

¹²⁷ Garnier 1919. In sociological studies, differentiation of the various spheres of life has been seen as a characteristic feature of modern society. E.g. Elias 1978.

FRANKFURT A.M.



40. Functionalist minimum dwelling in »Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum« exhibition in Frankfurt in 1979. Steinmann 1979, p. 69.

For people in cramped housing, Functionalism meant more space; for the middle class it brought contraction and concentration.¹²⁸ The floor area of the minimum dwelling was set at 50–60 m².¹²⁹ The norm that emerged was a dwelling that included a relatively large family room, small bedroom/workrooms, a relatively small kitchen and washing and storage spaces (Fig. 40). The drift was away from the multiple spaces of the sumptuous bourgeois dwelling, with its main hall, dining room, library, master’s room,

¹²⁸ In Finland in the 1930s, this new modern dwelling was only available to the middle class, but it spread among the entire population and became the normal type of housing after the Second World War, particularly through the rapid large-scale production of suburban prefabricated housing during the 1960s and ’70s.

¹²⁹ In Germany, the planning was based on the norm of a family of four or five; in the late 1920s, the average family there had 4.5 members. Gropius 1928, 57. See Heinonen 1978, 90. Cf. Aalto’s suggested plans for a 4–5 persons’ dwelling at the *Pienasunnon rationalisointi* (Rationalization of the small dwelling) exhibition 1930. Aalto 1930, 24–25.

servants' rooms, bedrooms, kitchen, halls and corridors. More efficient utilization of space in flats consisting of a single room, or a single room and kitchen, was also encouraged. Le Corbusier urged people to choose smaller dwellings than their parents had.¹³⁰ Alvar Aalto voiced a similar plan in Finland:

Let the real object of our work be small dwelling, not a luxury building. As a fruit of our labours, members of the 250 m² bourgeoisie might one day wish to become 60 m² human beings – this prospect is within easy reach... What renders the small dwelling feasible is the idea that some of the activities of its inhabitants will move outside – into communal rooms and spaces such as schools, sports fields, libraries, cinemas, concert and lecture halls, and so on.¹³¹

Although written discussions stressed the possibility that standardization offered an opportunity of creating different dwelling types for different occupants and types of inhabitant, the family with children remained the main unit and norm in planning.¹³²

The »new pure and white« architectural ideology constituted a point of interchange between the social reality of housing – the growing slums of the modern industrial world – and aesthetics. Various writings regularly reiterated the importance of sunlight and clean air, and demanded that sun and air should be made the basis of housing design. Sunlight was seen to be directly linked with salubrity and hygiene – it was thought to kill bacteria. The idiom and clean white hue of Functionalist architecture were part and parcel with the ideals of healthiness – light and clean equals healthy. Hygiene and tidiness were emphasized in planning, and the aim was to maximize solar gain in each room during the time of day when it was most often used. This required proper orientation of the individual rooms: bedrooms east, and a family room facing south or west. Rationality and expediency were emphasized during planning, so as to save time and labour, the measures adopted primarily focused on the kitchen.

The new architecture was modelled on machines, ships, cars and aeroplanes. The minimum dwelling was associated with Le Corbusier's idea of the house as a residential machine: »*la maison est une machine à habiter.*«¹³³ Le Corbusier expected the dwelling to serve the needs of modern

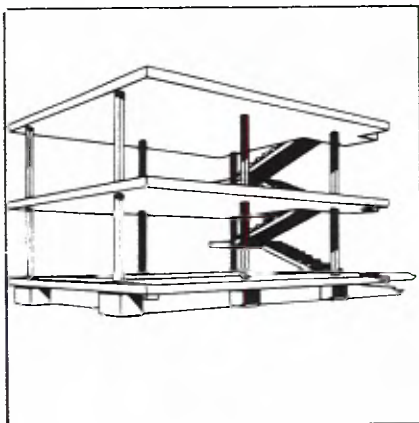
¹³⁰ Le Corbusier 1923, 96.

¹³¹ Aalto 1930, 24–25.

¹³² Aalto 1930, 24–25; Le Corbusier (1928) 1979, 201–203.

¹³³ Le Corbusier 1923, 83. The analogy between architecture and the machine has its roots in French Enlightenment architecture. Moos 1971, 58. The comparison between the dwelling and the machine had already been put forward in a French ar-

41. Le Corbusier, Dom-ino 1914). house type of reinforced concrete skeleton designed for the needs reconstruction. Moos 1978, p. 35.



man, and to function as accurately and faultlessly as he thought machines did. Therefore the dwelling first had to be defined and divided into basic units for which norms could be created.¹³⁴ Some equivalent of the efficient serial production used in, for example, the automobile industry was also to be introduced in the construction sector. Early on, Le Corbusier designed »prototypes« for a single-family dwelling (cf. prototypes of aeroplanes, cars etc.): Dom-ino (1914–15), Maison Monol (1922) and Citrohan (1921) and, later, the Unité d’Habitation (1947–52) – a ready-made unit for multi-fold duplication in high-rise construction.¹³⁵ To promote serial production, he also designed the Modulor proportional system, which was based on the average male figure.¹³⁶ Dom-ino, a frame system of reinforced concrete construction, was designed in response to the rehousing crisis at the beginning of the First World War, in 1914 (Fig. 41).¹³⁷ The name Citrohan is a reference to Citroën – the automobile, the archetypal machine of the new age. The idiom of Le Corbusier’s buildings also symbolized the ideals of rationality and economical design.

chitectural encyclopedia published in 1853: »Une maison, c’est un instrument, c’est une machine.« *Encyclopedie d’architecture*, mai 1853, compte rendu d’un traité d’architecture par M. Léance Reynaud, par Adolphe Lance. Cited in *Politiques de l’habitat* 1977, 306.

¹³⁴ Le Corbusier 1923, 89–96.

¹³⁵ Le Corbusier – Jeanneret 1937, 23–26, 30–31.

¹³⁶ Le Corbusier 1948.

¹³⁷ See Gregh 1979, 61.

What were regarded as the most ideal building types were the single-family house (which stressed domestic privacy) and the tall 10–12 storey apartment block (the most cost-effective solution).¹³⁸ Inside, the high-rise flat and the single-family house were designed alike.

The call for standardization, the belief in the machine and the analogy between the dwelling and the machine were linked with the idea of types – the effort to create and discover the universally applicable, ubiquitous, objective and repeatable building unit. According to Reyner Banham, architects aimed towards a type and a norm that would be stable: they thought that the process of developing a type was finite and could be completed. The notion of the type (*maison-type, objet-type, homme-type*) was particularly central to Le Corbusier's work. The aim was to design a dwelling that accurately catered for human needs – it was thus necessary to begin by analysing and defining these needs. The basic human needs were seen to be biological and therefore universal: »Tous les hommes ont mêmes besoins.»¹³⁹ Accordingly, much weight was placed in the internationality of architecture and it was argued that similar dwellings would suit all people and all locations. The goal was the discovery of the »basic cell» behind all habitation, which could serve as the touchstone of all building.¹⁴⁰ With industrialized serial production, the abstract model of the 19th century became tangible reality; it became a prototype.¹⁴¹ The aim was a unified world view that would be reflected in the uniform habitat – the mirror image of the age. The international and the general were thought to surpass the national and the individual. In its putative objectivity, the new architecture was even thought to be immune to differences of political orientation.¹⁴²

The idea of the type has a Platonic or Neoplatonic undercurrent. More than any other form of art, architecture was seen as a quest for the typical.¹⁴³ If an object – a dish, an item of furniture, a house – was to be designed so that it worked properly, its nature first had to be investigated. The aim was to identify the supposed permanent basic elements of architecture. The basic forms were thought to be »elements of the construction

¹³⁸ Gropius 1935, 00.

¹³⁹ Banham 1960, 329; Le Corbusier 1923, 108.

¹⁴⁰ Le Corbusier 1923, 108. This notion already appears in the title of Gropius' *Internationale Architektur*.

¹⁴¹ Moneo 1978, 33.

¹⁴² Gropius 1925, 7.

¹⁴³ Le Corbusier 1923, 00. Cf. Vidler 1977, 93; Moos 1971, 51. Also in this Modernism referred to Classical tradition and especially to Plato's Filebos dialogue which was widely read around the turn of the century.

of the world» and »primal forms of existence» – they were »beauty itself» (Le Corbusier). In a certain sense, standardization entailed the binary opposition type /individuality – standardization and the creation of types were not as destructive of individuality, but the type was always placed ahead of the individual, and the universal was more valuable than the personal.¹⁴⁴ Industrial building was not geared towards serial production of complete houses as much as towards mass production of individual components.

The typological theories converged with the concurrent »machine cult» and organic metaphors. Nature was seen as the model for architecture and standardization, and, on a general level, standardization was a matter of limited variation within a fixed basic structure and set of motives.¹⁴⁵ Habitation was seen to be defined primarily by biological necessities: »*L'habitation est une phénomène biologique.*»¹⁴⁶ Biologism was particularly important for thinkers like Le Corbusier and, in Finland, Alvar Aalto.

The new architecture was not seen so much as new style, but as a new way of arranging society and people's private lives. It was seen as the principle of the modern building; the aim was to create a good environment for all. Planning aimed to affect the practical behaviour and everyday life of human individuals, and to transform their daily habitat.

As the designer of the everyday milieu, the modern architect acts as an agent of social order. A subtle thread connects the new architecture of the 19th century (prisons, barracks, schools, hospitals) with modern architecture, urban planning and the standard dwelling (Tony Garnier's *Une Cité Industrielle* 1901–, Le Corbusier's *La Ville Radieuse* 1935). This continuity has gone virtually unnoticed in studies that give exclusive attention to »form language», but its significance emerges if you study architecture and housing as a social practice. One of the links between 19th-century architecture and Functionalist urban design is Panopticism, which has received particular attention as a result of the work of Michel Foucault – and of the recent works of Anthony Vidler and Paul Rabinow, who follow in Foucault's footsteps.¹⁴⁷ Visibility, vision and being seen are crucial aspects of both the Panopticon and the modern city. According to Paul Rabinow, Foucault did not discuss Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon as an ideal type but as a strategic example. Garnier's plan may similarly be

¹⁴⁴ Gropius 1925, 7; Bonta 1979, 31–32.

¹⁴⁵ Le Corbusier 1923, 195.

¹⁴⁶ Le Corbusier – Jeanneret 1928, 60.

¹⁴⁷ Foucault 1975; Rabinow 1989; Vidler 1987; see also Vidler 1979, 167.

thought of as a exemplar: the aim was not to discipline individuals efficiently but to achieve a productive, healthy and peaceful social environment – the city of the welfare state. In fact, Garnier’s plan lacked all external institutions of discipline and surveillance – order produced by means of social regulation and architecture was preferable to order imposed by outside force. The 19th-century technologies of discipline implicitly suggest that society might change in a such a way that both power and politics would be rendered obsolete.¹⁴⁸ The planned city is one of the regulators of modern society, one of the faceless networks of Foucauldian power. It is interesting to note that in Finland, the military and the church were among the first to commission modern architecture.

¹⁴⁸ Rabinow 1989, 212–232.

5. Genealogy of the type-planned house. An excursion into the dwelling models of Finland in the urbanization stage

The definition of a dwelling, which previously was quite straightforward and varied only according to the number of rooms, has recently been subjected to fundamental revision. This is due to the fact that the type of dwelling that until recently was the only one, i.e. the one-family dwelling, is no longer so, while contemporary developments in lifestyle have led to new habitation customs and types of dwelling. The family is no longer the only concept for which homes are designed, and in most cases the floor-plan of the earlier family dwelling no longer suits changed social, economic and psychological circumstances. New forms of dwellings must be created, and have in fact been created in part, to meet the needs of the independent woman, the young bachelor, families from educated background in financial difficulties, and childless couples. Accordingly, the family dwelling must be designed to meet particular requirements, because homes built for the manual or the white-collar worker, or for the artisan, cannot all be used in the same way, although economic levelling means that the floor spaces of these dwellings are becoming a uniform size.¹

The similarities and differences between rural and urban dwelling idioms have already been touched upon. In the above quotation Yrjö Similä describes changes in dwellings, housing ideals, habitation and society that were crucial to the design and formation of the type-planned house of the 1940s. The description focuses on the changed functions of the town dwelling and the Functionalist aim of creating new dwellings suited to modern

¹ Similä 1933, 313.

life. It provides clear evidence of a transformed concept of the dwelling. This aim was also a key element in the planning of the 1940s type-planned house, but at least equally important in the »genealogy» of this house is its relationship to the rural peasant dwelling. Type-planned houses in both rural and urban areas had much the same design; one essential element in the study of their architecture and housing practices is the tension between town and country. The design of the type-planned house emphasizes, in keeping with Functionalist ideology, the blurring and gradual disappearance of the distinction between rural and urban areas.² Another relevant factor is the social status of the occupants: the similarities and differences between rural and urban habitation practices were modified according to social class.

In the first half of the 20th century, the social practice of housing, the size of the dwelling and its spatial organization varied according to social group and residential area. The exhibition catalogue of the First Finnish Housing Congress in 1917 contains several examples of different types of workers' dwellings, where the size and spatial arrangement of the home directly reflect the status of its occupant: a civil servant, a foreman or a worker, for example. The dwellings of those in the highest positions were built following individual plans rather than type drawings, and corresponding hierarchic differences are also discernible between rural and urban dwellings.³ Thus a study of the type-planned house could be roughly outlined along two axes: that of town/country and that of the social status of its occupants. Put simply, and discounting the topmost stratum, this would form a fourfold table.⁴

² E.g. Aalto 1941c, 134.

³ A farmer's dwelling had more than four rooms, that of a small holder had two, and those of agricultural workers one. *Ensimmäisen Suomalaisen... 1917*; SVT XXXII 1938, 37–53. Analysed also in Juntto 1990, 106–107, 140–141. The worker dwellings in the exhibition catalogue of the Housing Congress had in general one room, a kitchen and an attic room. A foreman's dwelling was the same except that it had two rooms instead of one. The villas and semi-detached houses of the civil servants had an additional maid's room adjoining the kitchen, as well as a living room and bedrooms; they often also contained a separate dining room and a library (i.e. the master's room).

⁴ The social differences between town and country and the transformation of society make it difficult to define the inhabitants' social status. The middle group refers to an intermediate social group between the workers and the more affluent social classes. During the 20th century the middle group grew rapidly while becoming more clearly defined, and in rural areas it included farmers as well as teachers, civil servants, the clergy, etc. In spite of the differences between town and country, ideological family and home economy propaganda aimed at the middle group was similar in both urban and rural areas (the Martha Association, for example, spread middle-class family ideology in the countryside). On the use of

social status	residential area	
	urban	agrarian
middle group	increasingly private flat	homestead
workers	worker dwelling	cabin, small holding, worker dwelling

The housing model and architecture of the type-planned house contain features from the middle group and from worker housing, as well as from both urban and agrarian dwellings. The particularly problematic – and fascinating – phenomenon is the new semi-urban space, a kind of »no-man’s land» between town and country, and its particular form of dwelling: villas and single-family houses. These fringe cases are impossible to explain by means of a simple comparison. They remain hidden beneath the grid of the fourfold scheme. Yet from the point of view of an analysis of the type-planned house, the most interesting phenomenon seems occur precisely within that area. There is, in the formation of the architectural and housing models of the type-planned house, a continuous movement between countryside and town, a kind of loop from the country to the town and back again: from farms and small holdings to worker housing, to the single-family house and the type-planned house. As an over-simplification it could be said that in the recently urbanized Finland of the 1920s the compact urban setting was idealized, whereas in the 1930s the object of idealization was the open town of Functionalism, and in the 1940s and ’50s it was the agrarian, spacious forest town (e.g. Tapiola).⁵

Different traditions, models and ideals of housing existed side by side, influenced each other and altered in unpredictable and uneven ways. Likewise, there was no pattern to the changes in conceptual idealization, or to the models and ideals of housing and conventions of habitation. The formation of the housing model of the type-planned house does not form a uniform, chronological narrative starting with its antecedents and ending

the concepts of social class and social group in Finnish historical research and the changing nature of the middle class, see Haapala 1986, 91–96, 277–278, 349–351.

⁵ On this, see Nikula 1981, 272; Heinonen 1986; Hurme 1991, 103–104; Juntto 1990, 223.

with the design of the 1940s; the development is much more subtle. Type-planned houses allude to many previous – and future – housing models and urban planning ideals; their housing ideals acquire their meaning from these relationships. Such allusions can be regarded as a kind of textual or »architextual« field, where all parts have an equal value and are, from the interpreter's point of view, simultaneously present. In this sense they constitute parts of a single textuality. Like texts, different housing models are traces of a past within the present and together they form an interactive relationship that has been called intertextuality.⁶ Instead of a causal connection, where a previous model gives rise to a later one and the latter is only a passive receptor, we face a different kind of active dialogue between works of art, buildings, or perhaps only between different housing models.⁷ Hindsight affects our interpretation of the past. Who can think of Oedipus without recalling Freud?⁸ Our reconstructions of the past are always influenced by today: knowledge can be acquired only through its traces in the present, but the interpretation always takes place in the context of the interpreter's own points of reference.⁹

The problem of period terms is connected with difficulties in perceiving the chronological evolution of habitation and the coexistence of several different traditions at any one time. Period terms imply clear-cut chronological divides: the beginning of something new and the end of something that has definitely passed. The historical narrative describing such passages – and periodization as such – is an interpretation of the schol-

⁶ Intertextuality, the relations between individual texts, is a concept introduced by Julia Kristeva and it is a central concept in current literary research. Texts echo many textual layers. In an often cited passage, Kristeva writes: »Tout texte est construit comme mosaïque de citations, tout texte est absorption et transformation d'un autre texte. A la place de la notion d'intersubjectivité s'installe celle d'intertextualité, et le langage poétique se lit, au moins, comme double.« Kristeva 1969, 85. »Text« has to be understood in the widest possible sense, and it can also denote visual material. It is not a passive object. Text is constantly being created in the dialogue between the reader (viewer, researcher), the »writing subject«, cultural context and the work in question. In a study of type-planned houses and the related habitation ideologies, the object of analysis is »anonymous« and »collective« material, and the author is not pertinent to this analysis because the dwelling is a trace of its author.

⁷ Kristeva refers to Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogical, dynamic notion of the text, where the text is a dialogue between several writings. Kristeva, *ibid.* Kristeva later replaced the idea of intertextuality with the concept of transposition, which makes it possible to move from one sign system to another. Kristeva 1974, 59–60.

⁸ See Lehtonen 1989, 62.

⁹ And in this sense the text has no exterior.

ar. In his/her interpretation, the scholar transmutes the empirical material and patterns of »natural time» into a specific »human time».¹⁰

In what follows, I shall attempt to characterize such housing models in recently urbanized Finland that are essential to an understanding of the dwelling concept of the type-planned house. Roughly classified they were: peasant and worker dwellings; villas and detached houses; the bourgeois, middle-class apartment; and the Functionalist minimal dwelling. Any apparent diversions or comparisons have been followed because of their relation to the type-planned house – all of these homes existed and all of them were still lived in the 1940s. The architecture and spatial organization of type-planned houses both developed from, and contrasted with, these housing models that were »non-contemporaneous» and represented different rationalizations, yet were coexistent. As a significant contrast to the type planned house, the rural peasant dwelling is perhaps presented even at the expense of housing models of town. To simplify: type-planned houses were built in a society where agrarian traditions still predominated and where the peasant dwelling and the Functionalist minimal dwelling were both to be found, where rural tradition and modern lifestyles existed side by side. The housing model of type-planned houses can be located between these two extremes.

5.1. The rural dwelling

The central elements of the peasant *oikos* or household were land, buildings, people and animals. Just as in the *oikos* of antiquity, the basis of the Finnish peasant household was the land owned and cultivated by that household.¹¹ In peasant society, land ownership was a central distinguishing feature which also served as a social division. At the beginning of the 20th century, peasants owning the land they cultivated constituted slightly less than half the rural population, but those who did not own land were also closely bound to it.¹² The peasant *oikos* cannot be defined simply as the dwelling; spatially, it began with the lands surrounding the buildings. Apart

¹⁰ Kearney 1984, 17–18; Ricoeur 1983, *passim*. See also White 1987, 171–177.

¹¹ See Finley 1979 (1954), 61.

¹² At the beginning of the 20th century, less than half (40 %) of rural inhabitants cultivated their own land, 20 % cultivated rented land and 40% earned their living as agricultural workers. Agricultural workers comprised a heterogeneous group which

from the actual home the household also encompassed other buildings that were situated in the immediate vicinity of the farmyard: livestock shelter, fodder barn, sheds for equipment, granary (in larger houses), privy, well and perhaps also a separate cellar. Outside the farmyard there were also a sauna, separate barns, drying barn and threshing house.¹³ The area around larger households would include quarters for hired workers and tenants too. Although the dwelling, its size and spatial organization as well as »a place of one's own« had a central organizing role in people's lives and defined their social status, the peasant *oikos* always extended outside the dwelling – the main building of a farm, a crofter's cottage, cotter's cabin or farm hand's quarters – into the fields and forests. The dwelling was inseparable from the peasants' lifestyle; it always implied a larger whole – the household, or *oikos*.¹⁴

Local and social distinctions were an essential element in rural housing and, in spite of their common features, peasant houses were by no means the same everywhere. Agricultural buildings formed fixed, closed entities such as the houses bounded by fenced yards (*umpipihatalot*) in the south-west of Finland, or Karelian houses where most spaces (living quarters, livestock shelters, storage rooms) were located within a single building; alternatively the buildings could be dotted around within the yard (*Fig. 42*).¹⁵ The haphazard positioning of the buildings – the construction of separate cabins – was a characteristic of the old building practice, and in the latter half of the 18th century authorities started to pay attention to this wasteful style of building.¹⁶ A more centralized arrangement of facilities within a single building did not become common until the 1900s; this was also one of the goals of agricultural guidance in the period.¹⁷

included hired men, farm labourers (*muonamiehet*), cottagers and landless casual labourers (*itselliset*). Discounting maids and farmhands, agricultural workers usually had families of their own. Soininen 1976, 211–225; Markkola 1989b, 39–40; Peltonen 1992, 266–274, 414.

¹³ Description of a typical agricultural building in the 1920s. *Maatalouden tietosanakirja* (Encyclopedia of Agriculture) 1928, 914–919; see also Kuusanmäki 1934, 343–346.

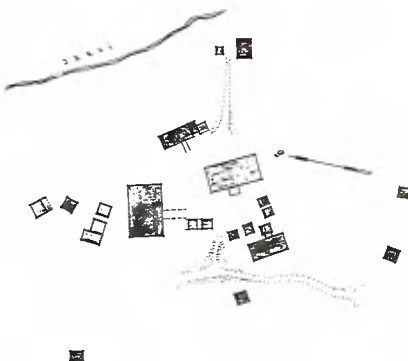
¹⁴ Hietaniemi 1992, 147–148. Rural society could be described as a world characterized by masterhood (*Herrschaft*), where »power still had a face«. *Oikos* is the old European concept and mode of habitation. Through Martin Luther this tradition was transferred to the modern era and in Finland it continued until the 1940s. On the old European *oikos*-tradition deriving from antiquity, see Hietaniemi 1992, 146–151; Aalto 1991, 133–142.

¹⁵ Kolehmainen 1979; Talve 1980, 32–33, 40.

¹⁶ Kuusanmäki 1934, 346.

¹⁷ *Maatalouden tietosanakirja* 1929; Siikonen 1931; Siikonen 1942; Nieminen – Esti 1931.

42. The yard milieu of the Pien-Toijola farm in Ristiina. Main building (1803), livestock shelter (1890), the old chimneyless hut, stable, storage rooms and sauna. Kolehmainen 1979.



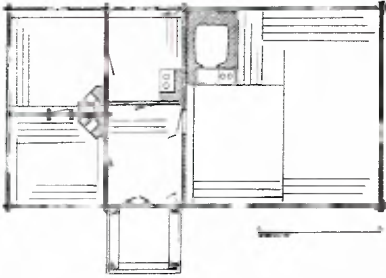
In the Nordic countries, peasant housekeeping and housing practices remained relatively unchanged from the 16th century right down to the end of the 19th.¹⁸ The dwelling, such as the Pien-Toijola main building in Ristiina (1803) or the even more ascetic main building of the Rehunen farm in Taipalsaari, was based on the large multipurpose main room (*tupa*) (Figs. 43 and 44). The main room formed the nucleus of the dwelling, its »primordial cell» (Fr. *la coquille initiale*), whose recognition is, according to Bachelard, crucial to the analysis of meanings in dwelling and habitation;¹⁹ it was the first space to be constructed and other rooms were added later on – usually the more in number the more prosperous the house was. The *tupa* remained the basis of rural dwellings well into the 20th century. In addition to the main room, both above-mentioned houses have two smaller, adjacent rooms (*kamari*) on one side of the entrance-hall passage; at Pien-Toijola there is also a separate kitchen in the small room at the rear of the passage.²⁰ In spite of this, bread was still baked in the main room. Another common arrangement was to have, in addition to the residential main room, a second »better» room of the same size: the guest room or parlour (Fig. 45).²¹ In the 20th century, life on small holdings was criti-

¹⁸ Gaunt 1983, *passim*.

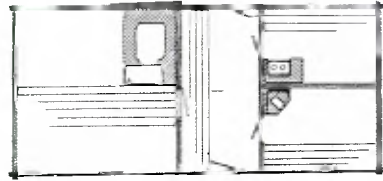
¹⁹ Bachelard (1957) 1984, 24.

²⁰ Although cooking was generally done in the *tupa*, some areas followed the Swedish custom of having a separate kitchen adjoining the *tupa*. The usual solution was to convert the small room at the back of the entrance-hall into a kitchen. See e.g. Jahnsen 1934, 38; Talve 1980, 40.

²¹ Kolehmainen 1979; Talve 1980, 38–39; Pettersson 1958, 171–179.



43. Measurement drawing of the main building of Pien-Toijola farm. Kolehmainen 1979.



44. Floor plan of the Rehunen farm in Taipalsaari. Kolehmainen 1979.



45. Twin room cabin. A. tupa (multi-purpose main room), B. sali ("parlour"), C. porstokamari (backchamber), D. porsto (entrance-hall passage), E. pislakki (porch). Measurement drawing MV. Photo SRM.

cized particularly for the practice of living in the main room and reserving the other as a »better room» for guests and festivities.²²

The cabins and crofters' cottages of the rural poor usually consisted of just a multipurpose main room; sometimes a smaller room might be included as well. At the turn of the century 71 % of rural dwellings had one or two rooms, and when the next extensive survey of rural housing conditions was made in 1937 the situation was basically unchanged. At the time of this survey 64 % of rural dwellings were small ones of either one or two rooms.²³ According to Anneli Juntto, the popular notion of »large, spa-

²² Komiteanmietintö 1937: 6. For example in south-west Finland ca. 40 % of dwellings in the 1930s had a »better room» (Sw. *fin rum*). SVT XXXII 1938, 31.

²³ In 1901 a total of 54.5 % of the rural population lived in these dwellings. Improvement in the standard of housing was an effect of the reduced number of occupants in the households rather than of larger dwellings. In 1901 the average size

cious main rooms» in the Finnish countryside is erroneous, because in the 1930s the smallest dwellings had very little floor space, with an average of 21 m² in one-room dwellings and 37 m² in two-room dwellings. However, earlier statistical studies of rural housing emphasized the »large size and airiness» of the rooms in rural dwellings as well as their relative closeness to nature as compared to town dwellings.²⁴

The multipurpose main room (*tupa*) was the centre of rural life. In it the occupants worked, met, ate and rested. Men and women, the family and other household members lived and worked there side by side, but in fact the household space extended far beyond the *tupa*. In peasant culture, habitation and living were intimately linked and habitation implied belonging to a place, a household and a house in a much clearer way than is the case in modern society.

Human interaction in the peasant dwelling was characterized by physical and spatial proximity, although it was not private and, in that sense, intimate.²⁵ The central feature of the peasant multipurpose main room around which everything revolved was the fireplace, the oven; this in fact constituted the heart of the home, recalling Hestia and the sacral and feminine dimensions of household. In addition, the communal nature of habitation, the central position of the hearth and allusions to protection and safety carry connotations that can be regarded as maternal and feminine: a certain material, undifferentiated and symbiotic quality. The dwelling alludes both to the first human space, the womb, and to the unity of the mother-child relationship.²⁶

Apart from this emotional level, practical life and gender identities in the peasant world were also organized according to the feminine and masculine. In his study of south Ostrobothnian peasant houses Christian Moley analyses the principles of the spatial organization of its basic unit, the multipurpose main room (*tupa*), by reducing them to the feminine/masculine

of a household was 5.5 persons, while in 1937 it was 4.4. On average, a dwelling in 1901 had 2.3 rooms; in 1937 it had 2.5. Gebhard 1910, 33, 62. SVT XXXII 1938, 37, 75; Juntto 1990, 139. In these, as in all Finnish housing statistics, the kitchen is counted as one room.

²⁴ Juntto 1990, 140; SVT XXXII 16 1938, 31; Gebhard 1910, 62–63.

²⁵ The connection between habitation and life and their societal nature are central in e.g. Heidegger's philosophy. Goux 1987, 55. »Il y a, dans la pensée de Heidegger, une quasi-identité entre ce qui est dit de la relation à l'être et du lien au foyer, comme s'il s'agissait de la même dimension. Ainsi, lorsque s'éprouve le fait d'habiter familièrement sur la terre, la proximité du foyer, la proximité à l'être se donne en même temps. Inversement, avec la perte du foyer advient l'oubli de l'être.»

²⁶ Rykwert 1972, *passim.*; Bachelard (1957) 1984. Also in Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* rooms and houses are feminine symbols. Freud 1976 (1900), 473.

line division. The organizing spatial elements of the *tupa* are the hearth and the entrance. The hearth is associated with domestic activities, with housekeeping tasks and the woman, the door with social life and the outside world.²⁷ In addition to the hearth and the entrance, the walls of the room and the »empty» space in the middle are also a spatially organizing division. Together with the social practice of housing, these spatial elements divide the multipurpose main room into interrelated, overlapping areas that partly shade into each other and which Moley analyses as bipolarities: family life²⁸ and social life; the feminine and the masculine; work at home and in the fields; the hidden and the overt. The use of space in the room varies with these bi-polarities and also with the seasons.²⁹ The overlap in these pairs of opposites also describes the multidimensionality of the main room's spatial organization, which is more complex than just a simple opposition. The division of space into feminine and masculine, or private and social, is not unqualified; its analysis requires observation of its structure and of housing practices, of the »invisible» agreements and customs contained in it.

In its spatial organization as well as with regard to subjective experience, the habitation idiom based on the multipurpose main room was collective. People lived in this room under each other's gaze, under a social and moral control; life was characterized by lack of privacy. Even the married couple, the farmer and his wife, did not necessarily have their own separate space. In peasant culture the nuclear family did not have the same status it has today. Several people slept in the same room; sharing beds was also usual.³⁰ The whole was constituted not by the family but by those belonging to the same household, the *oikos*, just as in antiquity the *domus* was the basic unit.³¹

The agrarian *oikos* was a totality which consisted of parallel spheres for men and women and which in a certain sense was undifferentiated and indivisible. In the peasant dwelling, meaning both the buildings as well as their inhabitants, men and women lived and functioned in relation to each other. The *oikos* was an economic unit as well as a space that comprised

²⁷ Moley 1984, 221.

²⁸ Moley uses the concept family life, but refers to the household living under one roof.

²⁹ Moley 1984, 221–246.

³⁰ Kuronen 1980, 42. On this practice in towns, see Haapala 1986, 161; Eenílä 1974, 124.

³¹ Finley 1979 (1954), 61. According to Ivan Illich the subject of history and the basic social unit was the house, or *domus*, not the people. Illich 1983, 117.

dwellings and utility buildings, a microcosm, and above all a place of work: a unit of production and consumption, where all aspects of life constituted a whole. Leisure and work were not separated, nor did they have their own allocated spaces. While having domains of their own, men and women were nevertheless members of a single collective and social world. This is apparent in the multipurpose main room and, more broadly, in the organization and usage of the buildings within the *oikos*. Despite the fact that the household contained separate areas for men and women, such as the men's side and women's side in the main room, the space was not rigidly differentiated according to gender, nor divided into private and public in the modern sense.³² The essential feature was that neither work and leisure nor men and women were spatially separated from each other; they were constituents of a unity and belonged to the same social sphere. When necessary, the main rooms of larger houses also served as places for larger social gatherings. Work was essentially collective in nature: many tasks were performed either jointly or in the presence of others.

In summer the barns provided the possibility of a more differentiated mode of habitation. It was usual for the unmarried daughters and sons, as well as the servants of the house, to sleep in the barns in summertime. During winter it was customary to put up curtains between the beds, to keep in the heat.³³

Although men and women inhabited the same social world, gender identities were distinctly different and gender defined life in a fundamental way. Gender-based division of labour was precise and the household was divided into masculine and feminine areas. Nevertheless, local and even household-specific differences in the structure of gender relations were great. In folklore and in descriptions of peasant life, the division of labour according to gender appears normative and narrow, but in practice the borderlines were blurred. Crossing the border was more permissible for women than for men, and women were more familiar with the men's sphere than vice versa.³⁴ The idea that light household tasks are only for women while heavier work is for men, is relatively new in Finland.³⁵ Ru-

³² Talve 1980, 38–41; Jahnson 1934, 39. See Sulkunen 1989, *passim*.

³³ Kuronen 1980, 43; Jahnson 1943, 39; Markkola 1989a, 112.

³⁴ Vilkuna 1934, 309–310; Saurio 1938, 64–65; Saurio 1947; Löfgren 1982, 6–13; Markkola 1989b, 58–62. Men's and women's work spheres are easily traced in e.g. the Kanteletar poems.

³⁵ As recently as 200 years ago, practically no tasks were considered entirely unsuitable for women, except perhaps those connected with killing and blood, such as butchering and hunting. These were typically the man's, the soldier's, work. Vilkuna 1934, 310.

ral society was hierarchic in character and in it »power still had a face»; its own constitutive discourse describes the world as hierarchic.³⁶ The male's (father, brother or husband) patriarchal authority over women was defined institutionally (by the church, in legislation).³⁷ To a modern researcher the relationship between men and women appears to have been one of inequality – in fact the concept of sexual equality was unknown and had no organizing role in the life of peasant society. According to Ivan Illich, gender identities and temporally and locally varying roles in pre-industrial societies are based on complementary differences between men and women, whereas gender identities in the industrial age are based on an idea of equality and similarity.³⁸

In the peasant world, work was an essential part of life and habitation; it was a duty rather than a right. Women's work was usually performed within or near the domestic sphere, whereas men's work extended further away from home and its immediate vicinity (from the end of the 19th century it included for example forestry).³⁹ In addition to gender, the division of labour was also determined by age and social position as well as by the seasons. The division of labour among women increased towards the end of the 19th century and regional and class distinctions between women were great. The most severely restricted role was that of the married woman in the landed class. The extent to which she was confined to the domestic sphere, to her children and the home was much more significant for her than for other women, although even she was not looked upon as a mere housewife. Well into the 20th century a woman's use of time in agriculture was largely determined by »the lot Fate had given her: what kind of home she lived in, what kind of man she was married to, and how many children she had». ⁴⁰ Apart from housekeeping, women's tasks in-

³⁶ See e.g. Kanteletar poems; Vilkuna 1934, *passim*.

³⁷ See e.g. Kurki – Pylkkänen 1984; Manninen 1985. Up to the new Marriage Act of 1929, the judicial and financial status of women was determined by the Marriage Code (in a somewhat amended form) dating from 1734 and the Decree from 1868.

³⁸ Illich 1983, *passim*. Illich distinguishes between two cultural systems which structure gender identities, and his terms for them are different to those in current practice in feminist research: the gender that is based on pre-industrial difference is for him *vernacular gender*; the industrial gender based on the illusion of similarity he calls *economic sex*. The differences in the use of the concepts and their confusing similarity (cf. feminist division of sex and gender) do not make Illich's ideas any less interesting.

³⁹ Soininen 1982, 46. The importance of forestry grew at the end of the 19th century and in beginning of the 20th.

⁴⁰ Saurio 1947, 5; Vilkuna 1934, 310; Markkola 1989a, 61.

cluded animal husbandry, gardening, work in the fields and of course family care, although children did not receive special attention as such – they simply lived with the rest of the household.⁴¹ The gender-based division of labour at home was also reflected in the village. The masculine and the feminine were essential structuring principles in the world, but the division was not as sharp in the dwelling: feminine and masculine areas cannot be clearly separated, because the subtle organization of space was not based solely on spatial elements, of which the hearth was the centre, but also on invisible agreements and practices concerning the use of space.

Although the interrelations between peasant habitation, lifestyle and gender identities have been studied before, a more thorough analysis still needs to be made. The concept of the femininity of the peasant household, advanced by many European historians of the family, seems altogether too simplistic – at least in a Finnish context.⁴² Women's work and life were centred on the domestic sphere to a much larger extent than men's, but this in itself does not justify viewing the peasant dwelling as a feminized women's domain.⁴³ Men had a place not only in the construction of the house but also inside it; in addition to sleeping, eating and resting, the house was also the space where a number of men's tasks were performed (for instance mending and fixing, making tools and implements, spending enforced leisure time in the winter).⁴⁴ On the other hand, the women's sphere too extended outside the household and into the village. The domains of the peasant world could be regarded as a series of concentric circles surrounding the *oikos*: the innermost circle would consist of the multipurpose main room and the hearth, the outer circle would comprise those activities, such as forestry, that extended furthest from the dwellings. The innermost circle, the hearth, was the most feminine and the outer circle the most masculine.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Saurio 1947, *passim*; Lithell 1988, 48–65.

⁴² Flandrin 1976; Segalen 1980. »La féminisation de la maison et de ses habitants, par opposition à une masculinisation de l'extérieur est très nette dans la société rurale traditionnelle, et l'homme qui reste à la maison et travaille sur ses dépendances, jardin, basse-cour, etc., est affublé de surnoms qui le ridiculisent en le féminisant.» Segalen 1980, 125–126. However, local differences did exist, as well as differences between Nordic, central and southern European peasant societies. See briefly e.g. Löfgren 1982, 6–13. In a recent study, also Matti Peltonen criticizes this notion. Peltonen 1992, 212.

⁴³ The spatial differentiation of the dwelling into feminine and masculine spheres is not linked to the generally maternal, and in that sense feminine, aspects of the dwelling.

⁴⁴ Jutikkala 1982, 204.

⁴⁵ See e.g. Saurio 1947, *passim*.; Vilkkuna 1934, 310.

Men and women acted within the collective space as complementary constituent parts of a common social world rather than as a pair of opposites, although neither space nor the subjective experience of space were necessarily the same for both. The subtle spatial differences were structured on subjective experience and usage rather than on any discernible exterior features.⁴⁶ The household – the building and the space surrounding it – embraced both the masculine and the feminine. Although gender identities structured peasant culture they did not divide space into distinct spheres for men and women. Spatial organization was based on the presence of both; women and men shared the same social space, and the dwelling and its main room held a place for both sexes.

At the end of the 19th century, spatial differentiation began to receive increased attention both in the spatial organization of the more affluent houses as well as in the discourse on rural habitation, and differences began to accumulate that divided family members from hired hands and the married couple from other occupants. But this division was apparent only in the organization of the most affluent and largest of houses. In Alfred Sjöström's model plans for agricultural buildings, the largest houses consist of several separate rooms that distinguish spatially between the family and the servants (separate living and eating quarters for family and servants), between parents and children, family and guests, the master of the house and other household members (*Fig. 46*). Nevertheless, all the rooms of the dwelling (of the extended twin cabin type) were interconnected, so the spatial separation of the occupants did not necessarily entail privacy. The hired hands and the servants still shared one large room.⁴⁷

Although rural housing started to undergo fundamental changes in the 20th century, especially after the First World War, and a new kind of space and dwelling type began to evolve, the collective habitation practice based on the multipurpose main room did not die out. Along with crofters' liberation and new tenancy legislation (1918, Lex Kallio 1922) the number of small holders increased and as a group they became more predominant in the Finnish countryside. A small holding was specifically a one-family

⁴⁶ Compare Walter Benjamin's idea of spatial experience based on experience and usage and on optically perceivable things. Benjamin (1936) 1973, 46–47.

⁴⁷ As the rural house became increasingly differentiated and the division between family members and hired hands grew, it was usual for family members to have a room of their own while hired hands and servants still slept in the main room. Cf. separate main room and smaller room for the family, and separate quarters for the farmhands. See e.g. Kuronen 1980, 41–42.

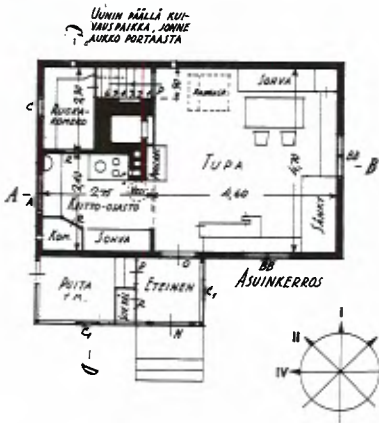


46. Alfred Sjöström, model plans for larger agricultural buildings consisting of several separate rooms. Sjöström 1891.

farm which, in addition to the house, included livestock shelters and out-buildings.⁴⁸ The small holder's dwelling was based on the multipurpose main room and it usually consisted of the main room, one smaller room and various kinds of storage space.⁴⁹ The model plans and type plans of the 1920s and '30s did not seek to alter this tradition. Instead, the plans

⁴⁸ Jutikkala 1982, 209.

⁴⁹ In the 20th century, differences in the size of the dwelling relative to the farm either remained unaltered or grew. The most remarkable difference between the rural housing surveys of 1901 and 1937 was in owner occupation: in 1901, 23 % of the rural population owned their houses on their own land; in 1937 the corresponding figure was 64 %. SVT XXXII 1938, 37–53; Juntto 1990, 138–141.



47. Heikki Siikonen, model plan for small farm, type 102. Copy MV.

of Heikki Siikonen for instance concentrated on the practicality and rationalization of habitation and housekeeping, and on the raising of the aesthetic standard of housing (Fig. 47).⁵⁰ In the 1930s the multipurpose kitchen was subjected to the same kind of rationalizations as the kitchens of town-dwellings; at the same time the positive aspects of the main room were emphasized, such as its role as an element that brought the family together. The fact that cooking and household work could be performed at the centre of the home was important to the housewife, since she did not »have

⁵⁰ Type drawings by Siikonen (MV); Siikonen 1931.

to move away from the others for the performance of these tasks and she [could] keep an eye on the children». ⁵¹ The type-planned house of the 1940s replaced the smaller rural dwellings in particular, as was part of the intention.

5.2. Working-class dwellings

*Kesällä muutimme hellahuoneesta
kadun poikki uuteen asuntoon.
Tilaa oli että huikaisi, keittiö ja kamari.
Ensimmäisenä yönä en saanut unta.
Valvoin velipojan kyljessä ja kauhukseni näin
miten kuun kynnellä oli tilaa pidetä kamariin asti,
siellä nukkuivat isä, äiti, siskot.*

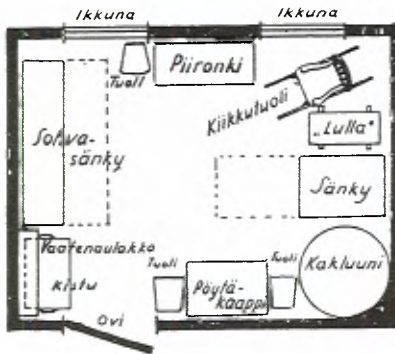
*Jarkko Laine*⁵²

Well into the 20th century, the typical workers' dwelling in the city was a single room – or at best one room and a kitchen.⁵³ The single room was spatially undifferentiated; the space was shared by men, women and children alike, and often by lodgers as well. The most characteristic feature of these dwellings was their lack of space. Furniture consisted chiefly of beds and storage units (*Figs. 48 and 49*). All activities connected with habitation and the dwelling (working, housekeeping, eating, resting, sleeping, sexual intimacy, childcare) took place in the same space. Narrow space forced people to physically close interaction, beginning with shared beds: »'It's so nice that the kids are still so small that they fit four to one bed' said the young father whose single room was shared by nine family mem-

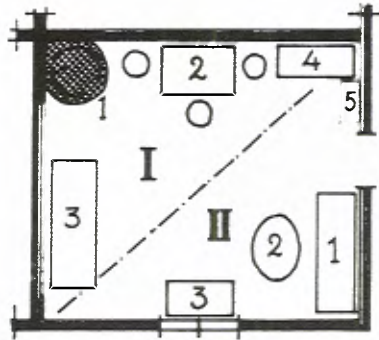
⁵¹ Jahnsen 1934, 38. Compare building stocks of the same and earlier period that emphasized the privacy and isolation required by the housewife's work. E.g. Sjöström 1891.

⁵² Quotation from Jarkko Laine (1974):
In the summer we moved from the single room
to the new apartment across the street.
It was so huge it made us dizzy: a kitchen and a room.
The first night I could not sleep.
I lay awake by my brother's side and to my horror I saw
how the crescent moon had space enough to reach the other room,
there slept father, mother, sisters.

⁵³ Waris 1932, 272. Several housing surveys at the beginning of the 1900s which have been discussed in chapter 3.2. p. 69.



48. Furnishings of a worker home at the beginning of the 20th century in Helsinki. Waris 1932, p. 252.



49. Furnishings of a worker home in Porth Arthur, Turku. The room is divided into the household side (I) and into the "better side" (II). Eenilä 1974, p. 143.

bers plus a 'bachelor' lodger.»⁵⁴ In these circumstances it is well nigh impossible to speak of privacy.

In its spatial organization and housing practice, worker housing on the outskirts of cities resembled the poorer rural cottages: both were characterized by collectivity and lack of space, and both also served as the setting of some light work. In addition to the residential room the total dwelling area included shared outbuildings (privy, storage rooms). The spatial organization of the dwelling did not favour the family or the home. Many urban workers had moved in from rural areas and had perhaps originally come to the city only temporarily; lodgers were often relatives, folk from the same village or in some cases from the same workplace. The first-generation urban worker had a close relationship with the country.⁵⁵ In her studies, Tamara K. Hareven has criticized the idea that industrialization would have meant the immediate disruption of the old family structure and its way of life, as well as a change in the concept of family.⁵⁶ Old housing practices seem to have prevailed for quite some time among workers. But although rural and urban dwellings and housing practices resembled each

⁵⁴ Waris 1932, 253. See also Snellman 1906, 68. The habit of sharing beds and bedrooms can be seen as a continuation of rural housing habits. See Waris 1932, 258–259.

⁵⁵ Waris 1932, 271, 280–281; Markkola 1989b, *passim*.

⁵⁶ Hareven 1982, 5–7.

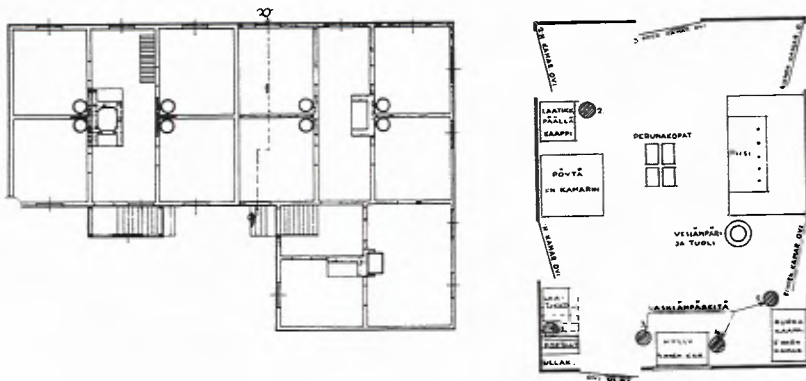
other, there is a marked difference between them in the relationship between the dwelling and its environment. In rural areas, the household space extended outside the dwelling; the fact that life extended to the surroundings meant that the dwelling was expanded too. The situation was different to that in the modern city, where the demarcation between the dwelling and the outside world was clearer. As a rule, work here was performed away from home and space was already differentiated between the dwelling and the outside world, between the private and the public, home and work, although working-class life did extend outside the home into the yard (for example to the privies and the storage rooms; to work in the yard). The yard was an extension of the dwelling and formed a kind of semi-public, transitional space between the home and the world outside. The extension of the dwelling into the yard continued the housing practices of the pre-modern city and the countryside. In the pre-modern city the boundary between the dwelling and the world outside was fluid. Rural areas and the *agrarian trade towns* were characterized by the unity of habitation and work, through the *oikos*, whereas their divergence from this pattern is considered to be one of the basic characteristics of the industrialized city.⁵⁷

Despite the fact that it often formed the basic unit of habitation, the family did not have a self-evident status in working-class housing. From the mid-19th century, worker housing in Tampere was distinguished by a system of shared kitchens, originally a feature of worker housing attached to the factories and gradually to privately owned tenements as well (*Fig. 50*). These dwellings had an elongated kitchen in the middle which was usually connected to four separate rooms. The dwelling was entered from one end of the kitchen and the rooms were accessed from the kitchen, which also served as a shared entrance-hall passage – it had a window facing the door. Households were varied; they could consist of families, which often included lodgers as well, or they could comprise rooms shared by a few young women or men working at the factory. Solitary living was considered a luxury – and a bed of one's own was an achievement in itself.⁵⁸ Each household might have its own cooking stove in the kitchen, or there might be a single stove that was shared by all, where the occupants were in close daily contact with each other – even too close, according to contemporary criticism:

Against this system one can say that it furthers uncleanness and indifference very much indeed, as none of the occupants of the kitchen have any particular wish to keep tidy and clean a room shared by

⁵⁷ Lilius 1983, 131–132.

⁵⁸ Snellman 1909; Haapala 1986, 157–161; Voionmaa 1932, 540–541.



50. Shared-kitchen dwellings, Makasiinikatu 20, Amuri, Tampere (on the right) and a shared kitchen surrounded in this case by five different rooms (on the left). Rasila 1984.

several families. Furthermore, these kinds of circumstances create the kind of close union between families that can hardly be considered desirable.⁵⁹

The undesirability of close interaction between families and the criticism of the lodger system reveal above all an ideological emphasis on the family and the distinction that was made between family members and other occupants as well as between different families. But the shared kitchen can be seen (from the point of view of its contemporary housing practices too) as a collective and social space of daily interaction where people living around a single kitchen formed a loose group that existed either in parallel with the family or in its stead. The single kitchen gathered around itself various kinds of households, from families to single people. Along with the yard, the kitchen formed an important space where daily activities took place and people met with each other. For example, the working-class population in Tampere had a high proportion of women and (unlike in Helsinki) most of its tenants were women; the majority of occupants in shared-kitchen houses in the Amuri district were women, with unmarried young women the most typical tenants.⁶⁰ In fact, living »without a family» was a central part of working-class life in Tampere.

⁵⁹ Snellman 1909, 12–13.

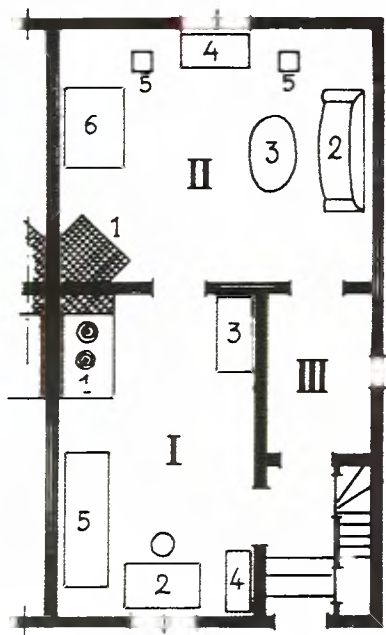
⁶⁰ Although Tampere has since its foundation carried the stamp of an industrial city and its working-class housing is the oldest in Finland, working-class habitation there

Gradually the working-class dwelling also became spatially differentiated. Dwellings with one room and a kitchen were already aiming in their design at separating sleeping areas from kitchen work. Dwellings of this type which were designed for the town-dwelling worker at the beginning of the 20th century were organically linked with rural housing and continued the tradition of the multipurpose main room with one smaller room attached. The difference was that in the city the kitchen was usually the smaller of the two rooms. The transition from a single room to one room and a kitchen was highly significant, although it did not necessarily entail a major change in housing practices. Sometimes the main room was rented out and the family lived in the kitchen; sometimes the family kept the entire dwelling to itself but continued living in the kitchen and turned the other room into a »better room«, a parlour (*sali*), in conformation with the housing practices of the gentry (*Fig. 51*). This custom was criticized at the beginning of the century by the upper classes: an entire family sleeping in one room was contrary to hygienic, sanitary and moral ideals.⁶¹ But in the circumstances of the working-class family the parlour could also represent a separate, sacred space, a world that was distinct from everyday life and lay outside its reach. In dwellings which consisted of one room and a kitchen the kitchen often came first; the other room was situated at the back of the home and was accessed either directly from the entrance-hall passage or through the kitchen. The former practice was criticized in public since it was thought that it encouraged the taking in of lodgers.⁶² Taking in lodgers was not merely a financial question, however, it was also connected with rural tradition and with the new circumstances in the city. Work in the city was often periodic, and »a room of one's own« carried the implication of having a family and being settled. Moving to the city often meant living at first with relatives or acquaintances, or as a lodger

remains (Pertti Haapala's study (1986) notwithstanding) relatively unresearched. Haapala's work and G.R. Snellman's survey on the living conditions of the poor in Tampere at the beginning of the 20th century still form the basis of all research. One study is currently being written on working-class habitation practices in Tampere. See Markkola 1991, 210–228.

⁶¹ E.g. *Suomen Ensimmäinen Yleinen...* 1917; *Asuntokysymys* 1904.

⁶² Toivonen 1919, 266. According to Toivonen, a smaller room (*kamari*) which is accessed directly from the entrance-hall passage is for hygienic reasons better than one situated behind the kitchen, in spite of the temptation to rent it out. With its model rules that applied to construction companies and to the granting of building loans for small dwelling construction, the National Board of Social Welfare sought to prevent the taking in of lodgers. At least in Tampere these terms were not always complied with. Kuusi 1921, 341–347.

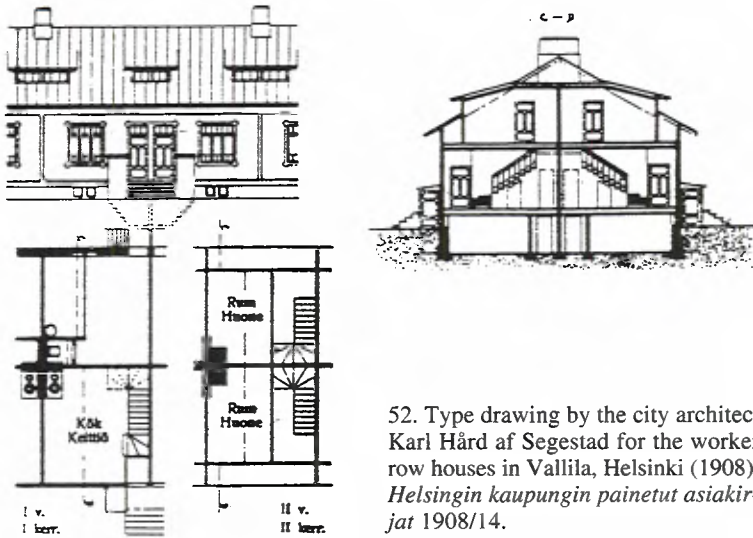


51. Furnishings of a one room and a kitchen dwelling in Port Arthur, Turku, early 20th century. The kitchen is used as a main living space while the room is furnished as a parlourlike "better room". During the daytime most of the beds were hidden from view. Eenilä 1974, p. 143.

in an unfamiliar household.⁶³ The dwelling was not regarded as the sole property of a family, as a private and closed space.

Women and men shared the same space in both single-room dwellings and those with a separate kitchen, but in the latter case it was spatially possible to keep parents separate from the children on the one hand, and the family from lodgers on the other. Key factors in the reorganization of gender relations and housing practices are the change in the functions of the dwelling, the gradual reorganization of its space and the relationship between the dwelling and urban space. The spatial differentiation of the

⁶³ See Waris 1932, 257–258. Finnish working-class populations have been researched relatively well, but workers' dwellings as such have not been questioned from the point of view of the family and gender identities. In this regard Heikki Waris' work on the birth of the working-class society north of the Pitkäsilta in Helsinki (1932) still forms the main corpus of material, supplemented by several working-class housing surveys that have been made since the end of the 19th century. On workers' housing see also Kuosmanen 1972; Juntto 1990; Haapala 1986; Markkola 1991.



52. Type drawing by the city architect Karl Hård af Segerstad for the worker row houses in Vallila, Helsinki (1908). *Helsingin kaupungin painetut asiakirjat* 1908/14.

working-class dwelling and the development of distinctions between the home and the outside world, the dwelling and the workplace, entailed a change in the relationship between gender identities and the dwelling space. The differentiation between dwelling and living made working-class homes a factor that brought the occupants of each dwelling together and gathered the family around itself. Yet there is a clear difference between urban working-class housing and the concurrent middle-class housing conditions centred on the home and the family.

The Vallila suburb in Helsinki (the so-called Old Vallila, 1908–1915) was originally conceived of as a working-class area of »own homes» (*oma koti*) consisting of two-storey timber-frame houses each containing between four and sixteen families. Instead the area filled with apartment houses.⁶⁴ Rather than the envisaged dwellings consisting of one room and a kitchen, to be built after type drawings drawn up by the city architect Karl Hård af Segerstad, the dwellings were mainly single rooms (*Fig. 52*). Only later, in the New Vallila, were dwellings mainly of the one-room-and-a-kitch-

⁶⁴ »Own home» was a term that was used to refer both to proprietorship and to housing practice.



53. Vallilantie, Old Vallila. Photo E. Sundström 1913. HKM.

en type.⁶⁵ The uniform, two-storey multi-family houses of Vallila, with their boarding generally laid horizontally, their mansard roofs and varied details, create a small-town impression. The streets twist and rise with the terrain and the houses are positioned along the originally uncobbled and unlit streets with their long sides fronting the street. The street facade is closed off; separated by wooden fences, the houses stand slightly apart from each other and entrance to each is gained through the yard (*Fig. 53*). The yards with their outbuildings are enclosed by the houses; conveniences are set at the back of the yard. Entrances face each other within the same yard. Daily life extended to the yard and to the shared facilities (the laundry for instance) which formed a focus of social intercourse for the occupants and their families.

⁶⁵ Åström 1956, 100, 122; Nikula 1981, 233–237; Korpela – Siitonen 1971.

The garden cities and working-class suburbs in Britain and Germany also featured the workers' shared kitchen (Ger. *Einküche*). American feminists in particular regarded cooperatively managed houses as their goal – the most famous advocate of the shared-kitchen idea was Charlotte Perkins Gilman.⁶⁶ The idea was that women of the various households would take turns at cooking, or that food would be fetched daily from a communal kitchen; childcare was to have been arranged jointly too.⁶⁷ In Finland this idea was put forward at least in connection with the Women's Housing Convention in 1921 and in *Työläisnainen* (Worker Woman) magazine (1907–14), but apparently relatively few houses with communal kitchens were built; the only exceptions were the shared-kitchen dwellings in Tampere whose ideological background was, however, different.⁶⁸ The idea of a communal kitchen was linked with ideas of collectivization and of cooperation between occupants, but while this form of housing did reorganize the interrelation between the dwelling and housekeeping, it still retained the family as the basic unit of housing. Neither did it change gender-relations: childcare, cleaning and other household tasks still remained tasks for the woman. The idea of a shared or central kitchen embraced the prevalent gender identities of the time: either hired (female) labour would be used for cooking and childcare, or the women of the house would undertake these tasks in turns. Nevertheless, collective housekeeping and hired outside help would have changed women's everyday life: one of the themes of the articles in *Työläisnainen* magazine was the creation of opportunities for reading and self-improvement with the time that would have been spared from housekeeping tasks.⁶⁹ Anne Ollila has suggested that the reason cooperative houses were unsuccessful was the predominantly agrarian nature of Finnish society, as well as habitation and housekeeping practices that traditionally centred on the family or a single household. The concept of family had a strong ideological significance and the importance of housewives' work and the home rested on home-centred housekeeping.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ See Hayden 1981, 3–8; Ollila 1991, 129.

⁶⁷ Housing plans and housing experiments that aim at the reorganization of everyday life also exist today, but family-centred notions of habitation and home economy still exert a powerful sway. See e.g. Cronberg – Vepsä.

⁶⁸ Sillanpää 1921, 67–75.

⁶⁹ I thank Pirkko Markkola for pointing out the debate in *Työläisnainen* magazine. Nevertheless, the question of home economics had only a marginal status in the activities of the *Työläisnaisliitto* (Working Women's Union). See Ollila 1991, 128.

⁷⁰ Ollila 1991, 129.

At the beginning of the 20th century dwellings were designed with the social class of the occupants in mind rather than the needs of individuals or groups (such as families of different size, unmarried people, shared rooms);⁷¹ in social housing activities and debate the issue was *other people's* problems and the planning of dwellings for *others*. The poor who were recipients of charity or objects of philanthropic aid were seen in this context as others who lived nearby.⁷² The ideal working-class (family)residence and the ideal middle-class dwelling were not the same. One room and a kitchen were regarded as sufficient for working-class needs, since the dwelling was primarily a place of rest, housekeeping and reproduction and also the setting of some minor tasks that were performed in particular by mothers who stayed at home.⁷³ On the other hand, the demands of social intercourse and privacy (reading, for example) were not the same in the dwellings of manual workers as they were in the dwellings of the educated classes or civil servants.

The one-room-and-a-kitchen type of dwelling conformed to the ideals of working-class family dwelling that were handed down from above and also to the wishes of the workers themselves – it was the usual dwelling type in the working-class housing corporations at the turn of the century (Fig. 54).⁷⁴ When demands for larger working-class dwellings began to appear the reasons given were above all hygienic and moral.⁷⁵ At first, hygiene affected only the planning of workers' housing; it was not until Functionalism that this concern began to have an influence on all housing design.⁷⁶ In the First General Housing Congress a worker dwelling with separate bedrooms for parents and children of different sexes was recommended as an ideal worker home that conformed with international models (British, German, French, Swedish, for example). However, up until the 1920s the one-room-and-a-kitchen dwelling, which was closely related to rural housing practices, remained the standard for the working-class family

⁷¹ The social status of the occupants was always clearly expressed in housing plans, but in the 1920s and '30s dwellings for different types of occupants also came under discussion, in keeping with Functionalist dwelling ideals. Similä 1933, 313; see also Åström 1957, 262.

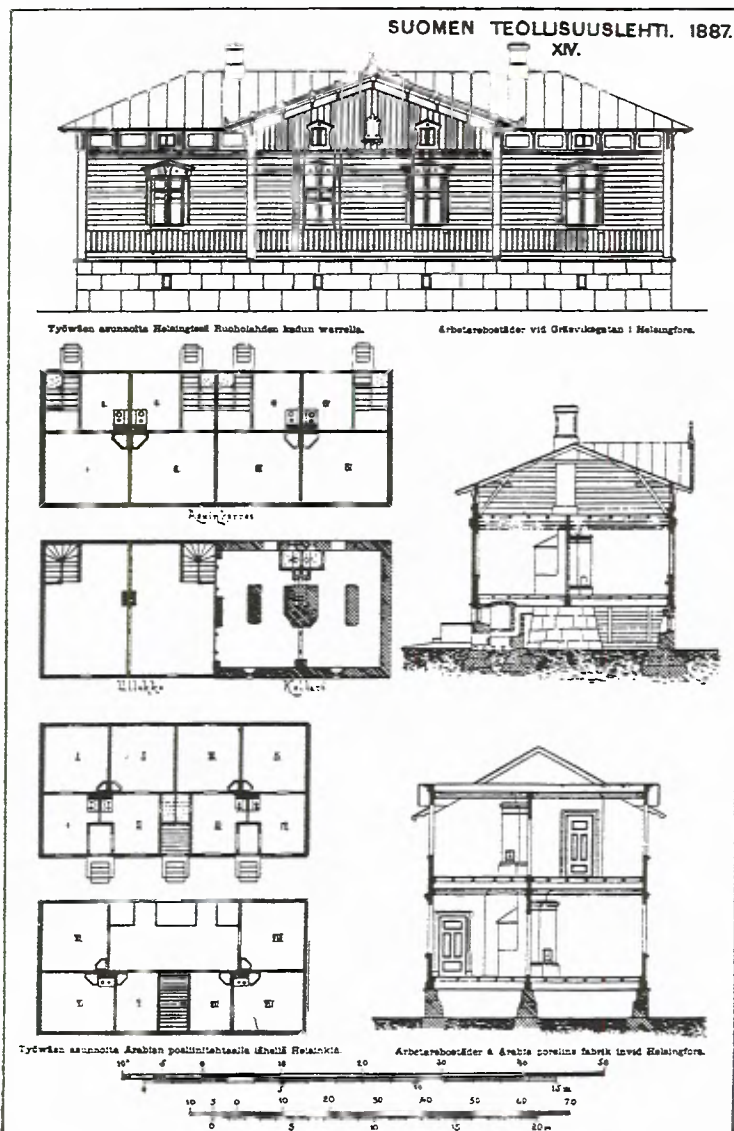
⁷² See also Rabinow 1989, 24.

⁷³ In the established usage in feminist literature, reproduction means reproduction work carried out in the home; it comprises not only conception, birth and childcare, but all tasks connected with nurture and home economy which are performed at home. Mitchell 1971, 106–107.

⁷⁴ *Asuntokysymys* 1904; Åström 1956, 156–158. See also Junto 1990, 338.

⁷⁵ E.g. *Asuntokysymys* 1904; *Suomen Ensimmäinen Yleinen...* 1917.

⁷⁶ Nikula 1981, 276–277.



54. The worker dwellings (mainly one room and a kitchen) at the Arabia factory in Helsinki in the 1870s and '80s were among the best in their time. Published in *Teollisuuslehti* 1887. Photo Åström 1956, p. 157.

dwelling and it also served as a starting point when the creation of a small dwelling type was considered.⁷⁷

In the social hygiene of housing, the human body and its needs occupy a central place. The formation of the idea of the social hygiene of housing is at its most evident in worker housing and the debate revolving around it. As the dwelling became privatized and increasingly the scene of private life, it also became the focus of public debate and control. The dwelling had been the subject of debate before, but now the first priority was given to bodily needs, health aspects and the morals of the occupants. The focus shifted to the family and the requirements of the family dwelling; the family was understood as a unit consisting of mother, father and children, but it was not clearly demarcated. The clearest difference was in relation to the lodger system, which was considered demoralizing. The starting point of planning and of housing policy was the family dwelling and its requirements; now it was considered desirable to privatize the dwelling for the family's use (*Fig. 55*).

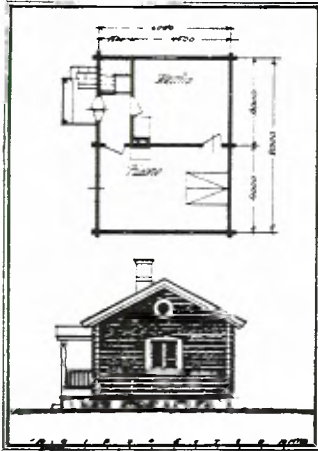
Society, dwelling and family were linked through the role of the woman. It was her duty to make the man of the house feel at home and to keep the home clean, both morally and physically.⁷⁸ The woman as wife and mother figured prominently in efforts to civilize the working population and to raise the standards of housing and habitation. In a certain sense woman was the instrument of both the civilization of the working class and of man's redemption – she was the one who carried these responsibilities. As the significance of the family was emphasized the mother and child (who were associated with the home) and the absent father became polarized as opposites. Man became the absent object of longing and waiting, whom the home (made cosy by the woman) had to be able to lure away from the corruption of the outside world.⁷⁹ As the representative of civilization, culture and sacred values, the wife also carried the responsibility

⁷⁷ E.g. *Suomen Ensimmäinen Yleinen...* 1917; *Rakennuspäivät* 1919; *Toinen suomalainen asuntokongressi* 1925. At the end of the 1920s and in the '30s, a considerable number of dwellings comprising one room and a kitchen were built. At the Working Women's Housing Convention in 1935, Elna Kiljander's type plans for worker dwellings were exhibited. The largest of the family dwellings had one room and a kitchen (39 m²) (*Fig. 56*). *Meillä on vain yksi huone* (We only have one room) 1935, 376–378.

⁷⁸ The condition of the home can thus be seen as a marker of social significance that reflected on the male head of the household.

⁷⁹ Sillanpää 1921, 66–67. The theme and tension in the debate on housing were also central in the temperance movement. Sulkunen 1987, 158–161.

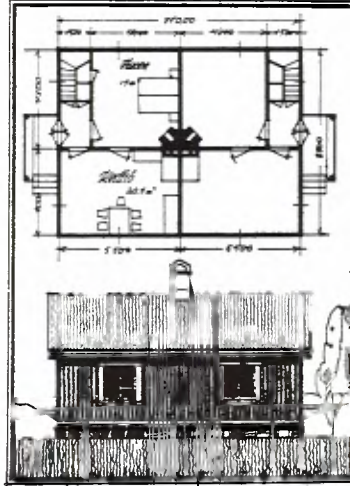
TYYPPI 1 *Yksinainen yhden perheen asunto*



KANKUNHARJUN OMA-ALOITUS-ALUE

Kankunharju. Omakoti.
Arkk. V. & I. Thomé.

TYYPPI 3 *Kaksoinen perheen asunto*



KANKUNHARJUN OMA-ALOITUS-ALUE

Kankunharju. Kaksoistalo.
Arkk. V. & I. Thomé.

55. Valter and Ivar Thomé, worker single-family house (type 1) and semi-detached house (type 3), in Kankunharju residential area in Varkaus. Published in *Ensimmäisen Suomalaisen...* 1917.

PIENASUNTO 39m²
4 makusijaa



1. KOKKI 2. MIES
3. NAISIA 4. LASTA

PERHEHUONE 20m²



1. KOKKI 2. MIES
3. NAISIA 4. LASTA

YKSIINÄISEN NAISEN
ASUNTO 2270m²



1. KOKKI 2. MIES
3. NAISIA 4. LASTA

56. Elna Kiljander, plans for small dwellings presented at the Worker Women's Housing Convention (1935). Family dwelling for a family of four, single room for a family of five, and dwelling for a single woman. The plans depart markedly from the prevalent lack of space in worker dwellings. Published in *Kotiliesi* 1935, pp. 376-378.

for her husband. On the one hand the woman represents civilized society and culture, but on the other she acquires meaning in her role as mother, confined to the single role and to her body. The mother is an unerotic creature; corporeality is not only associated with motherhood but also with hygiene and health. The emphasis given to the body turns the body into an object and de-erotizes it.⁸⁰ The »old-fashioned«, pre-modern peasant attitude towards the body is apparent in the custom of mixed bathing, which was still quite common in the 1920s in working-class areas (and in the countryside).⁸¹

Working-class residential districts on the edges of towns outside the actual town plan, and especially in those areas that were situated outside town limits in unplanned areas, created a new kind of semi-urban space, a »no-man's land«, in the interspace between city and country.⁸² One of these was Kyttälä, near Tampere, of which Väinö Voionmaa writes:

Kyttälä was neither rural nor urban. It was a unique phenomenon, a factory village, and it bore very little resemblance to ordinary towns... The promised society of the proletariat at the time was the suburb, which lived its own colourful, carefree and careless life outside of all restraint and order.⁸³

Kyttälä is the earliest working-class suburb in Finland. By the time the construction of workers' suburbs got under way elsewhere it had already been redeveloped.⁸⁴

Residential areas belonging to this new, semi-urban space also included those working-class villa districts that were built away from the town centre at the turn and beginning of the 20th century. Two examples are

⁸⁰ For an analysis of the notion of dirt and its identification with woman, body and poverty, see Palmer 1989, 18.

⁸¹ See e.g. »Pispala elvytti yleisen saunan» (Pispala revived the communal sauna). *Helsingin Sanomat* 8. 12. 1989. Heikki Waris traces the custom of communal bathing and the lodger system back to the same pre-modern tradition, in which no line was drawn between »us« and »them«.

⁸² Before the Town Planning Act of 1931 which regulated the building of towns and urban population centres, the practice of town planning developed outside legislation per se; the building of towns was regulated by the Building Code from 1856. The actual town nucleus was a properly planned area. Construction at the edge of the town (e.g. the old and the new Vallila in Helsinki) was regulated by a bureaucratically less burdensome special kind of town plan which had been developed for new suburban areas. The »wild areas« outside the towns remained entirely outside town planning legislation. I am indebted to Riitta Nikula for drawing my attention to this differentiation. Nikula 1981, 150–151; Nikula 1988, 56; Nikula 1990, 105

⁸³ Voionmaa 1932, 512.

⁸⁴ Rasila 1984, 204.



57. Tapanila, Helsinki. Photo Kari Hakli. HKM.

Pispala in Tampere and Malmi-Tapanila near Helsinki (Fig. 57). A mixture of old rural customs and new urban life, they formed communities of their own kind on the outskirts of cities; they provided the setting of Joel Lehtonen's novel *Rakastunut rampa* (The Enamoured Cripple, 1922), a description of social outcasts and the development of no-man's-land into modern semi-urban space, and of Lauri Viita's *Moreeni* (Moraine, 1950), a well-known description of the growth of a working-class family in Pispala, Tampere, from the Civil War in 1918 to the 1950s.

The tradition of self-help in house construction flourished in these areas; the usual dwelling type was a house for one or two families. At least

in Malmi-Tapanila the houses were closely tied to the idea of the detached house and thus also to the type-planned house of the 1940s, although they are different in exterior form. The houses stood alone surrounded by yards and each had an entrance of its own that was often situated on a different side to that of its neighbour's. The dwellings were frequently larger than in the city: the detached houses designed by Gustaf Strengell for Malmi-Tapanila have two rooms and a kitchen, or a kitchen, a living room and a bed-alcove, as well as two rooms upstairs that could also be rented out.⁸⁵ Although some of these areas sprang up near industrial areas, the longer trip to work emphasized the difference between the dwelling and the workplace. On the other hand, life in these areas was rustic and roomy, expanding into the surrounding countryside; one vital aspect of habitation was gardening.

5.3. The single-family house: villa, detached house and garden

5.3.1. Villas at the turn of the century

At the turn of the century the name »villa» (*huvila*) was used for several kinds of low, timber-frame houses; a villa could equally well be a summer residence, a round-the-year one-family house near the city or even a multi-family house or an apartment block (Sw. *industrivilla*).⁸⁶ The new turn-of-the-century single-family house – either a villa of affluent classes or a detached house designed for workers and lower middle classes – had inherent associations on the family and on habitation, the separation of the dwelling from the workplace, and garden city ideology. At the beginning of the 20th century, a single-family house in the suburbs represented the dwelling ideal of the new middle class and of educated class-

⁸⁵ Strengell's draft SRM; Strengell 1909, 6.

⁸⁶ The word »villa» appears with different meanings in architectural drawings and in general usage too. See e.g. Kekkonen 1908; *Oman kodin piirustuksia* 1913; Viljo 1989, 00; Stavenow-Hidemark 1971, 28–29. The confusing use of the word continued in the 20th century, e.g. all detached house plots in Malmi-Tapanila were called villa plots (Sw. *villaparceller*). HKA; Strengell 1909. The differentiation between *huvila* and *omakotitalo* began to establish only after the First World War. See chapter 4.1, p.104.

es.⁸⁷ Much has been written in Finland about the villa and the new concepts of habitation, but as a space that organized day-to-day life the villa remains relatively unanalysed.⁸⁸

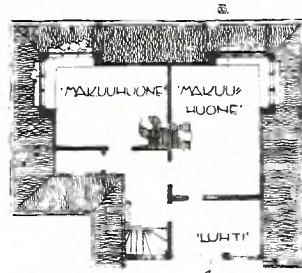
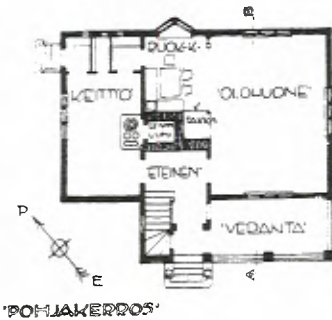
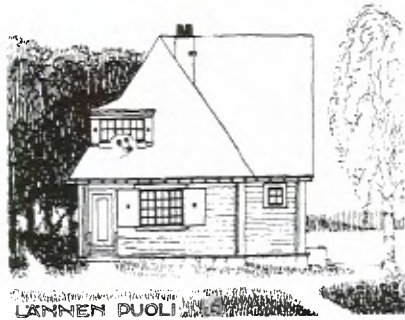
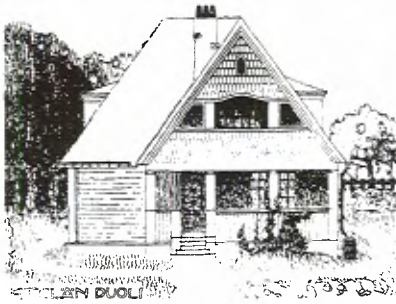
The spatial organization of these suburban villas reiterates a body of basic themes, whereas the architecture of their facades has more variation. The general impression made by suburban villa architecture has been characterized as simple and unassuming. Many younger-generation architects drew up plans for villas, but most villas and single-family houses in particular were actually designed by non-architects.⁸⁹ However, this in no way detracts from their interest from the standpoint of either housing ideals or the social practice of housing. In a study of housing – the art history of the everyday – anonymous houses and dwellings planned by non-architects are very important indeed: they are the setting of everyday life for many people, a space whose social and covert private meanings, sensations and perceptions they carry within themselves. Moreover, the 1940s type-planned house carries traces of this »anonymous» architecture. The villas of the wealthy were large and varied, while those of the lower middle class were simple and bore a close resemblance to the later single-family house. Simpler and modest floor-plans were developed in the 1920s, and the classically designed villas were distinguished by clearly differentiated rooms in lieu of the free and open layout that was common at the turn of the century (*Fig. 58*).⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Jung 1901, 457–459; Kekkonen 1908; Strengell 1911; Åström 1957, 259.

⁸⁸ E.g. Hausen 1987; Wäre 1989; Kolbe 1988, 52–63. Laura Kolbe has analysed the villa as a middle-class dwelling. Although the success of the villa communities that had been established in Helsinki around 1910 depended on the formation of a new affluent middle class who were free from the symbolic environment of past generations, it is nevertheless difficult to say that villa habitation in Finland would have been limited only to the new middle class (civil servants, architects, engineers, etc.), because the villas also contained bourgeois and upper-class features. At the turn of the century, the middle class was a concept that was just beginning to emerge; culturally it shaded into the educated classes and the class of civil servants, and followed the general cultural characteristics of the bourgeoisie. Åström 1956, 47–51; Åström 1957, 259; Nikula 1983, 227. The distinction between the working class and the bourgeoisie was clearer, e.g. Eliel Saarinen distinguishes in his plans for Munkkiniemi-Haaga between the working class (manual workers) and the bourgeoisie (the well-to-do, middle class). Saarinen 1915, 62. For a discussion on the concepts of bourgeoisie and middle class, see e.g. Kocka 1987, 33–48. Also see chapter 5.4, note 122. On the use of the term class in English see Williams 1963, 14–15. The use of the term class in its modern sense began in Britain at the end of the 18th century starting from *lower classes*; *higher classes* and *middle classes* followed in the 1790s and *working classes* in about 1815.

⁸⁹ Wäre 1989, 161–162.

⁹⁰ See also Stavenow-Hidemark 1971, 28–29.



58. Oiva Kallio, plan for a villa. Published in *Rakennustaito* 1910, p. 281.

The villas of civil servants and the emerging middle class also created a new kind of semi-urban space on the outskirts of towns. This new space was different from that of either the rural or the urban milieu. Though clearly separated from the town, these areas nevertheless lay in its immediate vicinity (there were transport connections, etc); the town did not reach them, but it was so near at hand that at times its lights could be seen – a case in point is Kulosaari, which formed an enclave in the immediate vicinity of the capital. Nature and the proximity of the town coexisted in these living areas. The bucolic, spacious conditions departed markedly not only from urban housing and living practices, but also from those in the countryside. The clear separation of the dwelling from the workplace was a central feature, and chores linked with habitation (such as gardening) bore an increasing resemblance to leisure. The development of work for wages and the separation of home from work entail a decrease in the productive func-

tion of the dwelling, and in the more affluent villa districts gardening for pleasure gradually became more important than vegetable gardening. The ideal inherent in the garden city ideology, that of combining habitation with livelihood in independent small towns, did not work in Finland; suburban villa districts relied on municipal services.⁹¹ Distance from the town increased the difference between home and work, between the private and the public spheres.

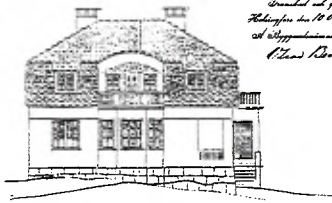
Although the villa is not a homogenous building type, it is possible to outline a general idea of its spatial arrangement. In the architecture of private villas the requirements and hopes of the builder, and the interaction between the architect and builder were also remarkable. At the beginning of the 20th century, a »typical« upper-middle-class or civil servant's villa had two storeys.⁹² Its design originated in the needs of habitation; already the shape of the one-family house allowed for a freer type of planning »from inside out« and provided an opportunity for better suiting the building to the landscape.⁹³ The different spheres of life were spatially differentiated in the dwelling into areas reserved for public and social functions, private family areas and housekeeping and servants' quarters. The ground floor usually contained those rooms reserved for domestic social life: the living room, or a hall and a dining room, the husband's study or »the master's room«, as well as the kitchen and pantry. The most private rooms were upstairs, usually grouped around a hall: the bedrooms, children's rooms and bathroom. The servant's room was generally accessed from the kitchen; it was situated either adjacent to or above the kitchen, or near the nursery. It was common to have two sets of stairs; the main staircase leading to the upstairs hall occupied a central place, while the servants' stairs were more remote and out of the way. Thus servants could move inconspicuously and apparently invisibly within the dwelling while being constantly available (there were hygienic reasons for this too). The house also had a porch and a balcony which joined the outside with the inside – nature with culture (*Figs. 59 and 60*).

Just like the bourgeois and middle-class town-dwellings, the villas were divided into rooms for public and social functions, private rooms for the family, and rooms reserved for housekeeping and the servants. Although the private space occupied by the family expanded, the larger villas still

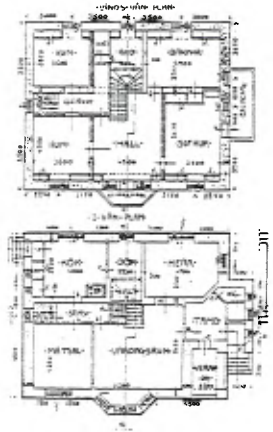
⁹¹ Nikula 1988, 48; Peltonen 1983, 6.

⁹² In this study, the notion of a »typical villa« is based on a number of different plans and studies, e.g. Peltonen 1983; Kolbe 1988; Wäre 1989. Cf. also Stavenow-Hidemark 1971.

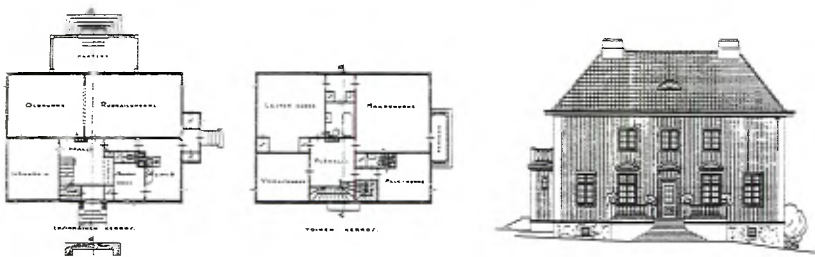
⁹³ See Kekkonen 1908; various villa designs.



*Grundriis och gavelriis
Helsingfors den 10. Okt. 1911.
af V. Thomé och ingenjör
Carl Bäckström.*



59. Valter Thomé, engineer Carl Bäckström's villa in Kulosaari (1911). Ground floor: veranda, entrance, living room, dining room, kitchen, servant's room. First floor: around the hall four bedrooms (one of them designated as children's room). Kolbe 1988, p. 91.



60. The distinctly classicistic Villa Kahiluoto in Kulosaari, Helsinki, with clearly separate and rectangular rooms (1926). Ground floor: kitchen, storage room, hall, master's room, living room, dining room and terrace. First floor: servant's room, hall, guest room, children's room, bedroom. Separate stairs for the servants. Kolbe 1988, p. 187.

Huvila Oulunkylän läheisyydessä.



61. Small villa near Oulunkylä suburb, Helsinki. Built as the first prize in a lottery organized by the Association of Master Builders. *Rakennustaito* 6/1906, cover.

Rakennettu päävoitoksi S. Rakennusmestariiliton helsinkiläisiin arpajaisiin, jotka pidettiin rakennusmestariien eläkelaitoksen pohjarahaston hankkimista varten Securabuo-
neella tämän kuun 29 p:nä. Huvilan arvo maapalstoineen on 8,000 markkaa.

retained the public function of the dwelling and separate rooms for social occasions.⁹⁴ The emphasis on the family was most obvious in the smaller villas, where rooms reserved for social life (parlour, dining room) were replaced by the living room, and the dwelling became spatially reduced to a kitchen, a living room and bedrooms. As a rule these small lower-middle-class villas also lacked servants' quarters. The difference between this and the working-class single-family house was slight, almost imperceptible: the villa was distinguished by its living room, which the working-class dwelling generally did not have. The type-planned house of the 1940s continued this tradition of more anonymous villas and single-family houses (*Fig. 61*).

⁹⁴ Social hierarchy is still discernible in the »pearl of Functionalism«, Alvar Aalto's Villa Mairea (1937–1938), where Functionalist idiom and practicality are linked with social duties such as entertainment and the dwelling's function as a bourgeois home. It preserves the spatial solutions of the turn-of-the-century bourgeois home and divides the dwelling into the private, the public and the housekeeping areas. For more details, see Suominen-Kokkonen 1992, 86–94; Porphyrios 1982, 57–58.

The largest and most important rooms in the larger villas were those that were set aside for family gatherings and social life. The hall occupied the central place: it served either as the entrance and as the place where guests were received, or it was situated upstairs and used for more private gatherings. One essential element that was usually to be found either in the hall or somewhere else in the family quarters was the fireplace – a living fire was considered the »heart of the home« and it alluded to the sanctity of both the family and the home. Yet in spite of these sacral allusions, the dwelling had been desacralized; the home had become profane.⁹⁵ The rooms reserved for the family and for social occasions and gatherings formed the nucleus of the dwelling, and the most private rooms were now separated from these areas. The emphasis placed on the family is apparent both in the sections dedicated to family gatherings and in the increased size of the private spaces – there are several bedrooms and children's rooms, and in the larger villas the ideal was also to separate children's bedrooms from their playrooms.⁹⁶ Children's rooms acquired a new significance; previously they were usually placed in the darkest parts of the dwelling or were nonexistent.⁹⁷ Children were an integral part of the family living in a villa: they were a prerequisite for its existence.⁹⁸ The increase in the number of bedrooms reveals both a growing emphasis on privacy and the new requirements of hygiene and morals. In both smaller and larger villas the kitchen was usually quite large, and as a rule the servants had their own, distinctly separate quarters. A separate servants' section and their own space meant both an improvement in the servants' status and a clearer distinction between servants and family members – servants posed a threat to the cleanliness and unity of the increasingly bourgeois home and family life.⁹⁹ The demands of hygiene and the growing comfort of habitation also meant that sanitary facilities received more attention; already from the technical point of view they were better than in

⁹⁵ At the end of the 19th century, the hearth was a popular symbol of the home, its core. Wright 1983, 109.

⁹⁶ This ideal actually worked only seldom in larger villas, e.g. in Hvitträsk by Gesellius – Lindgren – Saarinen.

⁹⁷ Cf. the late 19th-century bourgeois flat.

⁹⁸ For children's central role in family life and in house planning, see e.g. Key 1900; Kekkonen 1908; Setälä 1929. The larger villas also had furniture designed especially for children.

⁹⁹ At the end of 19th the century and the beginning of the 20th, improvement of the maid's status and the maid as a moral threat to the family came under debate. Sexual morals were also an important subject of discussion among the female servants themselves, but for them the threat was the father of the household. Sulkunen 1989, 37–44.

multi-storey apartment blocks. In contrast to apartment houses, a central feature of the villas is the increased attention they paid to the dwelling's private sections and to housekeeping facilities.

Life in a villa stressed the contrast between the dwelling and the workplace, and thus it also gave an emphasis to domestic privacy. Each villa was designed for one family, which in itself emphasized the family's importance, and its spatial arrangement underscored domestic and familial comfort. But domesticity and prestige, private functions and social activities often went hand in hand; in spite of the efforts to eschew grandiose settings the social functions of habitation were still central.¹⁰⁰ This is evident in the spatial organization of the villa, for instance in the central positioning of the hall. The hall was a kind of semi-public space of an intermediary, transitory nature, an area for nobody as well as for everybody. It was a mediator between the inner and the outer worlds, the private and the public spheres, through which one moved on to other rooms and where guests were often received. It was also able to replace the living room as a space for family gatherings.

The family was the primary and indivisible entity that determined life and habitation in a villa; it also served as a basis for the design of the model villa.¹⁰¹ The model family included a father, mother and children; it was an emotional unit where all members were equally essential. Garden city ideology and villas placed great weight on social prosperity and the stability of the family; the nature of the villa is linked with the emphasis it gave to the position and stability of the family. The importance placed on the family and the stability of the villa community in garden city and villa ideologies contained paternalistic and patriarchal qualities.¹⁰² Villa communities were seen as an integral part of a modern city. The idea of socially important healthy family life near nature and the attempts to solve the problems of urbanization (housing shortage, dark stone centres of cities) were in its background.¹⁰³

The villa was the scene of the family's private life, controlled by the family's inner relationships.¹⁰⁴ Its spatial organization highlighted the de-

¹⁰⁰ Elenius 1915; Kekkonen 1908, etc. Drawings and the discourse on habitation.

¹⁰¹ See Kekkonen 1908; Elenius 1915; Saarinen 1915.

¹⁰² See e.g. Ravetz 1989, 190; Häggman 1991, 147–150; Wilson 1991, 101–112. Although garden cities and villa communities contained new dwelling and town ideals and were favoured by many bohemians and artists, the basic planning unit was the family.

¹⁰³ Jung 1911, 94; Wäre 1988, 64.

¹⁰⁴ The high proportion of families (and especially families with many children) was common to villa suburbs. Harvia 1936, 80–92.

mands of conviviality and privacy for each family member, and the essential feature was the spatial separation of the different groups of occupants and the various functions of the habitation. Rooms for social interaction were shared by the whole family, but each member often also had his/her own space. The distinction between servants and the family is also clear since, in spite of the emphasis on the family, all occupants of the villa did not, after all, belong to the same family.

The largest villas often contained a separate room and study for the husband, but in spite of this the distinction between the private and the public was most prominent in the father's life, since it was divided into life at home and in the public eye. Thus the home came to be defined as the opposite of masculine work and the outside world, as a sheltering nest. It was the space for the symbiotic unity of the family, a kind of feminine space, and the seat of femininity within a masculine culture. For the man, home was a place of rest (and at times also of work). It was primarily a place of work for the (female) servant. In contrast, the woman (the wife) was primarily a person whose task was to care for the entire family; she was present everywhere and nowhere in the dwelling; quite often she had no »room of her own« and her domain embraced the entire dwelling. The essential elements were the link between mother and children, as well as the woman's role as the person who carried the responsibility of caring for and civilizing the family and who brought up the children. She was the bonding force of the home, its guardian angel and *genius loci*, and both the father and the children came under her care.¹⁰⁵ A key function of the home was the care and upbringing of the children: this took place at home when the children were small, and the ideal was to be cared for by one's own mother.¹⁰⁶ Actual housekeeping was not a task for the mother but for the servants. The absent father was associated with waiting and yearning (*manque, désir*); he was the object of longing. Mother's and father's roles in the family were structured by the continual presence of the mother and the intermittent absence of the father. The polarization of masculine and feminine roles is apparent here. Both the educative and the nurturing aspects of the mother's role were emphasized; in 19th-century ideology wom-

¹⁰⁵ On the culture of nurturing and woman's work in this sphere, see e.g. Smith 1981, *passim*. According to Smith, the 19th-century bourgeois and upper-class woman's existence was characterized by nurture, education and charity. His concept »leisured« when translated into Finnish (*joutilas*) contains a pejorative connotation that does not correspond to the active nature of woman's nurturing work (education, childcare). On the family ideology and ideals of 19th-century Finnish gentry and civil servants, see Häggman 1991, 146–150.

¹⁰⁶ Häggmann 1991, 146–150; Sulkunen 1989, 117; Kaplan 1992, 20–21.

an and children were often identified with nature, but in her role as the civilizer of the family the mother was the representative of culture and civilization in the dwelling.¹⁰⁷

The emphasis on individuality, privacy and uniqueness inherent in the one-family villa was later linked to the single-family house as well, and this continued in the type-planned house of the 1940s. In its combination of the antithetical ideas of individuality and type, and of uniqueness and repetition, the type-planned house is a paradoxical building.

5.3.2. The garden city: Puu-Käpylä (wooden Käpylä)

Although the garden city ideology and that associated with the single-family house were closely connected, they did not mean the same thing. This is particularly evident in Puu-Käpylä (wooden Käpylä), the first municipal garden suburb in Finland, built near Helsinki at the beginning of the 1920s (*Fig. 62*). Although the area appears to comprise one-family housing and spacious habitation close to nature, most houses built in Käpylä in 1920–26 were actually intended for two or more families: of the 656 apartments (in 168 wooden-frame houses) constructed at the time with government loans, only 30 were one-family houses.¹⁰⁸

The town plan of Käpylä, drawn up in 1917 by Birger Brunila and Otto-I. Meurman, was originally part of a more comprehensive design. It was accepted on 6 April 1920 in slightly modified form, but was extended as early as 1923, when some stone houses of two to four storeys were included, and in 1925 construction work began on the nearby single-family housing district of Taivaskallio.¹⁰⁹ The street plan in Käpylä is com-

¹⁰⁷ The male/female difference was crucial in Ebenezer Howard's idea of town and country becoming united in the garden city. Howard (1902) 1946, 48; Wilson 1991, 101–112. In 19th-century ideology, denial of the body was associated with being civilized. In his analysis of the process of the physical structuring of gendered identities in the 19th-century bourgeois or middle-class family, Freud saw the establishment of the civilized or socialized individual as a product of the Oedipus complex and the repression of the body. The gendered identities thus created are then reinforced by social institutions such as the family and the educational system. Mertes 1992, 67. Lacan's analysis of the absent father and the Law of the Father continues this narrative.

¹⁰⁸ Kuusi 1926, 251.

¹⁰⁹ Brunila 1962, 58. On the initiative of YYRE (the Association for the Advancement of Non-profit Building), Helsinki City Council proposed on April 17, 1917 the establishment of a semi-municipal construction company which would build



62. Puu-Käpylä (wooden Käpylä), aerial view. Photo Nisonen 29.1.1926. HKM.

paratively regular and the streets are fairly straight, but they still conform to the undulating rocky terrain (*Fig. 63*). Today, especially in the summer, the houses are hidden by trees, but at the time of their construction they were clearly visible. The blocks on both sides of Pohjolankatu (dating from the first building phase) are clearly more regular than those built later, where the dwellings are larger and the houses have been positioned in a less regimented fashion. Nevertheless, in all blocks the houses are characteristically positioned near the street on the outer edge of the lots. The houses and lots are surrounded by a wooden fence leaving a large, enclosed yard in the middle. The two-storey wooden houses, with their vertical boarding and saddle or mansard roofs, have been painted in earth colours (*Fig. 64*). The somewhat spartan uniform general impression is relieved by details (windows, columns, small decorations) that followed classic convention. Puu-Käpylä combined the features of British garden city ideology with Finnish tradition of small wooden towns. The general architectural impression made by the area links it to Finnish and Scandinavian traditions of the wooden town, and indeed it bears a much closer resemblance



63. Birger Brunila and Otto-I. Meurman, organization plan for Käpylä wooden house district, 1919. Käpylä was situated outside the immediate town planning area and hence town planning regulations did not apply there. Photo SRM.



64. Puu-Käpylä, Tapiolantie. Photo Heikki Havas, beginning of the 1960s. HKM.

to a small town than to a single-family housing district. Underlying its design was the idea, inherent in garden city ideology, of combining the benefits of the country with those of the city.¹¹⁰ The closest analogies can per-

inexpensive, hygienic, artistically and socially first-rate dwellings outside the centre of the city and thus also outside the reach of its building regulations. *Helsingin kaupungin painetut asiakirjat* (Printed documents of the Helsinki City Council), 2/1917. At the same time, the Council had also considered the building of 4–5 storey multi-family stone houses for workers. The largest of the constructors, Oy Helsingin Kansanasunnot – AB Helsingfors Folkbostäder was set up on June 7, 1919 and the decision to start the construction work was made on April 22, 1920. Helsinki City owned 3/4 of the shares of Oy Kansanasunnot; the rest was held by the Asuntoreformiyhdistys (Association for Housing Reform) and Keskinäinen henkivakuutusyhtiö Suomi (Mutual Life-Insurance Company Finland). On the different phases of the planning and construction of Käpylä, see e.g. Brunila 1962, 56–60; Ahmavaara 1961; *Käpylä 50 vuotta* 1970.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Ebenezer Howard's three-magnet model, which in addition to the town and country included a third category, the town-country, combining the benefits of both. These ideal garden cities were conceived as independent small towns, where work

haps be made with some of the cosy industrial communities found in Finland and the garden suburbs of Äppelvik and Enskede near Stockholm in Sweden.¹¹¹

Käpylä is situated only five kilometres from the centre of Helsinki. Right from the beginning it had a railway connection; the street-car system was set up 1925.¹¹² It was a residential area from which people travelled to work, and this distinguished it from both the small town and the ideals of the garden city. In the construction of Käpylä, small house types designed by architect Martti Välikangas especially for this area were used; standardization and construction from prefabricated parts were also experimented with.¹¹³ The largest of the nine construction companies in Käpylä was Osakeyhtiö Helsingin Kansanasunnot (People's Housing Ltd.), which built 341 apartments in the area between 1920 and 1926. Designed by Martti Välikangas, these were chiefly wooden houses for two or four families (a total of 82 buildings).¹¹⁴ Prevailing social housing ideals were embodied in the construction of the area: all dwellings contained at least one room and a kitchen. The first to be constructed were four-family houses, and the most common type had two rooms and a kitchen. The houses built by Oy Kansanasunnot can be divided into three: type I consisted of four dwellings each with one room and a kitchen, type II of four dwellings each with two rooms and a kitchen, and types III and IV of two dwellings that each had two rooms and a kitchen on two levels (*Figs. 65 and 66*). The series also included type designs for a utility building and a privy. A fifth type was

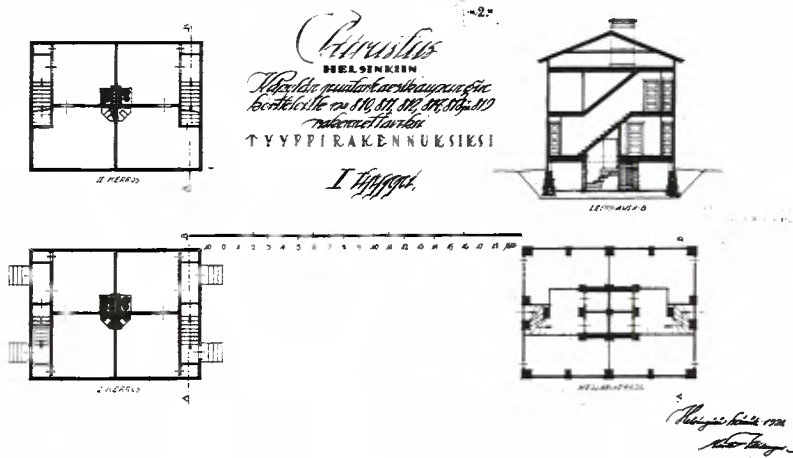
and habitation would be combined close to nature. The concept of the garden city was soon incorporated into other languages, although realizations of the idea were often incomplete. Howard (1892) 1946, 48; Wilson 1991, 104.

¹¹¹ See e.g. plates in Toivonen 1927, 618–619.

¹¹² *Käpylä 50 vuotta* 1970, 54.

¹¹³ The development of Käpylä was greatly influenced by architect Akseli Toivonen, who in the 1919 Building Convention made a speech advocating the creation of small dwelling types. The residential areas of Toukola and Kumpula near Helsinki were built with state loans and they included detached houses developed by the Ministry of Social Service. Elsewhere the building of detached houses was most popular in Tampere and Kuopio. Modeen 1934, 5.

¹¹⁴ Kuusi 1927, 251–252; Toivonen 1920, 147. In addition to Oy Kansanasunnot the biggest construction companies were Asunto-osuuskunta Käpy and Käpylä (building societies), and Asunto-osakeyhtiö Osmo-Käpylä (a housing corporation), which built larger, privately owned dwellings in 81 houses. Oy Kansanasunnot built blocks no. 810–812, 817–819 and 824; Asunto-osuuskunta Käpylä had blocks no. 808, 813, 816 and 825; and Käpy had blocks no. 806–807, 820 and 822. Asunto-osakeyhtiö Osmo-Käpylä built detached houses with conveniences in block no. 823. Ahmavaara 1961, 22.

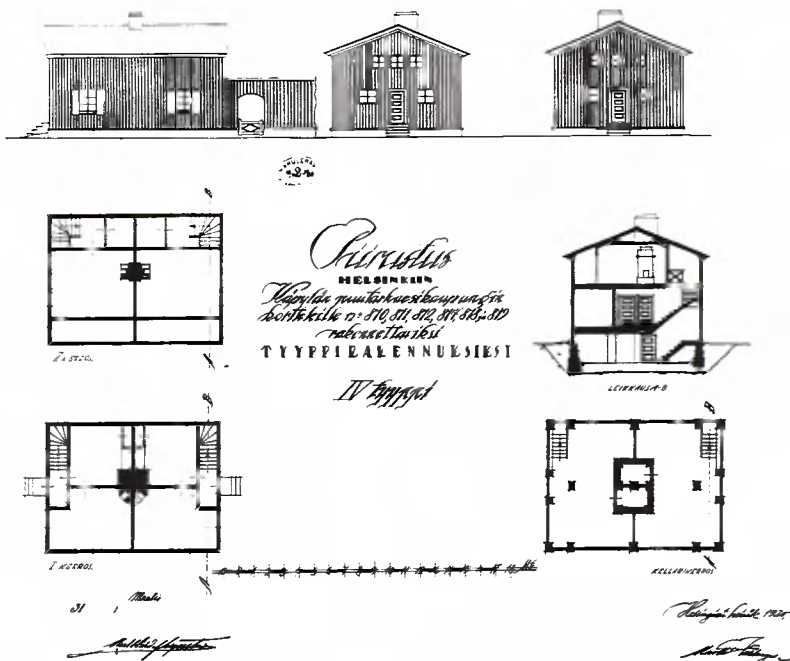


65. Martti Välikangas, drawing of the type building for Käpylä garden suburb (As. Oy Kansanasunnot, 1920), type I with four dwellings each with one room and a kitchen. Stove heating. Photo SRM.

introduced later; this was a two-storey multi-family house – eight dwellings of either one or two rooms and a kitchen (Fig. 67).¹¹⁵

The construction of Puu-Käpylä was linked with the aims of social housing reform. It was planned above all as a suburban residential district for families. Both the general plans for the area and the individual buildings manifested the social-reformist aims of worker housing. These homes typically consisted of two rooms and a kitchen; the smallest which fulfilled the minimum requirements for worker housing had one room and a kitchen.

¹¹⁵ Drawings Building supervision authorities of the City of Helsinki (HKRVVA); photographs SRM. See also Toivonen 1920.

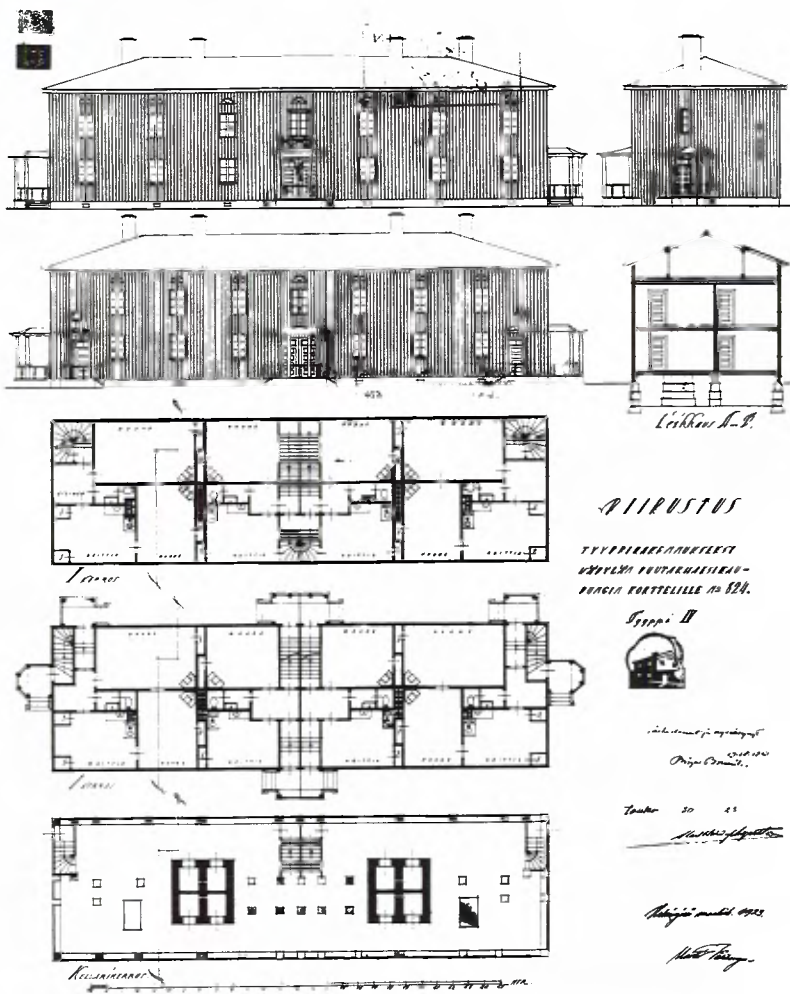


66. Martti Välikangas, drawing for the type IV building to the Käpylä garden suburb (As. Oy Kansanasunnot, 1920) consisting of two dwellings each with two rooms and a kitchen. Photo SRM.

en.¹¹⁶ The requirements for a working-class family dwelling were more modest and fundamentally different to those intended for the middle class and the affluent. Most often the houses are based on the four-room system (with variations) that was generally employed in both workers' housing and the single-family houses of the period.¹¹⁷ Their planning was char-

¹¹⁶ Cf. Toivonen 1919, 261. Although the unit of two rooms and a kitchen was regarded as standard, the smaller dwelling with just one room and a kitchen fulfilled the minimum requirements for a working-class family home.

¹¹⁷ For example Mulhouse's four-family houses based on the four-room plan and the one- and two-family detached houses planned by Elias Paalanen for the Ministry of Social Service.



67. Martti Välikangas, drawing for a two-storey multi-family house, type IV (1923) consisting of eight dwellings with either one or two rooms and a kitchen. In this house each dwelling had its own WC. Photo SRM.

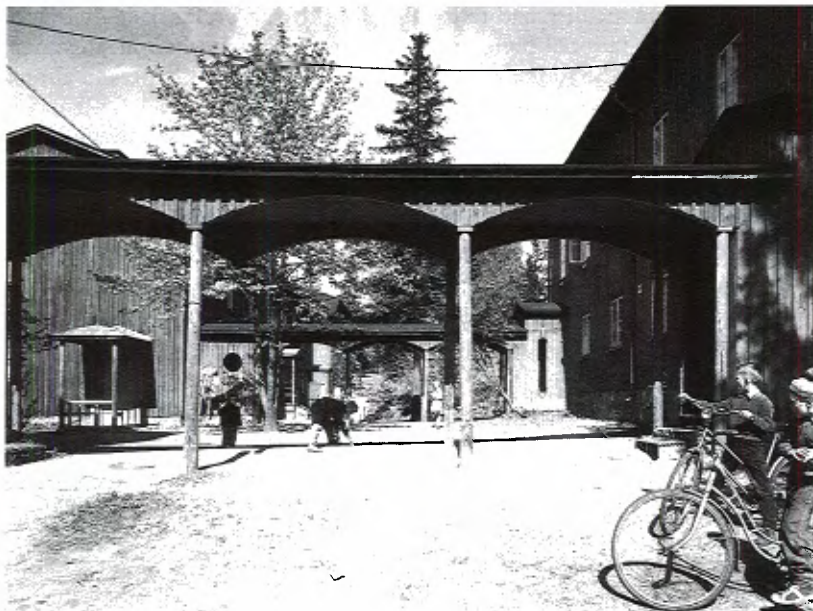
acterized by practicality and rationality: built from prefabricated components they were rational both structurally as well as in their arrangement of living spaces. The rooms are distinctly rectangular in shape and almost uniform in size. The kitchens are spacious; they may be larger than the other rooms and as such they are reminiscent of the rural tradition of large multipurpose main rooms.¹¹⁸ The kitchen has a wood-burning stove for cooking, the other rooms are heated with stoves, and as arule the houses built by Oy Kansanasunnot have no conveniences; the communal privies are situated in the yard.

Communal saunas and laundries were provided for the whole area. The families' privacy was emphasized by individual entrances (each had its own staircase), but the yard enclosed by the block also underlined the interaction between occupants (*Fig. 68*). These yards are a key feature of housing practice in Käpylä; apart from the yard each dwelling also had an allotment of its own. Gardening formed a central part of housing policy, and especially in the first couple of decades of the 20th century and during the Second World War the allotments were dominated by the cultivation of fruit and vegetables.¹¹⁹

The underlying ideal in the construction of Käpylä was the one-family house. The type of dwelling that represented this, similar to a detached house, was regarded as a kind of intermediate form between the ideal form of housing and the existing situation. To increase the popularity of single-family houses it was necessary to improve their architectural standard (with designs from the best architects in the field) and to increase the standard of conveniences. Such homes were a measure of social change as well

¹¹⁸ In his speech at the Building Convention in 1919, Akseli Toivonen discussed the creation of small dwelling types and defended the large kitchen with its echoes of the rural tradition of large main rooms, criticizing small kitchens as failing to meet Finnish habitation customs. Toivonen took as his point of departure the prevalent practice in workers' dwellings. »Since even a better dwelling, if it doesn't feel like home, will not fulfil its purpose, we have to estimate whether a Finn would be able to live in the smaller room and think of the kitchen as an extra room. During my observations I have invariably noticed that when the kitchen of a small dwelling is small, it has been used as the living room and complaints have been made concerning the lack of space. I repeat, the feeling for a large main room is in our blood and the main room is the room where the stove is. The smaller room is a side room, a better room, be it greater or smaller in size.» Toivonen 1919, 263.

¹¹⁹ The City of Helsinki had in 1924 employed horticultural consultant Ms. Elisabeth Koch to plan the city allotments and the yards and gardens in the districts of detached houses. The inhabitants of Käpylä could ask her to design plans for their allotments; the plans favoured garden produce, especially fruit trees and berry-bearing bushes. *Käpylä 50 vuotta* 1970, 62–63.



68. Käpylä, Pellervontie. Photo Heikki Havas, the 1960s. HKM.

as an instrument of moral education with which the occupants were to be integrated into society. The dwellings in Käpylä corresponded to the ideals of the social housing reformists at least:

When one goes to look, for example, at those new houses that have been completed in recent years in Käpylä near the capital, one is often surprised by the neatness, or should I say the refined quality that one is met with there, and in the worker's dwellings too. Acquiring a new, neat dwelling moreover generates a desire to furnish it appropriately. At least members of the younger generation, although having grown up in the dirty and inadequate workers' houses of the past, have seen better things and gone to school, and often fashion their homes so that they are a pleasure to look at. It is not only the home that has changed here; man, too, has changed or is changing.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Kuusi 1925, 24. The association of dirt with workers is evident in the quotation. Dirt not only described the «real» housing conditions of the workers, it also became a distinctive, symbolic feature.

The kitchen plots were a vital element in the planning of Käpylä and they crystallize many of the values of garden city ideals. Depending on social class, the emphasis was on either useful or decorative plants, on utility or leisure, on productivity or plain recreation. Spending time out of doors and working on the garden in one's spare time were regarded as desirable ends in themselves, but for the workers the economic aspects of gardening were also emphasized. Gardening not only provided the occupants with food and concrete economic benefits, it also engendered a domestic atmosphere and bolstered the sense of belonging to a particular place. Tending the garden could be either domestic work or a leisure activity; for those who went to work outside the home it was a form of recreation, but for those who worked at home, the women, it constituted a part of everyday activities. It gave an active and productive aspect to housing. The home was a kind of third category that mediated between nature and civilization. It was a nest and a shelter from the surrounding city and its way of life, but also a place of education and the acquisition of ideas, connecting its occupants to society and culture. In both cases it was associated with the woman and with femininity; on the one hand femininity was identified with nature, on the other the woman was regarded as the representative of culture and education.

Furthermore, in the efforts to increase the popularity of single-family dwellings, appeals were made to the woman and to her responsibility to raise the standard of the home, although the final improvements would be carried out by men: »Let us hope that the men who build will get encouragement from them [the women], so that before long we shall indeed be – on new paths.»¹²¹

5.4. The apartment dwelling

5.4.1. The bourgeois and middle-class apartment

The spatial reorganization of the apartment; the emergence at the end of the 19th century of bourgeois apartment blocks; the new 20th-century middle-class apartments – these are not directly linked with the single-family house or the type-planned house of the 1940s. Instead, they constitute the

¹²¹ Toivonen 1927, 618.

antithesis of the one-family house; thus the 1940s type-planned house and the Functionalist »new democratic dwelling» can be contrasted with them.¹²² However, the middle-class conceptions of home and family are essential to the study of the emergence of the modern dwelling, its spatial differentiation and emphasis on privacy, and of the changes in the relationship between the dwelling and gender identities. Both the apartment and the single-family house provide evidence of the privatization and spatial differentiation of the dwelling, and the reorganization of the relationship between the dwelling and the city.

In contrast to the earlier 19th-century home of the gentry where a room could have several functions, each room in the new bourgeois town dwellings had only one function, and the different spheres of life were more-over increasingly distinguished from each other within the home. The stone-built multi-storey block of flats containing several dwellings, the *maison à loyer*, was developed in Paris in the 19th century. It superseded the aristocratic one-family or one-household palace, the *hotel particulier*.¹²³ Instead of an entire house, in a block of flats the family (or the household) occupied just one apartment. The spatial differentiation inside each dwelling as well as the overall social stratification and hierarchy of the house are apparent in these new blocks: the apartments overlooking the street were more valuable than those in the wing fronting the yard, which often housed smaller flats for workers. Each storey, too, had its own status. In Finland these new multi-storey blocks were erected chiefly in Helsinki, from the 1870s onwards (*Fig. 69*). And at the turn of the century the centre of Helsinki was already characterized by stone houses of four to five storeys.¹²⁴

¹²² The middle class and the bourgeoisie are problematic concepts that are hard to define, and they partly overlap. See section 5.3.1, note 88, for a definition of the terms as used here. The German term »Bildungsbürgertum» is largely equivalent with the Finnish educated class, and at its core are the state officials and professional people who share the characteristics of education, secularization and the ideal of the civil state. Culturally it is held together by the ideals of education and of family-life and in this respect it approximates to the middle class. Kocka 1987, 33–38.

¹²³ Daly 1864; Eleb-Vidal & Debarre-Blanchard 1989, 93–110. The new masonry-built apartment blocks, *maisons à loyer*, were divided into four hierarchic categories: the houses of the most affluent were large and their facades were more highly decorated than the others. Norbert Elias has analysed the relationship between society and the court culture of the French 17th-century aristocratic dwelling, the *hotel particulier*. The aristocratic dwelling reveals in miniature the hierarchic social organization of court culture. Elias 1983 (1969) esp. Chapter 3.

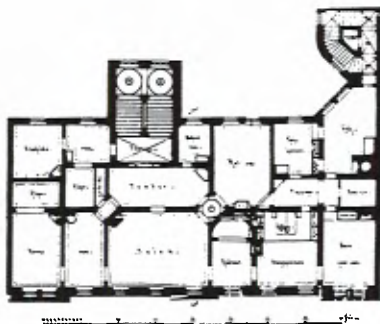
¹²⁴ Viljo 1989, 106; Wäre 1989, 113, 164. These stone houses were usually constructed of bricks and had facades of unhewn stone or plaster.



69. Erottaja, Helsinki, early 1920s. Photo HKM.

At the turn of the century, a well-to-do home in a Helsinki apartment block comprised at the minimum a parlour, a dining hall, a library or study, bedrooms for the parents and the children, a kitchen and an adjacent servant's room. The rooms for public functions (parlour, dining hall, study) made up the most important part of the apartment and faced the street, while the more private rooms (bedrooms and the children's rooms) were more remote and overlooked the yard; the kitchen and the servant's room were situated in some corner of the apartment (*Fig. 70*).¹²⁵ The street was the most important element in town planning and the rooms were positioned accordingly: the more valued rooms used for public functions overlooked the street, while the private family quarters and the areas dedicated to housekeeping faced the yard. The spaces reserved for entertainment and social interaction dominated the spatial arrangement of the dwelling, and towards the end of the 19th century the children might not always have a room of their own, even in the larger apartments. Among the bourgeoisie, gentry or civil servants, the home was often the husband's place of work

¹²⁵ Lagerborg-Stenius 1921, 24. See Viljo 1985, 150–178.



70. An example of the bourgeois apartment, Th. Höijer 1877, Mikonkatu 17, Helsinki. Viljo 1985, p. 157.

too, and in the 19th century some kind of productive activity connected with housekeeping was also performed there.¹²⁶

In the new bourgeois and middle-class town dwelling the various spheres of life were more sharply separated from each other than before. The spatial arrangement of the dwelling was characterized by hierarchy and an inner division into groups of differing importance. The public and social function of bourgeois housing, the growing emphasis on the family and having servants, demanded a large apartment with certain particular characteristics. Space was a separating element that created differences. The central feature of the apartments of the wealthy was the demarcation between the public-social rooms, the family's area and the servants' quarters. As already described in connection with the bourgeois and middle-class villas, the dwelling was clearly divided into male and female domains, into the public and the private, into rooms for family members and those for non-family members of the household. Its space was split into the feminine and the masculine: the husband's domain included the study and the rooms for public and social functions; the wife's domain in turn comprised the private quarters, such as the bedroom (*Figs. 71 and 72*). The bedroom often replaced the separate lady's room which was found only in the largest apartments, and the woman literally had no »room of her own» in the dwelling. The kitchen was the servant's work area, belonging to that part of the dwelling which was set aside for housekeeping tasks. This was not considered a »feminine» area but rather as one reserved simply

¹²⁶ Gejvall 1954 passim; Viljo 1989, 108; see also various descriptions of turn-of-the-century habitation in Helsinki, *Hemma bäst* 1990.



71. Master's room ("study") in G.E. Bomanson's home Bulevardi 6, Helsinki. Photographed in 1912. MV, Section for History.



72. Bourgeois parlour, Faltin's (?) home in Helsinki, 1908. Photo MV, Section for History.

for housekeeping, although it did constitute a distinctively woman's, in this case the servant's, sphere of work.¹²⁷ There was always a separate kitchen staircase for the servants and for housekeeping tasks.

In spite of the prominence given in 19th-century bourgeois home ideology to the close ties between the woman and the home, and to the woman as the creator of the home spirit and »the beauty of homes«, the home was not exclusively a woman's sphere. Emphasizing the dwelling as a private nest and (the man's) place of rest in contrast to the bustle of the public outside world, gives a masculine flavour to home ideology: home was defined through the man.¹²⁸ Bourgeois home ideology highlighted the aesthetic and civilizing qualities of the home. The woman's role as the mother and the educator was crucial; she was the »leisured lady« who was occupied with tasks involving care and charity; she symbolized the cultural and civilizing dimension of the home in opposition to the working husband, who was the provider of the family. A woman's life included the duties of supervising the servants and fulfilling social and public obligations, as well as duties related to the children's upbringing and education (*Fig. 73*).

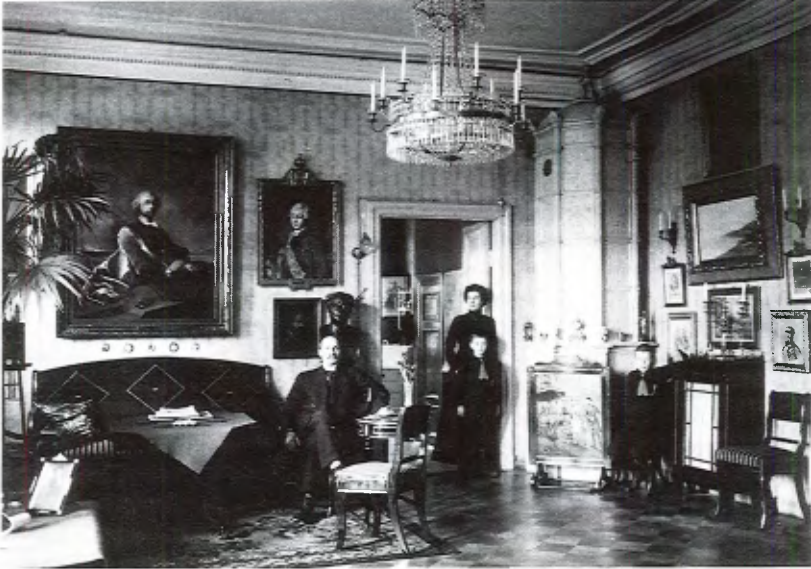
In the 19th-century bourgeois world view, family was not only a social unit and the self-evident spiritual basis for society and state, but a carefully constructed ideology as well. Family was understood as an emotional unit of education and upbringing comprising mother, father and children.¹²⁹ The Enlightenment idea that people are products of their childhood environment was central to this. A new focus on the child, for example in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile*, also produced a new feminine image and the notion of the modern mother. Woman's role was specifically to care for and educate the children. By rearing and educating children from an early age, woman had an indirect public influence through the creation of new citizens. Woman was seen as both a mother of family and a mother of the nation.¹³⁰ As an emotional unit, the family was in a certain sense an end in itself. The productive role of the household as well as woman's role as her children's educator, the soul of the home and the creator of beauty, and the man's role as provider, both required the keep-

¹²⁷ See e.g. Havard 1884; Kerr 1864, 132; Daly 1864, 10. See also Burnett 1985, 109–110. see also the descriptions of housing practices of well-to-do at the turn of the century, e.g. *Hemma bäst* 1990.

¹²⁸ Also see Rybczynski 1987, 158–161.

¹²⁹ On the 19th-century home ideology of educated classes in Finland the writings of J. V. Snellman and W. Bolin were important, see Häggman 1991, 146–150.

¹³⁰ Kaplan 1992, 20–21.



73. A turn-of-the-century bourgeois home in Helsinki. Note the patriarchal prerogative of the father as well as the wife's role as the mistress of the home and as the mother and educator of the children. MV, Section for History.

ing of servants. Many tasks were then performed at home which have since moved out of the domestic sphere. Nurture and upbringing united the mother with the children, while the father occupied a place at the edge of the family, a kind of observer and an authority.

The femininity and masculinity of the different parts of the apartment also decreed the way they were furnished, and advice on how to furnish rooms was based on this difference.¹³¹ The spatial division of the dwelling into the feminine and the masculine concerned the occupants' place and interaction within the dwelling, as well as the characteristic features of these places. In the home and housing ideology of this period, the

¹³¹ The spatial arrangement of the dwelling and the social relations inherent in it were clearly divided into the feminine and the masculine, and these qualities extended to the characteristic furnishing of the rooms. See: several manuals on habitation and furnishing both before and after the turn of the century, e.g. Daly 1864; Harvard 1884; Kerr 1864; Brunius. In Finland e.g. Kekkonen 1908; Elenius 1915; Strengell 1923; Setälä 1929.

private and the public, the feminine and the masculine, were often portrayed as complements.

On pourrait dire que les édifices public forment en quelque sorte la branche masculine ou majeure de l'architecture, tandis que les constructions privées en constituant en branche féminine ou mineure. Ce qui est certain c'est que les femmes n'exercent pas l'ordinaire d'action directe sur la première, tandis que leur influence est considerable sur ce qui touche l'habitation.¹³²

The bourgeois apartment was internally divided into the private and the public, but, as a whole, it was defined as a feminine space. Nevertheless, the dwelling as a private area was not entirely separate from the public; the public also penetrated it. At home, the woman moved within both spheres.¹³³

From the beginning of the 20th century, apartment design placed increasing emphasis on the importance of the family, privacy and intimacy; it was a design that took the needs of the family into account. The design ideals of the one-family house are apparent in the apartment too, as architects developed the floor-plans of apartment houses along the lines of the ideals expressed in British country houses.¹³⁴ The aims of planning »from-inside-out« can be discerned in apartment planning at the beginning of the 20th century; the floor-plan and the demands of living were now central points of departure in planning of the home. In the facades, this emphasis is visible in the various shapes and sizes of bay windows and balconies. Another important aspect was that, in order to maximize natural light, the building frame was narrower than before. A key feature of the interior space was that the former row of rooms was replaced with a centralized organization: irregularly shaped rooms were often grouped around the hall, living room or dining room, which were all now essentially family rooms. Bedrooms and children's rooms received more attention, while shared spaces were designed with an eye to the needs of the family, with the living room or family room often replacing the separate parlour and dining room, or the dining hall transformed into a passageway.¹³⁵ Increased privacy and separation from the outside world were the distinguishing characteristics of the middle-class town home. The ideal was the colourful »complete work of Art« which would offer various views and have its point of departure in the arrangement of internal spaces.

¹³² Daly 1864, 13.

¹³³ On the 19th-century public/private distinction, see Wilson 1991, 56–64.

¹³⁴ Wäre 1983, 256.

¹³⁵ Wäre 1983, 260; Nikula 1988, 22–23; Wäre 1989, 164.



74. Gesellius - Lindgren - Saarinen, the so-called *Lääkärien talo* (Doctors' house), Fabianinkatu 17 (1900-1901). Photo Erik Sundström 1932. HKM.

But although home and domesticity were emphasized in the new housing planning, rather than the role of social entertainment and receiving visitors, the social functions of the dwelling remained. The so-called *Lääkärien talo* (Doctors' house), designed by the Gesellius - Lindgren - Saarinen office (1900-1901) and built as a rental house for three doctors and their families, experimented with the new architectural aesthetics and the new concept of dwelling. It was widely discussed and appreciated immediately after it was built, and has since been analysed as a model example of the new type of residence representing home- and family-oriented apartment design (*Fig. 74*).¹³⁶ The ground floor of this five-storey house con-

¹³⁶ Jung 1901, 456-460; Nikula 1988, 22-23; Wäre 1989, 162, Wäre 1991, 101-102. Nevertheless, Jung presented it as a second-best alternative for villa.

tained shops, and the fifth floor smaller apartments for rent. The three storeys in between each included a large apartment with seven rooms, kitchen and servant's room facing the *Fabianinkatu* street, a smaller apartment with five rooms facing the *Makasiininkatu* street, and the smallest apartment with two rooms and a kitchen facing the yard. Although the spatial arrangement of the largest apartments is centred on the parlour and dining room, the previous practice of dividing the apartment's functions into three is maintained.¹³⁷ In fact, in these particular apartments the space is divided into as many as four areas (public/work space, semi-public/family space, private rooms and household quarters). Part of the apartment served as the work place for the father, who was a practising doctor. In the floor-plan, after the semi-public family rooms came the parents' bedroom (which also served as the mother's room), and those of the boys and girls, which faced the main street. These were separated from the kitchen and servant's room by a long, narrow passageway (*Figs. 75 and 76*).

Thus while the dwelling did become increasingly private and spatially simpler, and reception rooms grew smaller, social and entertainment aspects did not vanish. They were still of central significance in the 1920s and '30s in ordinary middle-class and civil servants' dwellings; typically these each had two rooms, a hall, a kitchen and a servant's room, with the hall replacing the separate reception rooms of parlour, dining room and study (*Fig. 77*).¹³⁸ In the 1910s and '20s Classical housing planning strove to achieve rationality and simplicity in its floor-plans; this was especially visible in social housing production but is hardly discernible in the complexity of the layout of the largest apartments which were planned by architects and by master builders in equal proportions. In the vigorous construction of apartment buildings in the 1920s they largely repeated the some models in their floor plans.¹³⁹ In the 1920s facades had again a significant status in town planning, with architectural planning dominated by the concern to fit into the town rather than to arrange living spaces. The more important rooms were still placed so that they overlooked the street.¹⁴⁰ The bourgeois model of the town home, with its social and public functions and the rooms allocated to them, was in the 1920s and '30s still the central idea in people's aspirations to the ideal dwelling: the Functionalist

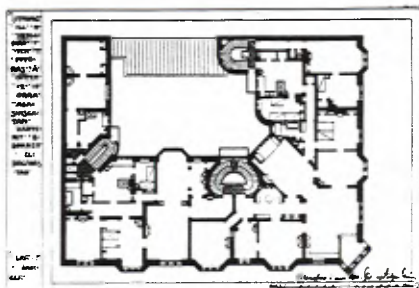
¹³⁷ On description of living in one of its apartments in the beginning of the 20th century, see *Hemma bäst* 1990, 58–69.

¹³⁸ See e.g. Frosterus 1933, 266–272.

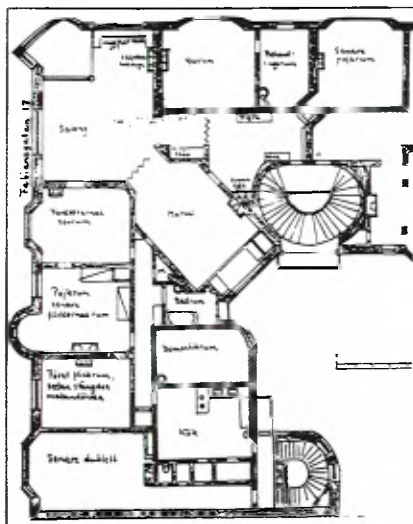
¹³⁹ Nikula 1981, 222; Nikula 1990, 88.

¹⁴⁰ Nikula 1981, 272–273; Nikula 1990, 150.

75. Gesellius - Lindgren - Saarinen, Fabianinkatu 17, residential floor plan. Photo SRM.

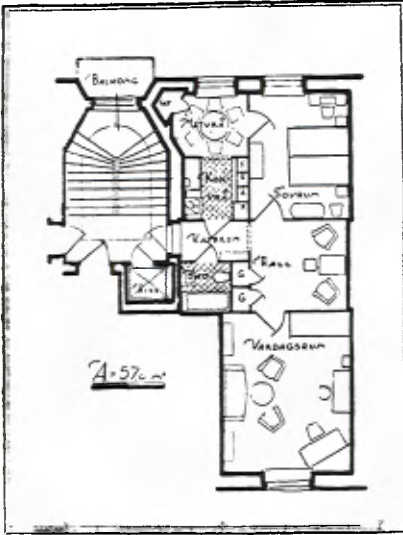


76. Drawing of the family Zilliacus' home at the beginning of the 20th century on the second floor of *Lääkärien talo*. Published in *Hemma bäst* 1990, p. 63.



»democratic dwelling» was presented as a direct opposite of this model.¹⁴¹ It was not until this than the spatial differentiation and social functions of the dwelling changed significantly. As the family and the dwelling developed towards increasing privacy, the latter became simpler and the rooms for public and social occasions gradually disappeared. The new middle-class dwelling that became established at least by the time of Functionalism comprised a kitchen, bedrooms and a living room. It was dedicated to

¹⁴¹ Aalto 1930, 24–25; Nikula 1981, 276–277.



77. Ole Gripenberg, proposition for a modern family apartment, 1927. Published in *Arkkittehti* 1927, p. 96.

home and family life. It did not have enough room for any other than household and childcentred tasks, and the productive function associated with the earlier bourgeois and rural dwellings disappeared. From the beginning of the 1930s onwards, separate servants' quarters also began to disappear.¹⁴²

During the 1920s and '30s a large number of dwellings with one room and a kitchen were built (*Fig. 78*). However, a room and a kitchenette were thought suitable only for an unmarried person, whereas a dwelling of one room and a kitchen or two rooms and a kitchenette were considered appropriate as a first home for a family; one room with a kitchen was thought fit only for a childless couple.¹⁴³ From both the ideological and practical point of view, the new studio/room-and-a-kitchenette apartments were regarded primarily as dwellings for women, although the tenants could well be other than self-supporting female civil servants. Whatever their status,

¹⁴² On the decreasing size and the transformation of the middle-class dwelling, see Setälä 1931, 187–188). In the type-drawing competition for single-family houses arranged by the Ministry of Social Service in 1939 Division C was still dedicated to the homes with three rooms, a kitchen and a servant's room. *Arkkittehti* 1939, 140–142.

¹⁴³ Similä 1939; Ekelund 1939.



78. Sigurd Frosterus and Ole Gripenberg, floor plans for small dwellings (1930) with or without halls, presented at the Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin in 1931. Published in *Arkkitehti* 7/1931.

they were provided with a more independent alternative than living as a lodger or with relatives.¹⁴⁴

Key features in middle-class homes in the 1920s and '30s were the changes in household economy and housekeeping, and in the role of the woman and the housewife.¹⁴⁵ As the productive function shifted away from the dwelling, the dwelling became a stronghold of the family; this is confirmed by the disappearance, from the 1930s, of both the public spaces and the servants' rooms. In the 1920s dwellings of two or three rooms and a kitchen still included as a matter of course a servant's room or a servant's corner adjoining the kitchen (*Fig.79*).¹⁴⁶ Housekeeping now became a task for the housewife; the home economy movement also stressed the housewives' active contribution.¹⁴⁷

From the 1920s and '30s, the organization of housekeeping acquired an increasingly important role in house planning. Attention was now paid to rationalizing the use of space in the kitchen: the design of new kitchen furnishings was a central part of the change in habitation.¹⁴⁸ In parallel with

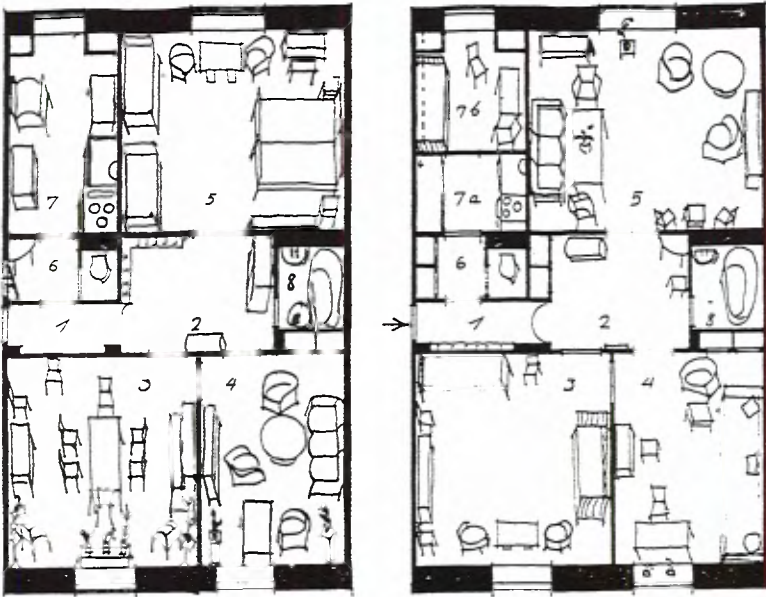
¹⁴⁴ See e.g. Juntto 1990, 160.

¹⁴⁵ The changing situation of women in the 1920s and '30s is an area which has remained unresearched in spite of its interest.

¹⁴⁶ Frosterus 1933, 268. In 1930, only 2–3 % of Finnish town homes had live-in servants. Juntto 1990, 161.

¹⁴⁷ See e.g. Harmaja 1925; *Kotiliesi* magazines of the 1920s and '30s.

¹⁴⁸ Kitchen furniture was designed in the 1920s and '30s and the first such furnishings were completed in the 1930s. From the beginning, the design of kitchen furniture belonged to the women's sphere. See plates in Setälä 1929.



79. Conversion plan for a middle-class apartment of three rooms, hall, kitchen and bathroom, by Salme Setälä 1931. Apartment before conversion on the right, after conversion on the left. Prior to conversion it included: entrance (1), hall (2), dining room (3), parlour and master's room (4), bedroom (5), kitchen entrance (6), kitchen (7) and bathroom (8). After conversion: entrance (1), hall (2), children's room (3), bedroom/workroom (4), living room (5), kitchen entrance (6), kitchen (7a), servant's room (7b), bathroom (8). Published in *Kotiliesi* 1931, p. 187.

aesthetic considerations, attention was focused on the practicality of the dwelling, and the woman's work and the »active« dimension of living were stressed instead of the home as the place of man's rest. Kitchen design sought to organize kitchen work by studying actual work performance, positions and movements.¹⁴⁹ The emphasis on kitchen design and the practical dimension of housing was greater than has generally been thought:

¹⁴⁹ See Giedion 1969 (1948, 522–527). One exhibit in the Finnish Exhibition on the Rationalization of the Small Dwelling in 1930 was the so-called sitting kitchen designed by Aino Marsio-Aalto, where it was possible to work most of the time in a sitting position. Similar kitchens were also exhibited in the Wohnung für das Ex-

through housekeeping, attention was focused on the use and functionality of the dwelling, and the dwelling and its spatial organization figured prominently in the housekeeping and home economy manuals for women.¹⁵⁰ Housekeeping linked living, the dwelling and the housewife's work to the national economy.¹⁵¹ Little by little, housekeeping and home economy evolved into discursive practices and came to play a pivotal defining role in the spatial arrangement of the dwelling. Middle-class women were seen as active operators both in the design of the dwelling and in its use. The attention focused on housekeeping and women's work had its starting point in the existing mores and prevalent gender identities (*Figs.* 80–84).

Changes taking place in the dwelling and new domestic technology were a central theme in *Kotiliesi* magazine in the 1920s and '30s, where the subjects of discussion included the evolution of new and the disappearance of old dwelling types, and the demands that housekeeping made on the dwelling. Notwithstanding the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, the family dwelling and its problems dominated housing design.

And then a new iron age had quickly and stridently overtaken the world. She herself had followed it only out of the corner of her eye. Cars had made their appearance, so had the new American-style street-cars; the area of Töölö had come into existence. Central heating, central kitchens, the two-room home, the militia, conscription, compulsory education, smallholders, childless marriages, divorces, prohibition, bootlegging, crime, knifings... The list could go on endlessly. The socialization and rationalization of life.¹⁵²

Then Ilmari started explaining in earnest how wonderful things could be. Of course it could be a little tight financially at the beginning, they would have to live frugally. Of course they wouldn't have any servants: nobody had servants these days. At first they could have a two-room home in some house with a central kitchen. The charwoman could come in two or three days a week... They would both have their own rooms. Should Ilmari work at home, Irene could have her own guests; they did not have to look after each other as much.¹⁵³

istenzminimum exhibition of the CIAM (1929) and in the Industrial Arts Exhibition in Stockholm (1930). Drawings from the AAA. See also Standertskjöld 1992b, 103–105. For a critique of the sitting kitchen, see Stigell 1930, 209–210.

¹⁵⁰ Saurio 1938; Harmaja 1925; Harmaja 1946 etc. Also various women's magazines such as *Kotiliesi*.

¹⁵¹ Speeches at Women's Housing Convention (1921); Harmaja 1925; Harmaja 1928.

¹⁵² Waltari 1932, 88.

¹⁵³ Waltari 1932, 340.

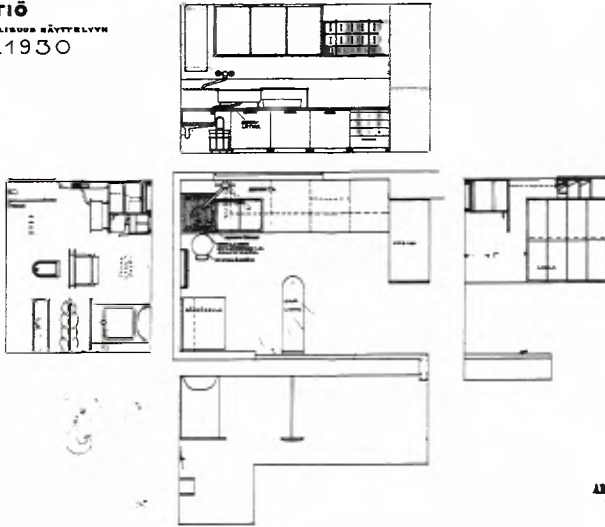


80. Kitchen before modernization. Richard Faltin's home (Unioninkatu 5, Helsinki) at the beginning of the 20th century. Photo MV, Section for History.



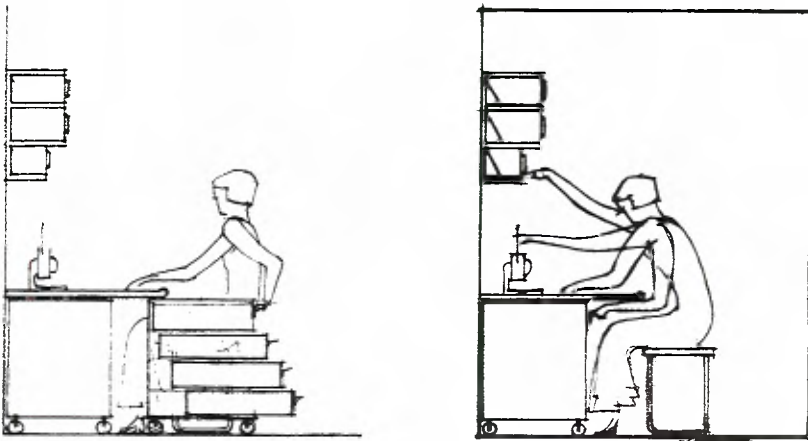
81. Kitchen designed by Elna Kiljander in the 1920s. Published in Setälä 1929, p. 81.

PIEN-ASUNNON
KEITTIÖ
TAIDETÖLLIÖN NÄYTTÖKIVN
v.1930

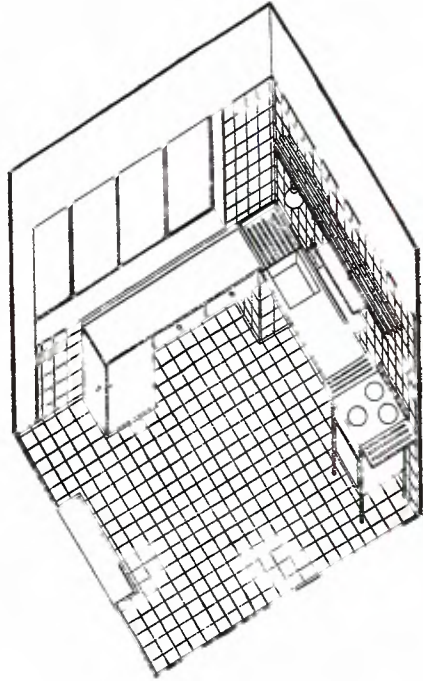


ARKIT. ALVAR AALTO
K. 30
1930

82. Aino Marsio-Aalto, drawing for the kitchen in the Small Dwelling Exhibition in 1930. Photo SRM.



83. Motion studies and ergonomics for kitchen work in a seated position. Small Dwelling exhibition 1930. Photo SRM.



84. J.P. Oud, L-shaped kitchen work space in Weissenhof Siedlung, Stuttgart. Presented for example in Setälä's book of kitchen interiors (1931).

The 20th-century novelty in town dwelling was the idea of service apartments and the house with a central kitchen; these ideas had gained ground in Finland too since the 1910s. During the 1910s and '20s, houses with central kitchens were built mainly in Etu-Töölö in Helsinki, the district of the new educated classes, civil servants and »self-supporting» women.¹⁵⁴ The house with a central kitchen organized housekeeping in a new way by transferring some of the work of women (servants or housewives) outside the home, but, as regards the male/female difference, it was not as radical as it may seem. In the older bourgeois and middle-class dwellings the kitchen did not belong to the family area but to the servants' sphere.

¹⁵⁴ The majority of the population in Töölö comprised women. Waris 1932, 000. Houses with central kitchens were in blocks no. 405, 408, 409 (Leuto A. Pajunen 1919–1924), drawings Building Supervision Authorities of the City of Helsinki (HKRVVA). On habitation in the central-kitchen house, see also Tuulio 1969. Cf. apartment hotels in the United States, especially in New York city in the end of the 19th century. Originally these dwellings were called French flats. Wright 1983, 136–137.

Although a kitchenless dwelling entailed change in the increasing privacy in family life, and it is connected both to an increase in the number of women working outside the home and to a decrease in the number of servants, it did not necessarily alter the relations between the sexes. In such dwellings household work was partly transferred from the servants and placed outside the home.

5.4.2. The Functionalist minimal dwelling

The dwellings designed by Hilding Ekelund and Martti Välikangas for the Olympic Village (1930–40) in Käpylä, Helsinki, embraced the Functionalist housing ideals of the 1920s and '30s, and continued the social and ideological housing traditions of the area. The cooperative housing system of the Olympic Village, its site outside the immediate city centre, and its construction on publicly-owned land corresponded to the Functionalist ideals of settlement (*Siedlung*) too.¹⁵⁵ The houses were arranged either in parallel rows or more freely, not set in enclosed blocks, and were separated from each other by large yards with their greenery. Sunshine, space and greenery (*soleil, espace, verdure*) were the key concepts of Functionalist town-planning, and they also formed an important element in the Olympic Village (*Fig. 85*). The open space between the houses was an essential part of the environment of the Olympic Village: this »empty» space was filled with fresh air, sunshine and greenery. All these were associated with health, hygiene and the new cult of the body. The green, open housing brought nature into the city and combined city with nature, culture with nature, creating a new urban space.¹⁵⁶ In its aim of combining the city and nature, Functionalism bore a resemblance to the idea of the garden city, but differed from it by dividing work, habitation, leisure and culture into separate spheres. Greenery was an integral part of living, connecting it with nature and emphasizing those aspects of life that were considered healthy

¹⁵⁵ The houses were built to accommodate 3000 athletes for the Olympic Games of 1940 and they were adequate for ca. 600 families. The construction company was HAKA (Helsingin Asuntokeskuskunta, Central Housing Association of Helsinki, established 1938); *Asunnot Olympiakylässä* 1940, 3–7; Nikula 1990, 99.

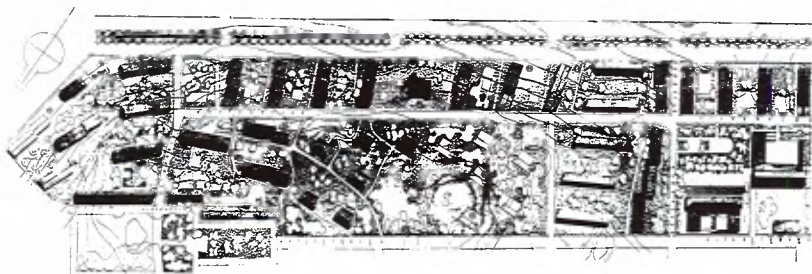
¹⁵⁶ Compare the garden city. Functionalism is different to Haussman's idea of bringing greenery and parks into the existing town structure. There is also a difference vis-à-vis the semi-urban space on the outskirts of the city. Bringing nature into the city is one theme in the recent history of town planning. Choay 1965, 18.



85. Hilding Ekelund - Martti Välikangas, Olympic Village. Photo A. Pietinen Oy 1940 (Koskelantie). HKM.

(nature, fresh air, sunshine). In its separation of habitation and work, the Olympic Village was not unlike Puu-Käpylä (wooden Käpylä): they were both residential areas. In the Olympic Village the yards were more open, in common use and publicly tended, whereas in Käpylä they were more closed and the cultivated plots were privately owned. In the Olympic Village the balconies and the yard created a link with nature and also served as a means of making the dwelling bigger.

Most of the houses were built slightly obliquely in relation to the streets, and the use of oblique angles, especially in positioning the balconies, also enlivened the facades and brought light into the interiors. The plain houses are very similar but not identical. They were positioned freely on the gently sloping hillside (not in parallel lines), and although they did not form enclosed blocks the yards between them were sheltered. The building frame was narrow (10–11 m) and the dominant building type was a three-storey lamellar house with some taller 4–5 storey point blocks added – both were types of residential buildings favoured by Functionalism. The lamellar houses have two or three apartments on each landing; the



86. Ekelund - Välikangas (with work team of Alvar Aalto, Kaj Englund, Georg Jägerroos), town plan for the Olympic Village. Photo SRM.

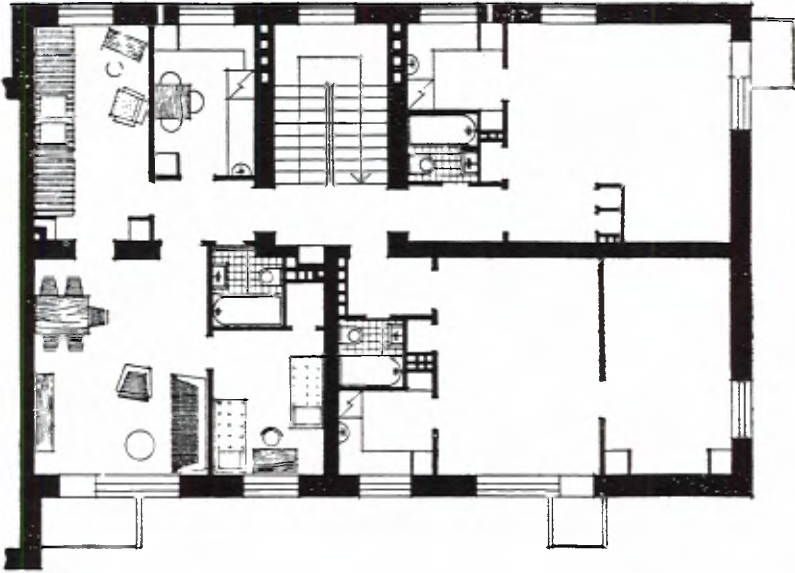
point blocks have four. The arrangement of the apartments point to the key concepts of Functionalist housing design – sun and fresh air: they were easy to ventilate and designed to receive plenty of sunlight. The houses in the Olympic Village bear witness to the ideology of the »white and pure« Functionalism: both their facades and their interior walls were designed to be easily cleaned and to maximize reflected light.¹⁵⁷ The almost blind gables and gently sloping saddle roofs bring to mind the classicism of the 1920s and nearby Puu-Käpylä .

In the first lamellar houses (1939–40) the dominant type of dwelling (54 m² or 60.5 m²) extended through the house and had three rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom and a balcony. However, more than one third of the dwellings were small apartments (30–40 m²) with one or two rooms, a kitchenette and a bathroom, and they were situated at the gable ends of the houses (Fig. 87). The dwellings constructed after 1941 (in both the lamellar houses and the point blocks) generally had two rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom and a balcony (40–50 m²). Balconies were not allowed in houses constructed after the war.¹⁵⁸

The design of these houses attests to an efficient and skilful use of space: three rooms and a kitchen occupied the same space that in the 1920s con-

¹⁵⁷ In Sweden, the three-storey lamellar house was the most typical residential house of the 1930s. Rudberg 1988, 15; *Asunnot Olympiakylässä* 1940, 3–7; Nikula 1990, 106

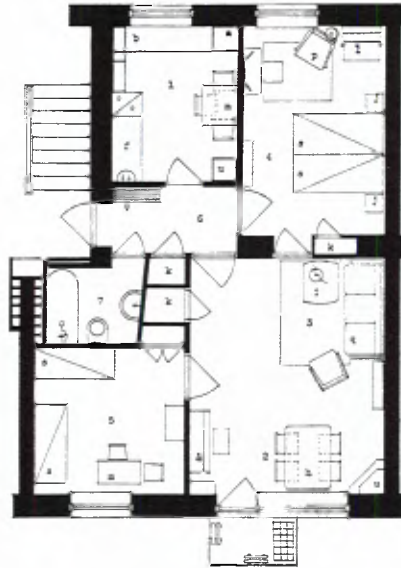
¹⁵⁸ Drawings Building Supervision Authorities of the City of Helsinki (HKRVVA), photographs SRM. See also *Käpylä 50 vuotta*, 74–77.



87. Ekelund - Vålikangas, floor plans of the apartments in the Olympic Village. Photo SRM.

tained just two rooms and a kitchen.¹⁵⁹ The living room was the most important and the largest (17–20 m²) space in these dwellings, also giving access to the balcony; the kitchen (8 m²), or the kitchenette (4 m²), was the smallest. In the larger apartments the kitchen was separated from the living room, but was often located near the bedroom. The kitchen was not, however, directly connected to the bedroom: like the living room, it was accessed via the entrance-hall passage. The Functionalist floor-plan was characterized by the separation of the rooms, by the axis formed by the living room and the kitchen, with the bedrooms in a more out-of-the-way position, and also by the emphasis on the living room as the centre of the dwelling and the space that gathered the occupants together. Housing plans for the Olympic Village were also presented as an exemplary design in the Dwelling 39 exhibition. This exhibition included plans where Hilding Ekelund had proposed removing the partition walls between the bedrooms;

¹⁵⁹ Frosterus 1933, 266–272; Gripenberg 1927.



88. Ekelund - Välikangas, floor plan of an apartment with three rooms and a kitchen in the Olympic Village, presented at the Dwelling Exhibition 1939. *Asuntonäyttely 1939*.

a design which allowed for each dwelling to be altered according to personal specifications and hence legitimized individuality.¹⁶⁰

The dwelling was the basic unit of Functionalist architectural planning, and the rooms of the dwelling were arranged according to rationally analysed needs of everyday life. The space within the dwelling was functionally differentiated into areas for the family members' social interaction, for rest, eating and cooking – in fact the only chores which at this point remained linked to the dwelling were those involving housekeeping and taking care of the family. In comparison with the town dwelling of the 1920s, the major difference was that the space reserved for social intercourse dwindled with the public entertainment function disappearing, whereas the number and significance of the private spaces (bedrooms) grew proportionately.

The family dwellings in the Olympic Village (units of two rooms with a kitchen) emphasized the privacy of family life and the role of the dwelling as an enclosed space for the family (*Fig. 88*). The key position occupied by the living room in the spatial organization of the dwelling highlighted

¹⁶⁰ *Asuntonäyttely 39*.

the status and privacy of the family, while at the same time the separate bedrooms stressed the personal privacy of its individual members. In larger apartments, one bedroom was reserved solely for the married couple. Despite the aims of functional differentiation the living room had at least two functions that shaded into each other: that of the conviviality and social intercourse of the family, and that of eating as a part of this activity. The kitchens were so small that it would have been virtually impossible to gather for meals in them although the drawings include a small table also in them.¹⁶¹ The bedrooms might have a dual function too: apart from sleeping they could be used as an area where hobbies or chores requiring only a small space were performed. The demands of hygiene were central in the rationalization of the dwelling, and indeed all dwellings in the Olympic Village had spacious bathrooms. As society changed, many of the productive and social functions previously associated with the dwelling were taking place outside the home: the dwelling became the scene of family life alone.¹⁶² This separation of the different sectors of life associated with the modern world, and the aim of transferring many social and leisure-oriented activities away from the dwelling into the public, shared municipal facilities is evident in the Functionalist dwelling. This is a place of rest, reproductive household work, family care, eating, sexual life and the family's togetherness.

In her book *Säädyllinen murhenäytelmä* (A Gentle Tragedy, 1941), set in the late 1920s and '30s, Helvi Hämäläinen describes the new dwellings built in the '30s in Taka-Töölö in Helsinki, popularly associated with Functionalism, as a symbol of modern life and the new era (Figs. 89 and 90). The contrast of the new democratic housing with the old hierarchic system is striking:

The new Helsinki is full of whims, but it is glad and funny in comparison with last century's old and heavy Helsinki which built criminally dark yards, surrounded them on all sides with stone walls, used basements greedily for dwellings and drew a sharp distinction between large apartments with eight rooms and smaller ones of only one or two rooms. It gave light and a view to the large rooms while denying even air to the small ones when possible, turned the windows towards the rubbish bin and cut their size by half. The old Helsinki is completely unfamiliar with these small, cheerful, clean and cosy flats

¹⁶¹ Housekeeping manuals and the home economics movement stressed the social importance of family meals.

¹⁶² This was one of the points of departure of Functionalist planning, see e.g. Aalto 1930, 24–25.



89. The new architecture of Töölö in Helsinki described by Helvi Hämäläinen. Topeliuksenkatu. Photo A. Pietinen Oy 1940. HKM.



90. Topeliuksenkatu in Töölö. Photo A. Pietinen Oy 1938. HKM.



91. Olympic Village, Sampsantie 2. Photo A. Pietinen Oy 1940. HKM.

that are filling the new Helsinki, but then the old Helsinki did not know the type of human being that lives in them – educated, self-supporting women or couples who both have a job outside the home.¹⁶³

The association with air, light and greenery in the light-toned architecture of the Olympic Village and its ever-present bathrooms is part of the aesthetics of hygiene and cleanliness.¹⁶⁴ The traditions of beauty and practicality meet in the architecture and living spaces of the Olympic Village houses; in them hygiene, simplicity, functionality and beauty combine to form a new aesthetics (*Fig. 91*).

Functionalist dwellings were no longer designed separately for each social class; dwellings that followed one and the same pattern were now considered suitable for all social groups. Only the number of bedrooms in-

¹⁶³ Hämäläinen 1941, 25.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Pienasunto 1930, 14–5.

creased as the size of the dwelling and the family grew. The new demand was now for different types of dwellings for different types of occupants.¹⁶⁵ Families with children, childless couples and single people, each needed their own type of home. Functionalism reveals the widening of the notion of the »social»: earlier planning, which drew sharp social distinctions, recedes, while the inner hierarchy of the dwelling, as well as the hierarchy of dwellings designed for different social classes, undergoes a change. The floor-plan is now based on the function of the rooms and on a hierarchy of needs that are regarded as intrinsic to all. For this reason Functionalism has been regarded as the democratization of housing, but although the same planning principle permeated the dwellings of all social classes, Functionalism created a new hierarchy: the dwelling grew by the addition of new bedrooms.¹⁶⁶

In spite of its radicalism, Functionalism retained the family as the basis of society and of housing design, and in fact it emphasized the privacy of the family and its members. In comparison with earlier housing, the kitchen underwent a drastic change: it became smaller, its use of space became more efficient and it minimized the need for superfluous movements. In the dwellings of the Olympic Village, attention was paid to the design of the kitchens and to the rationalization of housekeeping: the kitchens were well-equipped, they all had standardized furniture and a gas or electric range. The reorganization and standardization of the kitchen were important in Functionalist housing design. In Europe, architects started to pay serious attention to kitchen planning after the First World War, and in conjunction with the housing exhibitions of the 1920s a standardized, compact kitchen was created which had a continuous L-shaped working area.¹⁶⁷ But the small kitchens (or kitchenettes) are placed out of the way, at the edge of the dwelling, in the majority of Functionalist dwellings. It could be said that the small, rationalized and compact kitchenette, with

¹⁶⁵ E.g. Asuntönäyttely 39, various texts. Cf. the idea of type-people (*homme-type*), who require a type-dwelling as well (*maison-type*).

¹⁶⁶ See e.g. Aalto 1930, 24–25; Le Corbusier 1923, 96; Heinonen 1978, 90.

¹⁶⁷ Before this, home economy planning had been discussed especially in the USA. E.g. Beecher 1841; Beecher – Beecher-Stowe 1869; Frederick 1923. The one-family house built for the exhibition of the Bauhaus Weimar School, das Haus am Horn, had an L-shaped kitchen planned by an architect. In the Weissenhof Siedlung in Stuttgart in 1927, kitchen planning received a great deal of attention and in 1929 an exhibition called die Neue Küche was arranged in Berlin. See e.g. Giedion 1948, 521–526. On the history of the mechanization of the kitchen, see also Lepistö 1991, 201–209.

no room for eating and where only one person could work at a time, implied a »neutralization« of the kitchen into an efficient, separate, laboratory-like working area, but it could equally well be said that it isolated the woman to do the housekeeping alone, and demeaned the woman's role with its small size and its position on the edge of the dwelling.¹⁶⁸ And in fact the Functionalist dwelling, while considered radical, both perpetuated the role-division between man and woman and emphasized the privacy of the family and the separation of the private from the public sphere.

¹⁶⁸ Even if the kitchen as a space had been »neutral«, it changed, in keeping with the gender identities of the time, into a work area especially for women. Early on, women criticized the Functionalist small dwellings and kitchenettes where the need for all extra movements had been minimized. »The modern kitchen is so small that it is virtually impossible to turn in it, and the dwelling of three rooms is so narrow that small children have no room to play, and school children or other members of the family have no quiet nook in which to work.« Harmaja 1939, 744. The problem of isolated kitchen is connected with the changes in household; when it was primarily the servants place of work isolated position was a positive aspect not a problem. On the kitchenettes as an element that isolated housewives, see Ingman 1939, 75; Åkerman 1941, *passim*; Giedion 1948, 621. According to Ivan Illich, the superficially neutral but in fact masculine and sexist modern architecture discriminates against women. It turns women into the other sex. Illich 1983, 122. However, and putting it more precisely, it is not the modern dwelling alone that maintains and produces certain gender identities, but together with housing ideology and prevalent notions of gender and family its spatial organization supports certain modes of behaviour.

6. The type-planned house of the 1940s

6.1. Type-planned housing and the idea of the type

Less than a century ago, shoes were only made to order. The shoe industry now produces better shoes in larger numbers at a lower cost. The fact that A. Ahlström Oy, one of the country's largest wood processing companies has commenced factory-style production of houses implies the exact same thing – more and better residential houses at a lower cost.¹

The idea of the type has been important since the Enlightenment, and is central to the architectural theory of Functionalism and Modernism.² It involves both Neo-Platonic analysis of the eternal principles and basic elements of architecture and the more recent 19th-century theory of the different building types.³ In architectural theory, the notion of the type (both as building type and as an architectural form) became an established part of academic doctrine and achieved coherent expression in the late 18th century and especially in the early 19th century, in the works of Antoine-Chry-

¹ From a leaflet advertising *A-talo* house.

² Modern architecture here refers to architecture from the mid 18th century and later. See e.g. Collins 1971; Rabinow 1989; Vidler 1987.

³ Vidler 1977, *passim*. Beginning with Vitruvius, written architectural history has always concerned itself with the principles of architecture and a search for its roots – the origin of architecture. See Rykwert 1972, *passim*. This search for origins was particularly important in the 18th century (e.g. Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, who has to decide what kind of dwelling to build, Jean-Jacques Rousseau). In architectural theory, Abbé Laugier's primitive hut is one of the best known examples of natural or Divine embodiments of perfection represented by architecture. See also Rabinow 1989, 47; Vidler 1987, 9–21. On Enlightenment architecture, also see Jacques – Mouilleseaux 1988.



92. Workmen raising a standardized single-family house, the *A-talo*, designed by Alvar Aalto and published in the leaflet advertising *A-talo*. *A-talo - tulevaisuuden talo*.

sostome Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1848), which have been analysed in various recent studies.⁴

The idea of the type was an amalgam of the idea of origins (Abbé Laugier's primitive hut) and of the concept of natural forms. Late 18th-century

⁴ E.g. Vidler 1987, 147; Rabinow 1989, 47–48; Eleb-Vidal – Debarre-Blanchard 1989, 160–164.

discussions (by Jacques-François Blondel and others) stressed the importance of representing the character of each building type: the architects' task was to represent the origin of each building and to render its function apparent and readable.⁵ This notion informed teachings of the École des Beaux Arts in the 19th century, and was revived and reworked by Quatremère de Quincy.

The architectural ideologies of the Enlightenment and Nordic small-scale domestic architecture come together in the rural type houses designed by Carl Wijnblad. In fact, in terms of idiom and design ideology, Wijnblad's type-planned houses are surprisingly similar to the type-planned houses of the 1940s.⁶

Quatremère de Quincy separated the idea of the model from the idea of the type and gave priority to the latter concept.⁷ The model was characteristically a matter of mechanical repetition; it was mimetic, material and concrete (and could be copied as such), whereas the type was a general and abstract design matrix (*maitrise générative abstraite*).⁸ As an instrument of aesthetic control, and as the hidden inner reason of architecture, the type is infused with Neo-Platonic connotations and is, according to Anthony Vidler, virtually synonymous with the »Idea». ⁹ »Tout est précis et donné dans le modèle; tout est plus ou moins vague dans le type.»¹⁰

In the 19th century, the idea of type was a pivotal element of architectural knowledge, as can be seen for example in the curriculum of the École des Beaux Arts and in the various manuals and handbooks which offered models and examples for architectural design. The type cropped up in discussions of the function of the building and of the new functional types of building, and also served as a method of composition and as a framework for design. J.N.L. Durand (1760–1834) used the word *genre* instead of *type*. He searched for the most characteristic shape of each functional building type, and not for the »origin of beauty» that had been the focus of the classical and Beaux-Arts tradition. Durand taught at the École Poly-

⁵ Vidler 1987, 147; Rabinow 1989, 48.

⁶ Wijnblad 1765.

⁷ Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture*, 2 tomes, 1832; *Encyclopédie méthodique* 1–3, 1788–1825. Volume 2 of the *Dictionnaire* includes an article on the notion of the type.

⁸ Quatremère's views are the reverse of the ideas associated with Finnish type and model plans in the twentieth century – model plans were usually idealized models whereas types were designed to be executed as they were.

⁹ Vidler 1987, 151–152; Eleb-Vidal – Derbarre-Blanchard 1989, 163; Moneo 1978, 28.

¹⁰ Quatremère de Quincy 1832, 629.

technique; his functional typology constituted a kind of natural history of architecture in which different building plans were classified according to a system of species. Durand's theory served as the link between the idea of the type and architectural shape, or style.¹¹ In the 19th century, various books began to appear in which clients could review and choose between different house types.¹² The plan of the house i.e. »type» and its external decoration i.e. »style» were separated in them.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Modernist architectural thinking mounted an attack against academic theory and denied for example the idea of rigid, immobile types and the mutual independence of style and floor plan. This did not prevent the idea of the type from becoming a pivotal feature of modern architecture, and the idealization of the machine and the organic metaphors of modern typology aligned with late 19th-century thought. The Functionalism of the 1920s and '30s, with its commitment to industrial mass production and pursuit of reproducible objects, resurrected the idea of type, giving it new significance that was ideal as well as increasingly real (e.g. Le Corbusier's *objet-type*, *maison-type*). This Modernist »typology» is manifested in the Finnish type-planned house of the 1940s, which combines the quest for the primordial cell of the dwelling, the pursuit of the general principles of housing and the project to create building types. In Finland in the 1930s and '40s, much emphasis was laid on the importance of creating different types of dwelling for different kinds of inhabitants, i.e. for different types of individual and family (*l'homme type*).¹³

Although the architecture based on idealization of the type was criticized, it seems that Modernist architecture as well as its major manifestations mainly derive from 18th- and 19th-century theories of a universally applicable architecture that could be repeated in any age or location. The late 18th-century »technicians of general ideas» pre-echo a number of later developments: efforts by members of the CIAM to define »the existence

¹¹ Rabinow 1989, 50–51; Moneo 1978, 28–29. See also Korvenmaa 1991, 120.

¹² E.g. L.A. Dubut, *Architecture civile. Maisons de ville et de campagne de toutes formes et de toutes genres*. Paris: J.M. Eberhart 1803. Meant for single-family occupancy, these types were not rigid but had modifiable floor plans. Form and technique had been separated; if you were the client, you could first pick a house type (plan) and then indulge your personal taste in choosing a style for it. Rabinow 1989, 50–51.

¹³ Similä 1939, 37. The idea of character types is a staple of 19th-century realistic literature. The type identifies more than a single person – it portrays a certain human type. In Finnish realism, the type is particularly important in novels of Arvid Järnefelt and Juhani Aho and others.

minimum», Le Corbusier's modular system and residential machine, and the Bauhaus' ideas of standardizability and serial production. *L'homme-type* has its counterpart in early 19th century theories of the statistical average person, for example Alphonse Quételet's *l'homme moyen*.¹⁴ This association reveals a hidden feature of the modern notion of the type: the idea of the norm and normality. The design of the type-planned houses entails delineation of not just an average dwelling but of an average occupant (i.e. average family) as well.

Since the mid-18th century, the single-family house has been a crucial building type, and architectural theory has predominantly concerned itself with the problems of domestic architecture, from luxury villas to modest lodgings.¹⁵ Model houses and type houses were particularly common in the United States in the second half of the 19th century, and they were regularly displayed at the World Exhibitions that were arranged from 1851 onwards. In 1848, Prince Albert commissioned a series of model houses for the Great Exhibition (1851) from the architect Henry Roberts, who went on to publish the plans in two books;¹⁶ public attention was thereby drawn to the housing needs of the poor. Soon afterwards, two-family model houses were also used in the building of the Mulhouse workers' estate (1853–70). In fact, type plans and model drawings were mainly used in the building of suburban single-family houses or in social housing production and worker housing.¹⁷ A number of rather general educational and didactic guides and model books on the construction of villas and single-family houses were published in the Nordic countries at the turn of the 20th century. But gradually, ready-made type plans for single-family houses began to be produced (the aim being to alleviate the housing shortage, to reduce construction costs and to favour the habitation based on single-family proprietorship), first in the first decade of the 1900 in Sweden, and in Finland in the 1920s.

Analysis of the basic elements of the house was a prerequisite for its industrial mass production. The factory-based house production championed by Alvar Aalto presupposed the creation of types and norms. The

¹⁴ See Rabinow 1989, 24, 65. In the 19th century, the idea of the type was an important topic of discussion not only in architecture but also in statistical science.

¹⁵ According to Peter Collins, each era has its own favourite building type. Collins 1971, 42–43. In the 20th century, the focus has shifted from the more sumptuous dwellings to domestic architecture more generally.

¹⁶ Henry Roberts, *The Model Houses for Families Erected by Prince Albert, 1851; The Dwellings of Laboring Classes, 1853*. These books were immediately translated into French too. Rabinow 1989, 84.

¹⁷ Wright 1980, 2–6.

design of the 1940s type-planned houses compounds standardization on several levels: a movement towards standardization of building components, standardization of the house as whole and the creation of complete type drawings. Standardized elements were supposed to facilitate customized building for different kinds of inhabitants, whereas a house built according to ready-made type plans assumed the existence of an average inhabitant and an average family. The idea of the type that is inherent in Modernism and in the standardized houses approximates the earlier notion of model: the type-planned houses were designed to be »copied as such.» In fact, in them the earlier ideas of the »model» and the »type» intersect: they are the ideal models of habitation as well as the off-the-peg types simultaneously. They essentially belong to the industrial and modern world – standardization, the appeal to science and the valorization of expert design all contribute to the industrialization of habitation and the home.

Below I shall briefly describe and analyse 197 type drawings (see Appendix) as well as the related prize-winning submissions to the type-planning competitions arranged by the Ministry of Social Service and the Ministry of Agriculture. Type plans were used in both rural areas and population centres, and some plans were specifically designed for one or the other environment. The dwellings designed by the Ministry of Agriculture, the Central Union of Agricultural Societies and the *Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f.* were primarily meant for rural areas, whereas those of the Ministry of Social Service were primarily meant for towns and built-up areas. The *Puutalo Oy*, the Reconstruction Office of the Finnish Association of Architects and Alvar Aalto designed type-planned houses for both rural areas and population centres, and voluntary work conducted by members of the Association also involved producing type plans for private clients. Specifically designed single-family houses were used in the rebuilding of Lapland. The type plans analysed below span more than a decade: the earliest were completed in the late 1930s and the last series to be included is from 1952. The design of type plans by official bodies ceased at the end of the 1940s but recommenced in the 1950s.

All the type plans analysed below were commissioned and distributed by official organizations. All such officially commissioned plans have been included where feasible, but the plans produced at the behest of cities, municipalities and industrial companies have been omitted (with the exception of the plans drawn by Alvar Aalto). In what follows, I discuss the most important types of house in a partly non-chronological order. The planning and publication of the type drawings of the various houses was so simultaneous that it is almost impossible to establish a relative chro-

nology. My presentation does not aim to a uniform, chronological narrative; to a description of the chronological order of the original occurrence of the events or a description of a teleological progress and causal relations between different type drawings.¹⁸ The sample is a selection of the available material chosen by the author. The data analysed is inclusive and consistent at least insofar as it is unlikely that additional material would give rise to a different interpretation – the aim is not to mount a »perfect reconstruction» of the history of the design of type-planned housing or to map out all the different types of house, but to analyse the housing models specifically in relation to their spatial arrangement and the notions of housing ideology, gender identities and the family.

6.2. Planning process and main types

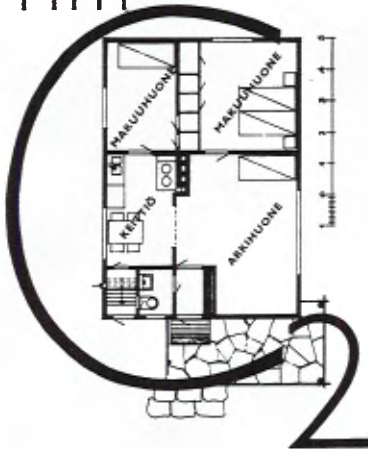
The standard single-family house

The standardization of single-family housing began at the end of the 1930s, and the type-planned house appears to have been shaped quite rapidly at the turn of the 1930s and '40s. Although the present study does not concern itself primarily with individuals, it appears that Alvar Aalto played a particularly significant part both in the reconstruction work of the Finnish Association of Architects and in the propagation and development of the idea of the type and standardization from the 1930s onwards. However, the so-called 1940s type-planned house is in many ways different from the *A-talo* house designed by Aalto.¹⁹ In 1937, Aalto began work on a commission from the Finnish company A. Ahlström Oy; the task was to design a series of standardized wooden houses for production at the Ahlström prefabrication factory in Varkaus. One of the earliest schemes labelled »standard house» (*standarditalo*) by Aalto was the *Omakotityyppi Standard* (1937–38). There are three different series of these timber-framed houses: types A, B and C, sized 40 m², 50 m² and 60 m² respectively. Planning

¹⁸ On the topic of narrative in contemporary historical theory briefly, see White 1987, 26–57.

¹⁹ Kirmo Mikkola among others has explained the idiom of the houses with reference to a person, Aalto, but although Aalto played a central role in the propagation of the type-planned houses, his own types deviate from the general type of the 1940s. Mikkola 1978, 57.

TYYPPI



93. Alvar Aalto, *A-talo* type c₂. Published in *A-talo - tulevaisuuden talo*.

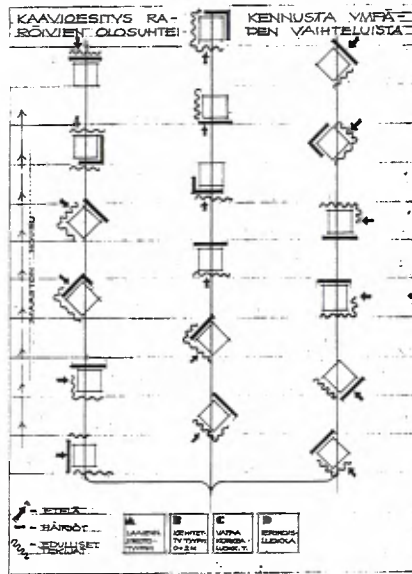
continued in Aalto's office under the name AA-system (*AA-järjestelmä*). In 1941 Aalto redesigned the AA-system and developed the level of rationalization and standardization of houses.²⁰ Three types, each with pre-installed kitchen furniture, entered factory production in the 1940s under the name *A-talo* (A-house) (Fig. 93).²¹ The plans were based on an analysis of the dwelling and its basic elements. Dozens of drawings survive of the various types of dwelling and room – kitchen, bedrooms and sauna/washroom – and of the alternatives for the location and orientation of the buildings in the landscape (Fig. 94). Aalto's interest in the idea of the type is reflected in the enormous volume of plans for residential houses from the late 1930s. Systematically code-named with letters and numbers, they are all »types.»²²

²⁰ The largest number of drawings (fifty or so) is dated 1941. In the late 1930s Aalto visited several times in United States and lectured at the MIT School of Architecture during the autumn term in 1940. He showed great interest in American wood-frame construction of single-family houses. On Aalto's American relations, see Korvenmaa 1990, 52–58.

²¹ See leaflet advertising *A-talo* house.

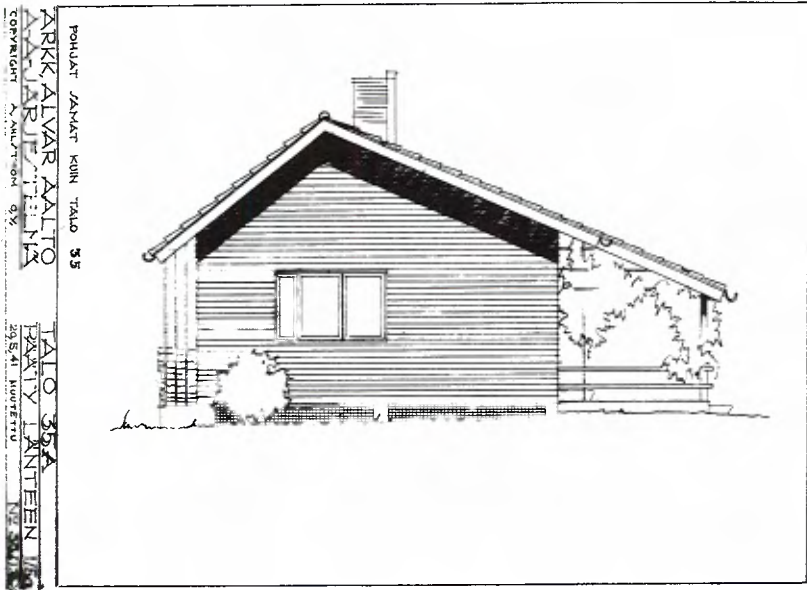
²² They differ from the more luxurious and distinctive residences designed for private clients, Villa Mairea for instance. Aalto had already used standardized drawings (interiors, details) in connection with the *Standardivuokratalo* (Standard tene-

94. Alvar Aalto, a study of the alternatives for locating and orienting the buildings in the landscape, 1938. Orig. AAA.



Aalto's type-planned timber frame houses are single-storey and usually have a basement; the timber cladding is always horizontal (Fig. 95). Distinctive features include asymmetrical pitched roofs and undivided (single casement) windows of different sizes – the largest window is in the living room. At the entrance, the slope of the roof is often extended to shelter an open porch fenced with battens or a wooden balustrade. The plans are mainly of a simple rectangular shape, but variously projecting porches and entrance recesses provide diversity. Some of the plans, for example houses 10 and 14 with their non-rectangular rooms, are unconventional and irregular. Both the floor plans and the elevations are »freely» drawn, in acquiescence with spatial and practical requirements. The arrangement of the rooms exemplifies the Functionalist idea of the »rational», functionally differentiated dwelling (Fig. 96). The houses have a moderately large living room, a small kitchen or kitchenette, small bedrooms (1–3) and a bathroom. Certain plans incorporate an old-fashioned multipurpose kitchen-

ment), the Turun Sanomat office building and the Paimio sanatorium, which were completed at the turn of the 1920s and '30s. Drawings AAA. See also Korvenmaa 1989, 105–106; Korvenmaa 1990, 52–58; Standerskjöld 1992a, 76.



95. Alvar Aalto, AA-System house no. 35, gable end, revised 20.5.1941. Orig. AAA.

en (*tupakeittiö*) instead of a separate kitchen and living room. Some schemes are »growing houses», which offer optional later extension possibilities.²³ Aalto's type-planned houses differ from the basic type of the type-planned houses of the 1940s in that they only have a single storey; the arrangement of the rooms is also different. There is usually a small kitchen or kitchenette which is not large enough for dining – a separate recess generally adjoins onto the living room. The other type-planned houses of the '40s, by contrast, always centre around a large kitchen which is designed to accommodate both housework and dining. The floor plan of the *A-talo* houses is informed by Functionalist ideals, and stresses the axis

²³ Cf. *The Evolving House* (1936), the influential book by Albert Farwell Bemis. Korvenmaa 1990, 50.

²⁴ Besides Aalto's type drawings, see also his articles on prefabrication during the war, Aalto 1941a; Aalto 1941b, Aalto 1941c.

²⁵ See the numerous modification drawings AAA; Schildt 1985, 142–144. In the modification drawings, both the floor plan and the exterior of the houses usually be-



96. Alvar Aalto, AA-System, house UL-25, floor plan, 9.4.1941. Orig. AAA.

between the kitchen/kitchenette and living room, leaving the bedroom to one side, whereas the other type-planned houses of the '40s accentuate the kitchen-bedroom axis and separation of the kitchen and the living room. In Aalto's houses, the centre of the dwelling is the living room; in the other houses it is the kitchen. However, the pitched roofs, porches and boarding of Aalto's types are features that resemble the type-planned houses of the 1940s.

Aalto's aim was to create standardized but also modifiable houses that could be adapted to different site conditions, family sizes, and according to the wishes and means of the occupants. Instead of aiming towards a single rigid type, Aalto wanted flexible standardization that would permit a great deal of diversity.²⁴ The first type-planned houses were built in Varkaus. In their initial form, the houses failed to appeal to the workers, who made many personal alterations and additions.²⁵ More of Aalto's standard houses were erected later in, for example, the Otsola single-family housing district in Karhula. Type plans by Aalto were also displayed at the *Asunto 39* exhibition.²⁶

One of the themes of the *Asunto 39* exhibition was rationalization of housing and the standardized single-family house. Schemes were put forward for both rural and urban areas. Planning was based on Functionalist

comes more conventional, and more similar of the other 1940s type-planned houses; for example the kitchen is larger and more clearly related to established housing practice among both the rural and the urban working population.

²⁶ Orig. AAA.

differentiation of space and on assessment of the minimal needs in housing. Emphasis was placed on both the creation of general types and the fact that different inhabitants – types of inhabitant – required dwelling types that fulfilled their particular needs. The kind of dwelling required depended on whether it was meant for single occupancy or a family, and on the social position of the inhabitants.²⁷

The main purpose of the dwelling and the home were seen to be spending time together, work and rest – the dwelling had to offer specific room in which the family could gather, and was also expected to allow space for a certain degree of privacy and the possibility of isolation from other people. These »elemental needs» were the same in both urban and rural housing, but the amount of space taken up by each requirement varied: housework received more emphasis in rural dwellings, and urban dwellings stressed privacy. It was emphasized that the tighter economic situation entailed a rational and parsimonious approach to planning. Anything unnecessary had to be removed in favour of what was essential. Thus rationalization was best focused on those parts and functions of the dwelling that were most frequently used during each day and night: practical and hygienic kitchens on the one hand, and airy but daught-free sleeping quarters on the other.²⁸

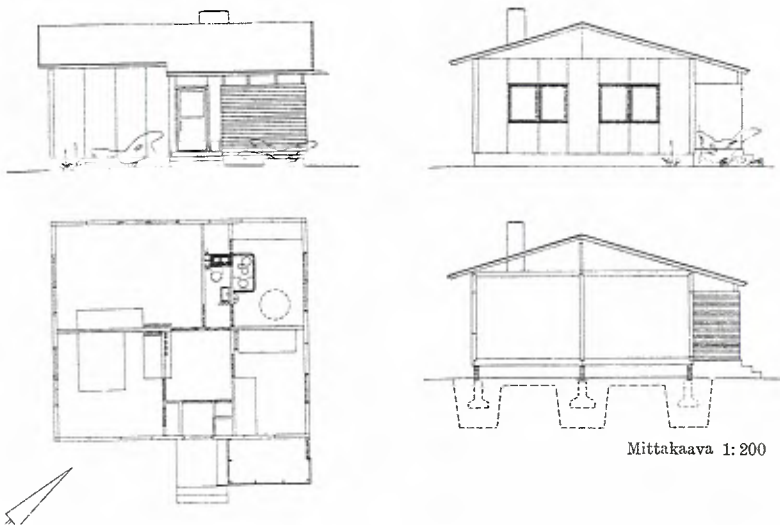
The standard single-family house designed by Aarne Ervi at the request of the Housing Committee of Finnish Cities (appointed in 1937) was presented for review in an official committee report in 1939.²⁹ It is a low, single-storey timber building with a saddle roof and, as with most other type-planned houses, a concrete base course (plinth) (*Fig. 97*). The building has no basement – according to the committee, this substantially reduced building costs. The dwelling consists of a small kitchen, a living room and bedrooms, along with a WC, as was the Functionalist custom – there was no bathroom because the committee thought it best to build common washroom and sauna facilities in each single-family housing neighbourhood. Various companies in the timber industry had also taken part in designing this standard house, and the idea was to plan further improvements to the house in collaboration with these companies.³⁰ Ervi's proposal »*Standardi*» was purchased in 1939 when the Ministry of Agriculture ar-

²⁷ Similä 1939, 27. Cf. earlier almost identical text Similä 1933, 313. Social position was determined according to employment (physical or non-manual worker, artisan).

²⁸ *Asuntonäyttely 39* catalogue, Ingman 1939, 73–75; Stigell 1939, 53 in particular.

²⁹ *Komiteanmietintö* 1939: 5, 65; see also Ervi-Simonen 1940, 13–14.

³⁰ *Komiteanmietintö* 1939: 5, 65–66; Ervi – Simonen 1940, 13–14.



97. Aarne Ervi, standard single-family house designed for the Housing Committee of Finnish Cities (1937). Published in *Komiteanmietintö* 1939:5, p. 65.

ranged a planning competition to generate type drawings for single-family houses. Designed in a »modern» and plain idiom, the external appearance is reminiscent of the house Ervi designed for the Housing Committee of Finnish Cities; the floor plan, however, is different.³¹

Type drawing competitions

In 1939, both the Ministry of Social Service and the Ministry of Agriculture arranged planning competitions in which entrants were asked to design type drawings for small houses; the results were published in the journal *Arkkitehti*. A total of 150 entries were submitted to the competition arranged by the Ministry of Agriculture, and the competition arranged by the Ministry of Social Service – which was only open to qualified architects – attracted 44 submissions. In the latter competition, the prize-winning entries were characteristically designed in a modern and Functional-

³¹ *Arkkitehti* 1939.

ist-inspired idiom, with flat roofs and strip windows. Six of the entries are similar to the later reconstruction types; the schemes in question were all designed by either Olavi Terho or Kaj Englund (*Fig. 98*). One of Englund's proposals was a »growing house«, to be built and modified by stages.³² Faith in the power of architecture is reflected in the pseudonym »What we've left out is extravagance.« The dwellings have either two or three rooms and a kitchen.³³ The floor plans adhere to the spatial distribution canonized by Functionalism: the living room is relatively large, the bedrooms and the kitchen are small and, with the exception of one scheme, the dining space is always located in the living room.

By contrast, the prize-winning submissions in the type drawing competition initiated by the Ministry of Agriculture have simple exteriors and floor plans, saddle roofs, horizontal or vertical boarding and a single chimney – they thus resemble the reconstruction type (*Fig. 99*). In certain submissions such as Saara Kivikanervo's »*Salakka*«, a Functionalist exterior architecture is combined with features derived from the traditional rural floor plan of the twin cabin. The houses are small and have compact floor plans, comprising a large multipurpose kitchen, a small entrance-hall passage and a room (30–40 m² types) or two rooms (40–70 m²). All houses have a single storey with no attic, and usually no basement.³⁴ The plans imply separate outbuildings (sauna, storage space), although plans for such buildings are not given.

On the basis of the competition and of the small dwellings previously planned by the Ministry of Agriculture's settlement department (*Asutus-asianosasto*, ASO), a model booklet containing 23 type plans was published the following year (*Maaseudun pienasuntojen tyypipiirustusten valintavihko* 1940). The persons responsible for revising the drawings for publication at the Ministry were head architect Urho Orola and the architect Saara Kivikanervo; the latter had herself been successful in the competition.³⁵ The drawings are quite homogeneous in terms of the external appearance and layout (*Fig. 100*). The focal point of the interior is the wood-burning stove at the centre of the building. In the smaller houses, the main room (*tupa*) and the small room (*kamari*) are located on opposite sides of the oven. The main room is generally larger than *kamari*, and the entrance-hall passage and the small room are communicating spaces on the same

³² Kaj Englund took first prize in two sections of the competition and Dag Englund won one. For Englund's »growing house«, see also Englund 1939, 432.

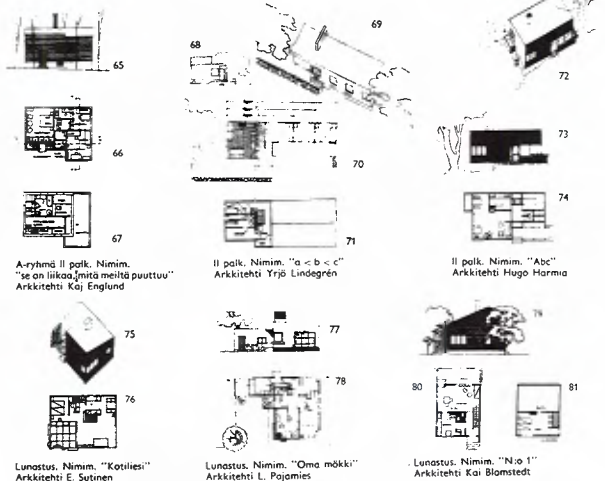
³³ Division A two rooms and a kitchen, Division B three rooms and a kitchen, Division C three rooms, kitchen and a servant's room. *Arkkitehti* 1939, 140–142.

³⁴ *Arkkitehti* 1939, appendix, 31–32.

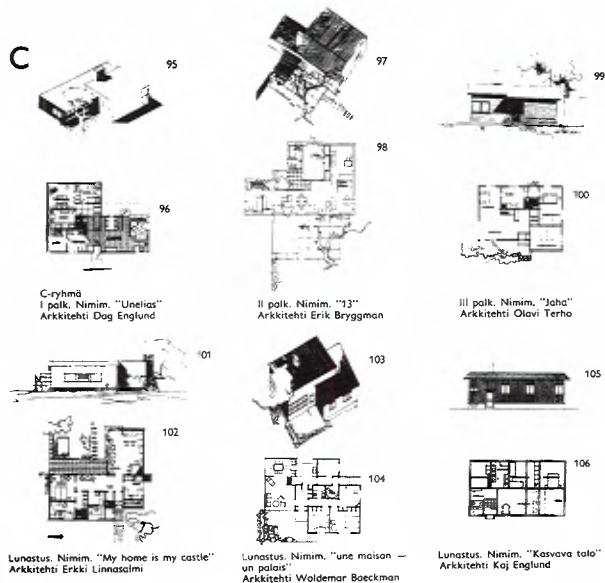
³⁵ Orola 1939, 338.

OMAKOTIRAKENNUSTEN TYYPIPIIRUSTUSKILPAILU

A



C



98. Prize-winning entries of the type drawing competition for single-family houses arranged by the Ministry of Social Service (1939). Divisions A and C. Published in *Arkkitehti* 1939, pp. 140-142.

MAATALOUSMINISTERIÖN ASUTUSOSASTON OMAKOTIRAKENNUSTEN
 TYYPIPIIRUSTUSKILPAILU

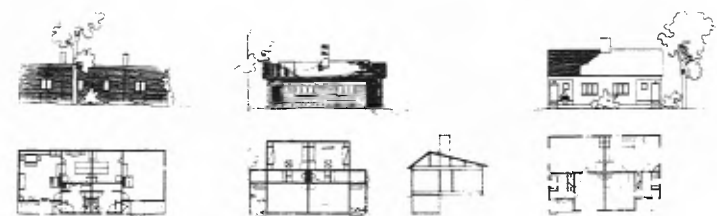


A-ryhmä
 I palk. Nimim. "Saarjärven Paavo"
 Arkkitt. Jauko Ylihanu

II palk. Nimim. "Kolme piirrettyä ympeyttä"
 Arkkitt. Maunu Siitonen

III palk. Nimim. "X-39"
 Rak.mest. Eskil Höiden

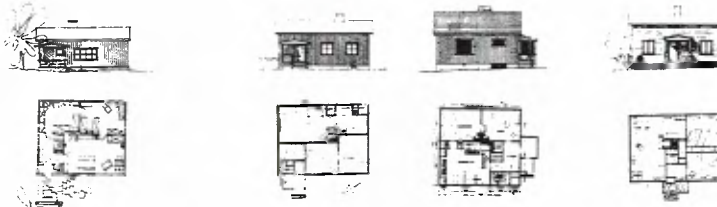
Lunastus. Nimim. "Standardi"
 Arkkitt. Aarne Ervi



B-ryhmä
 I palk. Nimim. "Salakko"
 Arkkitt. Saara Kivikarvna

II palk. Nimim. "Akselit jyliää"
 Arkkitt. Olavi Terho

III palk. Nimim. "Laiho"
 Arkkitt. Saara Kivikarvna

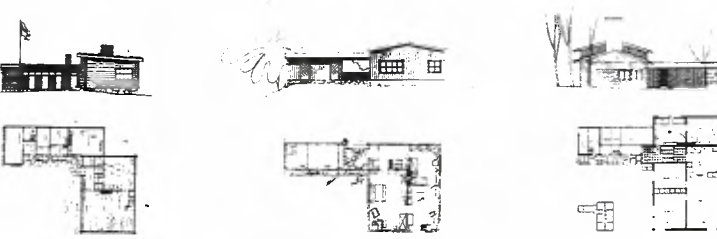


C-ryhmä
 I palk. Nimim. "Posti tulee riialla"
 Arkkitt.yliopp. Esko Toivainen

II palk. Nimim. "Talonpoika"
 Rak.mest. Huugo Jokinen

III palk. Nimim. "Maxwell"
 Rak.mest. Aarne Männistö

Lunastus. Nimim. "Tarppa"
 Arkkitt. "Esko Suhonen"

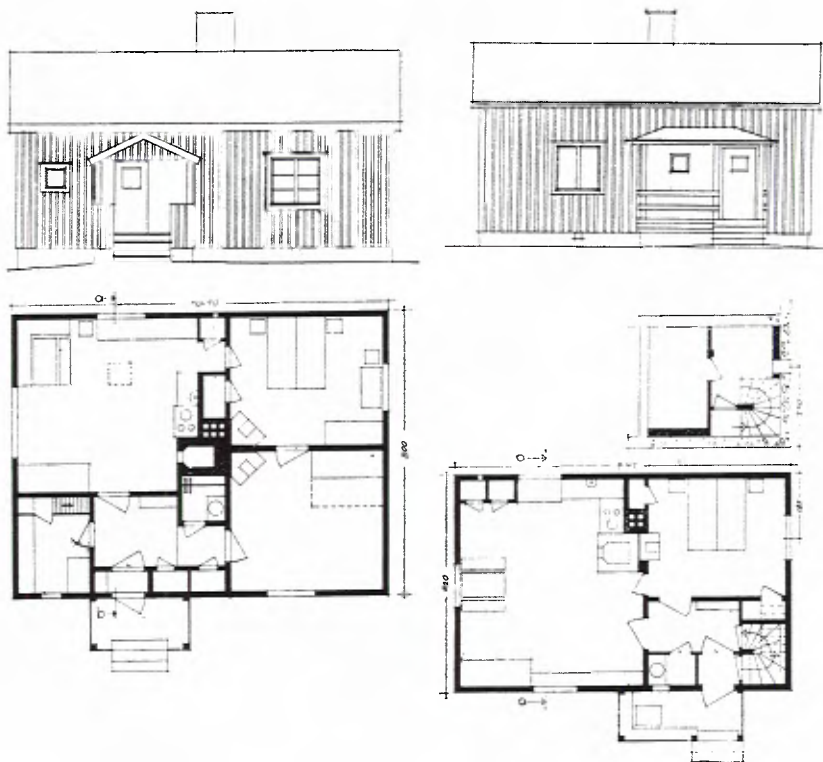


D-ryhmä
 I palk. Nimim. "Puissepöytä aina tarviiaan"
 Arkkitt. Esko Suhonen

II palk. "Kylänuorta"
 Arkkitt.yliopp. Esko Toivainen

III palk. Nimim. "Maaseudun tulevaisuus"
 Arkkitt. Kaj Englund

99. Prize-winning entries of the type drawing competition for single-family houses arranged by the Settlement Department of the Ministry of Agriculture (1939). Published in *Arkkiitehti* 1939, appendix, pp. 31-32.



100. The Ministry of Agriculture, Settlement Department, type plans 7) for rural small homes (1940). Type K 7 on the right, type M 6 on the left. Published in the model booklet *Maaseudun pienasuntojen tyyppiirustusten valintavihko* 1940.

side of the building. In the larger houses, however, the rooms are arranged in a sequence that forms a square around the chimney. The general shape of the building is a clear rectangle, enlivened by different kinds of porches. In some of the houses it is possible to build one or two rooms in the attic. The dwellings are small in area, the smallest type K1 being 36,9 m² (total area, habitable area 24,8 m²), and the largest type M8 being 86.2 m² (total area, habitable are 56.9 m²).³⁶ There are three additional types that

³⁶ Total area here means the whole area of the building, including external walls, and habitable area refers to the residential floor space. This is exceptional – in the other type drawings, area means the total area inside the walls of the building.

have an extension wing with different kinds of storage and work spaces in addition to the habitable rooms.³⁷

The aim was to design types that would blend in with the rural building tradition. Emphasis was placed on clarity and simplicity of external appearance, and on the desirability of pitched roofs, which were considered better suited to the Finnish tradition and climate than flat roofs. The continuity of the rural housing tradition was also made to take into account the latest demands for hygiene and practicality. This meant, for example, providing each type with a small entrance-hall passage and building a separate washroom next to it in some of the larger houses. In order to lighten the work of the family housewife, kitchen work was concentrated in one corner of the main room in some houses; similarly, the bedrooms and the kitchen (or kitchen work) were placed next to each other in all the houses, so as to facilitate proximity between the mother working in the kitchen and the young children who sleep in the bedroom, and to make child nursing easier. The aim was also to counteract the custom of treating one room as a »better room» and to ensure that all the rooms in the house were actually lived in by the family.³⁸ However, the spatial organization of the type-planned houses makes it possible to use the large kitchen not only for housework and dining but also as a space for spending time together and for sociable activities, in which case the living room can still be a »better room» reserved for special occasions.³⁹

The »Swedish houses»

The development of the type-planned house was accelerated by the war. In 1940, Sweden donated 2,000 prefabricated wooden single-family houses to help start the recovery effort (*Fig. 101*). The building of these »Swed-

³⁷ *Maaseudun tyyppiirustusten...* 1940.

³⁸ On the planning principles, see Orola 1939, 338–340. Even in houses that had just a main room and a small room, the latter was sometimes kept uninhabited and unheated and the entire family slept in the main room. Cf. the parlour for entertaining guests in larger houses.

³⁹ The habit of keeping a »better room» or a quest room was common, particularly in the country. In early 20th-century worker dwellings with one room and a kitchen, the room was often treated as a better room or »parlour». Although even middle-class city-dwellers were already relinquishing their parlours, the old housing traditions persisted for a long time. In 1943, *Kotiliesi* magazine described life in type-planned houses by Alvar Aalto in Nekala veteran's village (*Asevelikylä*) in



101. "Swedish houses" in Pirkkola, Helsinki. Photo A. Pietinen Oy, the 1940s. HKM.

ish houses» (*ruotsalaistalot*) has often been seen as the first stage of not only the reconstruction project but of the design of the type-planned house as well.⁴⁰ They were hastily erected in different parts of Finland the same autumn. Although the houses were designed by Finnish architects, the working drawings and assembly drawings came from Sweden. The structure of the houses was based on the standard structure of Swedish prefabricated timber houses, which was soon also adopted in Finland. The external walls consisted of a plank frame, with nailed timber cladding (*Fig. 102*).⁴¹

Four types were designed: two for rural areas (types 2 and 3) and two for towns (types 1 and 4).⁴² The town types were drawn by the architect

Tampere, where some inhabitants apparently made an effort to keep a separate better room; »The smaller room, on the other hand, has been furnished as living room and that is where quests are taken.» *Miten asevelitaloissa asutaan?* 1943, 574.

⁴⁰ E.g. Helamaa 1983, 68.

⁴¹ Englund 1941, 21.

⁴² *Ibid.*



Tyyppi 1



Tyyppi 4

103. Lauri Pajamies, "Swedish houses", types 1 and 4 for towns. Published in *Arkkitehti* 2/1941, p. 23.

dential holding (asuntoita) should have a multipurpose kitchen and one small room. Each building could be expanded later, both by converting the attic and by building an extension.⁴⁵ At this point, the rural types usually have a basement, one and a half storeys and a multipurpose kitchen. All types gradually become more and more stereotypical, and a house with a large kitchen and one and a half storeys becomes the most popular alternative both in the rural areas and in built-up areas. One and a half storeyed houses were being designed from the 1920s onwards, and by the turn of the 1930s and '40s, this had become the standard height of houses meant primarily for rural areas.

⁴⁵ [Orola] 1940, 99.



104. Urho Orola and Jalmari Peltonen, "Swedish houses", types 2 and 3 for rural areas. Published in *Arkkitehti* 2/1941, p. 24.

Puutalo Oy

It was almost inevitable that timber should be chosen as the material for standardized housing: wood was a traditional Finnish building material, and there was plenty available at reasonable cost. It was also well suited for mass production. The Finnish Brick Industry Association (*Tiiliteollisuusliitto*) also arranged a single-family house type drawing competition in 1941, but the high price of brick, and other reasons, put wooden houses beyond competition.⁴⁶ Previous schemes for the standardization of small dwellings, along with 1920s and '30s type plans for small dwellings or farms, had all concerned wooden buildings.⁴⁷ *Puutalo Oy* (The Timber House Company), an umbrella organization that designed and marketed the products of more than 20 timber house factories, was founded in 1940.⁴⁸ At the very eve of the Winter War, the Ahlström company had taken measures to set up a timber house factory, but the actual stimulus for the house industry was the Winter War itself: the Defence Forces required barracks for temporary accommodation. Besides this, the first task of *Puutalo Oy* was the erection of the above-mentioned »Swedish houses». A neighbour-

⁴⁶ On the competition, *Arkkitehti* 1941, 29–32. The wooden prefabricated houses were also easy to add to the production structure of Finnish forest-based companies. These forest-based companies had access to resources, design, production, marketing and distribution. On this, see Korvenmaa 1990, 52–54.

⁴⁷ See e.g. Toivonen 1919; Paalanen 1924; type plans by Heikki Siikonen, MV.

⁴⁸ Founded May 4, 1940. Initial membership 21 companies.

ing country, Sweden, already had useful experience of factory-produced timber houses, and on May 31, 1940, *Puutalo Oy* signed a cooperation agreement with *AB Svenska Trähus* (The Swedish Timber House Company) and the rental housing organization H.S.B. (*Hyregästernas Sparkasse- och Byggnadsföreningarnas Riksförbund*). The houses were assembled at the building site from prefabricated elements that were produced in different parts of Finland by different factories belonging to the *Puutalo* group; the organization had its planning and marketing headquarters in Helsinki. The designers at *Puutalo Oy* were architects Jorma Järvi, Erik Lindroos and Toivo Jäntti among others.⁴⁹ One of the first house types produced by *Puutalo Oy* was *Rauhakoto* (Abode of Peace) and the type of dwelling most widely sold in the 1940s was *Metsäkoto* (Forest home), while the most popular farmhouse was *Syväaho* (Remote meadow) all designed by Jorma Järvi and Erik Lindroos (*Figs.* 105 and 106). Initial sales were not, however, particularly voluminous: 105 houses were sold in 1940, and 192 the following year – this coincides with the launching of a vigorous advertising campaign. During the '40s, domestic sales were limited, and the main orders came from overseas.⁵⁰

The houses were either low, single-storey buildings or taller one-and-a-half-storey buildings with attic rooms, and were designed for one or two families. *Metsäkoto* (52.38 m²) had a large kitchen, a living room, a bedroom and a washroom (*Fig.* 107). *Syväaho* consisted of a multipurpose room, and adjoining separate kitchen section, two identical small rooms and two attic rooms; the house could be built in stages by converting the attic space later (*Fig.* 108). In their appearance and layout, the factory-made houses do not significantly differ from houses built according to type plans. *Syväaho* has a saddle-roofed open porch in the middle of the long elevation of the building, while the open porch of the *Metsäkoto* house is covered by an extension of the roof slope and located at one end of the building.

⁴⁹ The *Puutalo Oy* archives have been destroyed. The description is based on photographic and newspaper material kept at the architectural archives of Museum of Finnish Architecture (SRM), and on advertisements published in various periodicals. For the present study I went through all the '40s and '50s issues of the following publications: *Arkkitehti*, *Rakennustaito*, *Kotiliesi*. See also Helamaa 1983, 76–79.

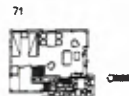
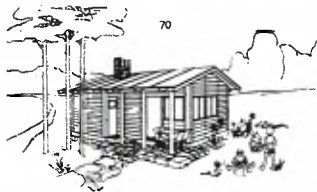
⁵⁰ *10 vuotta suomalaista puutaloteollisuutta* (Ten years of Finnish timber house industry) 1950, 8–42. These orders were mainly military barracks exported to Germany.



105. Jorma Järvi and Erik Lindroos, Syväaho (Remote meadow) type-planned house for Puutalo Oy, published in *Arkkitehti* 2/1941, p. 28.



"Metsäkoto"



"Pohjanpirtti"



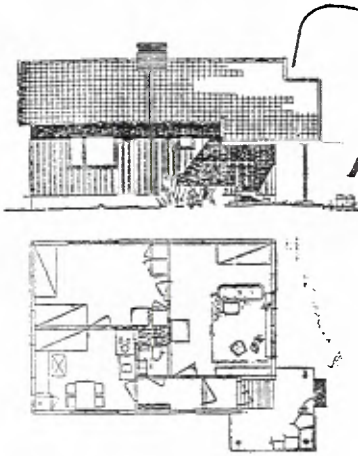
"Rauhakoto"

1: 400

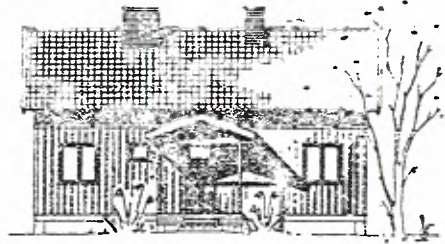
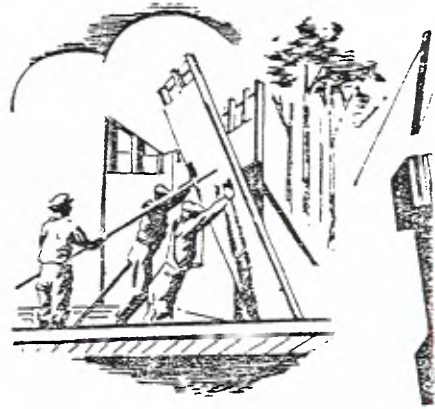


"Nurmikho II"

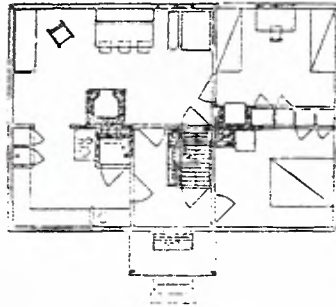
106. Järvi-Lindroos, type-planned houses for Puutalo Oy, published in *Arkkitehti* 2/1941, p. 28.



107. Järvi - Lindroos, Metsäkoto (Forest home, 1945 version). Picture from the advertisement collection kept at SRM.



108. Järvi - Lindroos, Syväaho, 1945 version. Picture from the advertisement collection kept at SRM.



Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f.

Finland's Swedish-speaking housing association (*Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f.*)⁵¹ was founded in 1938 with the aim of improving housing culture – to advance rational building, good and hygienic domestic interiors, order and pleasantness in the Swedish-speaking parts of Finland, with particular emphasis on rural areas.⁵² The means employed included a broad information campaign, and production of building and interior designs. In the reconstruction period, the association set up its own architects' office; staff included architects Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund and Marianne Granberg. They also designed interiors and kitchen furniture; an important figure active in this field was the architect Elli Ruuth.⁵³ Signe Bäckström, consultant for the Finland-Swedish Home Economics Extension Organization (*Finlands Svenska Marthaförbund*), travelled around the country advising people on household management. The association received limited financial support and the success achieved largely resulted from the enthusiasm and initiative of the employees.⁵⁴

During the first few years, the most important projects undertaken by the office involved conversion and improvement on old rural buildings and domestic interior design; rationalization of kitchens, and the creation of type-planned kitchen furniture and other pieces (e.g. children's furniture) (Fig. 109). The kitchen was the subject of great attention and underwent a radical transformation during the 1940s and '50s. In fact, Finnish kitchens, with their drying cupboards, were at the time probably the most modern in the world. The *Bostadsföreningen* soon concentrated on the design of type-planned houses. In 1942, the type plans for 8 small single-family houses by Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund and Marianne Granberg were completed.⁵⁵ During the war, the number of types available was generally somewhere around ten; design work was only accelerated after the war. Plans for some

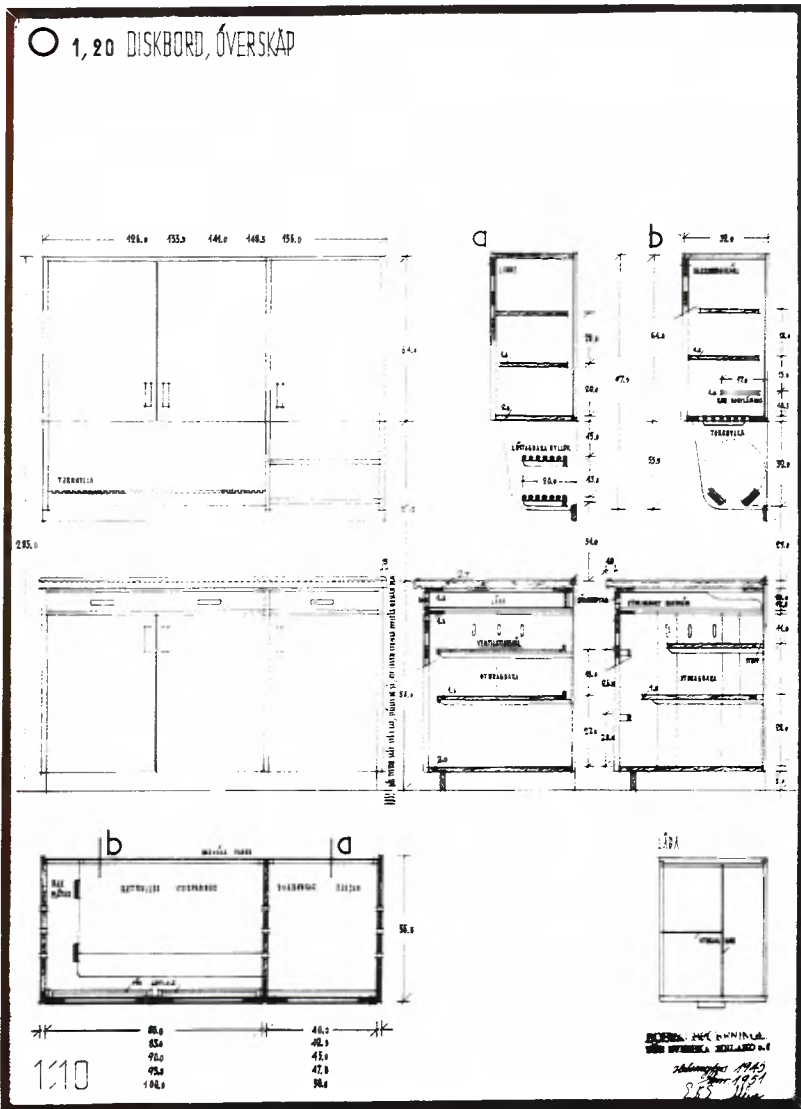
⁵¹ Entered in the register of associations (*Yhdistysrekisteri*) on February 4, 1939. Henceforth abbreviated to *Bostadsföreningen*.

⁵² *Stadgar för Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland* (Statutes of Finland's Swedish-speaking housing association) 1940.

⁵³ Furniture types were designed by the above-mentioned architects and by Maija Heikinheino, Lisa Johansson-Pape, Olof Ottelin and Anna-Lisa Stigell, and others. Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund worked for the association until 1970. The decision to discontinue operations was made in 1969, when the association was seen to have »achieved its purpose» and become obsolete. *Årsberättelser* (Annual reports) 1940–50; 1969.

⁵⁴ See also *Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f. 1938–1969*, 1969, 23.

⁵⁵ *Årsberättelser* 1940–45. Only some of the drawings produced by the association survive. The present analysis is based on a catalogue of type drawings published



109. Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund and Marianne Granberg, kitchen furnishings (sink and drying cupboard) for Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f., designed in 1945, revised in 1951. SRM.

30 different single-family houses were completed during the 1940s, along with two accompanying sets of kitchen furniture designed by Elli Ruuth.⁵⁶ Modified versions of some of these were still available in the 1950s and '60s.⁵⁷

The houses have vertical boarding, and calm and clear »cabin» exteriors. The windows are quite even in size and often have two panes; most houses also have an open porch. Most types comprise one or two rooms and a large kitchen or multipurpose kitchen; the larger types three rooms and a kitchen or multipurpose kitchen (*Fig. 110*). The *Bostadsföreningen's* type-planned houses are a little larger than average, ranging from the smallest 48 m² to houses as large as 103 m².⁵⁸ But the Swedish-speaking population often lived in more spacious conditions than the rest of the population, and thus the improvements initiated by the *Bostadsföreningen* could approximate more closely the current planning ideals and views of the »normal family dwelling.»⁵⁹ Instead of the most common kitchen-bedroom axis, the bedroom was set aside as a more peaceful and more isolated space in some of the houses. In the largest houses, such as *Mönsterstuga* (Model Home, 1946), were big multipurpose main rooms. The floor area of the one and a half storey houses was further increased by the attic rooms that were supposed to be constructed in a single phase. The first types, completed in 1942, had a single storey, but the later types all had one and a half storeys.

Type drawings of the Central Union of Agricultural Societies

The collection of type drawings compiled in 1941 and published in 1943 by the Central Union of Agricultural Societies (*Maatalousseurojen Kes-*

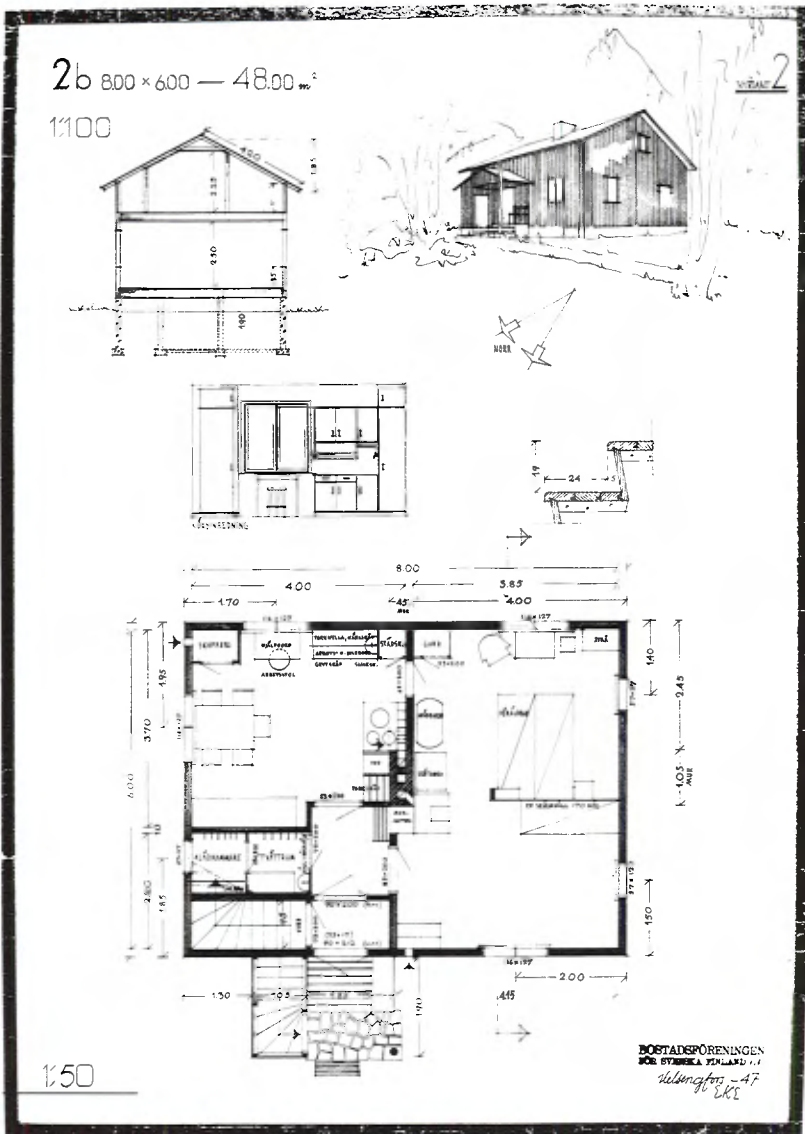
in 1948 (*Bättre bostäder* no. 3, 1948) and on *Bostadsföreningen* materials at the Museum of Finnish Architecture (SRM). Drawings of 23 types from the 1940s have survived.

⁵⁶ The first model booklet contained 35 different single-family houses, including variation options. With the main types, the usual short description was complemented with small schematic plans. *Bättre bostäder* no. 3 1948.

⁵⁷ *Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f. 1938–1969*, 1969.

⁵⁸ Of the larger 1940s types (80 m² or more), only the drawings of the *Mönsterstuga* (1946–) have survived. In these and all other types, the figures indicating the area and number of rooms refer to the initial ground-floor building phase, unless otherwise specified.

⁵⁹ Modeen 1940, 1–10.



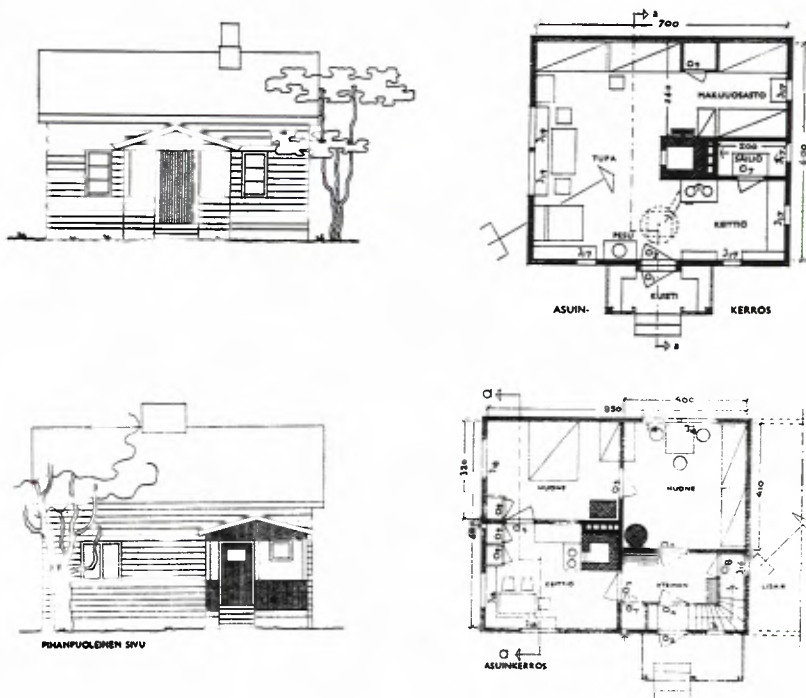
110. Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund and Marianne Granberg, Bostadsföreningen's type 2b, var.2, 1947. SRM.

kusliitto) contains plans for 21 residential buildings.⁶⁰ The floor plans range from a small cabin (A1, 38, 5 m²) to a house with a spacious multipurpose kitchen and two or three rooms (e.g. A16, 80 m²). Most of the types could be expanded later by building one or two rooms in the attic (in 15 types), which gave an additional 30 m² of floor space. The work specifications accompanying the drawings stress the idea of stage-by-stage building, which was also required under the Emergency Settlement Act. The building instructions foreground the orientation of the different rooms: the kitchen should be oriented to the north and the bedrooms east, while the day-time living spaces should face south or west. Design was supposed to be based on an analysis of housing needs. For determining the size and floor plan of the dwelling, it was necessary to assess the amount of living space required – this depended on the size of the household, the age distribution, the different sexes, living habits, and the needs of everyday life. On the other hand the size of the building needed to be directly proportionate to the size of the cultivated fields and the holding belonging to the house.⁶¹

The types are similar in external appearance; variation is seen in the weatherboarding, which can be either vertical or horizontal, in the location of the windows and porches, and in the roof pitch – the single-storey houses have a gently sloping saddle roof, whereas the one and a half storeyed houses with attic rooms have relatively steep saddle roofs. In their interior plan, the houses also vary the same basic ideas: a multipurpose kitchen (or main room with a partitioned kitchen) is located at the centre of the building. Some types have an urban-style kitchen and living room – in these the kitchen is large enough for dining, and the living room is, correspondingly, smaller. Characteristic features include a clear-cut separation between kitchen work and the living space, and, with the larger types, the division of the dwelling into two main axes: the kitchen and bedroom on the one hand, and the living room on the other (*Fig. 111*). The large multipurpose room serves many functions – it is a room for dining, working, sleeping and sociable activities, and thus continues the existing conventions of rural housing, although cooking has been consigned to a space

⁶⁰ *Asuinrakennukset ja saunat* 1943. In 1941 there were 20 types. *Arkkitehti* 1941, 26. The Standardization Committee of the Finnish Association of Architects had approved the type drawings. The designers were architects T. Anttila, J. Arola, E. Kartano, F. Salokangas, E. Suhonen and E. Wennervirta and the design was conducted by Urho Orola. *Maatalousseurojen Keskusliiton tyyppipiirustuksia siirtoväen rakennustoimintaa varten*, *Arkkitehti* 1940.

⁶¹ *Asuinrakennukset...* 1943, 4–6.



111. The Central Union of Agricultural Societies, type drawings published in 1943. Type A 2 (above) with main room, separate kitchen section and sleeping alcove. Type A 17 (below) with kitchen and two rooms (one furnished as bedroom, the other as living room). Possibility for extension. Published in *Asuinrakennukset ja saunat* 1943.

of its own. In accordance with the new norms of hygiene, almost all the buildings also have a washing recess or washroom close to the entrance-hall passage. The buildings either have large basement facilities, with access from the entrance-hall passage, or, in some cases, just a cellar pit under the floor of the main room. It is sometimes suggested that the sauna, washroom, and various work and storage spaces, should be built in the basement (e.g. type A4).

The Central Union of Agricultural Societies reissued the type plans in revised form in 1945. In terms of external appearance the new types, with their pitched roofs and saddle-roofed open porches, are similar to the ear-

lier 1941 series. However, the new types all have vertical boarding.⁶² With the exception of the smallest type 1945/A1, all the houses have both a basement and an attic storey. The revised series included 18 types. In terms of habitable space, the clearest development is that the new types are somewhat larger. The majority of buildings have two rooms and a kitchen, or two rooms and a multipurpose main room with a separate kitchen section, plus one or two attic rooms.⁶³ Five types also have accompanying extension plans. The spatial organization inclines towards a tripartite division of living space: work, rest, leisure and tends to focus each activity in a specific room.

The Ministry of Social Service

On the basis of the results of the 1939 type drawing competition, the Ministry of Social Service also began to plan new type drawings for single-family houses; the houses were meant to comply with the qualification requirements for state loans issued by aforesaid ministry.⁶⁴ Between 1939 and 1945, the architect employed by the Ministry was Kaj Englund, who in the 1939 competition had won awards in all three divisions.⁶⁵ He designed a number of plans for the Ministry, only some of which have survived.⁶⁶ The first types, dated between 1940 and 1942, are all one-family houses that have a single storey, a high plinth, vertical boarding and saddle roofs.⁶⁷ The houses are »modern» single-family homes whose exterior appearance departs from the cabin and cottage tradition, in the same way

⁶² Orig. Ministry of Agriculture (Maatilahallitus).

⁶³ The plans do not specify the size of the interior, only the external measurements of the buildings.

⁶⁴ A dwelling of a size between 38 m² and 80 m², used by the proprietor, and comprising at least two rooms, and the plans and construction specifications whereof have been accepted by the Ministry of Social Service. *Laki ja asetus omakotirahastosta* (Law and Decree on the single-family housing fund), December 19, 1940: § 2.

⁶⁵ Joint second prize in Division A, first prize in Division B, and a purchase in Division C. *Arkkitehti* 1939, 140–142.

⁶⁶ Some of the drawings from 1941 and 1942 are in the Finnish State Archives, VA. Some of the plans from 1945 are in the architectural archives of the Museum of Finnish Architecture (SRM). A few type plans were also printed on the covers of the booklet *Omakotilainat- ja talot* 1946. No plans have been retained in the archives of the Ministry of Social Service.

⁶⁷ Plans in VA.

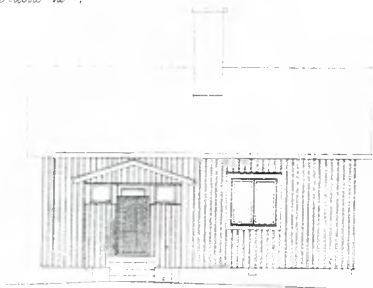


112. Kaj Englund, type-planned houses 82 and 3 (1942) designed for the Ministry of Social Service. VA.

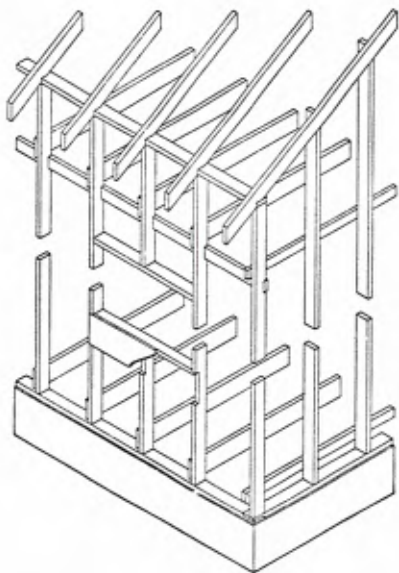
as Aalto's types had done (*Fig.112*). A characteristic feature common to all these types is the shape of the porch: the porch is either located on the long elevation of the building, sheltered by an extension of the roof slope in front entrance, or the entrance and porch are located at the gable end of the house and are covered with a similar lean-to roof. Access to the porch is by small open stairs. The largest windows of the houses are of the double casement type, and the smaller ones are undivided. Despite the asymmetrical fenestration, the houses are peaceful and balanced in appearance. The accompanying structural plans and kitchen interior drawings are partly the same for all types. The subsequent plans from 1945 are all of one and a half storey houses – an attic floor has been added to the earlier types as well.⁶⁸ The external appearance of the houses has also been altered: the porches are now mainly located on the long elevation of the house, and have been enclosed and covered with a separate saddle roof

⁶⁸ Orig. SRM.

omakotelo no 4



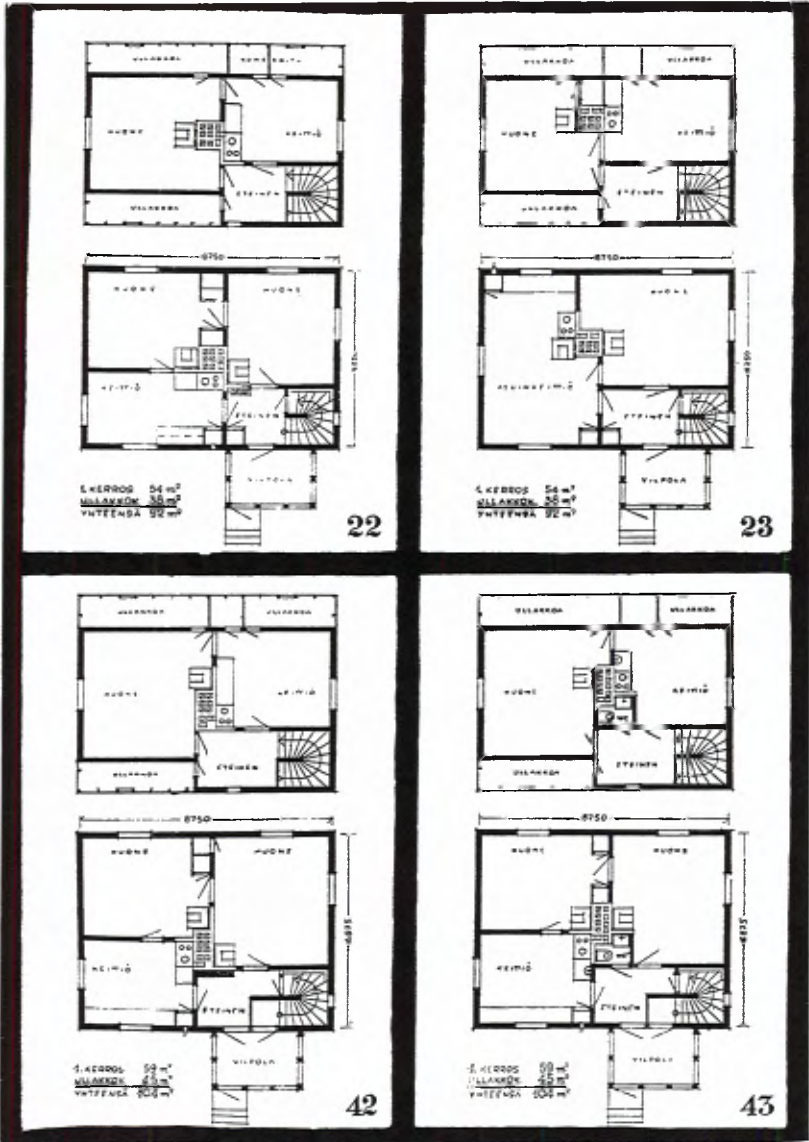
113. Kaj Englund, type-planned house no. 4 for the Ministry of Social Service, long elevation, 18.5.1945. SRM.



114. Wooden-frame construction of the type-planned houses by Kaj Englund for the Ministry of Social Service. *Arkkitehti* 6-7/1949, p. 93.

(Fig.113). All the houses still have vertical timber cladding, and most windows are divided into two panes. However, perhaps precisely because of the transformation of the porch, their general expression is more »cottage-like.«

The layout is always based on the same principle: the dwellings have one or two rooms and a kitchen, or a multipurpose kitchen and one additional room, and they all also have a small WC (Fig. 115). The floor area



115. Type-plans for the Ministry of Social Service. Published in *Omakotilainat ja -talot* 1946.

of each dwelling varies between 40 m² and 60 m². The houses are mainly meant for built-up areas. In the one and a half storey types, a second dwelling has been located in the attic. Type 64 is exceptional in that it has three dwellings in the same house. The houses have been designed in such a way that the attic rooms can also be taken over by the family itself.⁶⁹ The floor plans of the dwellings are similar to those of other 1940s type-planned houses; the spatial distribution is based on a rectangle divided in four or two parts, with certain variations.

The Finnish Association of Architects' Reconstruction Office

The design of the type-planned houses was part and parcel with the ongoing general standardization and rationalization of the building sector, which led to the creation of the Building Information File (*rakennustieto- i.e. RT-kortisto*) that nowadays controls all building in Finland. Since the year 1940, the architects had been considering setting up a reconstruction organization – 1940 being the year when the Finnish Association of Architects nominated a reconstruction committee, which was chaired by Alvar Aalto.⁷⁰ There was also a lively discussion of the matter in the journal *Arkkitehti* – in the issues published during the war, more than half the articles concerned reconstruction, and there were also three special reconstruction issues (1942, 1943 and 1944). The war and the related reconstruction project were conspicuously present in the general architectural ideology: solving the problems of reconstruction was seen as a substantial social challenge and duty.

Alvar Aalto was one of the foremost proponents of type planning and standardization, and also a prominent leader in the field of reconstruction. In three articles published in the journal *Arkkitehti* he presented a wide-ranging discussion of standardization, thereby influencing its direction and aims.⁷¹ In an article written during the so-called interim peace, Aalto describes Finland as a good »*research object*» with regard to reconstruction – experience gleaned in Finland could be usefully applied elsewhere after

⁶⁹ Working-class urban housing practice often involved subletting the attic floor. See e.g. Juntto 1990, 218.

⁷⁰ Annual report of the Reconstruction Office 1942. Building Information Institute (Rakennustietosäätiö).

⁷¹ Aalto 1941a; Aalto 1941b.

the war ended. Aalto compares the emergency settlement measures to first aid, and calls for a kind of Red Cross of building.⁷² According to Aalto, the aim must be to facilitate flexible progression from first-aid building to normal building, and to abolish temporary housing.⁷³ He dismisses both temporary solutions – barracks – and the ambition to get everything finished at once. A better approach is to search for the *primordial cell* and the *basic elements* of the dwelling, and to use these to create a dwelling that can gradually grow and change.⁷⁴ Aalto accused the type drawings that were already in use of being too rigid, and called for an additive approach to building – in keeping with the rural vernacular tradition. Instead of type-planned houses that were built to a definite size, a system of »growing houses» was needed.⁷⁵ According to Aalto, the creation of a permanent type of house would be neither possible nor desirable, although the primordial cell of the building was of a permanent nature. According to Aalto, a certain permanence was inherent in the concept and nature of housing.⁷⁶ The hearth and chimney at the centre of the type-planned house, around which the rooms are clustered, could be interpreted as such a »primordial cell», or nucleus of a dwelling: »*Le germe du bonheur central, la coquille initiale*».⁷⁷ A source of heat and a hearth, it is the pivotal element of the dwelling. The associations with Hestia and the recollections of the archaic dimensions of housing, which touch upon the very existence of humankind, conjure up thoughts of protection, security, the mother's arms. This hearth – usually a wood-burning stove – is the centre of the house, around which the mother of the family would assemble her brood.

Aalto also stresses the importance of respecting the local setting. Standardization of components is indispensable, but the aim must be to create a rich and varied milieu, and it must be possible to take into account the special features of each construction site. Aalto's view of architecture is infused with biologism: he sees building as an organic process, and takes

⁷² Aalto 1941a, 75–76.

⁷³ Aalto 1941c, 92.

⁷⁴ Aalto 1941a, 78–79.

⁷⁵ Aalto 1941b, 136. The idea of a »growing house» was present in certain type drawings (of the plans discussed above, see e.g. Englund). On the other hand the attic offered the initial option of expansion in all the one and a half storey houses; many of these also had ready-made drawings for extensions that have often disappeared and been replaced with individual plans of variable quality.

⁷⁶ Aalto 1941a, 76. For Alvar Aalto in relation to Enlightenment and Modernist interpretations of origins, see Porphyrios 1982, 65.

⁷⁷ Bachelard 1957, 27.

nature as his model.⁷⁸ Nature was an aesthetic, scientific and ethical model: it was at once rational and real. Aalto's aim was a standard house that was both free and controlled, open and planned; he wanted elastic standardization rather than a permanent type (*objet-type*). The Functionalist ideas of the minimal dwelling and industrial design are crucial to Aalto's type planning; according to Porphyrios, in his plans for residential and industrial areas, Aalto comes closest to international Modernism.⁷⁹ The emulation of nature, or biologism, was in fact a common trope in architectural thinking in the 1940s, as can be seen in, for example, Aulis Blomstedt's writings. It might be argued that it was precisely the pivotal role which Aalto had in the organization of the reconstruction and standardization that made him a key figure in Finnish postwar architecture.

The Reconstruction Office of the Finnish Association of Architects (Jälleenrakennustoimisto) was founded at a special reconstruction meeting held on January 31 and February 1, 1942. The main strategies were at once sketched out at the meeting, and the actual work began on May 2, 1942, when men had been transferred to the office from their military units. The Reconstruction Office evolved into a central body sponsored by the state, but run by the Finnish Association of Architects. It had two departments: the Standardization Institute (*Standardisoimislaitos*) and the Planning Consultancy (*Suunnitteluapu*) (Fig. 116). The director of the Office was the architect Viljo Revell. During the war years, the Office employed an average staff of twenty. The Standardization Institute was at first led by the architect Aarne Ervi.⁸⁰ During the war, the department did a lot of work related to the development of the general standardization of the building industry and to the creation of a system of norms, and to trying to find a

⁷⁸ Aalto 1941a, 78–79. The biologicistic metaphors employed by Aalto (growth, primordial cell) and his biologism in general have links with the prominent status of the natural sciences since the late 19th century, and have affinities with, for example, the views of Oswald Spengler and the Finnish novelist F.E. Sillanpää. See e.g. Ojala 1977, 182–202.

⁷⁹ Porphyrios 1982, 113; see also 62–65. On the changes in Aalto's conception of standardization between 1920s and '40s, see Standertskjöld 1992a, 76–83.

⁸⁰ The Standardization Institute was directed by the Reconstruction Committee chaired by Alvar Aalto and including architects Hilding Ekelund, Yrjö Laine, Yrjö Lindgren, Otto-I. Meurman, Jussi Paatela, Uno Ullberg and Martti Välikangas. A team including Aalto, Ervi, Kaj Englund, Lindgren, Revell and Lauri Tolonen (secretary, after his death on 20. 9. 1943 Woldemar Baeckman) went through the proposals for standards, and the Construction standard committee of the Ministry for Transport and Public Works finally approved the proposals. Annual report 1942. Rakennustietosäätiö; S.A.F.A:n jälleenrakennuskokous 1942, 4–8.

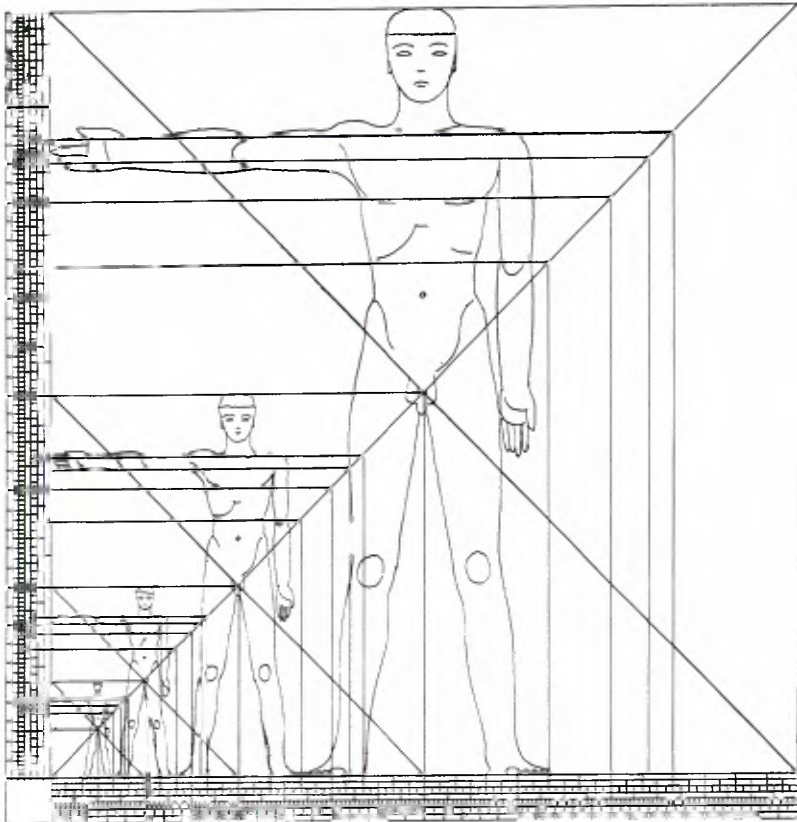


116. Work at the Reconstruction Office in 1943. Under preparation type plans for the *Aseveli* house. Architect Woldemar Baeckman and architect student Helena Malisto. Photo Rakennustietosäätiö.

generally applicable system of measurement, or module (*Fig. 117*).⁸¹ True to the universalizing ideals of Functionalism, the constant aim was towards international cooperation; there was increasingly close interaction with Sweden, Denmark and Germany in particular. The results obtained were published as part of the Building Information File, which was expanded and revised constantly. The first 70 cards were completed and published in 1943.⁸² At first the goals were ambitious and optimistic, the aim was world-wide standardization pioneered by the Nordic countries.

⁸¹ Cf. Le Corbusier's *Modulor* (1948) and the harmonical system of measurement and proportion (Canon 60) developed by Aulis Blomstedt (published in *le Carré Bleu* 4/1961). On Blomstedt's modular studies, Vanhakoski 1992, 66–67; Pallasmaa 1992, 7–24.

⁸² Annual reports of the Reconstruction Office 1942, 1943. Building Information Institute. On the importance of the American contacts before and after the war, see Korvenmaa 1990.



117. Aulis Blomstedt, study for a modular system based on the 180cm measure. Undated (presumably from the late 1950s). Photo SRM. Blomstedt also planned a modular system of flexible industrialized housing for the planning competition for summerhouses arranged by the Finnish Association of Architects in 1943. This low, flat-roofed Kenno or cell house was modern in appearance and clearly differed from the type-planned houses designed at the Reconstruction Office.

The Planning Consultancy was at first headed by Aulis Blomstedt. Its original purpose was to coordinate the architects' voluntary reconstruction work. The aim was that each member of the Association should perform two weeks of voluntary work each year – voluntary activity by common citizens was extensive both during and after the war.⁸³ The voluntary project

⁸³ Cf. Junto 1990, 217; S.A.F.A:n jälleenrakennus... 1942. 4–8.

had a sluggish first year, but things picked up in the years to follow. The main role of the Planning Consultancy was to provide type plans for various clients. The first project was the *Asevelitalo* (War Veterans' House, 1942) commissioned by the Finnish Association of Comrades in Arms (*Suomen Aseveljien Liitto*), which was designed for use in the recaptured areas of Karelia. The following year saw the completion of a series of »growing houses«, or the so-called MKL series, which was ordered by the Central Union of Agricultural Societies. The aim was to carry out all design projects in a way that would benefit the standardization process as a whole.⁸⁴ The establishment of the Reconstruction Office attests not only to the architects' sense of social responsibility but also to their wish to keep the organization and control of the reconstruction firmly in their own hands.

The Association of Architects also engaged in standardization propaganda. At once, in 1942, the Association published a booklet titled *Rakennustaide ja standardi. Jälleenrakentamisen ydinkysymyksiä* (Architecture and the standard. Key questions of reconstruction), the written part of which had been edited by the novelist Mika Waltari.⁸⁵ The publication stressed the importance of introducing standardization, and expounded the principles of reconstruction and standardization. Economic resources being limited, building had to be extremely rational – work had to proceed systematically and in order of priority. Standardization had to focus on the individual parts of the building, and it must be continuous. The books also introduced an instrument of standardization: the Building Information File (*Figs.* 118 and 119). The publication of data on cards would make it easy to revise details and to delete outdated information.⁸⁶ The first 70 cards

⁸⁴ The Planning Consultancy was supervised by Alvar Aalto, Esko Suhonen, Lauri Tolonen (secretary) and Uno Ullberg. Annual reports of the Reconstruction Office 1942–1945. *Rakennustietosäätiö; Blomstedt* 1943, 57. MKL became from the name of the Central Union of Agricultural Societies = *Maatalousseurojen Keskusliitto*.

⁸⁵ Waltari's text is clearly informed by the thinking of Aalto. The original plan was to publish a special journal called *Jälleenrakennus* (Reconstruction). Although Aalto later sharply distinguished between architect's actual work on the one hand and writings on architecture on the other, writings constituted an essential part of his work during the 1930s, and even during the Second World War.

⁸⁶ Waltari 1942, 3–31. The booklet also mentioned the American publication *Sweet's Catalog File* – that kind of dictionary would have been too heavy for a country as small as Finland. In the Reconstruction Office Alvar Aalto with Yrjö Lindgren, Bertel Saarnio and Markus Tavio also made a plan for the reconstruction of Rovaniemi (1945); this town plan was never completed. *Annual Report 1942, Building Information Institute; Revell* 1943, 43; *Ervi* 1943, 61; *Helamaa* 1983, 92.

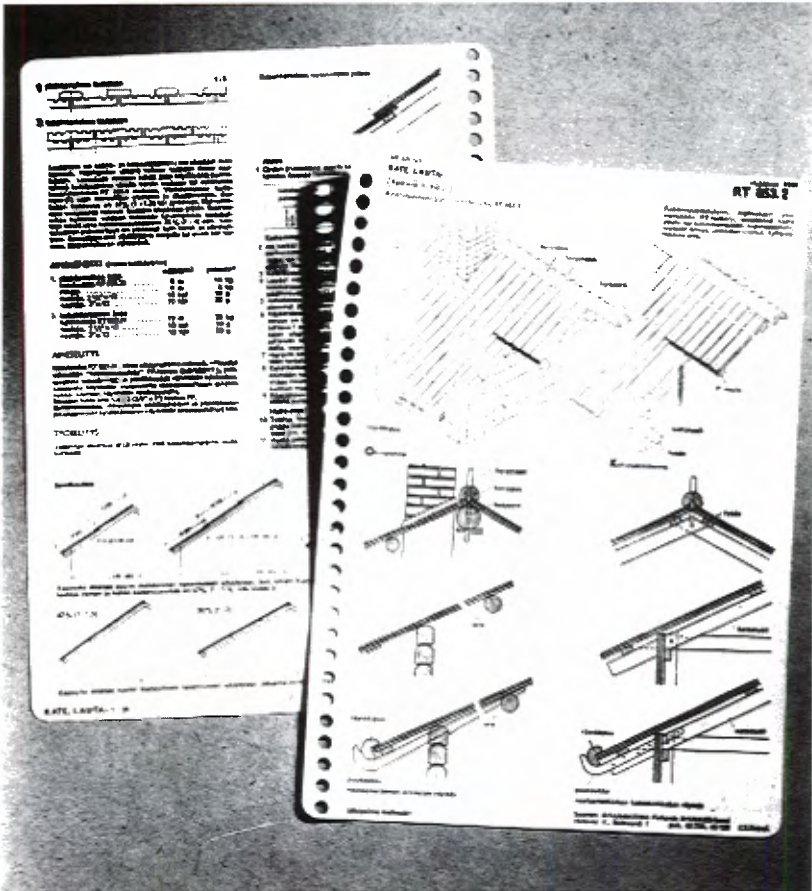


118. Architect Woldemar Baeckman and the Building Information File at the Reconstruction Office in 1943. Photo Rakennustietosäätiö.

were published in 1943. The Building Information File was based on the international decimal classification system and was adapted from German and Swedish models in particular – this facilitated the cooperation with Swedish timber-house factories.

In 1942, Aulis Blomstedt, Kaj Englund and Lauri Tolonen produced plans for the *Aseveli* houses, to be built on the Karelian isthmus. The houses consisted of a log frame which could accommodate various types of simple dwellings and livestock shelters. The frame came in two sizes: type S 22 m² (400 x 500 cm) and type A 41.2 m² (550 cm x 700 cm). Both types also included plans for an optional extension (*Fig. 120*). The houses were mainly built close to the front, by units of the field, and sent in the form of prefabricated sets to the civilian population of Karelia, to help them rebuild their homes.⁸⁷ The houses were designed for easiest possible construc-

⁸⁷ One division ran a veritable house factory, where 50 house frames were produced concurrently, in a rapid process. *Valmistava vaalikokous*, *Arkkitehti* 1942, appendix, 31. Various type plans for individual clients were also designed by Hilding Ekelund, Yrjö Lindegren, Hugo Harmia, Jorma Järvi and others. Annual report 1942. Rakennustietosäätiö.

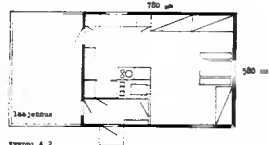
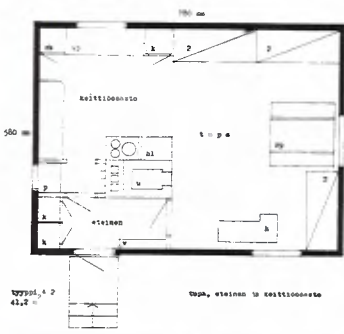
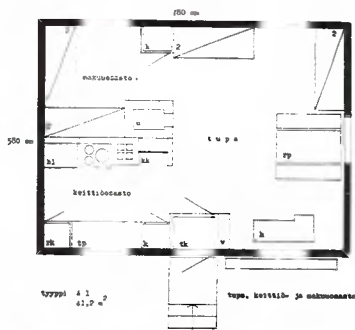


119. Rakennustietokortisto (Building Information File), 1944. Photo Rakennustietosäätiö.

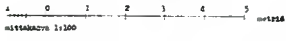
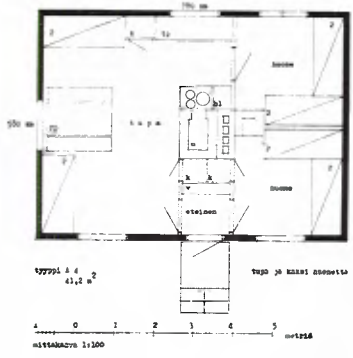
tion in front line conditions. The drawings were distributed in an edition of 9,000 copies among the military units and the local population; over a thousand houses were built during the first year.⁸⁸ Because the foundations of the building were simultaneously laid in a different area, it was abso-

⁸⁸ *Arkkitehti* 10–11/1942, 31; Blomstedt 1943, 57.

TYYPPI A. ERILAISIA KÄYTTÖMAHDOLLISUUKSIA



- Selostus
- 1k smittakoppi
 - v vaikkoo
 - 2 saunatuolialueen vuoro
 - rp ruokapöytä
 - h höyläpöytä
 - k komero
 - rh ruokasesseri
 - yo yöpöytä
 - h1 hyllyseinä
 - v valaisin, 6 lampua
 - p pesukone
 - sk saunahuone



Suunnittelupu, Erottajankatu 3, Helsinki, puh. 65758

120. Aulis Blomstedt, Kaj Englund, Lauri Silvennoinen, Asevelitalo A, 41.2 m².
Published in Arkkitehti 1942.

lutely necessary that the given measurements were strictly observed when the logs were hewn.⁸⁹ The design of these types represents extreme rationalism, both in terms of labour and basic plan. The external appearance of these types specifically designed for Karelia differs from that of other type-planned houses – they are the only ones whose external architecture is specifically designed for a particular location. The external architecture of the houses contains references to the building methods traditionally used in eastern Finland: they are made of round, unpeeled logs, as was customary in Karelia, and their roof structure is also reminiscent of eastern Finnish building. A traditional corner timbering technique is used, and the purlins are left clearly exposed, which creates an idiosyncratic external appearance. Both types could also be built of planks, with the usual timber cladding (*Figs. 121, 122 and 123*).

The dwelling types included in the so-called MKL series designed by Aarne Hytönen, Yrjö Lindegren and Olli Pöyry in 1943 for the Central Union of Agricultural Societies carry into effect the ideals of the »growing house» and the differentiation of functions: they are designed to cater for different residential models and members of different occupations, and were meant for rural areas as well as for population centres.⁹⁰ The series includes six different single-family types, and two *Aseveli* types. All the plans were published on Building Information cards in such a way that there were separate main plans and building instructions for each type, while the detail drawings and structural drawings were provided by appending of additional Building Information cards to the main plans. In addition to the attic conversion option, two-stage extension plans were outlined for each type.⁹¹

With the exception of the two *Aseveli* types, all the houses have same basic form: they are cube-shaped buildings with both a basement and an attic floor, and the main volume of the house rests on a continuous rectangular base, the only projecting structure being the porch. All houses have a single chimney, and the same roof pitch. Horizontal boarding is slightly more common than vertical boarding (4/6). All type-planned houses with an attic floor have the somewhat sharp roof pitch of approximately 45°.

⁸⁹ See *Asevelityypit A ja S, hirsirakennuksen runkotyön selitys* (*Aseveli types A and S, specification for log building framework*). SRM.

⁹⁰ *Arkkitehti* 1943, 66–73. Building Information cards 962.12, 962.13, 962.22, 962.23, 962.52, 962.61, 962.91. Building Information Institute.

⁹¹ The house can grow in one or two possible ways: only the basic type is initially built, and all extension work is postponed, or the frame is at once completed in its extended form, but only the basic part is fully completed. Kivimaa 1943, 64.

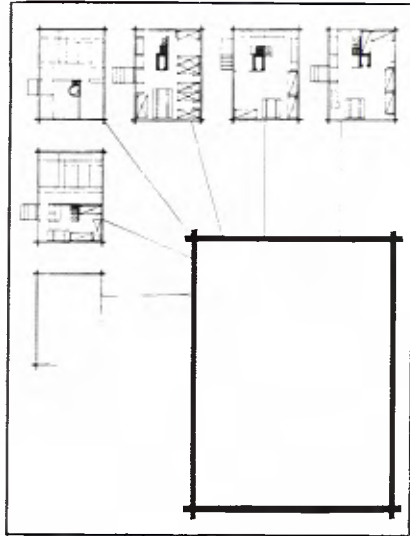


121. The "house factory" of Division 3 near Uhtua in 1942 produced more than 100 Aseveli houses. Photo SRM.



122. The foundations of an *Aseveli* house. Photo SRM.

The crux of the layout is either a multipurpose main room, which has a partitioned-off kitchen section (MKL2, MKL3, MKL7 and type no. 8) or a multipurpose main room and a separate kitchen (MKL4, MKL5, MKL6) – the smallest type (MKL1) is a large undivided multipurpose room. There is no actual living room; the multipurpose main room is the largest space, and therefore serves as a general living area. The other spaces are planned around the main room and the kitchen, and the bedrooms are consigned to the attic. In the initial stage, depending on the size of the house, the sleeping quarters are either located in the main room, in partitioned sleeping sections in the main room, or in separate bedrooms. The effort to seg-



123. The log frame of an *Aseveli* house A. *Arkkitehti* 1942.

regate different activities is a characteristic feature even in the smaller types, e.g. MKL2 (35 m²) in which specific areas for both kitchen work and sleeping are partitioned off the main room (*Fig. 124*). The main room is a multifunctional space where the inhabitants gather, sleep and eat; the type MKL4 is the only where the dining table is placed in the kitchen. The beds are placed at a distance from the cooking facilities. The largest types, MKL5 and MKL6, are the most »differentiated» dwellings (both 65 m²). The basic part of both buildings comprises a large separate kitchen and two rooms (*Fig. 125*). The floor plans are variations of the four-room plan. Once extended to their final and largest form, the houses are meant to serve as main buildings on medium-size and moderately large farms. In this completed form, they approximate the spatial organization that characterizes rural housing traditions, with their conventional guest rooms and master's rooms. The size of the basic part of the houses ranges between 31 m² and 65 m². When the extensions have been added, the smaller types comprise a main room, a kitchen and one or two bedrooms. The rooms are either located in a row, or in a square sequence similar to the four-room plan.⁹²

⁹² *Arkkitehti* 1943, 66–73. Building Information cards 962.12, 962.13, 962.22, 962.23, 962.52, 962.61, 962.91. Building Information Institute.



Tyyppi N:o 2

Tyyppin nimi: MKL 2

RT-kartiston n:o 962.13

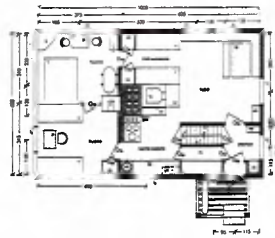
Tyyppin runko on tupa ja siihen välittömästi liittyvä keitto-osasto (MKL 2) pinta-alaltaan 39 m². Se voidaan laajentaa käsittämään tupakeittiön ja kaksi huonetta (MKL 2a) tai tupakeittiön ja neljä huonetta (MKL 2b). Ullakolle voidaan lisäksi rakentaa 1 suurehko ja 1 pienehkö makuuhuone. Ullakolle päästään eteisestä ja keilariin keitto-osastosta. Ruokasäiliön on ovi sekä eteisestä että keitto-osastosta. Tyyppi esittää sellaista asuntomuotoa, jossa pyritään huoneiden keskinäisen kiinteän yhteyden avulla väljään perheasunnon kotimuotoon ja eristetyt huoneet on sijoitettu ullakolle. Tämän tyyppin tarkoitus on sopia varsinkin vähitehden laajenevan tilan asuinrakennukseksi. Rakennus voi vastaavasti helposti kasvaa ensin MKL 2a ja sitten MKL 2b muodoksi.

Pohjat mittakaavassa 1 : 200

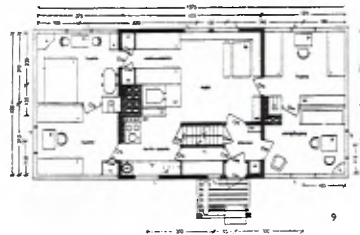
MKL 2



MKL 2a



MKL 2b



124. Aarne Hytönen, Yrjö Lindegren, Olli Pöyry, MKL 2 for the so-called MKL-series. Building Information File no. 962.13. Published in *Arkkiitehti* 1944.



Tyyppi N:o 6

Tyyppin nimi MKL 6

RT-kortiston n:o 962.91

Tyyppin runkona on kaksi huonetta ja ruokailukeittiö, pinta-alaltaan 65 m². Siihen liittyy kaksi vaihtoehtoista laajennusmuotoa, joista toisessa (MKL6a) on lisäys kaksi huonetta ja toisessa (MKL 6b) lisäys sisältää uuden eteisen, isännänhuoneen ja tuvan, jonne ruokailu keittiöstä on siirtynyt ja keittiön on sijoitettu kotiappalaisen makuupaikakamohdollisuus. Tämä tyyppi edustaa sellaista asumismuotoa, jollain aluksi tilavan tuvan sijasta halutaan useampia pienempiä huoneita ja tuvan rakentaminen jätetään myöhemmän aikaan tai jätetään kokonaan rakentamatta. Perustyyppi sinänsä edustaa yleistä asumismuotoa asutuskeskuksissa. Ulakkohuoneita voidaan rakentaa perustyyppiä yksi ja laajennusmuodoissa kaksi. Ulakolle käynti tapahtuu tuulikaapin kautta, jolloin ulakkohuoneiden vuokraaminen on mahdollista. Keilariin päästään keittiöstä.

Pohjat mittakaavassa 1 : 200

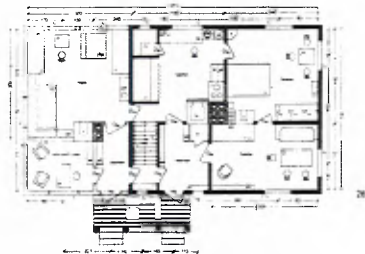
MKL 6



MKL 6a



MKL 6b



125. Aarne Hytönen, Yrjö Lindegren, Olli Pöyry, MKL-series 1943, type MKL 6.
Published in *Arkkitehti* 1944.

In addition to the plans for the buildings themselves, designs were produced for all the building's components from window and door types to structural drawings and kitchen furniture; these were also published as Building Information Cards. In 1945, the Reconstruction Office completed the first standard types of kitchen furniture, which were published on 25 cards. The kitchen was a central object of interest in the rationalization of construction and housing. The design of the dwelling – and of the kitchen in particular – was seen as an immediate means of bettering the woman's position as family housekeeper, and of enhancing her daily orbit.⁹³ The point of departure in kitchen design was the current social situation – housing practice – and the gender division it entailed; as kitchen work was mainly performed by women, the Office adopted the average height of the Finnish women as the basis of its standard kitchen furniture.⁹⁴

The »K.Y.M.R.O.» types, designed by Aulis Blomstedt and Yrjö Lindgren in 1944 for the use in population centres, were based on a collection of »typical» building plans collected from different parts of Finland.⁹⁵ On the basis of the collection, three categories of building were established. Groups A and B include dwellings that comprise one or two rooms and a kitchen, plus an attic floor; group C consists of dwellings with a small kitchen and 1-3 rooms but no attic rooms – there are nine types in total.⁹⁶ The dwellings were categorized according to the relative location of the rooms. The houses are mainly clad with horizontal boarding, and they echo the convention of reconstruction type (*Fig.126*). The saddle-roofed porch – which might be either open or enclosed – is usually located at one end of the longest elevation of the building; the windows are small and irregularly distributed. The layout of the dwellings ranges from one room and a kitchen to three rooms and a kitchen. All but a couple of types have a separate kitchen (types KYMRO 3 and 5 have a multipurpose kitchen), and the most common type of house has two rooms and a kitchen. There are usually two additional rooms in the attic. The size of the buildings is usually 50–60 m².

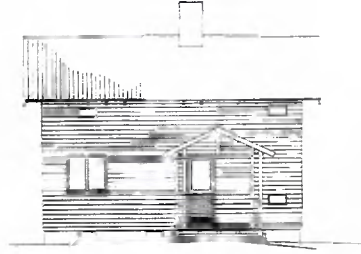
The vigorous reconstruction effort, which began after the armistice agreement was signed in the autumn 1944, provided plenty of work for the ar-

⁹³ *Mitä jokaisen...* 1940, 12–13; Similä 1939, 25–29; Stigell 1939, 53.

⁹⁴ Simberg 1945, 72–73.

⁹⁵ KYMRO= *Kulkulaitosten ja yleisten töiden ministeriön rakennusosasto* (Ministry for Transport and Public Works, construction department). The architects Kirsti Arajärvi and Eva Larkka, and the architectural student Irja Puttonen helped in the planning process. *Arkkitehti* 1944, 75.

⁹⁶ *Arkkitehti* 1944, 75.



126. Yrjö Lindegren, Kymro type *Kymro 1*, 1944. On the cover of this book Kymro type *Enso 1* by Aulis Blomstedt. Orig. SRM.

chitects and simultaneously drained the professional resources of the Reconstruction Office, which did not want to compete with the architects' own private offices. As of June 1, 1945, the Office was headed by Kaj Englund.⁹⁷ From the very beginning, almost half of the staff of the Office

⁹⁷ Kurt Simberg replaced Ervi at the helm of the Planning Consultancy; Yrjö Lindegren had been director of the Standardization Institute since 1943. Annual reports 1943, 1945, Building Information Institute.

had been women, and now the proportion of architectural students also increased.⁹⁸ The work of the Office was mainly carried out as though by »faceless officials» and without foregrounding the personal identity of the designers; in this respect the work stressed anonymity. Yet that work had a momentous effect on the immediate everyday environment and the dwellings of the Finnish population. When the war was over, a significant number of young architects moved on to areas of design that were more conducive to individual expression and to the establishment and/or augmentation of a professional reputation. In 1947, the name of the Office was changed to the Standardization Institute of the Finnish Association of Architects (*Suomen Arkkitehtiliiton Standardisoimislaitos*). It continued to develop and publish standardization materials and Building Information cards.⁹⁹ In the 1970s it became a part of the new Building Information Institute.

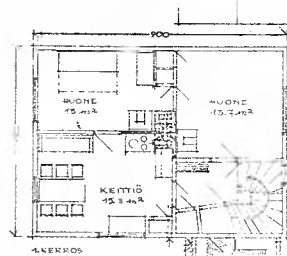
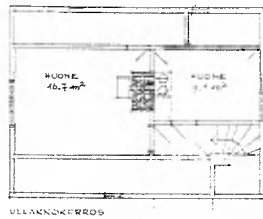
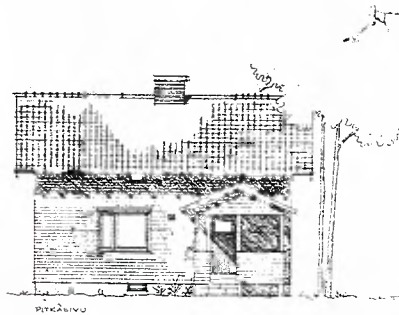
The reconstruction of Lapland meant the final breakthrough of the Building Information File. The type-planned single-family houses designed by the architect Erkki Koiso-Kanttila for the Lappish Building Administration District (*Lapin rakennuspiiri*) for use in reconstruction do not differ from the other reconstruction types.¹⁰⁰ All the familiar themes are repeated: the buildings have saddle roofs, and usually horizontal boarding, and there is a saddle-roofed open porch at one end of the longest elevation. The windows are different sizes, and always undivided, although the larger windows have a separate, narrow ventilation window. All but two of the houses have one and a half storeys.¹⁰¹ The different types are relatively identical – the dwellings comprise two rooms and a kitchen, and sometimes a WC. (Types no. 9 and 10 have three rooms and a kitchen.) There are two more rooms in the attic, which can also serve as a separate apartment (*Fig. 127*). The floor area of the types that have two rooms and kitchen is the same as that of the »minimal» dwelling – 50 m² to 60 m². The

⁹⁸ Annual reports 1942–45. Building Information Institute.

⁹⁹ By 1943, a total of 86 Building Information cards had been completed – houses and construction details – and the number of subscribers was roughly 600. The following year, plans for 6 residential buildings (including details) and 8 porches were published in the form of sets of Building Information cards, and in 1945, a total of 46 cards were published showing plans for kitchen furniture and details of buildings – by this time the number of subscribers had grown to 1,288. In 1957 there were over 3,000 subscribers. Annual reports of the Reconstruction Office 1942–57, Building Information cards 1946–53. Building Information Institute; SRM.

¹⁰⁰ *Omakoti* 1–10. Type no. 3 was *Tammisuo 3*, originally planned for the KYMRO series of the Reconstruction Office. Orig. SRM.

¹⁰¹ Houses 4 and 8 are single-storey.

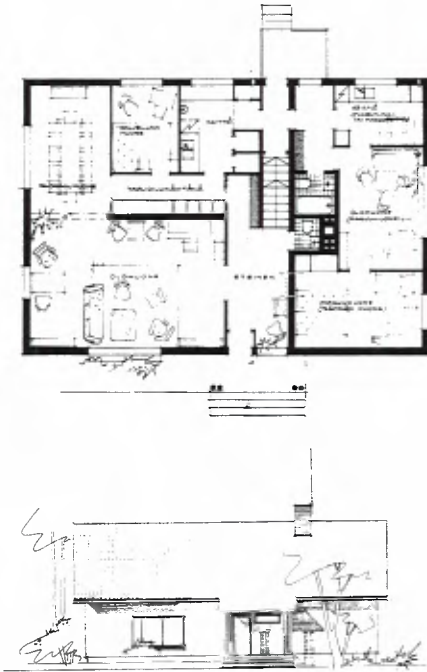


127. Erkki Koiso-Kanttila, Lapland Building Administration District, type Omakoti (Own-Home House) 1. 16.4.1945. Orig. SRM.

spatial organization is typically such that the kitchen and the bedroom either adjoin or communicate, and form a single axis on their own side of the building, while the living room constitutes a separate unit on the opposite side.

With the houses designed for the reconstruction of Lapland, the planning process may be said to have come to an »end», at least insofar as no more features were actually added to the so-called 1940s type-planned house. In the late '40s, the different resettlement committees had a hun-

¹⁰² Lappi-Seppälä 1948, 7.



128. In the Planning Consultancy architects also voluntarily designed a great number of houses for private clients, mainly for the recovered territories in Karelia but also elsewhere. This undated and unsigned design belongs to the Hilding Ekelund collection kept in SRM. It was presumably designed in spring 1943 for Mr. Janhunen and has the stamp of the Reconstruction Office.

dred or so type plans at their disposal.¹⁰² Most single-family houses built in the 1940s and '50s rehearse the same themes, regardless of whether the setting is a town or a factory estate, or whether the house has been »home made« by a rural or suburban proprietor, and although efforts were made to liven up the austere and ascetic standard structure with personal additions. Particularly during the '50s, houses were often rendered rather than clad with timber.¹⁰³

Arava and *AS* types

The characteristic features of the reconstruction-period type plans for single-family housing recur in the revised plans designed by the Standardi-

¹⁰³ Lehtonen – Lepistö 1982.

zation Institute of the Finnish Association of Architects in 1950, which were designed to comply with the stipulations of the state-subsidized Housing Act (*Arava-lait*, March 23, 1949).¹⁰⁴ Most of the architects involved had taken part in type planning in the 1940s. There are six types in all; each is by a different architect.¹⁰⁵ Two of the types are single-family houses with one and a half storeys; four are two-family houses with either one or two floors (*Fig. 129*). The greatest difference between the reconstruction types and Arava types is that latter are larger: the one-family houses comprise three to four rooms and a kitchen, while in the two-family houses the size of the individual dwellings range from one room and a kitchen to three rooms and a kitchen – the dwellings are either located side by side or stacked.

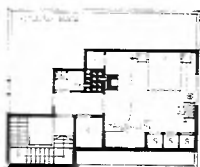
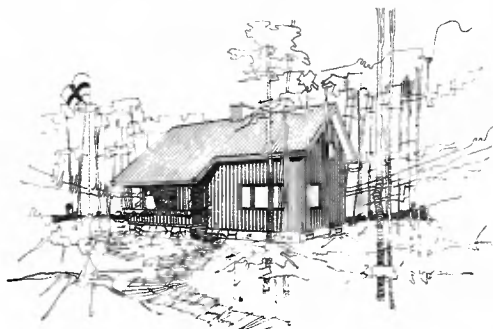
The 15 single-family houses that make up the AS types – a series of type plans for rural areas commissioned by the Ministry of Agriculture – recapitulate the essential features of the type-planned houses of the 1940s.¹⁰⁶ Most of these houses have one and a half storeys (there are three exceptions), saddle roofs, vertical boarding and high plinths which accommodate basement facilities. The porch is either of the saddle-roofed open type, or built under an extension of the slope of the roof. The windows are undivided; the largest window is in the living room, and the rest are quite small. The external appearance of the houses is harmonious and peaceful.

The arrangement of the living space is based on a rectangle divided into four, and the dwellings are all very similar: there is a large combined kitchen and dining space, a bedroom, a living room, a washroom or WC and usually two attic rooms (*Fig. 130*). The rooms mostly have two doors, and are thus intercommunicable: the kitchen is accessed from the entrance-hall passage and the bedroom, the bedroom opens into the living room, the living room communicates with the entrance-hall passage, but there is no access between the kitchen and the living room. The multifunctional main room of the traditional rural house has been substituted by a separate kitchen and a living room – some plans still use the name of *tupa* as an alternative name for »living room» (*olohuone*), but the living room furniture shows no trace of the old multipurpose function. The dwelling is now dedicated to rest, sociable activities and household work.

¹⁰⁴ *Uusia omakotitalojen...* 1950. (ARAVA = *asuntorakennustuotannon valtuuskunta*, housing production commission). For more information about the ARAVA system, see e.g. Juntto 1990, 203–216; Hurme 1991, 74–75.

¹⁰⁵ The architects were Lauri Silvennoinen, Lauri Pajamies, Erkki Koiso-Kanttila, Jarl Bjurström, Kaj Englund and Hilding Ekelund.

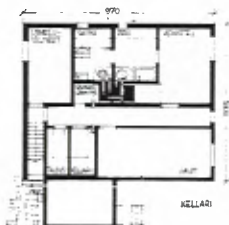
¹⁰⁶ *Maatalousministeriön AS-rakennustyyppistö* 1952. The architects are not mentioned in the catalogue.



VL. KERROS



LE. KERROS



KELLARI

Jalkipainos kielletään

Yhden perheen omakotitalo
3 huonetta ja keittiö
huoneistoala 70 + 29 = 99 m²
tilavuus 535 m³

Tähän tyyppiin kuuluvat seuraavat piirustukset:

RT 983.7150	1 kerr. ja kellarin pohja	1:100
RT 983.7151 II	> pohja ja leikkaus	1:100
RT 983.7152 2	julkisivu	1:100
RT 983.7153 2	>	1:100

Suunnittelut:
Lauri Silvennoinen
arkkitehti SAFA

Suomen Arkkitehtiliitto, Standardisimisalaitos
Helsinki K, Bulevardi 1, puh. 65 758, 65 158

129. Lauri Silvennoinen, single-family house type ARAVA 1, 1950. RT 983.715.
Published in *Uusia omakotitalojen tyyppi- ja piirustuksia* 1950.

AS-TYYPPI
A 15
1952

Piirustuksia tilaissa on erikseen mainittava, jos halutaan piirustukset kellarista 2.



YHDEN PERHEEN OMAKOTITALO
2 huonetta ja keittiö sekä 2 ullakkohuonetta
Kellarista 2 vaihtoehtoista ratkaisua: K 1 ja K 2

Rakennuksen ala 80 m²

Huoneistoala:

1. kerros 72 m²
Ullakkohuoneet 45 m² 117 m²

Tilavuus: kellarit + asuintilat

Kellari 1 167 + 410 = 577 m³
Kellari 2 167 + 410 = 577 m³



KELLARI 2



KELLARI 1



KELLARI 2

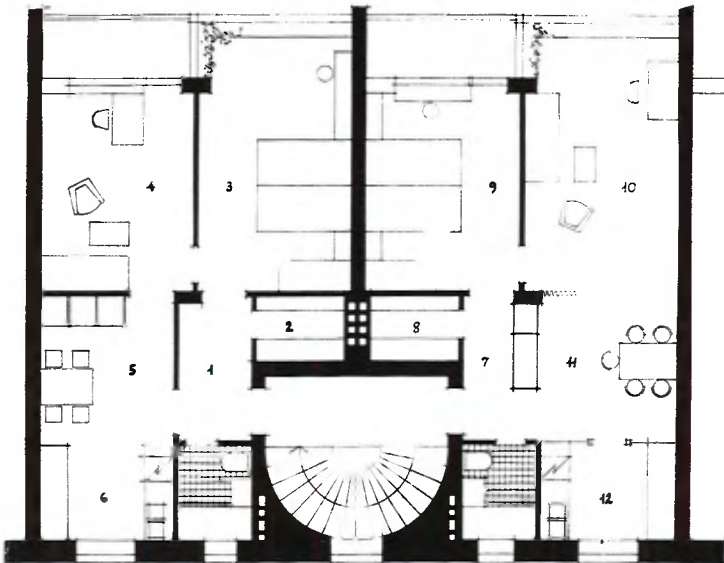
Jäljentäminen ja jälkipainos kielletään.

Jäljentäminen ja jälkipainos kielletään.

Maatalousseurojen Keskusliitto
ASUTUSVALIOKUNTA

Maatalousministeriön asutusasiainosasto

130. The Ministry of Agriculture, Settlement department, AS-type A 15 for rural areas (1952). Published in *Maatalousministeriön asutusasiainosaston AS-rakennustyypistö* 1952.



131. Keijo Petäjä and Viljo Rewell, apartment houses of the reconstruction period, Maunulan Kansanasunnot in Maunula, Helsinki (1949-51). Floor plan of kitchen, bedroom, living room, balcony and bathroom. SRM. Houses photographed by Heikki Havas in the early 1950s. SRM.



132. Modest and human housing architecture of the reconstruction period. Yrjö Lindegren, the so-called *Käärmetalo* (Serpent House) on Mäkelänkatu, Käpylä (1949). The first Arava apartment house in Helsinki. Photo and floor plans SRM.

After state-subsidized housing was introduced, official housing policy and individual architects both returned their attention to high-rise flats and to the building of cities and population centres (*Fig. 131*). Type plans were gradually superseded by industrially produced prefabricated family houses designed according to the fashion of the day. Since the '50s, the building of small homes has become increasingly »rampant»: modern prefabricated houses vary in style, and reflect the rapid flux of trends and fashions. More distinctive one-off single-family houses and semi-detached houses have been designed by architects.

Despite the anonymous quality of the buildings themselves, architects played a central role in the design of the type-planned houses – the aspiration, at least, was not only to enhance and create housing standards but also to pay attention to aesthetic considerations of design. In practice, the creation of housing standards and the effort to satisfy minimum needs easily turned the »minimum» into the norm. People had faith in architecture; it held an optimistic promise of an eventual better life. In accordance with the Enlightenment project, the aim was to create a good, modern dwelling that would be suited to contemporary life. Despite the enormous demand, the scale and volume of building was nothing compared to the massive housing estate production of the 1960s and '70s.

6.3. Architecture and organization of living space

6.3.1. Architectural idiom

As the above review of the planning process showed, a set of similar themes recur with small variations in the architecture of all the different type-planned houses, with the single exception of the *Aseveli* houses designed (for the rebuilding of Karelia) at the Reconstruction Office of the Finnish Association of Architects in 1942 by Aulis Blomstedt, Kaj Englund and Lauri Tolonen. The type-planned houses adhere to an aesthetic of sparseness and conventionality; their visual idiom is simple, austere and independent of designer, and, in this sense, anonymous. The external architecture of these plain, unembellished, saddle-roofed houses has a certain generalized quality. The houses epitomize the basic idea of the dwelling, and their homogeneousness, which seems to dissociate them from the designer, the client and environment, helps to create the sense that they epit-



133. Type-planned houses in Pieksämäki. Photo Riitta Nikula 1990.

omize the »normal» archetypal one-family house. The types designed for rural areas and for urban population centres are not dissimilar but identical.¹⁰⁷ With their wooden construction, vertical or horizontal boarding, saddle roofs and clear rectangular shape, they all share the same cabin-like appearance (*Fig. 133*). Certain technical innovations were adopted in the building of the houses: the basement facilities and the plinth were cast in concrete and the boarded walls were put together by means of the so-called frame construction technique.¹⁰⁸

Aside from the saddle roofs and lack of architectural details, the most prominent overall feature of the houses is their virtual cube shape – a result of the high plinth and virtually square one and a half storey elevations. The cube was a favourite form in modern architecture. Almost all the houses have high, pronounced basement facilities under the main vol-

¹⁰⁷ In the 1940s, it was thought that the difference between town and country would gradually disappear, and it was not considered necessary to design dwellings separately for rural areas and towns. See for example Aalto 1941c, 134.

¹⁰⁸ Englund 1949, 92–93.

ume of the house, but only few have separate utility buildings, despite the fact that such buildings were more native to the Finnish building tradition and would have been cheap to build.¹⁰⁹ The facades allowed little scope for variation beyond slight difference in roof pitch, the choice between vertical or horizontal boarding, and alternative locations and shapes for the windows and the porch. The windows, doors and porch are the only features that punctuate the facade. The porch usually has a saddle roof and is mostly located at one or the other end of the longest elevation, while the single chimney is usually positioned slightly to the side of the central axis. The windows are asymmetrically distributed on all four walls, and their positions are dictated by the floor plan. The largest windows are in the living room and sometimes in the kitchen or the main room, and the bedrooms and attics have smaller windows. In some cases the gable end of the house has two identical windows which stare out like a pair of eyes. The windows vary in size and shape – they can be square, or either horizontal or vertical rectangles. The large windows are commonly bands consisting of two or three adjacent rectangles. The houses project a firmly enclosed and sealed-off appearance. Not only are they conspicuous – they also affirm their own separation from their surroundings and assertively confine their inhabitants. The visual idiom of the houses is not hierarchically dependent upon the volume of each building but constant and independent of size – in this respect the houses effectuate the principle of producing similar dwellings for all individuals and locations.

The standardized and mutually similar type-planned houses reiterate a certain uniform model of the dwelling and of habitation, and are part of the same discourse. The facades of the houses contain no references for (historical) styles, and the buildings can therefore be said to adhere to the modern idiom.¹¹⁰ The absence of such references does not, however, imply a severance from architectural tradition, although the break with the past was one of the most tendentious Modernist myths. The myth of Modernist architecture as somehow detached from tradition persisted for a long time also in texts in the history of Finnish architecture. In these, the architectural idiom of the type-planned houses is treated as though it were obvious and given, and emerged »out of nothing» and had no relation to the preceding architecture (including Functionalism).¹¹¹ Ironically enough,

¹⁰⁹ See *Arkkitehti* 1944, 75.

¹¹⁰ I use the term historical styles in the conventional sense with which it is employed in architectural research and art history, meaning easily recognizable historical styles and the concomitant periodization of art.

¹¹¹ E.g. Ålander 1954, 485; Wickberg 1959, 86–89; Salokorpi 1971, 34; Mikkola 1978, 77; Helander 1982, 504.

the break with tradition was also associated with the idea that architecture was a matter of self-expression on the part of the designer, and free of any meanings outside itself. »Modern» buildings were seen as being inherently rational and technically advanced, even when they were not so in reality. Their external appearance projected the illusion of rationality – and this in itself is one of the meanings of the type-planned houses as well.¹¹² The houses also possess many not strictly stylistic features through which they participate in architectural tradition and acquire meaning in relation to that tradition – even the »lack» of something is a choice that connotes meaning. The pivotal issues are similarity and difference – both difference from and affiliation with the architecture of the past: »Forms become meaningful not only because of contrast with other forms, but also because of similarity to certain forms that carry the same meaning.»¹¹³ Similarity is at least eloquent and meaningful as difference, and the continuity of a tradition is just as important as discontinuity. The architectural idiom of the type-planned houses combines certain old, familiar features in a new way – their »novelty» entails combining »traditional» elements with new ideas about housing.

The design of the type-planned houses aspired towards timelessness and beauty through the use of clear lines and good balance and proportions, the aesthetic premise being that beauty and pleasantness reside in simplicity, modesty and practicality. Everything superfluous has been rejected. The external architecture was designed to resemble the supposedly timeless rural vernacular tradition. Modesty, aversion to fashion and fads, and references to the national heritage aimed to accentuate the permanence of the building and the values it stood for.¹¹⁴ Although the external appearance of the type-planned houses does include features that stem from vernacular architecture, it still radically differs from the vernacular tradition – it is possible to argue that the type-planned house constitutes a shift in the rural vernacular tradition, a transformation of rural building. The external ex-

¹¹² On the impossibility of meaningless architecture see for example Bonta 1979, 22: »A truly meaningless architecture or art would remain outside the realm of culture – and thus it would cease to be architecture or art.»

¹¹³ Bonta 1979, 123–124. Ville Lukkariinen has studied the way in which architecturally similar and contemporaneous buildings acquire different meanings if they are studied in context, taking into account the intentions of their designers. Lukkariinen 1989, 83.

¹¹⁴ »The architecture of small rural dwellings ought to emulate the vernacular and show respect for customary shapes and proportions.» Lappi-Seppälä 1940, 220. See also Mandelin 1948, 15–16; Stigell 1948, 1.

pression of these houses has mistakenly been attributed to vernacular builders;¹¹⁵ in reality, as showed in the above account of their planning, the houses were built according to models distributed »from above«, and designed by eminent architects.

Features that associate the type-planned house with the Finnish rural building tradition include the use of timber as a construction material, and structures such as the saddle roof, and the popular open porch with its saddle roof mounted on posts, which is usually placed on the longest elevation of the building.¹¹⁶ At first glance, each house looks like a twin cabin chopped in half – an association which places the houses in the rural cabin and cottage convention. In its general shape and proportions, however, the type-planned house differs, even strongly, from the traditional farmhouse. The usual light colour scheme of the type-planned house, and its chosen height of one and a half storeys, were exceptional in rural building, although the latter was not entirely unheard-of.¹¹⁷ Similarly, the fenestration differs from the customary Neoclassical windows composed of four or six uniformly sized square panes which continued their career in 1920s Classicism. The high basement facilities underneath the house constituted another feature that was alien to rural building custom – storage space was traditionally provided in separate utility buildings and storehouses. In the type-planned houses, a maximum number of different functions have been concentrated in a single building, and the only outbuildings are usually the cowshed (which sometimes also houses the privy) and the sauna.¹¹⁸ Assigning almost all the different household activities to one and the same building constituted a reordering of the *oikos* and a transformation of the rural yard milieu. Local building conventions and idiosyncracies were of the essence in rural vernacular architecture, whereas the type-planned houses were always similar, regardless of location. These houses, with their exteriors that patently departed from traditional rural architecture, contribute to the formation of a new model of single-family housing in Finland.

¹¹⁵ Salokorpi 1971, 34–35.

¹¹⁶ The construction of the type-planned house naturally differed from what was traditional both in the country and in the wooden towns: instead of logs clad with boarding, the walls of the type-planned houses were entirely made of boards.

¹¹⁷ Lehtonen – Lepistö 1982, 91.

¹¹⁸ From the 1920s, type plans for cowsheds and saunas were also produced, and separate utility buildings were also a common subject of model drawings for rural buildings from the end of the 19th century onwards. Sjöström 1891; Siikonen 1931; Siikonen 1942.

On the other hand, the ascetic and unembellished type-planned houses differ surprisingly little from, for example, the stone-built peasant houses designed by Carl Wijnblad in the 18th century.¹¹⁹ Both have elevations which lack coordinating features, and smooth, continuous walls that are only broken by the door and window apertures. The type-planned houses of the 1940s also share the general shape of Wijnblad's one and a half storey buildings.¹²⁰ However, the asymmetrical and irregular elevations and the popular porch only occur in the houses of the '40s. Wijnblad's plans are also homogeneous in terms of visual idiom, ranging from a complete twin cabin to a »quarter cabin« which is achieved by simply »slicing« the larger building close to the entrance-hall passage, and by shifting the door from the middle to the side of the building.¹²¹

Similarly, the type-planned houses differ from the wooden architecture of the traditional Finnish small towns (agrarian trade towns), for example by virtue of their greater height and cube shape. The houses of the small towns, which from 1810 onwards were mainly single-storey, were surrounded by boarded fences and formed enclosed and unified street facades, whereas the type-planned houses were detached and had private gardens, which yields a suburban impression. The closed street spaces were with them replaced by open blocks (*Fig. 134*). And indeed, it is precisely the housing associated with the traditional wooden town from which the type-planned house is furthest removed in terms of architecture and internal organization.¹²²

The model of domestic architecture embodied in the postwar type-planned house essentially belongs to the process of Finland's urbanization, and it compares both with the rural tradition and with the urban housing models of the early 20th century – the brief suburban tradition of working-class and bourgeois single-family housing (the one-family house and villa), the bourgeois apartment and the Functionalist floor plan of the 1930s. Chronologically, the closest antecedent of the type-planned house can be seen in 1920s type-plans for small rural and suburban dwellings, for example those produced at the behest of the Ministry of Social Service or then State Board of Land Settlement or, say, the dwelling types employed in Puu-Käpylä (wooden Käpylä) in Helsinki.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Wijnblad 1765.

¹²⁰ When built of wood, Wijnblad's houses were single-storey.

¹²¹ Cf. *Tab I »helt hemman«* and *Tab II »fierdedels hemman.«*

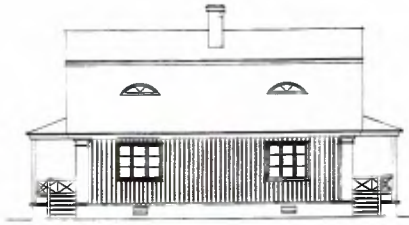
¹²² On the architecture of the traditional Finnish wooden town, see Lilius 1985, 150–187.

¹²³ Paalanen 1924; *Maaseudun pienasuntojen...* 1928.



134. View from Itäinen Heikinkatu (Mannerheimintie 5-7), Helsinki. Photo Signe Brander 1907. HKM.

In terms of building height, the type-planned houses of the 1940s differ from both the Classical, mainly single-storey types drawn up by the Ministry of Social Service and the two-storey houses built in Käpylä. Some type-planned single-family houses from the 1920s also have one and a half storeys, but they always have low plinths and never include basement facilities. The one and a half storey houses planned in the 1920s also have steeper roofs than the 1940s types. Nevertheless, both types are designed in a sparse and straightforward idiom, which gives them a certain shared anonymousness; other common features include timber cladding, porches and irregularly shaped facades. The facades of the 1940s houses, however, lack the regularity of the Classical types – the 1920s types all had vertical boarding and regular fenestration consisting of rectangular windows composed of small square panes (*Fig. 135*). In the 1940s, both the weatherboarding and the window types varied, but were not aligned with any of



135. Martti Välikangas, semi-detached house in Käpylä (1920). Photo SRM.

the conventional forms of the past (*Figs. 136 and 137*).¹²⁴ The facades of the type-planned houses also lack punctuating elements such as highlighted corner boards and window casements. All enlivening minor details – such as the posts of the porch, the small semicircular or diamond windows – have also been omitted from the facades.

From the 1920s, there seems to have been a tendency to clip away the excessive curlicues and flourishes of the late Art Nouveau, which had been common in privately designed houses since the turn of the century. What was recommended instead was simplicity and clarity, in allegiance with the Finnish vernacular tradition.¹²⁵ Similarly, in the 1940s, the call was for the omission of unnecessary curves and angles; on the hand, people were also told to eschew Functionalism, which was considered foreign to the Finnish building tradition. Architecture of a modest and peaceful appearance was recommended as an alternative. The role and significance of architects – the experts – in the field of design was commended and contrasted with the previous »unplanned» approach that characterized the rural building tradition and, to some extent, the private buildings of the working classes.¹²⁶

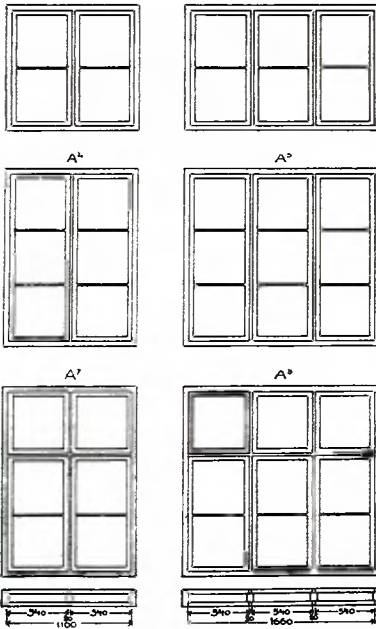
An even more drastic difference exists between the type-planned houses of the 1940s and their immediate predecessors – the single-family housing types designed by Elias Paalanen in the 1930s, and the workers' single-family houses drawn up by Väinö Vähäkallio for Kaukopää factory in

¹²⁴ Compare the standard window types of the 1920s and '40s. In the '20s, six panes was the most common number, and windows with 4 or 8 panes were also popular.

¹²⁵ In the 1920s, building plans were commonly submitted for approval at the National Board of Social Welfare and the Ministry of Social Service, where they were amended by Elias Paalanen and others. The spirit of the corrections referred just as strongly to the manor house tradition as to the vernacular buildings that were ostensibly adopted as a model. Nikula 1978, 120–122.

¹²⁶ Mandelin 1948, 15–16; Stigell 1948, 1.

Suomalaisia Normaalityyppisuojia

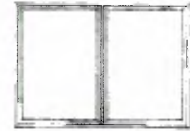


136. Revised normal types for standardized doors and windows (1921). Published in *Arkkitehti* 6/1921, 6.

B 133 × 124
55 × 110 1,14 m²



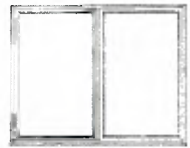
B 173 × 124
75 × 110 1,58 m²



B 133 × 139
55 × 125 1,30 m²



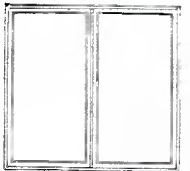
B 173 × 139
75 × 125 1,80 m²



B 133 × 164
55 × 150 1,56 m²



B 173 × 164
75 × 150 2,16 m²

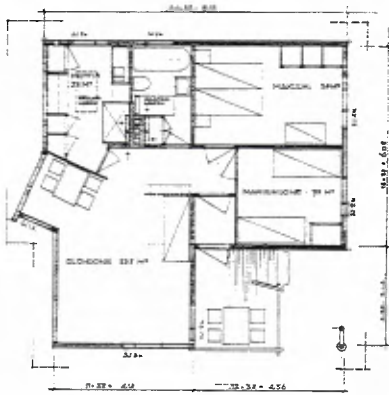


137. Window types RT (Building Information File) 861.72. 1943. Published in *Arkkitehti* 1943.

Imatra (1936).¹²⁷ Both schemes were considered modern in their day, and had exteriors and floor plans that deployed Functionalist ideals. It is interesting that type-planned houses should have been given such conventional exteriors and made to seem so different from »rationally» designed Functionalist houses. In the '40s, all architects drew cubes with pitched roofs, instead of flat-roofed or ostensibly flat-roofed houses with freely arranged facades and floor plans. The external avant-garde and stylistic novelties of Modernism (flat roof, strip windows etc.) were abandoned and a more conventionally shaped house designed instead.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Paalanen 1935; Kuosmanen 1981.

¹²⁸ William H. Jordy has pointed out that the Modernism of the 1930s and '40s was characteristically interested in the local and vernacular planning. Jordy 1963, 177–187.



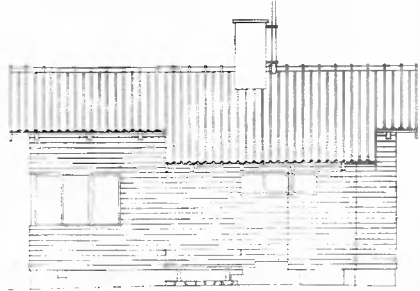
138. Alvar Aalto, AA-system, house 10, floor plan. 6.6.1941. Orig. AAA.

Modernism and the avant-garde presuppose an idea of the designer as an extraordinary trailblazer ahead of his or her time. Innovation and new, counter-traditional solutions were favoured in the architectural execution of the »ubiquitous and democratic» Functionalist house. In fact, Alvar Aalto did design a few eccentrically shaped types for A. Ahlström Oy, but the plans were never carried out (e.g. *Fig. 138*).¹²⁹ On the other hand, it is feasible that the designers of the standardized one-family house, which was conceived in a period of national crisis, were at pains to satisfy a fictitious »everyman's taste» and to adapt to local conditions, and concentrated on the previously neglected social and rationalist ideals of Functionalism (standardization, industrialized building). The rejection of the visual idiom of Functionalism is significant considering that many of the designers were young architects who had assimilated the latest architectural theories. Historical circumstances are enormously pertinent to the architectural evolution of the type-planned house, but the role that the historical situation played has been oversimplified. Current ideas of the dwelling, housing and the future inhabitants were as important as the process of reconstruction.

Although the type-planned houses of the 1940s deviate from Functionalism in terms of external shape, type plans from both the '30s and '40s share the same simple and matter-of-fact architectural form, and are equally reluctant to employ the kinds of National Romantic references that were

¹²⁹ Orig. AAA.

139. Aulis Blomstedt and Yrjö Lindegren, Kymro type *Kymro 6* is an ascetic and small one-storey building with a continuous corner window in the living space. SRM.



still common in the 1930s, or the Classicisms of the 1920s. The discarding of references to historical styles in facade arrangement is a matter that relates the 1940s houses to Functionalism: the windows are modern in shape, and their asymmetrical distribution is determined by the floor plan (Fig. 139).¹³⁰ However, the plan is not reflected in the arrangement of the facade. The most popular type of porch was a traditional saddle-roofed open porch which nevertheless had a modern expression, but porches with lean-to roofs and porches sheltered by an extension of the roof slope were also common. These types were derived from Functionalism. One of the ideals of Functionalist design was that the idiom should reflect »the spirit of the age«. In fact, the ascetic appearance of the type-planned houses can be attributed not only to the rationalization and industrialization of modern building but also to the contemporary pursuit of economical construction. The design of the houses illustrates the modernist paradox: on the one hand, architecture was supposed to connote »the spirit of the age«; on the other hand, the aim was to shake off the constraints of time and location and to create a timeless and universal idiom.

Upon closer scrutiny, many of the external features of the type-planned houses betray affinities with the villa architecture of the turn of the century and the early 20th century – the new »semi-urban« villas on the periphery of the city and especially the anonymous single-family housing of the workers and the lower middle class. In particular, the cubic shape and height of the buildings, the asymmetrical arrangement of the facade (fenestration) and the pitched roof, recall the earlier villas and one-family houses. Pitched roofs were common especially in single-family housing

¹³⁰ Aulis Blomstedt's and Yrjö Lindegren's type *Kymro 6* has a continuous corner window in the living space – a Functionalist reference.

for workers and the lower middle class.¹³¹ Suburban villas often had two storeys, whereas single-family houses were often lower, with one and a half storeys – the attic floor was located in the roof space. Porches protruding from the compact building mass were common. There were often basement facilities under the building, and separate outbuildings in the yard. The high plinth of the type-planned houses contains a reference to both villa – and salubrious, bucolic life – and to workers' suburban single-family housing, with its commitment to the ideal of household self-sufficiency for which the basement provided a necessary storage cellar. The home economics movement of the 1920s and '30s significantly influenced housing design – high basement facilitates under the house satisfied the recommendation that household work should be centralized and rationalized. Many of the household tasks that were considered essential, such as the preservation of food, required a generous amount of storage space.¹³² The cube-shaped, compact, enclosed-looking saddle-roofed house, repeatedly duplicated with small variations, forms the basic type in single-family housing.¹³³

Finnish one-family houses and type plans may be compared with the contemporaneous social housing construction and type planning of single-family houses in the other Nordic countries, particularly Sweden and Norway. Another counterpart is found in the model drawings for one-family houses which achieved popularity in the United States from the latter half of the 19th century, and type planning is also connected with the emergence of suburban single-family housing developments and with their cult of the home, which was also officially encouraged and sanctioned from the 1930s.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Cubic shape and one and a half storey height were also common in the holiday villa architecture in the Nordic countries close to the turn of the century. Atmer 1987, 396.

¹³² Life in the 19th-century summer villa involved a fashion for gardening, and for picking and preserving berries. Atmer 1987, 250. Gardening, for both pleasure and for sustenance, formed an important aspect of villa and single-family housing, and from the 1910s, various allotment gardens were founded in Finland, mainly for workers. The first one was created at Ruskeasuo in Helsinki, in 1915, and Hatanpää allotment garden in Tampere was founded in 1916. *Kaupunkilaisten kesätaimohjoja* 1928, 631–632. On the relations of housing architecture and home economics, see e.g. Harmaja 1925; Harmaja 1928; Harmaja 1939; Setälä 1931a.

¹³³ E.g. Downing 1850; see also Handlin 1979, 38–39.

¹³⁴ Wright 1983, 195–196; Jonsson 1985, 141–145. In the present century, low-rise dwellings have also been produced in large numbers in, for example, the Netherlands, Belgium and Britain, although in these countries the emphasis has been on row houses.

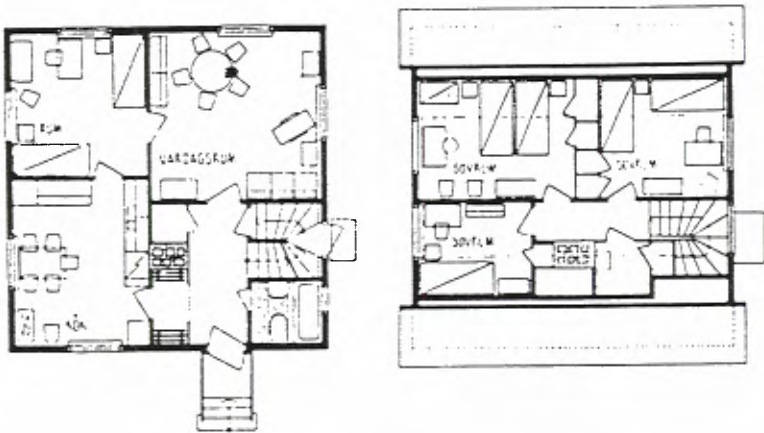
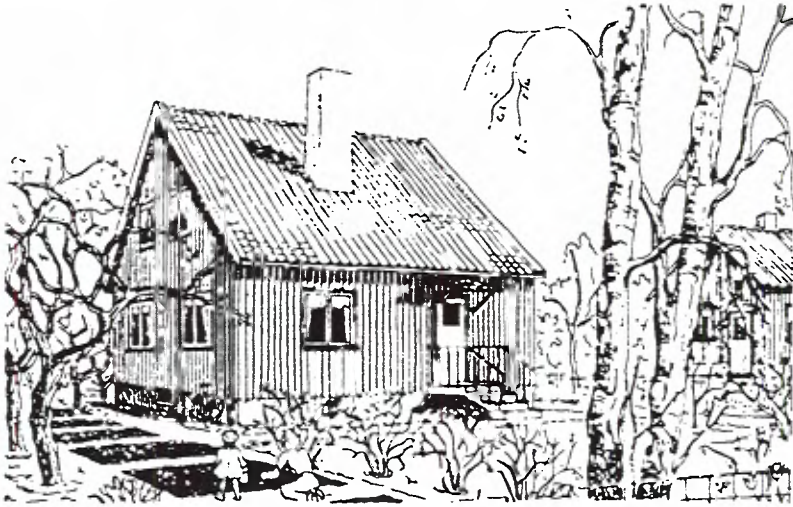
In Stockholm, type plans had been employed municipally in the building of whole districts of small houses from the beginning of the 20th century; the single-family housing settlements (Sw. *småstugeområde*) built for workers (particularly those of the '20s and '30s) contained simple saddle-roofed wooden houses where all superfluous decoration had been omitted. Södra Ängby, developed in the early 1930s from type plans, was a modern Functionalist neighbourhood: the houses project a flat-roofed impression, although they actually have gently sloping saddle roofs. Their windows are low, and the houses are painted white and have no projecting structures.¹³⁵ In the late 1930s, simple and matter-of-fact timber houses with pitched roofs appeared in Sweden alongside the types built with exteriors in the Functionalist idiom – these new types constituted a less flamboyant application of Functionalist notions. In Norway, Sweden and Finland, the building of type-planned houses followed a similar course. The process was supervised by the state authorities, and the building types had similar exteriors and floor plans. In Sweden, a single storey and one and a half storeys were equally common in the '40s and '50s, whereas in Norway the latter type was much more popular – a storey and a half was the traditional type of privately-owned single-family house in Sweden and Norway.¹³⁶ The high, pronounced plinth under the main volume of the building, and the cube shape are uniform features of type plans produced in all three countries. The main object of interest in type planning was the establishment of rational and inexpensive production of small houses by means of new technologies and industrialization.¹³⁷

The external appearance of the Finnish type-planned houses of the 1940s is very similar, in main outline, to the contemporaneous Swedish one-and-a-half-storey, type-planned one-family houses, for example those produced by AB Svenska Trähus and H.S.B-Borohus, or *Type 165* designed by the *Bostadstyrelse* (National Board of Housing) in 1950 (*Fig. 140*). Leif Jonsson's study of Swedish single-family housing from the '50s to the '80s takes this type as a model example of the one and a half storey single-family house of the '40s and '50s. One and a half storey type-planned houses were also common in Sweden in the '40s, but many single or two sto-

¹³⁵ Drawings and catalogues in the Arkitekturmuseet, Stockholm. A relatively small number of single-family houses were built in the 1930s, and housing production focused on blocks of flats. Johansson 1988, *passim*.

¹³⁶ Type-planned single-family houses were also built in Denmark, but these were designed by individual architects and were somewhat different in shape from the standardized houses built in the other Nordic countries.

¹³⁷ Jonsson 1985, 141, 148–151.



140. Swedish one and a half storey type-planned one-family house, Bostadsstyrelsen 1950, type 165. Jonsson 1985, p. 166.

reyed houses were also built at the same time.¹³⁸ The house discussed by Jonsson has stripped, matter-of-fact facades, and an overall cube shape that results from the high plinth and attic; the location of chimney and the steep roof pitch are other prominent features. The Finnish and Swedish houses differ in certain details: the Swedish types usually have symmetrical fenestration. However, one might think that the high plinth, which was previously uncommon in Finnish houses, points to Sweden where, according to Jonsson, it is popular in the 20th century.¹³⁹

American timber houses and low-rise domestic architecture served as a model to the three above-mentioned Nordic countries in the 1940s – wood was also a traditional material in the forested northern parts of the United States.¹⁴⁰ Model plans of single-family houses of different shapes and sizes were used in the United States since the late 19th century – the period when »House Plans for Everybody» became the central aim in housing design, and when the industrialization of single-family houses also began.¹⁴¹

According to Gwendolyn Wright, the single-family house in the country or suburb is the fundamental model or »archetype» of American housing; closely associated is the idea of home ownership. Owning a home was a virtue and in the 1920s, president Hoover gave his backing to a campaign titled *Your Own Home*.¹⁴² The one-family house was the focus of a lively discussion in the late 19th century, as migration into suburban housing estates escalated. With the rapid expansion of housing production in the early '20s, the »free-standing single-family house» – the detached house – became the predominant form of housing in the suburbs on the outskirts of the larger cities. In the United States as well, most of the one-family houses built in the 1920s and '30s were traditional in idiom, they had two

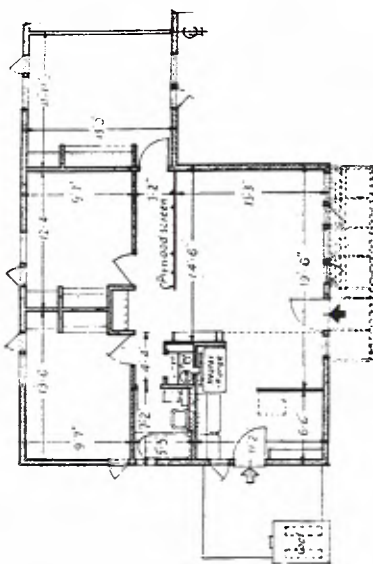
¹³⁸ Cf. also *AB Standardhus* and *Myresjö-hus* types. Type plans and type plan catalogues Arkitekturmuseet, Stockholm.

¹³⁹ Jonsson 1985, 150.

¹⁴⁰ Soon after the war, in winter 1945, a special exhibition of contemporary American building (*Amerikka rakentaa*) was arranged in Helsinki. Alvar Aalto taught at the MIT in the autumn 1940 and also undertook what he called »architectural laboratory» research, studying the standardization of timber buildings for factory production. Aalto 1941a, 80. For more about Aalto's American contacts, see Korvenmaa 1990.

¹⁴¹ Handlin 1979, 71, 175, and especially chapter 5. *The Architecture of Country House* by A.J. Downing (1850) was a particularly popular book. It contained building instructions and plans for 34 model homes, advice on interiors, and cogitations concerning the significance of the home as an instrument of aesthetic and moral education. In this book, the word country house simply referred to a separate house as opposed to a town house. Downing 1850.

¹⁴² Wright 1983, 102, 196.



141. American prefabricated single-family houses presented in the exhibition catalogue *Amerikka rakentaa* 1945, p. 56.

storeys and pitched roofs, and this conventional type also enjoyed preferential status in the eyes of the mortgage banks.¹⁴³ Centralized marketing of architect-designed type plans for small houses was begun by The Architects' Small House Bureau, founded in Minneapolis in 1921; plans were subsequently distributed nationwide through local sub-offices. The plans were sold at the price of USD 6 per room, and included three to six rooms. Clients in need of larger houses were encouraged to hire an architect to design the house. The houses designed at the Bureau were anonymous and conventional in external appearance, and linked with the existing tradition. In contrast with the contemporary European plans, they eschewed visible reference to modern architecture and the industrialization of building. Suburban life was considered to offer a combination of the benefits of a small town and the advantages of carefully planned housing (*Fig. 141*).¹⁴⁴

Pekka Korvenmaa has recently compared the Finnish reconstruction effort and standardization of prefabricated wooden-frame houses with the concurrent situation in America. In spite of the difference in scale a number of similarities can be found. In the United States, all housing activity was placed under the supervision of the National Housing Agency (NHA) in 1942 after the US had entered the war. Architects planned housing for the workforce of the war industry that had to be situated in strategically vital locations. After the war, the return of the veterans and rapid suburbanization stimulated construction. Construction was dominated by the one-family house, and the war »signified the eclipse of the factory-made house as a final solution to housing problems.»¹⁴⁵

The Finnish type-planned houses of the 1940s constitute a new model of low-rise domestic architecture which shuns blatant reference to the new international trends and is simultaneously oblivious to the local building tradition. However, the plain idiom of these houses is an amalgam of features that refer to traditional architecture and of the Functionalist commitment to simplicity and matter-of-factness – what is »new» is the way in which they combine »national» and »international» themes. The meaning of the idiom of the type-planned houses is fluid, and changes depending on which architectural convention it is compared against. The houses are »modern» compared to the still functioning rural building tradition, and »conventional» compared to their immediate predecessors in the Modernist architecture of the 1930s.

¹⁴³ Jonsson 1985, 142–144.

¹⁴⁴ Wright 1983, 199–200; Jonsson 1985, 142–144.

¹⁴⁵ Korvenmaa 1991, 56–58.

6.3.2. Floor plan

Discussions on dwelling design in the 1940s stressed the importance of pleasant surroundings for the family, and the needs of practicality and hygiene – the aim was to expedite the running of the household, to make it possible to furnish the dwelling in a practical way, and to facilitate tidiness, order and lifestyles that were conducive to national health.¹⁴⁶ Accordingly, the interior organization of the dwelling received much more attention than the aesthetic arrangement of the facade. The matter-of-fact interiors of the type-planned houses result from a practical and rational stance towards architectural design – beauty and practicality join hands; the aim was to create a pleasant and pragmatically designed home. The main function of the home and the dwelling involved rest, refreshment, peace, work and family conviviality.¹⁴⁷

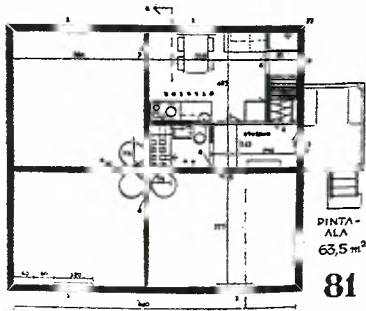
The floor plan of the type-planned houses was based on the recently defined minimum requirements, and on Functionalist expectations concerning the purpose of the family dwelling and its various rooms. The houses vary from the most ascetic and always expandable temporary »emergency huts« to houses with a separate kitchen and living room (or a multipurpose room and a separate kitchen section) plus one or two bedrooms. In addition, there were of course the attic rooms, which were often built later or initially used to accommodate a second household.¹⁴⁸ The basis of the concentrated and schematic floor plans usually echoed what had been the characteristic layout in worker housing and social housing since the late 19th century: a square divided in four, with certain variations. The division of space is clear and simple, and all the rooms are virtually identical in size. The most common type of house is based on this principle, and has two rooms, a kitchen or multipurpose kitchen and attic rooms, while the most straightforward descendant of the 19th-century four-room plan is *type 81* from the Ministry of Social Service, which has three rooms and a kitchen (*Fig. 142*).¹⁴⁹ Of the smaller dwellings, the most common type had a single room and a kitchen, or multipurpose kitchen and one room. As a rule, the type-planned houses have a single chimney, the *Mönster-*

¹⁴⁶ Stigell 1948, 1–2.

¹⁴⁷ Stigell 1948, 1–3.

¹⁴⁸ Thus the type-planned houses facilitated continuation of the habit of letting the attic room, which was particularly common among urban workers. Juntto 1990, 218. To discourage this custom, special prohibitory stipulations were attached to the mortgage system, particularly in Helsinki in the 1920s.

¹⁴⁹ *Omakotilainat ja -talo* 1946, 2.



142. Kaj Englund, floor plan of type 81 for the Ministry of Social Service. *Omakotilainat ja -talot* 1946.

stuga designed at the *Bostadsföreningen* being an exception; in the larger dwellings, this means that the rooms »encircle» the chimney. Reviews of the houses stressed their economical heating: the four-room plan encloses a single fire wall, and the heat discharged is thus used with maximum efficiency.¹⁵⁰ The dwellings designed with standard furniture in mind offered very little room for personalization, should the occupants have deviated from the current housing ideals.

I shall discuss the spatial arrangement of living space within the type-planned house through a set of examples; the mutually similar floor plans of the houses are variations of the same theme, and exceptions are few and far between.

The influence of the idea of the »minimum dwelling» and of the search for norms in the form of the minimum is manifest in the *Aseveli* house of the Reconstruction Office which, in a sense, embodies the smallest possible housing unit, a Bachelardian »original shell» of habitation; a warm and protective hearth. The simple floor plans of the houses offer no more than the most basic necessities – space for sleep, cooking, eating, storage and conviviality. Quite often, all activities are allocated to the same, single room, and in this respect, the dwellings hardly differ from the smallest workers' flats in the towns, or from the most meagre rural huts. Meant for rural areas, these houses have no amenities or washing facilities – in fact it was common for rural and working-class lodgings to be designed without amenities, although more were provided in the type-planned houses of the 1940s as a result of tightening sanitary requirements.

¹⁵⁰ Orola 1939, 338–340; *Asuinrakennukset ja saunat* 1943

The *Aseveli* houses also differ from other type-planned houses in terms of spatial organization: the small dwelling consists of openly adjoining spaces, »compartments» halved by means of partition walls. In contrast with the structure of other type-planned houses, these compartments are not clearly defined separate units. The most common solution is a one-room cabin in which different activities have been consigned to their own quarters: sleeping sections and a kitchen nook. Thus even the smallest type-planned houses show signs of the tendency to differentiate the various every-day functions. The furniture is scarce, and includes beds (which take up the largest space), a dining table and a possible work table, plus benches and spaces for cooking and storage. Such an arrangement was common in Karelia, where the houses were designed for. The multipurpose room (*pirtti*) was the actual living room where folk could gather and engage in household work and evening and winter work (*puhdetyö*), and where everyone ate and slept. It was conventional to have but little furniture.¹⁵¹ However, all the *Aseveli* houses have a separate entrance-hall passage or windbreak. One model has a sauna under the same roof with the main room; another has a livestock shelter. Adjoining livestock shelters and residential quarters were common in Karelia, but the sauna was normally built separately due to the risk of fire. Various alternative interiors were designed, and appropriate window apertures were mainly positioned in relation to the beds – as far from the beds as possible. There are normally two beds in the smaller *Aseveli* house and the larger one has three to six. You thus had to plan the furniture before you actually set about building the house. The layout was primarily designed to accommodate as many beds as possible (*Fig. 143*).

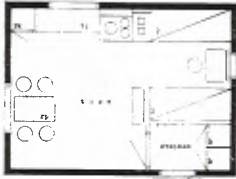
In small dwellings (about 40 m²), dividing the house into two clearly separated rooms (*Moratupa* cabin), for example a multipurpose kitchen and a room, or a room and a kitchen, was a more common way of distributing space than the system used in the *Aseveli* houses. In these small types, such as type 1945/A9 from the Central Union of Agricultural Societies,¹⁵² or the *Kymro 6* type from the Reconstruction Office,¹⁵³ the spatial arrangement is simple: the dwelling is divided in two separate different sized rooms (*Fig. 144*). Entry is through the open porch, and the entrance-hall passage has a door to the kitchen, which is opposite the front door, and to the room on the left or right; the entrance-hall passage also provides access to the basement and attic spaces. Despite the increasingly stringent standards of

¹⁵¹ Vilkuna 1934, *passim*; *Seurasaaen ulkomuseon opas* 1978, 30.

¹⁵² Orig. Maatilahallitus.

¹⁵³ Type plans of the Reconstruction Office, SRM.

TYYPPI S. ERILAISIA KÄYTTÖMAHDOLLISUUKSIA



127791 S 1
22 m²
eteläinen, sisäli tuja ja makuuhuone



127792 S 2
22 m²
eteläinen ja tuja



127793 S 3
22 m²
eteläinen, pieni tuja ja makuu



127794 S 4
22 m²
eteläinen ja
1:100
0 1 2 3 4 5 metrit

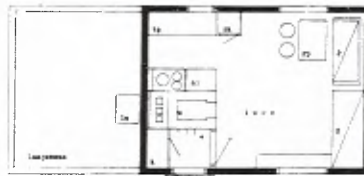


127795 S 5 (harjoitteluun) perspektiivi



127796 S 6
22 m²
tuja (harjoitteluun)

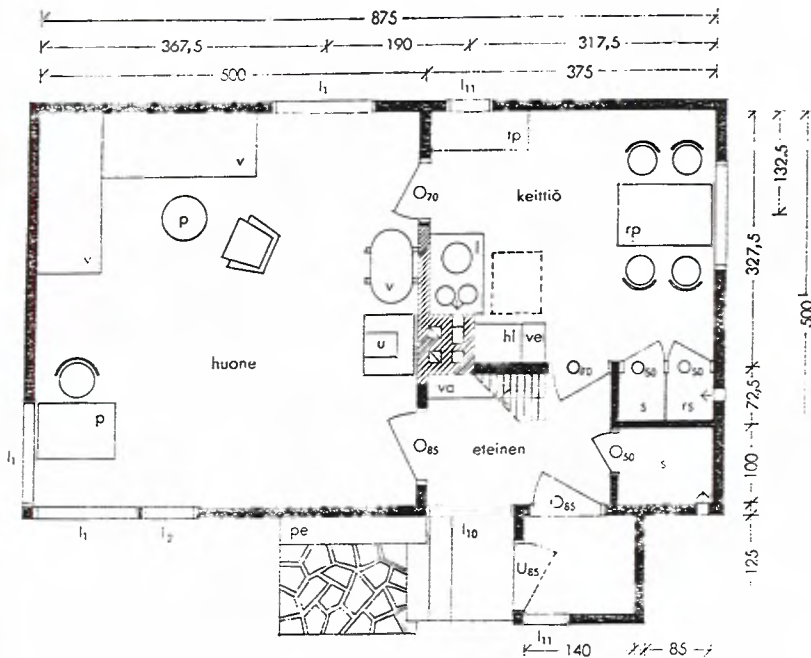
- Seisige
- ke keuhkokuoli
 - o olohuone
 - pp ruokapöytä
 - 2 makuuhuoneeseen vauva
 - k keuhko
 - pk ruokakamari
 - o istumapaikka, 6 paikka
 - jo lämmitys
 - ei kukaan
 - la lauteet
 - ki keuhkokuoli
 - tp työpöytä



127797 S 7
22 m²
tuja (harjoitteluun)

Suunnitteluapu, Erottajankatu 3, Helsinki, puh. 65 758

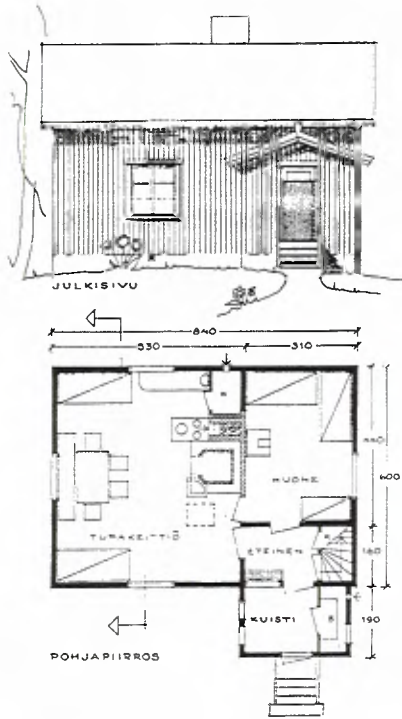
143. Aulis Blomstedt, Kaj Englund, Lauri Silvennoinen, Asevelitalo (War Veterans' House), type S, 22 m². Reconstruction Office of the Association of Finnish Architects, Planning Consultancy. Published in *Arkitehti* 1942.



144. Aulis Blomstedt and Yrjö Lindegren, floor plan of *Kymro 6* of the Reconstruction Office (1944). SRM.

hygiene, the house has no washroom or WC, although these were common in other *Kymro* types designed for population centres. The work to be conducted in the dwelling is household work in the kitchen, which also serves as a dining space, and has standard Reconstruction Office furniture. The kitchen has a doorway into a larger room with beds located in the side closest to the kitchen; the living quarters are closer to the front door and have a large corner window. The spatial organization characteristically falls into two main axes: work and rest, or leisure, and kitchen and bedroom/living room – a central theme in type planning is precisely this strict sanitary division between the family room and the kitchen.

Another way of drawing up floor plans for such a two-room dwelling is to employ the larger room as a multipurpose kitchen, and to make the smaller room into a bedroom, as is done in *Type A 5* (1943) and *Type A 1*



145. The Central Union of Agricultural Societies. Type 1945/A1. Orig. Maatila-

(1945) from the Central Union of Agricultural Societies (*Fig. 145*).¹⁵⁴ This solution yields a separate bedroom opposite the entrance-hall passage, and a multipurpose main room, with a separate kitchen section, to the right. There are beds in both the bedroom and the main room, although these are located at a remove from the cooking section and the other kitchen works. This practice was common at the time of building, but it »violated» the principles of hygiene that were established by Functionalism as well as those which informed the design of the type-planned houses – according to these norms, sleeping in the kitchen was unhygienic and unhealthy.¹⁵⁵ In fact, it was always suggested that the beds be removed when the dwelling was extended into the attic. On the other hand the contem-

¹⁵⁴ *Asuinrakennukset ja saunat* 1943, 12; the 1945 types orig. Maatilahallitus.

¹⁵⁵ Waern-Bugge 1940, 20.

porary valorization of large families also stipulated that even a small dwelling should allow room for as many family-members as possible. The house under discussion also illustrates another one of the central principles of type planning: the formation of a separate bedroom exclusively reserved for sleep (and sexuality).

A layout consisting of one room and a kitchen, or a multifunctional kitchen and one room, continues the housing conventions of the rural population and the urban workers, and reflects the old country – town axis. As before, in rural types, the multipurpose room (or, in more modern types the multipurpose kitchen) is the larger of the two rooms, whereas in the town types it is smaller.

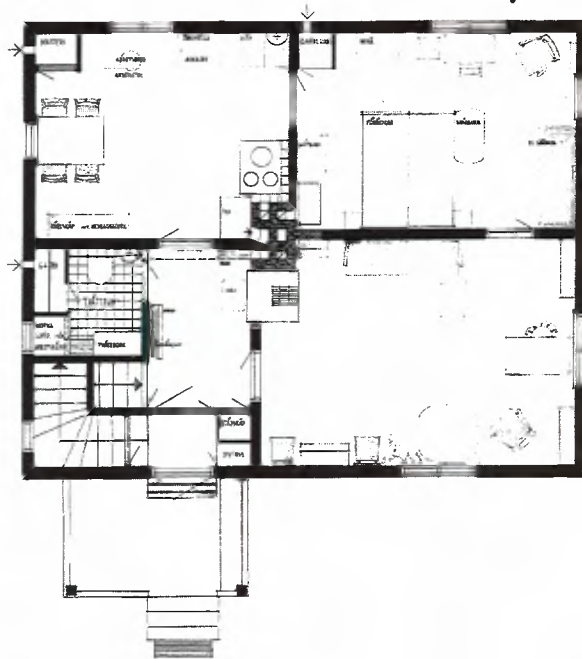
The spatial organization of the larger types that have at least two rooms and a kitchen characteristically falls into three parts: work-rest-leisure/kitchen-bedroom-living room; on the other hand the spaces are grouped in two axes: the kitchen and bedroom on one side, and the living room on the other. There is a distinct tendency to differentiate the various functions within the dwelling, and to focus each activity in one specifically allocated room. The most widely bought single-family house plans produced by the *Bostadsföreningen* were the types with two rooms and a kitchen, the most popular of all being *Type 3g*, which can be considered a kind of average type in terms of interior organization: a similar floor plan is found in the majority of 1940s type-planned houses (*Fig. 146*).¹⁵⁶ Entry into the house is via an open porch. The entrance-hall passage offers access to all the other rooms except the bedroom. The living room is immediately to the left of the entrance-hall passage, and the kitchen and bedroom are adjoining rooms on the opposite long wall at the rear of the house. These two rooms constitute the most private portion of the house. Located as it is close to the front door, the living room is a more public space where the family can gather and guests can be received. The work anticipated in the design is household and kitchen work – consigned, as usual, to a separate kitchen. The kitchen facilities have a door into the parents' bedroom which is also where the small children sleep. On the other hand the kitchen does not communicate with the family room; the two rooms are separate worlds divided by the entrance-hall passage.

The design and furniture of the kitchen facilities accentuate ergonomical rationality and functional appropriateness, so as to reduce the workload of the family housewife. Plans from both the *Bostadsföreningen* and

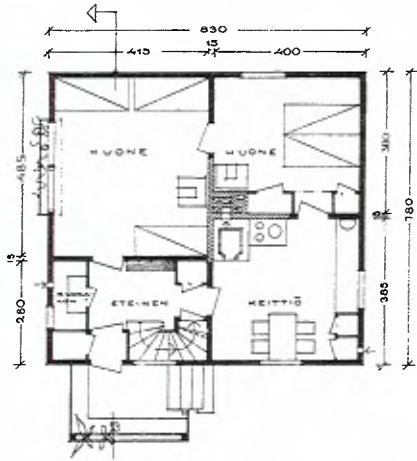
¹⁵⁶ Annual report of *Bostadsföreningen* 1948, 6. SRM. Compare with, for example, *Metsäkoto*, the most popular single-family type of *Puutalo Oy* in the 1940s.

3g 2 rum och kök

66,6 M²



146. Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund and Marianne Granberg, Bostadsföreningen's type 3g, 1946. Two rooms and a kitchen. Drawing used in the exhibitions of Bostadsföreningen. Orig. SRM.



147. The Central Union of Agricultural Societies, revised type 1945/A 13. Orig. Maatilahallitus.

the Reconstruction Office of the Finnish Association of Architects always include kitchen furniture: a stove, a table for work and dish washing, with a drying cupboard and dish rack above it, a work chair and cupboards (including separate ones for cleaning utensils and for rubbish bin). All the houses also have a basement, which is accessed from the entrance-hall passage. Another way of laying out the floor plan based on a square divided in four is to position the kitchen to the left of the entrance-hall passage, and to place the bedroom behind it, leaving the living room opposite the entrance-hall passage; this repeats the principle of a »circular» sequence and intercommunicability, as well as the above-described division of domestic space into three sectors and two axes (*Fig. 147*). The »coiling» of the dwelling around a single chimney highlights the notion of the dwelling as a shared domestic hearth, around which the family gathers for warmth, protection and security.

A new element in the dwelling is the separate, windowed washroom close to the kitchen. This connotes the growing preoccupation with hygiene, which also prohibited sleeping in the kitchen. In keeping with the planning ideals, the beds have been located along the inner walls of the rooms, where there was more heat and less draught. The ideal was to sleep no more than two, or at the very most, three, in a single room.¹⁵⁷ Small children, however, had their beds in the parents' bedroom. The house pro-

¹⁵⁷ Stigell 1948, 3.

vided sleeping quarters for a family of five or more. The basement under the building normally accommodates various storage facilities. It sometimes also houses a sauna and washroom, but only rarely includes work spaces.

The design of the type-planned houses also paid attention to children. Special furniture was designed for each room of the *Mönsterstuga* (Model Home 1946–), which was meant for a family of seven, and thus one of the largest *Bostadsföreningen* houses (Fig. 148). One corner of the main room of the house is a playpen, with its own nursery furniture – standard types designed by the *Bostadsföreningen*.

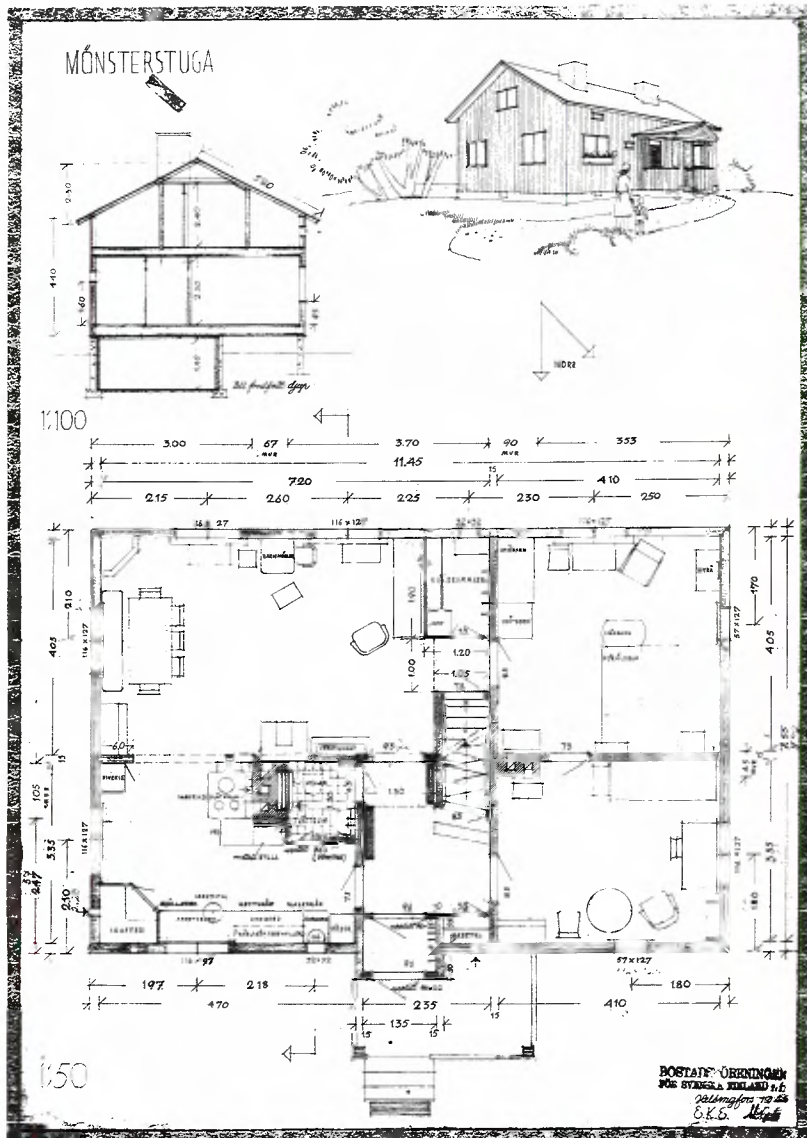
The type-planned houses with one room and a kitchen do not greatly differ from the housing conventions of the rural and urban labourers. In terms of spatial organization, they allude to the »half twin cabin» and to the so-called entry chamber cabin (*eteiskamaritupa*) – the latter remained a common type of dwelling among the indigent population in both towns and rural areas into the present century.¹⁵⁸ They also resemble, for example, Wijnblad's »quarter cabins» from 1765. The main difference has to do with the slight alteration in the function of the different rooms – the houses built in the 1940s do not usually contain space for work that is unrelated to the running of the household, and the old multipurpose main room has given way to a large bedroom/living room dedicated to rest and leisure. The traditional multipurpose room has shrunk and retreated into the kitchen, and the small room has correspondingly expanded, while the dining space still lingers in the kitchen, the »domain of the housewife.»

The type-planned two-room houses are thus naturally akin to the rural housing tradition, with its multipurpose kitchen and one room, and to its descendant, the town-dwelling workers' one room and kitchen (Fig. 149). Although the large kitchen echoes the *tupa* main room tradition, the type-planned house clearly differs from the rural tradition.¹⁵⁹ The layout of the type-planned houses of the one room and kitchen variety does not greatly differ from, for example, the types designed by Paalanen in the '20s – in these, too, the kitchen was normally the smaller of the two rooms.¹⁶⁰ The clearly drawn rectangular rooms of type-planned small homes of Puu-Käpylä (wooden Käpylä) also pre-echo the smaller type-planned houses of the 1940s. In Käpylä, however, the kitchen was often the larger of the

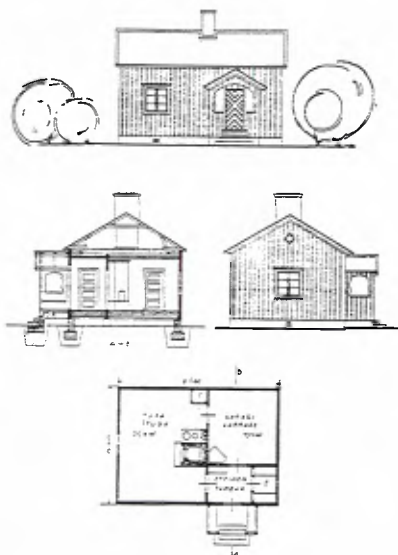
¹⁵⁸ Talve 1980, 39.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. also Heikki Siikonen's type plans for small farms from the 1930s, which all incorporate a multipurpose main room. Siikonen 1931; Siikonen 1948.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. also the collection published in Sweden in 1921 *Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder*.



148. Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund and Marianne Granberg, Bostadsföreningen's Mönsterstuga (Model home), 1946. Orig. SRM.



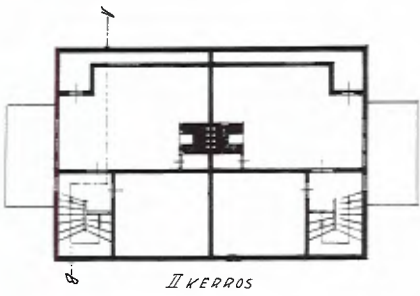
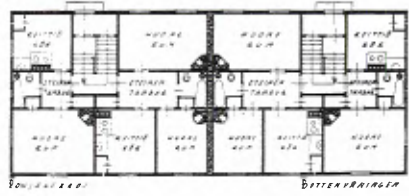
149. The State Board of Land Settlement, rural small home type 1. *Maa-seudun pienasuntojen tyyppiirustuksia* 1928, p.5.

rooms, although not as large as the traditional main room (*Figs. 150 and 151*). Thus the type-planned house of the 1940s continued the practical and rational traditions of the simple and austere Classicism of the 1920s.

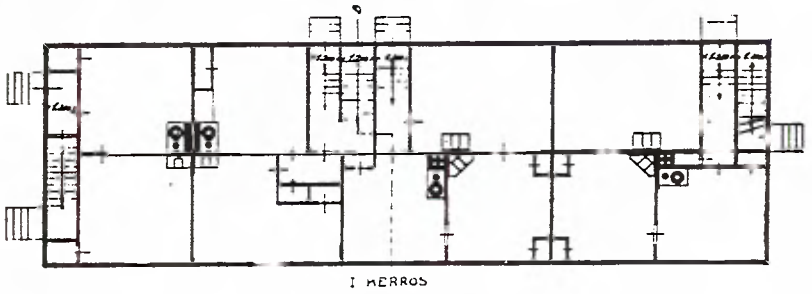
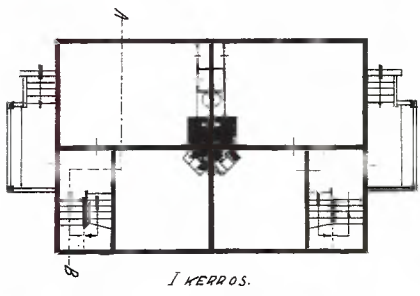
The spatial arrangement of the type-planned houses is characteristically simple and clear; the most conspicuous new elements involve redesign and rationalization of the kitchen – the type-planned houses almost always included kitchen furniture. The types that comprise a multipurpose kitchen and one room resemble the vernacular twin cabin, but without the guest room and with certain additions. However, leisure and kitchen work have been consigned to separate parts of the multipurpose kitchen. Dining takes place either in the kitchen portion or in the residential portion of the main room, but close to the kitchen section. Fixed benches along the wall have been omitted and the dining table has been moved from the corner to the middle of the room. Only a few of the plans have room purposes other than the work and relaxation of the family. With the type-planned houses, a new type of asymmetrically planned dwelling is established in rural areas, superseding the symmetrical twin cabin.

Although the four-room plan, of which most of the 1940s type-planned houses are variations, was a common principle of layout from the late 19th century, the spatial arrangement of the houses built in the '40s differs from

150. Elias and Martti Paalanen, two-storey multi-family house, type XI. Paalanen 1924, pp. 30-31.

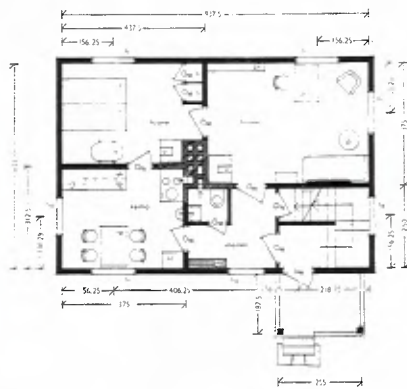


151. Martti Välikangas, type plans for Käpylä garden suburb, type II for semi-detached house and type V for multi-family house. Both have clearly rectangular rooms. Photos SRM.





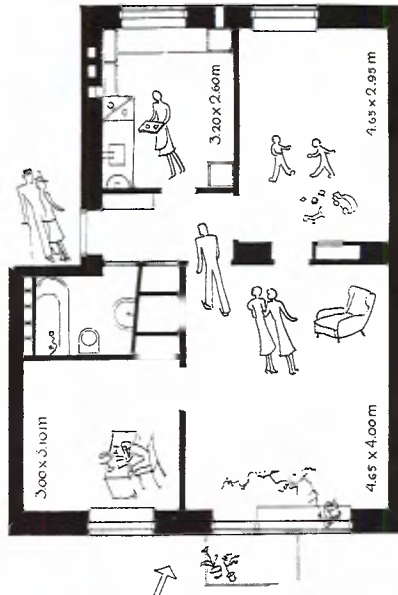
152. Aarne Hytönen, Yrjö Lindgren, Olli Pöyry, MKL-series 1943, type MKL 5 in its basic form. RT 962.61. Published in *Arkkitehti* 1944.



153. Aulis Blomstedt, floor plan of Kymro type *Enso* 1, 1944. SRM.

this model by dint of having different sized rooms (*Figs. 152 and 153*). In the type-planned houses of the 1940s, space is characteristically distributed functionally, which yields an air of down-to-earth simplicity and clarity; the residential quarters are also differentiated by function. A tripartite division into (household) work, leisure and rest governs the distribution of the living spaces: each of these functions has often been assigned a room of its own but there are no rooms for other purposes. The segregation of the family room and the kitchen is quintessential. In these respects, when compared with the previous models, the type-planned houses find their clearest counterparts in the floor plan of the Functionalist home, for example the Olympic Village apartments designed by Ekelund and Välikangas, which are divided into a relatively small kitchen, small bedrooms and living room which is larger than the other rooms (*Fig. 154*). However, the type-planned houses are noticeably different from the town apartments of the bourgeoisie, which have numerous functionally differentiated rooms – even the servant’s room that was common in type plans in the ’30s was now omitted.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Paalanen 1935; Siikonen 1931. It still existed in Division C of the type-plan competition for single-family houses arranged by the Ministry of Social Service in 1939.



154. Ekelund - Välikangas, an apartment of three rooms and a kitchen (60,5m²) in the Olympic Village. Published in sales catalogue *Asunnot Olympiakylässä* 1940.

The layout of the type-planned houses is also different from the turn-of-the-century villas and one-family houses, in which space was organized more freely, and where the kitchen was often positioned at the rear of the building and equipped with its own stairs. Like Functionalist dwellings, the »classless» type-planned houses »for everyone and for everywhere» point towards the diminution of the middle-class residence on the one hand and the expansion of the rural and working-class dwellings on the other. In the type-planned house, the dwellings of the different classes, and rural and urban housing types, converge. Some of the rooms that previously belonged to the dwelling have been omitted as »superfluous»; on the other hand, every house was now expected to provide a minimum ensemble of kitchen, living room and bedroom. Although type plans were produced separately for rural districts and population centres, the housing model remained relatively uniform; the most notable difference was the absence of the WC and washroom and the larger size of the kitchen in some of the rural types.¹⁶²

¹⁶² On the other hand, the types designed for built-up districts by no means all offered these amenities.

The housing model associated with the type-planned houses may be said to have arisen out of middle-class urban practice established in the 1920s and '30s, with an admixture of features of the rural tradition. The type-planned houses were primarily designed for rurals and workers – and also for the middle classes – and were meant to constitute »classless« housing, an ideal mainly modelled on middle-class practice. A fundamental tendency is towards Functionalist differentiation of space, most clearly manifested in the separate kitchen, bedroom and family room. The size of the rooms decreases and the large multipurpose main room is abandoned. Even in the country, some separate kitchens were already being built, which were separated from the main room with a partition wall. However, in the early part of the century, the most common floor plan in rural regions and towns alike consisted of a multipurpose kitchen and a small room, or one room and a kitchen. The dwellings that include a separate kitchen are most clearly akin to the urban apartment. In the 1920s and '30s, such homes were more and more often exclusively designed for family occupancy; like the type-planned houses, they had no servant's rooms.¹⁶³ The relatively large, enclosed kitchens of the type-planned houses dissociate them from the »ideal apartment« established in the '30s, which usually featured a small kitchen or kitchenette openly adjoined to the dining space. Both, however, manifest an inclination to separate the kitchen facilities from the family room.¹⁶⁴

It is possible that, compared with agrarian housing practices the separation of the kitchen and the family room was unsuccessful. It seems quite probable that the large kitchen of the type-planned houses was used as a multipurpose main room and the Functionalist attempt to hygienize the dwelling by differentiating the dwelling space did not attain its purpose.

In the separation of kitchen and living room, the type-planned houses continued the urban middle-class housing custom, and brought to it features of rural housing, such as the large kitchen that anyhow recalls the rural multipurpose room. In the large kitchen of the type-planned house, rural and town traditions interfuse; the transformation of the kitchen and the reforms taking place inside it (standardized furnishings, rationalization of kitchen work) have fundamental significance. The kitchen and the utilization of space therein clearly illustrate the way in which the type-planned houses depart from the formal entertainment function of the bourgeois residence, and from the partition of the dwelling into private, public and housekeeping sections; however, the kitchen also bespeaks the con-

¹⁶³ See Nikula 1981, 233.

¹⁶⁴ Gripenberg 1927, 96 (See Fig. 00).

tinuity of certain rural and working-class housing traditions. Instead of taking place in separate areas, both cooking and dining are done in the kitchen where, in contrast with the bourgeois dwelling, no distinction is made between private and public, family and non-family. But rural housing is also thwarted: the type-planned house accommodates no labour that is unrelated to household management, and a difference has been created between the kitchen and the living room. Thus the kitchen of the type-planned houses can be interpreted as either a private family space or as a reference to the traditional multifunctional main room that did not imply the same distinction between public and private.

6.3.3. »Rural Functionalism»

The idiom of the type-planned houses may be seen as a departure from both national and international »ideals», and as a contribution to the establishment of a new model for single-family housing construction. On the other hand of course the houses are connected not only with the Finnish vernacular tradition but with international trends as well. The »common-place» architecture of the houses combines a pragmatic approach to design with a tendency to rationalize the dwelling and housing customs. The background to their simple and matter-of-fact idiom is the Functionalist conception of architecture, and the »classless» dwelling type and the ideas of proper living that were endorsed by the Functionalist school. Although the external architecture of the type-planned houses does not resemble the Functionalist image of a »rationally» designed dwelling, the houses do approximate the design philosophy of Functionalism in terms of their architectural austerity, practicality and renunciation of all »superfluosity». The type-planned house may be said to carry into effect some of the ideas and attitudes of Functionalism, and constitutes one of the earliest instances of their deployment on a large scale. After all, the very idea of serial production by means of industrial techniques – the rationalization of building – was perfectly in tune with Functionalist aims. Instead of being seen as a merely stylistic innovation, Functionalism was regarded as a new method of organizing society and private lifestyles. It was the fundamental principle of a modern building, and its aim was the creation of a good environment for everyone (*Fig. 155*).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Stigell 1939, 51. Before the late 1930s and '40s, Functionalist plans for new housing areas remained largely on paper due to the depression. Heinonen 1986, 192–202; Nikula 1990, 105–106.



155. "Rural Functionalism", MKL 4, RT 962.52 by Hytönen, Lindegren, Pöyry (Reconstruction Office). *Arkkitehti* 1944.

As a housing model, the type-planned house corresponded to Functionalist ideals: the private yard was a link with nature. The planning of the houses gave priority to maintenance and solutions that saved labour, at the cost of aesthetic considerations. Once established as the mainstay of salubrity, hygiene assumed a central role as a key principle of housing design. Maximizing sunlight required proper orientation; the aim was to provide sufficient natural light for all the rooms of the dwelling at the right time of day. The living space was to face in a sunny direction, while less light was needed in bedrooms.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Ekelund 1940, 92–92. Most of the type plans provide recommendations regarding orientation. The proper location of the rooms of the dwelling was discussed from the 19th century onwards, particularly in Britain, and ideas as to what was the appropriate orientation kept changing throughout the century. However, both in Swedish and in Finnish towns, the general custom was to position the esteemed main rooms on the street side, leaving the rest facing the yard, in the manner of the bourgeois *maison à loyer* of the 19th-century France. Stavenow-Hidemark 1971, 36–38. Type plans and model books on single-family housing emphasized the importance of proper orientation, which was easier to achieve in single-family homes than in apartment blocks. Kekkonen 1908; Elenius 1915; Paalanen 1935, 25.

The type-planned houses also effectuate the Functionalist idea of the functionally differentiated minimum dwelling comprising a separate kitchen, everyday room and bedrooms.¹⁶⁷ They also helped to popularize this still common floor plan in rural areas. The living quarters were designed for maximum expediency and efficiency.¹⁶⁸ The aim was a dwelling with a »correctly» designed interior rather than some particular external shape; the floor plan and the convenience came first and the exterior was secondary issue.

Thus a crucial characteristic of both the type-planned house and the Functionalist dwelling is the functional differentiation of residential space (kitchen, bedroom, family room); however, the type-planned houses accentuate the kitchen-bedroom axis, whereas, in the Functionalist dwelling, communication between the family room and the kitchen is given more weight and the bedroom is set aside as a more peaceful and marginal space. The kitchen constitutes the nucleus of the type-planned houses, whereas the centre of the Functionalist dwelling is the family room. But this difference does not detract from the importance of the similarities between the two types of design: both spaces essentially belong to the nuclear family and maternity. Together, type-planned one-family house and the high-rise apartment buildings of the postwar period helped to establish this familial housing model and the Functionalist floor plan as the normal pattern in Finland. In rural regions, the change was momentous – and even greater repercussions followed during the 1960s and '70s in connection with the migration from the country into the city suburbs and the mass construction that this entailed.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Ekelund 1939, 67–73.

¹⁶⁸ Various articles in *Asuntonäyttely* 1939; *Asuntonäyttely ja rakennusmessut* 1940.

¹⁶⁹ See Kortteinen (1982) for a discussion of the discontinuities and continuities of the rural housing tradition in Finnish suburbs.

7. Model house, family and sexual difference

*»A woman made a man
A man he made a house
And when they lay together
Little creatures all came out.»*

David Byrne

7.1. Housing architecture and sexual difference

Sexual difference, though not the motivating force behind the way architectural space is arranged, is nevertheless a crucial influence in housing architecture. It organizes both housing architecture and our place within it. However, it should also be pointed out that the meaning of the relationship between the dwelling and gender, between masculinity and femininity, varies as historical and cultural contexts change. In the case of the type-planned house, the notions of family and gender identity are central in its architecture and, especially, its spatial arrangement; they affect equally the level of conceptual idealization, housing models, and ideas of how people should live in their dwellings. Gender identities and the dwelling's architectural space are in constant interaction: on the one hand, architecture as a cultural signifying system structures sexual difference; on the other, the notions of gender and family operate as key organizing principles in the spatial arrangement of the dwelling and the type-planned house – in Porphyrios' terminology, they are a part of its internal logic and economy.¹ The dwelling is a process which produces meanings, which both cre-

¹ Porphyrios 1985, 17.

ates and maintains a certain ideology, certain modes of behaviour and notions of family and gender. With its spatial organization (the positioning, size and interrelation of the rooms), with the naming of the rooms and with the inhabitants' movements within its space, the dwelling determines and regulates the social relations of its occupants as well as placing them.

Thus the dwelling – a cultural signifying system – participates in the formation of the sexual difference (which is presumed to be »natural« in our culture). It is one of those places where the bio-culturally evolving sexual difference acquires its historical content. As the Finnish family and the Finnish dwelling have simultaneously been transformed during the 20th century, the modern dwelling – and the type-planned house must be considered as such – has become the space and the seat of the family and especially of motherhood. The type-planned dwelling, comprising a kitchen, a living room and a bedroom, is now taken almost for granted, but in its time it was a novelty which deviated from the Finnish practice of habitation then prevalent; it was part of the reorganization of the family and of gender identities.

Except for type-planned houses, the dwellings I have analysed here were chiefly either designed by men or belong to a tradition of anonymous architecture. As for type-planned houses, attempts to compare houses designed by women and by men and the search for relevant differences proved early on in my work to be a fruitless approach. There is hardly any difference between the work of female and male architects of type-planned houses, and any detectable differences might be better understood as individual variations instead of something which can be directly attributed to the author's gender.² The plans can be read as parts of the same dominant mas-

² The architecture and floor plans of type-planned houses are all very much alike, and the differences between individual men architects are as many (or as few) as those between men and women architects. (It is impossible even to consider studying the differences between different women architects, since only the type houses of the *Bostadsföreningen* were planned exclusively by women.) The type-planned houses designed jointly by Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund and Marianne Granberg do in fact differ from the plans drawn by for example Alvar Aalto, but they are still very much like other type plans of the reconstruction period. In the early stages of my work my intention was also to study the role of the women who were employed as planners at the Reconstruction Office, but this approach proved to be fruitless as well. In a masculine work environment women were readily given the role of assistant, but no apparent differences can be found in the plans they drew up. For instance, both designers of the *Bostadsföreningen* were women, but no particularly »feminine« (*écriture féminine*) features can be pointed to in their work, although they did place a strong emphasis on the design of the kitchen and children's furniture.

culine discourse: female and male designers alike shared the common notions of the period concerning the dwelling, the family, and the place of woman and man within the dwelling. At the time, the family dwelling was the typical habitation. The starting point for the planning of type-planned houses, presupposing an average inhabitant, lay in the context of the 1940s with all its historically constructed notions and ideals of family and gender. The middle-class home ideology that was then prevalent, with its images of the feminine, the masculine and the family, determined and delimited men's and women's positions and proper places in society – and in the private dwelling, too.³

The idea of a woman's being defined only negatively as »not-male«, of her being consigned to the margin of patriarchal culture, makes it hard to explore the issue of her place in the dwelling and in housing design, or to uncover women's subjective experiences and actions in relation to the masculine cultural order. It is impossible to separate an expression engendered by socio-cultural marginality from a specifically feminine expression. Women, too, are part of the reigning symbolic order and the masculine culture whose language they use to communicate; it is difficult, on the basis of the psychosexual formation of the subject as defined through language (Kristeva's *le sujet en procès*), to speak of a woman's authentic experience or of a uniform category of women united by femininity. In the inevitable transfer to the world of language, social contracts and social laws, the multiple layers of the subject and the disunity of gender identities remain intact.⁴ According to Julia Kristeva, in our current culture two extreme courses of action (or inaction) are open to women: either they can demand equality and thus identify with men and those values considered

³ This home ideology was characterized by a fundamental lack of symmetry between the sexes. A woman's role was defined much more narrowly than a man's. Feminist research has revealed the masculinity of our culture, science, art and language, which we presume to be neutral and value-free. In patriarchal discourse the woman has generally been defined in relation to and through the man, and thus unescapably as an absence, a negation, a lack. Sexual difference has been repressed and forbidden (*inter-dit*). See Irigaray 1974, 20–21. As I have stated above, it was the Marriage Act of 1929 which first put women and men on an equal footing legally. On women's legal position in Finnish society, see e.g. Kurki-Pylkkänen 1984; Manninen 1985. Without going any deeper into the dichotomous structure of our culture or the formation of the psychosexual subject, women's legal and social position in society is enough to justify the use of the terms patriarchal and masculine culture.

⁴ Cf. Kristeva 1977c, 519–520; Kristeva 1979, 8–9, 17–19. Griselda Pollock has discussed the relationships of femininity and art in a culture which defines women as a negation in relation to men: as an absence and a lack. Parker – Pollock 1981, passim.; Pollock 1988, passim.

masculine, which also entails remaining inside masculine culture (as with the women's movements at the end of the 19th and in the 20th century); or they can choose silence and withdrawal from the masculine world, with the emphasis on feminine identity and distinctiveness that this choice entails.⁵ A third course would be to refuse both extremes by dismantling, from the inside, the masculine cultural order to which, according to Kristeva, women too are inevitably bound by reason of the stratification of the subject.

Although architecture was a profession which attracted women and which was opened up to them much sooner in Finland than in many other countries, it was nonetheless a masculine profession. Within its sphere women can be regarded as inside the historically and culturally constituted masculine culture in many different ways, as a part of it and communicating and expressing themselves through its language. As a professional practice and a masculine cultural system, architecture determined (and still determines) women's courses of action: it both embraced them and shut them out – they were »outsiders within», to borrow Sandra Harding's expression. The dominant ideological structure also defined the modes of action available to architects and, being part of the cultural system, architecture too can be regarded as a masculine domain in 1940s Finland. It was mostly a male sphere of action; higher architectural education has been open for women for barely 50 years.⁶ Discrimination as such did not exist, but being a woman and an architect at the same time was nevertheless considered a kind of contradiction in terms. In the floor plans and spatial arrangements of dwellings analysed above it is difficult to detect any differences between the work of female and male planners; possible differences can probably be found at other levels of the profession, such as in the delimitation of tasks and in different strategies for action. It seems that women were much more likely to be assigned to the less-valued areas of architecture and/or those which were associated with femininity, such as dwelling design and interior decoration, but women also sought to act and

⁵ Kristeva 1974c, 42–43; Kristeva 1979, 17–19. In a sense Kristeva's radical feminism (or anti-feminism) leaves everything as it was, but it nevertheless radically changes our notions of gender identities. With her thesis, »reality» remains unchanged, but the conceptual level is revealed to be historical/cultural.

⁶ Before they were granted equal rights to study at university, women's status was that of »extra students», they were admitted to higher architectural education from 1879 on a special supernumerary basis. Signe Hornborg studied at the Polytechnic Institute from 1887 to 1890 and she was the first woman architect to graduate from there. On women in Finnish architecture, see Suominen-Kokkonen 1992, esp. 30–31; Viljo 1984; Nikula 1983, 6–12.

to keep up in a masculine profession side by side with men.⁷ On the other hand, domestic architecture and interior decoration cannot be neatly labelled as particularly »feminine« areas of architecture. Young Finnish architects, influenced by the ideal of the »complete work of art«, were interested in interior decoration and the industrial arts at the turn of the century and particularly in the 1920s when, in accordance with the Swedish notion of »*vackrare vardagsvara*« (»more beautiful everyday things«), emphasis began to be placed on the planning of a beautiful and practical everyday environment.⁸ However, this complex question is not the subject of the present work, although it does call for a comment in a study that deals with the relations between housing architecture and gender.

At the *Bostadsföreningen*, which designed and disseminated type-planned houses, women sought to design better homes with the family and especially the welfare of women and children in mind. They wrote and, at occasions arranged by Finland's Svenska Marthaförbund, lectured, largely to other women, on the home and habitation. Their notions of the family, woman and man settled into the general historical context of the time. Out of the former conventional middle-class models suited to modern society, there arose a new organization and a new notion of the family, in which the definition of woman was even narrower than before. Woman as a household creature acquired a central position.⁹ Male and female architects alike advocated the same uniform model of habitation, with no alternatives. But, more concretely and more consciously than their male colleagues, women emphasized the family and the significance of the problems of home-planning; their focus was on the improvement of that everyday sphere of life which was closest to women. The defence of womanhood became linked with an emphasis on the value and significance of home economy, home and the family, while the practical and hygienic rearrangement of the household (understood as a feminine area) was seen as an instrument

⁷ Gwendolyn Wright has outlined four different historical strategies of action for women architects: 1) exceptional »superwoman«, 2) anonymous designer, 3) assistant planner, and 4) outside reformer. Wright 1977, 283–306. Her thumbnail sketch is applied and commented on in Suominen-Kokkonen 1992, 113–118. As a rule, women can be shown to have acted either as nameless planners or assistant designers.

⁸ However, in the 1920s the focus in Finnish industrial arts was mainly on designing things to order, not on mass production for a wider section of the population.

⁹ This model differs from that of the 19th-century bourgeois leisured lady, whose household duties were restricted to giving orders to the servants; the role was also different to that of the working-class employed woman. On the »leisured lady« see e.g. Smith 1981. Woman's practical role in home economics was also officially defined in the Marriage Act of 1929. Sulkunen 1989, 93.

for the improvement of women's position – and, through her, of the whole family.¹⁰ Dwelling design and interior decoration were generally regarded as suitable fields for women, and the improvement of the dwelling and of housing standards was considered to be particularly important to women and children: the dwelling was more important to them than to others because they spent more time in it than anyone else.¹¹ A parallel could also perhaps be drawn with the notions that derived from the supposed femininity of the interior space of buildings and the masculinity of their external architecture, ideas which also governed dwelling design.¹² Apart from those areas of architecture which had come to be associated with feminine and masculine, the dichotomous thinking that is said to structure our Western culture and symbolic systems acquires different historical and social meanings in dwelling design when the hierarchical opposites of woman/man and nature/culture become linked with the emerging polarities of home/work, family/individual, reproduction/production, private/public.¹³

¹⁰ E.g. Stigell 1945; *Asunto* 39. See also issues of *Kotiliesi* magazine, to which several women architects submitted their writings; *Naisten asuntopäivät* (Women's Housing Convention) 1921. On the Housing Convention of the Working Women's Union in 1935, see *Meillä on vain yksi huone* (We only have one room), 1935. See also Ollila 1991, 135.

¹¹ Between the 1920s and '40s, women architects seem to have designed a large number of dwellings as well as furniture and kitchen fittings. The design of dwellings and interior decoration cannot be considered as something feminine per se or something that is particularly suited to women; it reflects the openings available to them, something that is inescapably bound up with the historical context. See e.g. Setälä 1929; Setälä 1931a; *Kotiliesi* magazine; Profiles 1983.

¹² Karl Winqvist suggested in 1940 that the construction, maintenance, repair, renovation and improvement of houses was a field suitable for men and that male consultants should therefore be employed in it, whereas interior decoration and dwelling hygiene belonged to the female sphere and thus consultation in this area should be carried out by women. Winqvist 1940, 143. Moreover, in the rural practice of habitation as well as historically, repairs and construction work were duties that were performed by the men, housekeeping was for the women. See e.g. Saurio 1947, *passim*.

¹³ It has been suggested that Western thinking and Western symbolic systems in general – art, religions, families, language – function according to the principle of opposition, in dualistic and hierarchic couples of opposites which can be reduced to »the» male/female pair. Cf. e.g. Cixous 1975, 115–116.

7.2. »Happy homes of our own»

»The foundation for the future reconstruction [of our country] will be happy homes of our own.»¹⁴

In its external appearance the type-planned house of the 1940s is the basic form of single-family house. Its overall impression – light-coloured, bright and modern – seems to hold the promise of a happy future. As one contemporary put it: »Walking from the porch through a wooden foyer to the entrance hall, we immediately receive a pleasing general impression of a new, matter-of-fact dwelling, which seems to contain much more room, light and air than is readily apparent.»¹⁵ Since the turn of the century the single-family detached house had corresponded to the image of an ideal family dwelling, but it was only later, with the production of type-planned houses and the period of reconstruction, that the construction of single-family houses and residential districts began in earnest. Apart from the need rapidly to rehouse more than 100,000 households, the reconstruction effort was characterized by the standardization of house design, the efficient distribution of type drawings, and legislation and loans which supported house building.¹⁶ Legislation was now extended to apply to rural housing construction, for which permission was needed.¹⁷ The Housing Acts connected with the emancipation of the tenant farmers, (1918 and 1922) had already given dependent agricultural workers an opportunity to acquire their own plots for cultivation, and had promoted the creation of small holdings and the ownership of residential houses. With its Emergency Settlement and Land Acquisition Acts, the reconstruction period has been seen as consciously continuing the creation of small holdings and the dwelling idiom based on home ownership.¹⁸ Centralized house production favoured type drawings by architects; their employment made it easier to procure a build-

¹⁴ Advertisement for Puutalo Oy *Sotainvalidi* magazine, 30 May 1945.

¹⁵ *Suomalaisten elämää ruotsalaistaloissa* (Finns living in Swedish houses) 1941, 117.

¹⁶ Asetus omakotirahastosta December 19, 1940; MHL June 2, 1945.

¹⁷ The earlier Act on Town Planning (1931) had only applied to rural population centres. The regulation of rural housing construction only began with the Act on Rural Building which came into force in 1949. It incorporated specific provisions concerning the construction of residential houses in the country, which now for the first time required permission from the municipal building board. This can be compared with the precise provisions laid down in 1681 by Charles XI: the size of rooms was regulated and stipulations included the provision of a guest room in all rural houses of a certain size. His House Inspection Act only applied to freehold estates and to state farms, but the example they set slowly influenced less grand houses as well. Pettersson 1958, 171–179; Kuusanmäki 1934, 346; Perälä 1984, 66.

¹⁸ Kallio 1982, 22; Waris 1974, 15.



156. Type-planned houses in western Pakila, Helsinki. Photo Sirkka Valanto 1971. HKM.

ing permit and thus promoted the widespread construction of type-planned houses.

In rural areas type-planned houses often stand alone, and with their height and untraditional appearance they set themselves apart from their surroundings. Near towns and in population centres they form homogeneous districts which have their own distinct appearance. These areas were usually planned rapidly, and consequently their street-plans are simple and very much alike.¹⁹ The houses were positioned in rows on both sides of the streets, which might be either straight or winding, with their gable ends or long elevations turned towards the street and slightly drawn in (ca. 5 m). The veterans' residential districts of Pirkkola, Marttila and western

¹⁹ Salokorpi 1984, 298.

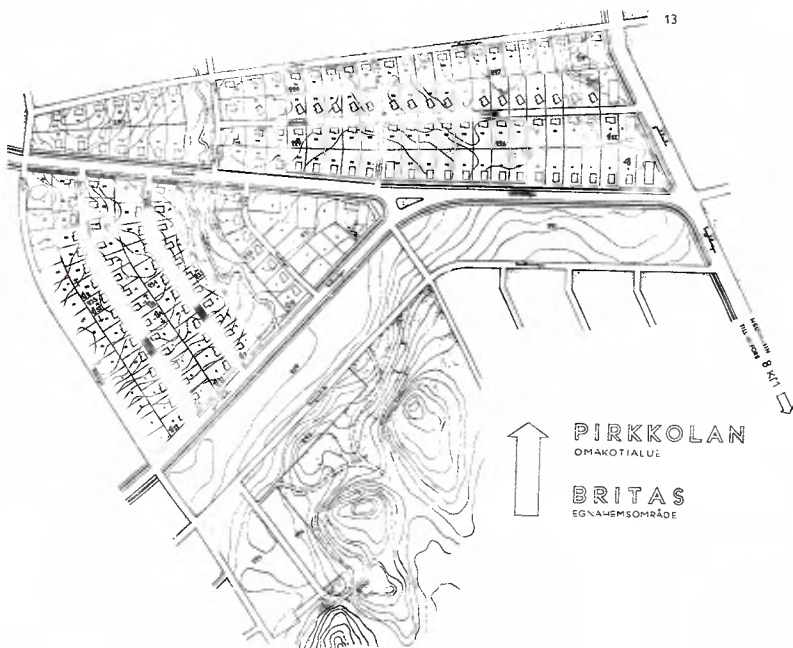


157. Aerial view of Pirkkola single-family housing district, 1941. In the foreground Pirkkolantie. Photo Jansson. HKA.

Pakila in Helsinki were such areas, and they can all be considered typical of the reconstruction period (*Fig. 157*).²⁰ The custom of positioning the house away from the street towards the middle of the lot on which it stood differed from Finnish small-town tradition, and moreover from that of Swedish single-family housing districts where the houses were built along the edge of the street and thus created a more urban impression. In this respect the 1940s districts of type-planned houses are comparable to both early 20th-century suburban villa districts and the small-house areas that were planned in the 1920s.²¹ The areas are spacious, with large yards sepa-

²⁰ Their similar town-plans follow the general pattern of the reconstruction period. Cf. Lehtonen – Lepistö 1982.

²¹ Compare e.g. Toukola and Kumpula in Helsinki; Haapaniemi, Itkonniemi, Linnanpelto in Kuopio. *Kuopion rakennushistoriallisesti...* 1980, 41–43.



158. The town-plan of Pirkkola. *Arkitehti* 2/1941, p. 22.

rating the houses. The lots are fairly large (700 m² at the minimum) and each building was usually located at the street end of its long and narrow lot (*Fig. 158*). The lots were surrounded by hedges which separated the yard and the building from the street and from its neighbours as well. The one-family houses with their yards formed self-contained entities and, it seemed, turned their backs to each other – entrance to the house was usually gained from the yard. The large lots made utility gardening possible and in the 1940s in particular were used to grow vegetables and other produce.²²

²² In Helsinki, horticultural consultant Elizabeth Koch planned gardens for veterans *Jälleenrakennuskauden...* 1985, 6.

Generally speaking, post-war reconstruction was even more vigorous in the country than in towns, and for that reason the one-family house was soon found to be the most suitable type of building.²³ Perhaps too their conventional idiom and their rational inner spaces speeded the widespread adoption of the type-planned house. A type-planned single-family house which one could put up oneself was also a natural continuation of the long Finnish tradition of building one's own home instead of employing someone else to do it, despite the fact that, having been planned by an architect, it implied a change in tradition as well. »Everyman's building manuals», too, recommended using designs made by an expert, i.e. an architect. The emphasis placed on the importance of the building's permanent value, on the rural vernacular tradition of architecture, and on a uniform style also fitted in well with the ideology of national reconstruction and the stress laid on national values.²⁴ Underlying the uniformity of the type-planned houses it is possible to discern the ideal of harmonious residential areas.

Modern architecture and the type-planned house reveal the separation of user from planner, and at the same time the type-planned house entailed a break with the rural tradition of building one's house with one's own hands. Standardized and type-designed, the houses were planned for an anonymous occupant. With prefabrication, the conveyor-belt production of the house's component parts, professional planners – »the technicians of general ideas» – intervened in traditional building habits while also exploiting the do-it-yourself convention in house construction.²⁵ The separation of user from planner and the serial production of standardized or type-planned anonymous houses – instead of unique homes for unique settings – also meant that the home began to be increasingly approached as a kind of industrial product.²⁶ The relationship between planner and user is one level which reveals the problematics of power inherent in dwellings. But the relationship is not as straightforward as that. The architect cannot be

²³ Alestalo 1980, 117; Juntto 1990, 200–203. See also present study, pp. 84–88.

²⁴ Compare with Sweden, from where the models of the type-planned houses often originated, and the concurrent development of the Swedish welfare state (Sw. *folkhem*). Moreover, at the beginning of the 1940s type-planned houses donated by Sweden were used in Finland: e.g. in Jalkaranta in Lahti, *Puutalo Oy's* Finnish types were used side by side with Swedish types such as the »*Borohus*», »*Standard*», »*Vetlanda-hus*». *Lahden kaupungin...* 1983, 71. On the housing of the Swedish welfare state, see *Folkhemmens bostäder* 1987.

²⁵ The expansion of expert design also reveals the existence of monopolistic thinking within the architectural profession.

²⁶ Juntto 1990, 26.

considered as the possessor of power, because in spite of the fact that the architect designs the framework for the occupants' everyday life, he/she is not alone in influencing how people live inside the dwelling or how the home eventually turns out. The omnipresence of power cannot be reduced to one single possessor of power or a single creator of rules; power comes from everywhere and is constantly produced in all relationships, which are always temporal and local.²⁷ On a general level the architect *does* participate in the techniques of power, but he/she does not have power over the occupants, or control over the way in which people live in their dwelling or what changes they make to it. The dwelling is a place where general norms and the space of people's unique everyday life meet.²⁸

»The single-family house is more than just a dwelling; it is a way of life.»²⁹ The privately owned single-family house (*omakotitalo*, literally »own-home-house») was specifically understood to be a family dwelling, and families with many children were given priority when building loans were granted.³⁰ From the point of view of population policy a single-family house was considered the best form of housing, and its advocates included the Population and Family Welfare Federation.³¹ As I have already pointed out, from the architectural and conceptual point of view it is very difficult to distinguish between the villa and the single-family house: the villa has been regarded chiefly as a bourgeois and middle-class dwelling, the single-family house as one for the working class. For instance, gardening – when undertaken more or less for pleasure – has been associated with both kind of homes.³² In the 1940s a single-family house was generally understood as a smallish detached house which had a lot large enough to accommodate a small garden.³³ Along with the occupants' social standing, the feature that perhaps most clearly distinguished the villa from the single-family house was the latter's smaller size, but the difference is hard

²⁷ Foucault 1976, 122. Thus there is no general concept of power: power is always particular, produced in reciprocal relationships.

²⁸ Foucault 1984b, 247–248; Certeau 1980, *passim*.

²⁹ Siikonen 1942, 33.

³⁰ In the Decree on the Single-family Housing Fund, issued on December 19, 1940, the single-family house was defined as a family dwelling: »The single-family house shall be a new building, whose size and type are suitable for a family dwelling, and which structurally and with respect to health and home economics fulfils reasonable requirements, and which in its design and its manner of construction saves construction costs as much as possible.» *Asetus omakotirahastosta* 19.12.1940, § 2.

³¹ *Väestöliiton vuosikirja I* 1946, 156.

³² Jonsson 1985, 9–13; Stavenow-Hidemark 1971, 29.

³³ See e.g. *Emännän tietokirja* 1948; *Asetus omakotirahastosta* 19.12. 1940.

to pinpoint.³⁴ The Finnish word for a single-family house, *omakotitalo*, denotes both a dwelling idiom and a status of ownership; it emphasizes the privacy and personal nature of habitation: it is the home and the house of one's own. The word has sensitive and nostalgic connotations: associations with childhood and with the idea of one's own home. In the 1930s and '40s the single-family house was contrasted with rental barracks (*vuokarakasarmi*), and this opposition was used to emphasize the positive qualities of the former – its peacefulness and its garden, as well as »the strong home-feeling engendered by the ownership of one's own home».³⁵ The single-family house was a home, the apartment dwelling was just a flat.

The one-family house had previously been considered too expensive to be the solution to the general housing problems, but at the end of the 1930s standardization and mass production were advocated to bring single-family housing within everyone's reach, from the middle classes to the workers, in urban as well as rural areas. A report compiled by the Housing Committee of Finnish Cities considered it »essential that Finland, too, should set up serial production of single-family houses – that is, the production of buildings in batches of several dozens using standardized, factory-produced components which can be readily assembled at the building site.»³⁶ In the 1940s the single-family house was both an end and a means: it was the sought-after dwelling idiom but also an instrument of social peace and of a society based on private ownership. Its design, typification and mass production were aimed not only at supporting single-family housing, but also at the general rationalization and standardization of buildings and the saving of construction costs. The aim was to improve the aesthetic appearance and quality of dwellings. Houses designed by experts were thought to be both superior and, owing to mass production, less expensive.

The production of type-planned houses was closely linked with an actively propagated cult of the home, and the single-family house districts – erected close to nature and separated from busy town centres – became

³⁴ The villa was a dwelling for the educated classes (upper middle class and the bourgeoisie, the *bürgerium*), the single-family house for the lower middle class and the workers. The latter was characterized by its detachment from the culture of the educated classes. The notion of the single-family house is similar to that articulated in the 1920s. See also above, p. 104.

³⁵ *Mitä jokaisen tulee tietää asunnosta* (What everyone should know about the dwelling) 1940, 15–17. The opposition between detached houses and rental barracks reached its extreme in Herten's book (1946) and achieved a visible monument when the Tapiola garden city (or forest suburb) was built in Espoo in the 1950s.

³⁶ *Komiteanmietintö* 1939: 5, 66.

symbols of this cult.³⁷ With their solid walls and small windows, type-planned houses convey a sealed-off and isolated impression. The one-family house is a monument to the privatized family; with its fenced-off yards it constitutes a small, discrete world of its own. The houses are separated from each other by hedges, the families from other families. In their particular historical situation the houses, sealed off from the outside world, gave promise of shelter and refuge from the exterior chaos. The single-family house was regarded as an optimal, natural form of dwelling for a family with children: implicitly it had the power to make people happy. It was believed that living in a single-family house strengthened the family and engendered a genuine love towards one's home.³⁸ The proximity to nature and working in the garden were considered healthy, refreshing and purifying influences: »Bad thoughts do not enter the head of one who looks after his own house and garden.»³⁹ That the single-family house was the favoured housing idiom is also attested to by the fact that even the smallest types of family dwellings (one room and a kitchen) were designed as detached, one-family houses. It was even suggested that the single-family house could serve as a home for the independent professional woman living with a servant.⁴⁰

The planning of type-planned houses implied a certain optimism: eyes are turned towards the future. In ideal surroundings, in a well-planned house, lives a happy family with physically and morally healthy children (*Fig. 159*). The idealistic faith in the future this implied was linked not only to the hopes for a brighter tomorrow engendered by the austere conditions of the time, it was also connected to the tradition of enlightened housing policy comprising »good modern family dwellings«, and to faith in architecture as an instrument of change. However, in their historical context, the construction of these houses implied not just a faith in progress but also the building of one's own peaceful corner in the world. After the war, ordinary quiet everyday life at home was indeed something to be desired.

³⁷ See Jallinoja 1984, 105–106; on the situation in the USA, see Wright 1983, chapter 13.

³⁸ Meurman 1949, 284; *Väestöliitto* 1941, 19–20.

³⁹ Similä 1937, 11. Although the proximity to nature and the links between the dwelling and nature had been emphasized previously (starting with the garden city ideology and the villas at the turn of the century), the idealization of the countryside and the construction of forest suburbs in the 1940s and '50s can be interpreted as attempts to ward off the destructive aspects of civilization and to return to Nature. Cf. Freud 1930.

⁴⁰ *Virkanaisen pikkutalo* (Small house for the female civil servant) 1937, 688–689.



159. Petaksentie, Pirkkola. Photo A. Pietinen Oy 1942. HKM.

A wooden house for a single family or a single household has been a traditional mode of housing in Finland. Attempts were made to link the type-planned house to the long tradition of timber-frame houses, although the single-family house was basically a 20th century novelty. Unlike the peasant house, it is no longer a place of work but just a dwelling. In their spatial organization type-planned houses break away from the model of habitation where the household is also a unit of production. In most cases only housekeeping tasks are now performed at home; all other work takes place elsewhere, although the house still contains the idea of rural life in the town – the large yard and the high plinth with its storage spaces contain allusions to gardening for domestic needs and to wood crafts. With its spatial organization and implicit housing practices, the type-planned house could be interpreted as the greatest change in agrarian housing since the twin-cabin system. This change is especially significant when we compare the type-planned house to the peasant house, which represents another time and an entirely different world. With the advent of type drawings, the single-family house and the apartment dwelling begin to resemble each

other: each consists of a kitchen, a living room and bedrooms in addition to facilities for storage and washing. The type-planned houses reveal a two-fold transfer of tradition: on the one hand the urban middle-class housing model, based on the separation of home and workplace, is established in the country; on the other hand rural dwelling idiom is transferred to the town. Looking at the genealogy of the type-planned house, it can be seen that the important elements are the new semi-urban space and the movement between rural and urban housing practices. In some respects working-class dwellings continued rural habitation practices. The turn-of-the-century villas and single-family houses combined bucolic aspects with town-dwelling, brought nature into town and created a new form of habitation in the interspace between town and country. Type-planned houses of the 1940s in their turn represent a return to the country and create a common housing model for town and country, with elements drawn from both housing practices. Thus the loop from country to town and back again is complete.

Historically type-planned houses appear at an interesting junction, with their allusions to both the past and the future: their standards were the starting point for subsequent housing production and for present-day dwelling models too. Type-planned houses played a significant role in the creation of norms and standards of housing, as well as in the birth of the modern, spatially specific and differentiated dwelling in Finland; thus they cannot be regarded as an isolated, transitional phase.⁴¹ The design and construction of type-planned houses created a basis for the »normal» habitation (the norm of family dwelling) as well as for the large-scale prefabrication and standardization of (house) production.⁴² Idealization of the single-family house is linked to early 20th-century garden city ideology as well as to the emergence of the middle class. But it is also connected to the later forest suburb and suburban ideologies of the 1950s, whose foundations were laid in the 1940s and whose ideological background is the same – the

⁴¹ It is also worthwhile to call attention to the »transitional» intervals between periods which have already been defined as interesting and which have an established arthistorical status; this has the effect of breaking out of the prevalent canon and calling into question the very idea of »transitional» periods. Continuities and discontinuities appear in a very different light, depending on the chosen viewpoint and framework. See also Wäre 1991, 13. Looking at this from another angle, however, shows that the reconstruction period was not an isolated, transitional phase: it brought on a transformation in the role of the architect as well as in housing production, and consequently was of primary importance to architectural practice.

⁴² According to Anneli Juntto, the Second World War slowed down large-scale construction activities and, properly speaking, mass housing production did not begin in Finland until the 1960s and '70s when housing estates were built rapidly with

emphasis on home and family.⁴³ The one-family house became the official dwelling ideal and it still remains the dream of the majority of Finns – a dream that many could afford, owing to the mass production of type-planned houses and legislation which favoured one-family houses.⁴⁴ »I'll buy that dream» was a slogan which was used to sell single-family houses in the United States in the 1940s,⁴⁵ and it seems to correspond to the idealization and advertising of the Finnish single-family house as well. The type plans made the detached house an Everyman's version of the middle-class villa.

The new concept of dwelling which had previously been visible mainly on the ideological level was embodied in the type-planned house. In this respect these houses contain an obvious paradox: with them, Finland was both reconstructed and built anew – in essence the rebuilding entailed the modernization of Finnish habitation. It is also possible to posit that changes first took place on the level of housing models and construction, on the level of presentations and representations, before the deep structural changes in Finnish society and the large-scale industrialization, ur-

prefabricated elements. Juntto 1990, 219. But the basis for this scale of housing production and its standards had already been created during and immediately after the war with the planning and construction of type-planned houses. Although standards were laid down for certain parts of the building (doors and windows) as early as 1919, standardization as such was specifically linked to the reconstruction period. In 1919 the Finnish Association of Architects and the Association of Master Builders established a joint standardization committee; the 1920s saw the establishment of the Finnish Technical Board (in 1924; renamed the Finnish Standard Association in 1947) and the Finnish Association for the Advancement of Standardization (1927). The Standardization Act was passed in 1942; the Rationalization Delegation (disbanded in 1953) and the Structural Engineering Laboratory of the Technical Research Centre were established the same year. Architectural standards were first created in the Reconstruction Office of the Architects' Association (established 1942; renamed the Standardization Institute in 1947) and were approved by the standardization unit of the construction department of the Ministry for Transport and Public Works (KYMRO). See chapters 4.2 and 6.2. Also see Hurme 1991, 70–71.

⁴³ See for example Hertenzen 1946. This study concerns itself primarily with the formation of the modern dwelling and the type-planned house, leaving aside the town plans of residential areas. However, town planning, which after the war became a central issue with the forest suburbs, had already come under discussion during the war. See e.g. Meurman 1941. See also Meurman 1947; Hertenzen 1946.

⁴⁴ Since single-family houses and suburbs were an international phenomenon in the 1940s and '50s and, moreover, common in countries where the majority of the population already lived in towns, their emergence cannot be ascribed solely to the nostalgic yearnings of people who had moved from the countryside. Jallinoja 1984, 106; Wright 1983, chapter 13.

⁴⁵ Hayden 1980, S173.

banization and modernization which took place in the 1960s and '70s. Thus the transformation would have occurred first on the level of housing construction and ideology, *avant lettre*, and the modern dwelling would already have been born before the total modernization of society at large. In the case of type-planned houses the shift was sudden and rapid, and it seems to have permeated all levels, from housing planning and ideology to habitation itself. The sharp and dramatic change in the paradigm is reminiscent of Foucault's thoughts of the sharp change of the *episteme*. But although it seems that the paradigm changed all of a sudden because of the war, all the central themes of the type-planned house were already in existence before the war; contrary to what has been argued previously, it did not appear out of the blue.⁴⁶ The change of paradigm occurred at least on the level of ideology and of idealization, and it also affected people's everyday lives by transforming their immediate living environment.

Type-planned houses reveal the inherent conflict in the idea of type. They are paradoxical buildings where the requirements of type and individuality clash. On the one hand, there is the aim to create similar dwelling and house types, while on the other the single-family dwelling is also linked to individualistic and personalized housing. By building a type-planned house you also build privacy – and individuality. The design of type-planned houses combines the emphasis on individuality and individual freedom (associated with modern architecture) with the contradictory aim of designing a democratic dwelling suitable for everyone and everywhere. Type and repetition are linked with originality and the personal, but the result is a house that is the same for everyone. The logic – or illogic – of everyman's home is the logic of modern sameness.

7.3. Model houses for model families

The differentiation of life has generally been accepted as a characteristic of modern, industrial and urban society: it involves the separation of the private from the public and the consequent emergence of a distinct sphere of privacy and personal life.⁴⁷ Industrialization and the emergence of bourgeois society brought about a polarization of feminine and masculine domains and these in turn became associated with the public and the private. Along with the separation of the home and the workplace, reproduction

⁴⁶ See for example Salokorpi 1971, 34; Helander 1982, 504.

⁴⁷ Elias 1978, *passim*.

and production, this polarization is one of the central concepts employed in feminist research and the study of the family.⁴⁸ The division of the spheres of life follows the boundaries of gender: privacy is defined as the woman's sphere, the public as the man's.⁴⁹ The transformation of the dwelling and the differentiation of its space were linked to this process of polarization and privatization; the growing importance of the private sphere and the family is evident in the restriction of the dwelling to family use alone, whereas the transfer of functions away from the dwelling reveals the polarization of everyday life.

Like the separation of sex from gender, the division of spheres of life into the private and the public has in feminist research often been taken for granted and its historicity has been neglected. The feminine has been connected with the private sphere of life as a matter of course, the masculine with the public. The distinction between private and public can also be connected to the nature/culture and body/mind dichotomies.⁵⁰ Furthermore, while feminine and the private, masculine and the public, have been associated with each other, the separation of the private from the public has often been interpreted as the emergence of two sharply separate spheres, and the relations and interactions of the public and private spheres have not received enough critical attention. Although the dwelling, the home, is the supremely private and personal space in the modern world, it is also in continuous interaction with the public; for instance, housing ideology, like housing and family policies, extends its influence inside the dwelling too. At the same time, inside the dwelling people are constantly in connection not only with the public but also with a larger social and symbolic order and its social contracts and practices, starting with the family and ranging to social institutions.

⁴⁸ See e.g. Kamerman 1979, 632; Laslett 1973, 480; *Histoire de la vie privée* 4, 1987; Rantalaiho (ed.) 1986, several articles; Sulkunen 1989. For a history of the concepts of the private and the public, see e.g. Sennett 1974. The idea of the separation of reproduction from production, and that of the privatization of the society, are also central in Marxist research.

⁴⁹ See e.g. Sulkunen 1989. In texts dealing with late 19th-century homes the dwelling, privacy and the woman were often associated with each other; likewise public life, the town and the man. See e.g. Daly 1864. See also Pollock 1988, 68–70; Wilson 1991, 8.

⁵⁰ On the historical relationships between and the linking together of the divisions of private/public and nature/culture, see e.g. Sennett 1974, 89–90. On the relationships between the dichotomies private/public and sex/gender, see e.g. Braidotti 1989, 95–96. In *Emile*, J.J. Rousseau ascribes the cultural male/female and public/private distinctions to nature. See also Kaplan 1992, 21.

The turning point in housing design was related to the emergent differentiation of the public and private spheres of life and the interconnected division of male and female labour, as well as to the developing privatization of the Finnish rural household in the 1940s and '50s. It represented a change in the ideological discourse *on* and *of* housing. The planning of type-planned houses took place in parallel with the formation and establishment of the modern uniform family model: the urban middle-class practice of housing was now implemented in rural areas as well. The home was thought of as a protected private area, a refuge for individuals and the family. Above all, it was regarded as a resting place for the man after his work on the one hand, and as the woman's, the housewife's, place of work on the other.⁵¹ It is in the discourse on housing that the strong emphases laid on both individual and family values meet.

The planning of type-planned houses was based on the concept of a family consisting of father, mother and children. Although the extended family of the past is partly an idealized myth of both traditional pre-industrial agrarian society and the bourgeoisie, such a family was nevertheless a considerably larger unit than the nuclear family. Instead of the term family, it is more accurate to speak of a household whose essential members included not only the immediate family but also servants, and perhaps more distant relatives and other inhabitants as well. The rural household constituted a large economic unit of production.⁵² The »family» in its present meaning of a nuclear family is a relatively new concept.

It has been suggested that industrialization and urbanization changed the function of the family and consequently its structure too; home and the workplace were separated, and reproduction and consumption – instead of production – became the main functions of the family. Simultaneously, the privacy and intimacy of family life and the household were heavily

⁵¹ See for example Harmaja 1946; Stigell 1945. This attitude is also discernible in e.g. the ads and illustrations of the period. On gender identities in Finnish advertising in the 1950s, see also Heiskala 1991, 393–406. The notion of a modern family is in itself questionable. On the so-called modernization of the Finnish family, see e.g. Jallinoja 1991, 149–217.

⁵² In rural areas the homestead constituted a large economic unit of production. Up to the 20th century, the extended *nuclear* family (three generations) was quite common in the Finnish countryside, but the real extended family – consisting of several nuclear families – disappeared in the early 19th century. The predominance of the extended family structure was also connected to the clearing and burning of woodland: it was common in Eastern Finland. Talve 1979, 370–371; Waris 1991, 176. Today the extended family is a controversial concept in family history. Its significance has been discussed in many articles in Pulma (ed.) 1991.

emphasized.⁵³ This process of transformation is apparent in early 20th-century Finnish housing, especially in wartime housing ideology and the planning of type-planned houses. In Finland, too, the ideological basis for the modern concept of family had been created as early as the 19th century, but it was not until the Second World War and the post-war period in particular that the conditions for the shaping of homes began to be created on a wider scale. The cult of family and domesticity spread throughout the population to all social strata.⁵⁴ From the 1940s onward, Finnish social policy was family-oriented, and housing and family policies intermingled.⁵⁵

Faith in the family was the central issue in socio-political discussions on housing and also in the planning of new residential districts. The ideal of population policy was a family with children living in a single-family house; housing plans for all social groups in the 1940s were based on this idea. Although the family has been the main unit of housing design throughout the 20th century, in the 1940s its importance and the lack of alternatives that were put forward became conspicuous.⁵⁶ Underlying this was the conflict between the idealization of the family with children and the decrease in the number of new families, especially in the 1930s.⁵⁷ After the war, the population question also became a question of national survival. The Population and Family Welfare Federation, which campaigned on behalf of families with children and proclaimed motherhood a superior calling, had posited six children per family as the ideal. It aimed at strengthening the family and its position in society, and attempted to manipulate

⁵³ Laslett 1973, 480–481; Mitterauer – Sieder Oxford 1982, chapter 1; Shorter 1977, 5. Although industrialization and the transformation of the family are no longer presented as having a causal relation, they are nonetheless linked. See e.g. Hareven 1987, XVIII; Häggman 1991, 144–145; *Journal of Family History* 1–3/1987, several articles.

⁵⁴ Jallinoja 1984, 105–106.

⁵⁵ Waris 1974, 32.

⁵⁶ In the 1940s and '50s, the central factors in the definition of the dwelling were the family and the housewife. See e.g. Herten 1946; Junto 1991, 197. In the housing design and debate of the 1920s and '30s other alternatives were still considered: the dwelling of the independent woman and the house with a central kitchen, in which notions concerning the occupants and the family were different. Although the nuclear family was the ideal in Finnish habitation for quite some time, the actual »nuclear family period» in Finland was short. Having become the general form of habitation in the 1950s, it has gradually been joined by other forms, such as people who have divorced and remarried, whose children from their former marriages coexist with those from the new relationship.

⁵⁷ Jallinoja 1984, 59–60. See also pp. 61–62.

general attitudes to favour the home.⁵⁸ As is usual, after war the marriage and birth rates rose, and this coincided with the formation of the cult of domesticity, but the resultant baby boom owes more to the increase in the number of marriages than to the increase in the number of children per family.⁵⁹

The notion of family as an emotional unit comprising a husband, wife and children is connected with the idealization of home life and domesticity.⁶⁰ In comparison with the rural or the bourgeois family, the ideal nuclear family of the 1940s was above all an emotional, reproductive, consumer unit which had very few or no productive functions at all. This was especially evident in the woman's work: many of the tasks which had earlier been performed within the household were now taken outside it; the woman's work was confined to caring for the family and the home.⁶¹ Family ties and the intellectual aspects of family life are central: the family is characterized by intimacy and privacy. It is self-sufficient.

Type drawings were seen a means of advancing the welfare of the family, and this demanded the use of previously tried model plans designed by »experts in habitation».⁶² The underlying notion was that »the basis of a good society is a good home». Home was the basis of physical and psychological health and morals. Housing design aimed at the strengthening of familial ties: the dwelling's cleanliness, order and pleasantness and the welfare of the family were directly linked. The home was a shelter and a nest, a cosy place which had to be able to lure family members away from the »corrupt» outside world. The family model which had become prevalent after the Second World War, and which the type-planned

⁵⁸ *Väestöliitto* 1941, 2–5, 19–20. The Population and Family Welfare Federation was founded by 21 different associations, including the Association of Architects, the Martha Association, the Socio-political Association and the Duodecim medical society, to name just a few. In addition, two representatives from the Ministry of Social Service sat on its Board of Directors. The Federation was thus a kind of intermediate form between public authorities and citizens' organizations (*kansalaisjärjestö*). In the 1940s it was not the Housing Reform Association but the Population Federation that advocated »innovations» in housing and housing policy. Cf. Junto 1991, 197, 229.

⁵⁹ Compared with the 1930s and early 1940s, the number of marriages per year nearly doubled in 1945–47. Jallinoja 1984, 60, 66–67.

⁶⁰ E.g. Stigell 1945, 7. Industrialization weakened the family's ties with the outside world; correspondingly, the ties uniting the family members became stronger. Shorter 1977, 5, 205.

⁶¹ For women's role in nurture and the perpetuative and transformative aspects of reproduction, see e.g. Rantalaiho 1986, 37–50.

⁶² Harmaja 1946, 224.



160. "Happy homes for spring 1941." An advertisement of Puutalo Oy in *Kotiliesi* magazine 1941.

houses maintained, is connected to the new cult of the home and family that had emerged among the middle class at the end of the 19th century.⁶³ The cult was characterized by an emphasis on the separation of the private from the public, and the glorification of womanhood and motherhood. The home signified escape from the surrounding world: it was seen as the seat of virtue and morals.⁶⁴ It was believed that the happiness of the home and the welfare of the family depended on the interior characteristics of the dwelling rather than on any exterior features in its surroundings.⁶⁵ In the discourse on housing at that period, the home was conceived as a spiritual space and as a form of social relations, the dwelling as its physical boundaries. In the course of time, both housing practices and the dwelling would have to change.

⁶³ Smith 1981, *passim*.

⁶⁴ Corrado Pope 1977, 300–311; Wright 1980, 1–6.

⁶⁵ Waern-Bugge 1940, 11. This was so in spite of the fact that after the Third General Housing Congress (1937) and the introduction of the Functionalist ideals of sunshine and air the relationship between the dwelling and its environment had begun to receive growing attention.

The notions of the family and gender become interwoven in the dwelling, and in housing design and housing ideology the family is the general context to which both woman and man belong in different ways.⁶⁶ It may be possible to distinguish two complementary levels in the definition of woman in the meaning-production of the so-called patriarchal discourse – and especially in connection with the dwelling: the paradigmatic level of man/not-man, and the syntagmatic level of family/woman.⁶⁷ Thus the family could be interpreted as a sentence in which »woman» (not-man) is situated and the meanings of the concept (or sign) »woman» are acquired only in relation to other signs.⁶⁸ »Woman» becomes a relative term whose meaning is constituted in relation to other terms within each signifying process, as in housing architecture for example. As the context changes, so too does the content of the sign »woman».

In the 1940s, both housing and the home were emphatically linked with the idea of femininity, and the home and the family were largely identi-

⁶⁶ And it might also be argued that, as a cultural symbol, the very existence of the home is dependent on gender identities. Saegert 1980, S98; Wright 1980, 1. On the other hand, woman has often been defined in relation to man. In a masculine discourse, according to Luce Irigaray, woman is inevitably defined through the man as an exception, an absence, as man's negative mirror image – the Other. Irigaray 1974, 20–21.

⁶⁷ Correspondingly, man is defined as not-woman. In Saussurean semiology, sign systems have generally been divided into the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic level. A characteristic of the syntagmatic level is its chain of meanings: the horizontal lines of signs (sentences), which are characterized by a both-and relationship. In contrast the paradigmatic (or associative) level is a vertical store of substitutive signs, characterized by an either-or relationship. In Roland Barthes' example of an antique temple, on the syntagmatic level each column stands in relationship to the other parts of the building, whereas on the paradigmatic level the Doric column (and order) can be replaced with an Ionic or a Corinthian one. Saussure 1916, 170; Barthes 1964, 53–55; see also Kristeva 1969, 82–112.

⁶⁸ Elisabeth Cowie has studied »the woman as a sign» from the point of view of Claude Lévi-Strauss' structuralist anthropology. To simplify: the contents and location of the sign woman or man are defined in relation to the kinship structure, which is a system of communication and system of exchange – of women. Here the family and the exchange of women constitute a signifying system that produces the term »woman» – i.e. »woman» is produced by and through the positions into which women are placed as wives, mothers, daughters or sisters in relation to husbands, fathers, sons or brothers. According to Cowie the term »woman» and its meanings are not a social or a biological given, rather they are produced across a range of interrelated practices. Cowie 1978, *passim.*; see also Pollock 1988, 30–32; Tickner 1988, 106. In the Lévi-Straussian system, however, men are positioned as exchangers, women as signs and the objects of exchange. According to Irigaray this reciprocal exchange between men presupposes a non-reciprocity between women. Irigaray 1977, 167–185; Irigaray 1987, 94, 195; Butler 1990, 38–42.

fied with the woman and the children, whether in housing design, housing discussion or in advertising (Fig. 161). In his own home the man was regarded more or less as a guest – as if he didn't live there. Gender identities were defined interactively in relation to the ideal housing model of type-planned houses – the family comprising father, mother and children. This family model was based on a strict gender-based division. The woman was primarily a mother and a housewife, who with her children constituted the nucleus of the family – »mother» was virtually synonymous with »home». Concepts of nature and culture blended in the mother; she was the material and spiritual nexus of care in the home. The father was primarily a provider, a disconnected creature who was rarely even mentioned. The woman with her children and the man were allocated separate tasks and separate spheres of life – the private and the public, home and the workplace. Man was the builder of the home – the »creator-god» – whereas woman was the *maintaining* force and the centre of the home. In the single-family house the husband was a supposedly practical man, a new combination of the peasant and the proletarian models of man, and in this respect he differed from the middle-class father: the civil servant with his briefcase. The man's place was in the construction of the home.⁶⁹ Just as the idealized family model can be seen as oppressing the woman – assigning her to the home and to a fixed role – it can equally well be seen as effecting the alienation of the man from his home and his family.

The differentiation of the floor plans of dwellings is linked with the privatization of the family. It brings sexuality, eroticism and reproduction to the fore in a new way, as the social-hygienic requirements of habitation – moral and physical hygiene – make new demands on the dwelling. A society's general notions and norms of sexuality also influence the ideals of housing design and create boundaries for family life. Foucault has brought an interesting angle to this with his notion of the nuclear family as a network of pleasure and power (*»un reseau de plaisirs-pouvoirs»*), controlled by the norms of society.⁷⁰ Architecture and the dwelling have a key role in the regulation and objectivization of sexuality, and in the 19th

⁶⁹ A man's duties in this model included the construction of, and repairs to, the home, and they differ markedly from men's duties among e.g. the educated classes and the middle-class civil servants, among whom repairs and similar domestic tasks were performed by professionals or by the caretaker of the house. The basis for the division of these duties was now gender, not class. See Rotschild 1983, viii. This model was strongest in the United States and it is aptly portrayed in Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1962). Lauri Viita's novel *Moreeni* (1952) is an excellent portrait of a typical practical man who is both the owner and the builder of his house.

Uutenavuotena päätös: keväänä 1941 oma koti!

KOTI! Kuinka eri kaikki onkaan tänä päivänä silloin, kun se merkitsee omaa taifoa pihonnan ja puutarhojen, missä lapsetkin saavat vapaasti temmeltää niin sisällä kuin ulkona ilman alnaista häiritsemisen pelkoa?

Nyt ajantoupan ja korkeiden vuokrien aikana omakotijätös on entistäkin ajankohtaisempi — ja nyt se on myös erikoisen helppo toteuttaa, kun valtio ja kunnat tekevät parhaansa asian auttamiseksi.

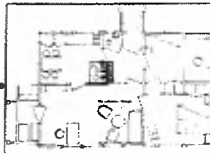
Itse rakennuksen pystyttämiseksi ei saati ajatella nopeampaa, mukavampaa ja taloudellisempaa ratkaisua kuin PUUTALO OSAKEYHTIÖN valmiista osista koottavat rakennukset.

Puutaloiteollisuus on riippumaton vuodenaajoista ja ilmoista. Tehtailtemme suurissa saleissa, missä rakennukset valmistuvat valmistavien mestarien johdolla, on aina lämmin, pouta ja valoisa. Itse rakennus kootaan paikalla valmiista osista muutaman miehen voimalla muutamassa päivässä. Ympäristö on heti siisti ja kaunis, valmis puutarhaksi muokattavaksi, koska rakennustyöstä ei jää lastuja eikä muita jätettä.

Ajatelkaa asiaa — tiedustelkaa kaupunkinne tai kunnanne viranomaisilta tontteja ja rahoitusmahdollisuuksia — pyytäkää meiltä lähempiä tietoja!



• Eräs omakoti-malleistamme, 66 m²m² RAUHAKOTO II, johon sisältyy olohuone, 2 makuuhuonetta, keittiö, eteinen, WC tai pesuhuone, 1-3 keittiö ja 4 vaaleitonerä seiniä huone. Lämmitelmä ja ilmastointilaitteet sisältyvät. Oskien hinta tehtaalta 54.000.—



20—30 eri mallia valittavana — sopivia joka perheelle, niin pienelle kuin suurelle.

ARTIKLAATTAVAI

PUUTALO OSAKEYHTIÖ
Helsinki, Kasarmink. 45—48.

Allaolevat onnistuneet pyytävät lähemmäs maksusta omakotitalon (..... huoneesta) kahden perheen talon, useamman perheen talon, lomatalon, suunan piirustusehdotukset hinnallistomukaisesti. Tiedot omasta, vuokratusta, ei ole.

Nimi

Osoite

Rakennuspaikka

(Tähtäminen puhelissa)

PUUTALO OSAKEYHTIÖ
HELSINKI, KASARMINKATY 45—48

161. "New Year's resolution: own home in spring 1941." An advertisement of Puutalo Oy in Kotiliesi magazine 1941.

and 20th centuries the control of sexuality becomes an increasingly central principle in the organization of architectural space (schools, hospitals, dwellings). »Dans le cas de l'École militaire, la lutte contre l'homosexualité et la masturbation est dite par le murs.»⁷¹ Along with health and hygiene, the regulation of sexuality determines architectural space that emphasizes both separation and control.

By the turn of the century, and especially from the 1920s onwards, an ever increasing number of hygienic, moral and health norms were created in relation to the home. These new norms can be seen particularly well in the type-planned house of the 1940s, as well as in Functionalist housing ideology and its idea of the type. Along with the rationalization of house-keeping, the human body and sexuality have a central position in the discourse on housing: it is a kind of representation or *mise en scène* of the body, sexuality and gender identities. In the social hygiene of housing, the needs of the body (hygiene, health, morals) and the relationship between the dwelling and the body are central: the dwelling creates the foundation for our corporeal existence and touches directly not only the human soul, but the body first and foremost.⁷² The emergence of corporeality and sexuality can be seen in the spatial organization which emphasized the separation and the privacy of the family, as well as in the stress laid on hygiene and health. Hygiene and the differentiation of space are both signs of modernity.⁷³ In the type-planned houses the hygiene and morals were used to justify the spatial differentiation. The planning of type-planned houses creates the »normal»: its starting point is the idea of a universal average occupant – or, more precisely, a universal average family and its physical and biological basic needs. Arguments about people's welfare were used to justify such measures of levelling to the perceived »normal».⁷⁴ The procedures of normalization (standardization, guidance, recommendations), rather than outright prohibition, are crucial. The creation of habitation standards for type-planned houses also indirectly defines the boundaries of what was seen as normal and abnormal, and this makes the gender and family models of these houses especially interesting and powerful. In the 20th century, questions concerning sexual morals, family and gender iden-

⁷⁰ Foucault 1976, 63–64.

⁷¹ Foucault 1977, 13. See also *Machines à guérir* 1979.

⁷² The Rationalization Exhibition of the Small Dwelling emphasized the new values of beauty created by hygienics and by the culture of the body. *Pienasunto?* 1930, 14. The culture of the body gained prominence from the 1920s onwards.

⁷³ Rabinow 1989, 149.

⁷⁴ See also Rabinow 1989, 10; Foucault 1975, 217–218.

tities have been a recurring theme in housing debate, but they were particularly prominent in the late 1930s and in 1940s. The dwelling has to be able to isolate the family from the outside world – and from other families – and to provide privacy within the dwelling for the individual family members. The functional differentiation of the rooms creates additional boundaries of privacy *inside* the dwelling.

People's private lives came increasingly under public control; although the private and the public spheres of life are differentiated, the public quietly insinuates itself inside the private and begins to specify the norms that are to regulate it. A central idea in the planning of the type-planned house is that of separate bedrooms for both sexes and for parents and children – this helped to create an increasingly tightly regulated new privacy. The micro and macro levels of power intersect in the dwelling: public regulation, the spatial arrangement of the dwelling and the social practice of housing order the interrelations of the occupants. »My home is my castle» has two meanings, as was pointed out in *Kotiliesi* magazine in 1923: it may be a shelter from the outside world, but it can also be a private prison.⁷⁵ As the scene of private life, the dwelling exists in relation to the public and social world: new hygienic, moral and health norms entail a penetration of public regulation inside the private, and also make public the private sphere of life. At the same time, external control is transformed into internalized desire and the control of desire; modern freedom is based on strong self-discipline. Habitation is regulated by different techniques of the self (or, more precisely »family techniques of habitation» as Anneli Juntto has put it), by the notions of virtuous living implicit in housing models.⁷⁶

The design of type-planned houses was connected with a notion that had become popular in the 19th century in Great Britain, North America and France, that of proper workers' housing, according to which the family dwelling must have at least three bedrooms: one for the parents, one for girls and one for boys. It was considered morally unsuitable for parents and older children of different sexes to sleep in the same room.⁷⁷ This ideal is traceable in all the larger Finnish type drawings, and it also appears in connection with smaller houses where it could be realized by building ad-

⁷⁵ *Amerikka. Oman kodin luvattu maa* (America. The promised land of the single-family house) 1923, 400.

⁷⁶ Juntto 1990, 34; Heiskala 1991, 387–389; Foucault 1984.

⁷⁷ Burnett 1985, 95–96, 133; Foucault 1976, 63; Kuusi 1931, 819–821; Juntto 1990, 171–172. The principle in the spatial arrangement of e.g. the working-class dwellings of Mulhouse was the separation of parents from children and of the sexes.

ditional rooms (converting the attic). On the other hand, the smaller children's need to be near their mother was also stressed: the notion of children as asexual creatures facilitated their placement in the parents' bedroom.⁷⁸ The rooms in a type-planned house are arranged in separate units with clear boundaries, and in a way each one of them forms a world of its own. However, privacy is lessened by the interaccessibility of the rooms – each room usually has two doors.

The formation of a spatially essential separate bedroom reserved exclusively for sleeping (and sexuality) parallels the privatization of the individual and the family and the emergence of the nuclear family. Up to the 20th century, it was usual among the peasantry and the working-class for both the bedroom and the bed to be shared, and people sleeping in the same room did not necessarily belong to the same family. This also shows that, notably in peasant society, the concept of family did not have a self-evident status; instead of the individual or the biological family, the relevant entity was the household or the farmstead.⁷⁹ In the type-planned house, however, the bedroom is clearly the most private space of the dwelling, a protected area that is closed to outsiders and which only family members have the right to enter. The bedroom is both a manifestation of the basic cell of the family – the married couple – and of small children, motherhood and the nuclear family.⁸⁰

In external appearance the type-planned house, with its small windows and continuous facades, is clearly delimited and self-contained; the house is a shelter against the chaos reigning in the outside world. Its walls enclose a private and cosy world that is separated from its surroundings and thus emphasizes a family-centred way of life. The significance of maintaining a strong family bond is highlighted by the existence of a specific

With paternal guidance and supervision the Mulhouse reformers sought to force inhabitants to be virtuous in order to gain access into liberal society. The norm for a single-family house included the shared spaces, two bedrooms and a garden. The life of the worker and his family was regulated by rules which determined the duties of the occupants and the conditions which, if fulfilled, would secure them an inexpensive house. Eleb-Vidal – Debarre-Blanchard 1989, 146; Rabinow 1989, 96–97. The regulation of habitation and of everyday life in a type-planned house was subtler and less tangible than these rules, and it applied explicitly only the plans and layout of the house.

⁷⁸ See Similä 1937, 12–13.

⁷⁹ See chapter 5.1. Cf. Frykman – Löfgren 1979, 108–110.

⁸⁰ The married couple constituted the norm of the family (and of sexuality) which had the right to the greatest privacy, but the family cannot be reduced to the couple: it also embraces the relationships between parents and children, between the family and people outside, and the rules governing these relationships.

living room reserved for that particular purpose. The home has now become solely the altar of the family; contacts with the world outside have been minimized. All rooms in the dwelling are reserved first and foremost for private living, not for social gatherings or for entertainment.

In the planning of type-planned houses, the family was seen as a hierarchic structure and a space had to be defined for its daily life. The models of universalized housing and the nuclear family were based on the Modernist belief in universals and the striving for generalizations: type-planned houses offered good »experimental material»⁸¹ for the development of a uniform system of housing. The study of norms became the study of minimal norms.⁸² The standardization of the dwelling and the creation of norms have the effect of regulating habitation and creating an image of normal housing: the type-planned houses are model houses for model families. As a cultural signifying system, the type-planned dwelling participates in the formation and perpetuation of the sexual difference. It is a place where the moral and behavioural codes of modern society are imprinted on the minds and bodies of the occupants. The idea inherent in the single-family house, that of the individualization and privatization of families, is compounded by the regulation and normalization of habitation in the type-planned house: the normal is paradoxically introduced in the name of individuality. The type-planned house contains a conflict, created on by ownership and individuality, between freedom and the rules and control of habitation.⁸³

⁸¹ Aalto 1941, 79–80.

⁸² Aalto 1931, 184–185. According to Aalto the norms of habitation should be studied in the form of minimal norms and in the context of exaggerated cases. This was the only method by which the scientific requirements of a normal dwelling could be discovered, and the minimum could perhaps gradually become the general form of dwelling.

⁸³ In the United States in the late 18th century, Thomas Jefferson was one who considered the possibility of guiding the domestic setting without regulation. For him, the answer was a model home for a typical American family. This meant a detached cottage for the independent farmer and his family. The model house would combine the regulating of habitation with the creation of harmonic surroundings and the retention of individuality. Wright 1983, 74–75.

7.4. Home: a woman's realm?

The housewife has begun to realize that her domestic work must also be considered a profession, and consequently her demands for the dwelling's practicality have increased. That part of the dwelling where the housewife's professional work is mainly carried out, the kitchen, shall therefore be modelled as a rational, useful workshop, in the best possible way and to the highest possible degree. But the housewife's work consists not only of work in the kitchen, it also includes care of the entire home, all its small concerns and of family members' wardrobe; with her rest the important tasks of being a wife and a mother, and thereby a member of society.⁸⁴

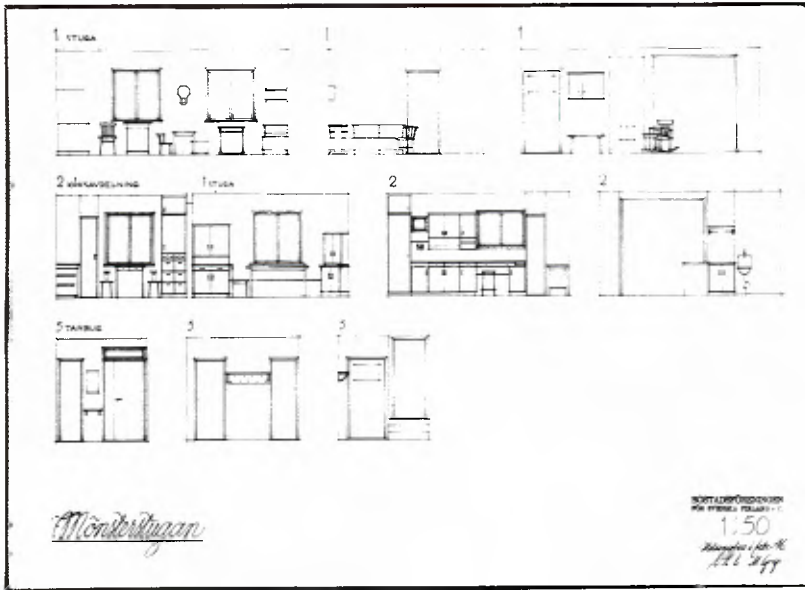
The rationalization of the kitchen and of household work which was advocated in Finland, especially by women, from the 1920s onwards, together with the complementary hygienic and health ideals, were central in the planning of type-planned houses. The reorganization of the kitchen in particular formed a focal point in the planning of the modern dwelling. The emphasis on home economics and the housewife's work focused a new kind of interest on the dwelling: attention was drawn to the dwelling's different elements, activities and functions to a greater extent than in the aesthetic domestic manuals.⁸⁵ In the discourse on housing the importance ascribed to home economics highlighted the active role of the housewife, and the dwelling was discussed from the point of view of women, children and the family in particular. Housekeeping, the rationalization of household work and the demands of hygiene and health all acquired a scientific basis: the terms used were »scientific home management» and »household engineering».⁸⁶

The concept of home economics in its present-day sense and in the form in which it became manifest in the planning of the type-planned house is a product of the 1920s. Home economics and the woman's central role in

⁸⁴ Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund, *Husmoderns krav på bostaden* (The housewife's demands for the dwelling), 1940s. Lecture notes, SRM.

⁸⁵ See e.g. lectures at the Women's Housing Convention (1921), and several articles in *Kotiliesi* magazine which discussed the relationship between the dwelling and housekeeping, and the importance of the dwelling to the housewife. See also Harmaja 1922; Harmaja 1925; Harmaja 1939, 744; Setälä 1929; Setälä 1931a.

⁸⁶ In the late 19th and early 20th centuries »scientific home management» was a central concept in American domestic manuals for women, e.g. Beecher – Beecher Stowe 1869; Frederick 1923. Concerned with the welfare of the family, these works produced and maintained the division between male and female roles and associated the woman with housekeeping. Household technology, hygiene and scientific housekeeping were also significant issues in Germany, which had much closer contacts



162. Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund and Marianne Granberg, furnishings of Mönsterstuga, 1946. 1. multipurpose main room (tupa), 2. kitchen section, 5. entrance-hall passage. Photo SRM.

it became a topic of public discussion.⁸⁷ The concept of the middle-class home and dwelling was extended from the aesthetic, spiritual and educational to denote a place of active housekeeping and home economics. There emerged a new concept of, and a new identity for, the housewife as well as a new social practice of home economics. The new, »scientifically» jus-

with Finland. See e.g. Gebhard 1928, 472–473; Harmaja 1930, 739–740, and the 1920s and '30s issues of *Kotiliesi* magazine. The relationship between modern architecture and home economics has also been discussed in Giedion (1948) 1969, 512–527. Anne Ollila has studied the importance of »domestic science» in the activities of the Finnish Martha Association in the 1920s and '30s. Ollila 1989.

⁸⁷ Home economics was considered a part of the national economy, and as a concept of economics it was formulated in the 1920s. According to Laura Harmaja it meant the management of household consumption for the furtherance of the family's welfare. Harmaja 1922, 632.

tified housing norms and requirements of hygiene applied to everyone, but most of all they touched a woman's life and made new demands on her. The pleasantness of the dwelling was tied to its neatness, cleanness, and health: the ideal was an ordered world where »well-tended« was synonymous with beautiful.

Dirt and uncleanness are always relational and cultural concepts: there is no such thing as absolute dirt. Dirt is opposed to order; it is matter out of place and its elimination represents not only negative suppression but also a positive ordering of the environment.⁸⁸ Dirt is a relation; it is the by-product of systematic ordering and classification. The notion of dirt is neither a purely »natural« nor a »scientific« fact, but a principal means of arranging cultures; its meaning changes according to various cultural contexts. The notion of dirt, connected with the principal events of human life (birth, nourishment, sex, death), is historically linked with the transformation of the family, of gender division and the organization of work. The organization of gender relations is a fundamental cultural arrangement and, as Phyllis Palmer argues, middle-class housewifery, which was the model of femininity in type-planned houses, was constituted around domestic cleanliness.⁸⁹ Cleaning rituals, hygiene, the construction of differences and the creation of meanings belong to the feminine sphere. In the ritualization of dirt, one important aspect is the distinction between the sexes, and the simultaneously social and symbolic meaning of women and of mother in particular is crucial in this. Dirt is intrinsically bound up in the symbolic order, in delimiting and controlling the body, and in the distinction between subject and object, the self and the Other. The emphasis on hygiene can be associated with the actual eradication of vermin, but it is equally important in its expression of alienation from the body – hygiene is a form of control (Foucauldian bio-power). Hygiene signifies the repression of the body as well as the cleaning and care lavished on it. According to Foucault the body in modern (Western) society is no longer the object and the seat of absolute power but something productive and useful, and it is to be cherished as such. It is subject to the omnipresent and continuous

⁸⁸ See the classic work on the study of dirt, Douglas (1966) 1991, 2. Profane dirt is transformed into sacred pollution, which is disengaged from social rationality and from the logical order which supports the social community. On this and the psychoanalytical dimensions of dirt, the constitutive effects of dirt in relation to the symbolic order and its links to the incest taboo, the nature/culture dichotomy, the repression/suppression of the body and motherhood, fascism etc., see Kristeva 1980, 80–88. See also Borchgrevink – Solheim 1988, 42–50.

⁸⁹ Palmer 1987, 138–139; Ward 1992, 9.

regulatory and correcting mechanisms of the power that protects life.⁹⁰ Thus hygiene becomes a public and a political issue which is present in housing design as well.⁹¹ With hygienic control, which touches both the souls and (especially) the bodies of human beings, women's household work and people's private lives become the subject of public debate and control. The arguments of hygiene were used to justify the spatial differentiation of the dwelling, and the separation of kitchen from the family room in particular. Thus the attempt was to separate (woman's) unhygienic and dirty kitchen work from the family room reserved for spiritual activities.

The home economics movement defended household work and sought to elevate its status by professionalizing it and by emphasizing the skill required in its performance.⁹² The aim was to equate work at home with work for wages, and being a housewife was seen as one important profession among others: discussion of women's domestic work was contemporaneous with industrialization and the increasing predominance of wage labour. The efforts to improve women's everyday environment can be viewed as a materialistic or domestic women's movement which sought to bridge the gulf between the private and the public and to resolve the conflict between professional work and the role of the housewife that had come into being with the emergence of wage labour.⁹³ It could be argued that the home economics movement raised women's self-esteem: house-

⁹⁰ Foucault 1976, 189. Power is not an institution, but above all a name which in a specific historical context is lent to a complex strategic situation. Foucault 1976, 123. Both Foucault and Kristeva have unveiled the hostility of our culture towards the body, and revealed how the subject is formed through the suppression and denial of the body. According to Kristeva, suppression is above all suppression of the maternal authority and the topography of the body; to be purely symbolic, the body must first be cleansed of all traces of »nature« (i.e. what is culturally considered as nature). Kristeva 1980, 87–121.

⁹¹ In addition to spatial organization and the gender division connected with it, the colour white and the use of shining steel are also manifestations of the apparent cleanliness associated with modern architecture.

⁹² In 1929, the Act and Statute on Home Economics Institutes were passed, and from the beginning of 1930 instruction in home economics was arranged and reorganized on that basis. A professorship in Home Economics was established at the University of Helsinki in 1946. Harmaja 1943, 14–16; Harmaja 1946.

⁹³ Harmaja 1930, 739; also see Hayden 1981. Women's actions within a patriarchal culture imply more than just a feminist movement. As attention shifts away from political subjects and women's political activities towards the level of the everyday, women's activities appear in an altogether different light. Cf. the differing views of Riitta Jallinoja and Irma Sulkunen. Jallinoja 1983; Sulkunen 1987; Sulkunen 1991, 90–94. Calling attention to the home and the dwelling is one aspect of middle-class women's activities, but this too occurs within the masculine cultural system.

hold work shows the woman as an active operator and thus she becomes important – not least to herself. But at the same time domestic science has also been used to determine the woman's role: it created what was perceived as a woman's natural area – the woman confined to the margin.⁹⁴ The home economics movement contained an ambiguity: it was emancipatory in that it upgraded the value of women's work, while it simultaneously consigned women perhaps more closely than ever before to the home and within a single, permanent identity.

While improvements in the standard of the dwelling were emphasized as beneficial to women, the actual improvements that took place were confined to the rearrangement of the kitchen from its overall planning down to the minutest detail.⁹⁵ The measurements of the new standardized kitchen fittings were based on the average height of Finnish women – and while women's work was being eased, housework was still defined as a specifically feminine area (*Figs. 163 and 164*).⁹⁶ In the rationalization of the work process the kitchen was compared to a laboratory or a factory, kitchen work to industrial work and work on the assembly line. With time and motion studies the so-called scientific organization of household work also meant that increased demands for efficiency and self-control were made of the woman: in washing the dishes alone it was possible to make 80 incorrect movements.⁹⁷ The nature of the woman's work had changed: many of the earlier household tasks had become redundant, but at the same time the new focus on increasingly scientific housekeeping placed new burdens on the woman; she was required to pay more attention to a new kind of house-

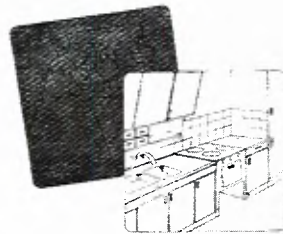
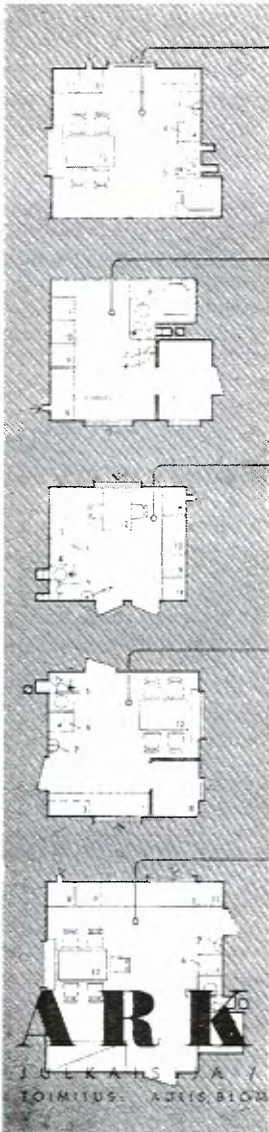
⁹⁴ To ward off the impending unemployment of women after the war, attempts were made to provide them with crash training courses during the period of transition. Courses were arranged in subjects which were considered to be particularly suitable for women; one of the criteria used was the permanence of employment. Agricultural and industrial professions were discounted since it was believed that they required no training. The main emphasis was on training in the home economics sector, because it was considered to be the most suitable and »natural» area for women. *Komiteanmietintö 1944: 7, 7–9.*

⁹⁵ The reduction in the number of servants can be considered as one cause of the rationalization of kitchens. The underlying idea in the central kitchen experiments of the 1910s and '20s was to ease women's workload, thus making it possible to give up servants. The transformation of the kitchen also meant a transformation of woman's life and work.

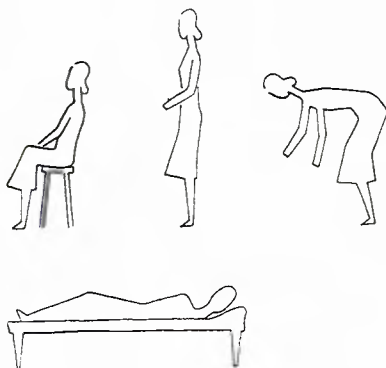
⁹⁶ *Simberg 1945, 72–73.*

⁹⁷ *Frederick 1912; Frederick 1913.* See also *Giedion (1948) 1975, 521.* This slogan was also used in the discussion on home economics in Finland. The studies of time and motion made by Fredrik W. Taylor and Frank B. and Lillian Gilbreth, the leading industrial engineers in the USA during early 20th century, were important in this respect. *Matthews 1987, 157.*

7 1945



163. Studies for standardized kitchen fittings. New RT cards (Building Information Cards) 1945, cover of *Arkkitehti* 7/1945.



164. Motion studies for the standardized kitchen fittings. Work in a seated position requires 4% more energy than rest, a standing position requires 12% and bending down 55% more energy. *Arkkitehti* 7/1945.

hold work. Technical aids and rationalization did not lessen the time spent on household tasks; instead an ever increasing number of new »necessary» tasks were created.⁹⁸ A woman's work was governed by new daily, weekly and seasonal routines which followed each other with the inevitability of natural cycles.⁹⁹ Emphasizing the home as the housewife's realm thus in effect isolated the woman within the dwelling and made her work »invisible». This emphasis was based on the prevalent gender organization and while it gave women a place in a male-dominated world of work, it also maintained and produced sexual asymmetry.

Household work was associated with women, but the skills it required were not considered to be natural or innate female characteristics, and so the housewife profession required training. But in spite of the fact that it could be learned, household work was still always linked with the concept of a feminine essence inherent in a woman's nature which awaited actualization.¹⁰⁰ The gender-based division of labour connected with the cultural, quasi-natural public/male-private/female split begins with the

⁹⁸ Lerner 1981, 129–130; Rotschild 1983, 83–84; Worden 1989, 139–140.

⁹⁹ See also Kristeva 1979, 7–8. Kristeva has suggested connecting female subjectivity with two temporal modalities, the cyclical and the monumental; repetition and eternity; the eternal recurrence of biological rhythm and monumental temporality.

¹⁰⁰ *Komiteanmietintö* 1944, 7, 7–9. It was thought easier for women/girls to learn tasks considered feminine, while masculine tasks, such as those requiring technical skills, were considered easier for men/boys. Compare also the femininization of certain sectors of society, such as nurture and education.

details of domestic organization and spreads to the organization of society at large. The woman creates the home partly through her presence and her role as its guardian angel, but first and foremost through her active work; work at home – cleaning, cooking, nursing, tidying – connects the woman to the home,¹⁰¹ and at the same time it entails the transformation of the dwelling into a home and the creation of a new order. According to Bachelard, men construct the external frame of the home while women build it, primarily through their activity and »cultivation» which processes in turn tie them to the home. Thus the woman is in a sense the creator of the home and governs its interior, but at the same time the space – the dwelling – reciprocally exerts control over the woman.¹⁰² The environment's random, imperceptible production of meanings is always present in the use of a dwelling and in the everyday chores it contains, yet at the same time this silent or unconscious formation of meanings is linked to the larger cultural context.

The type-planned house was a paradoxical building not only in that it simultaneously embraced both the traditional and the modern idiom, or that it contained the parallel demands for individuality and universal habitation; there was also an inherent paradox in the implicit housing ideals it contained. The housing ideology of type-planned houses stood in contradiction to the actual circumstances and historical situation in Finland. The institution of housewifery never held sway on a large scale in Finland, whose transformation into an industrialized society occurred at a relatively late stage and very rapidly. Moreover, in Finland women have never been confined to the home to the same extent as in the United States for example; in the agricultural household they worked side by side with the men, and with the coming of industrialization town-dwelling women were quick to step outside the home to work for wages. During the Second World War the number of European and American women employed outside the home increased; afterwards there was a general tendency to give the jobs they had held back to men.¹⁰³ However, this did not take place in Finland as it did in many other countries. As I have already pointed out, a rela-

¹⁰¹ Setälä 1929, 10–11; Lappi-Seppälä 1945, 72–73; *Miten asevelitalossa asutaan?*, 574.

¹⁰² Bachelard (1957) 1984, 74. See also Douglas (1966) 1991, 2. Compare with Heidegger's distinction of the two meanings of building (*bauen*): to cultivate and to construct, which are both present in the dwelling. Cultivation (Lat. *colere*) contains the aspects of preservation, maintenance and care, construction the actual work of constructing the home. Heidegger 1971, 147–148.

¹⁰³ *Komiteanmietintö* 1944: 7, 6–7.



165. Home as a place of rest for man and a place of work for woman. Drawing by Olof Ottelin. Stigell 1945.

tively large proportion (31%) of married town-dwelling women acquired jobs during the war and still held them when it was over (34%).¹⁰⁴ Attitudes towards women were twofold: on the one hand motherhood and a woman's domestic work were emphasized, on the other attempts were made to ease the lot of women who worked outside the home.¹⁰⁵

Motherhood became the most important role of a woman. In the implicit housing ideology of type-planned houses – the conceptual level of idealization – the dominant feminine image and ideal of woman was that of a mother and housewife (*Fig. 165*). During the war emphasis was laid on the home idyll as a contrast to the chaos of the outside world. Housing design was influenced by a kind of domestic mystique, an idealized image of a family which lived in its own house where a full-time housewife took care of housekeeping and tended the children.¹⁰⁶ Representations of womanhood produce femininity independently, without being directly related to actual everyday women; people's lives are organized by the morals and notions of virtuous living which are present day to day and, moreover, inherent in housing models.¹⁰⁷ The prevalent myths, ideals and images of the feminine, the masculine and the family are unconsciously present in the everyday and in any given event of habitation, even if individual women do not necessarily operate according to them.

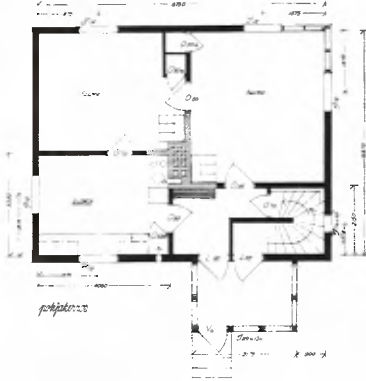
¹⁰⁴ Jallinoja 1983, 120–121.

¹⁰⁵ Väestöliitto 1941, *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*. Friedan 1962.

¹⁰⁷ Tickner 1988, 97; Heiskala 1991, 404–406.

omskiztatur nr 42



166. Kaj Englund, type-planned house no. 42, ground floor, 18.5.1945. Orig. SRM.

The type-planned house manifested the triunity of habitation: its floor plan (kitchen/bedroom(s)/living room) replicated the triunity of mother/children/father. Woman – the housewife – was located in the kitchen, the married couple and small children in the bedroom, and the family in the living room. The spatial organization favoured specialization and an intra-familial division of labour. The kitchen – perceived as the housewife’s realm – was by far the most important room; it was the hub around which the entire home was patterned, a place of work where the family was sustained, where eating and part of the reproductive work took place. It was also linked to the bedroom – the core of privacy in the dwelling – which was the place reserved for sexuality (and partly for reproduction too). The living room emphasized rest; it was a space dedicated to the family gathering together. In addition to the functional triunity of the dwelling, its spatial organization was also characterized by the twofold division into bedroom/kitchen and living room. The kitchen communicated with the bedroom but not with the living room; thus the mother engaged in household work was effectively isolated from the rest of the family. But because the kitchen was always connected to the bedroom (and the children), this highlighted the woman’s role as mother and as a housekeeping creature who belonged to the private sphere. Kitchen and bedroom together formed the more private part of the dwelling; they comprised a unit of household work and family care, whereas the living room was a semi-public space.

The rooms of the type-planned house were arranged around the chimney and wood-burning stove – a source of warmth, it was the central organizing element of the dwelling, its nucleus. It underscored the idea that

the dwelling was a kind of shared domestic hearth which gathered the family around itself to enjoy its warmth and security. It also contained allusions to Hestia and maternal protection.¹⁰⁸ Despite the marginal status it had in type drawings, on the ideological level and in housing practice the kitchen of the type-planned house nevertheless became the most important room, and in the process it is apparent that it was different to previous models. Few rural dwellings had a separate kitchen, and in the earlier middle-class dwellings the kitchen was never really in a central position. Coupled with the idea of the woman as the centre of the home, the significance of the kitchen acquired a key status ideologically. Woman as Mother was emphasized. The spatial organization of the dwelling highlighted the importance of the nuclear family, an active feminine identity, and it favoured specialization and the division of labour within the family.

The differentiation of the spheres of life has the clear effect of fixing the woman to her place of work – to the home and to her clearly demarcated kitchen. Men and women live in two different worlds which intersect only partially. Do they also live in two different families? For Simone de Beauvoir, being a woman means being for someone else – for the man and the children.¹⁰⁹ Luce Irigaray has developed this notion: for her, woman is specifically the man's Other, defined and existing through him.¹¹⁰ In the housing ideology of the 1940s the woman was defined in relation to and through the husband and the family; she was primarily a wife and mother who worked for the happiness of the family.¹¹¹ Inside the family she existed above all for the husband and the children. The husband's work and his life outside the home could well lead us to think of him as existing outside of and without the family, but his roles as the provider and father of the family were also essential. The family was the man's and woman's shared object of care.¹¹² In this respect the type-planned houses with their

¹⁰⁸ Vesta, the corresponding Roman goddess, was also associated with cleanliness and virginity; she was a virginal source of nourishment, nurture and shelter, which recalls the Virgin Mary – and the semiotic *chora* of Kristeva and Plato.

¹⁰⁹ Beauvoir 1949 *passim*.

¹¹⁰ Irigaray 1974. By challenging the very notion of a fixed, uniform subject, the Kristevan approach offers a possibility of rethinking Beauvoir's schema where man is the active subject and woman is the Other.

¹¹¹ See e.g. Stigell 1945, 20. Working for the happiness of the family also meant working for oneself.

¹¹² Since Simone de Beauvoir's analysis, «existing for oneself» and «existing for the Other» have become an integral part of the conceptual apparatus of feminist research. The underlying concept is the ideal of a free subject, in possession of perfect awareness and existing only for itself. (For women, the obstacle to the attain-

167. Man has his place in the construction of the home. Construction of the type-planned house. Photo SRM.



universalized housing models may also be considered as representing the logic of sameness: confining both men and women within a single permanent identity with no alternatives, they contained no room for difference.

The home acquired a special significance. Its planning stressed the physical reorganization of the household as well as the nurturing relationship between mother and child and the importance that the home and the dwelling had for the child's mental and bodily development.¹¹³ In the family-centred housing model of the type-planned house, motherhood and femininity were firmly associated. Motherhood was considered the most important function of a woman: it had the first priority. Reproduction – viewed as the opposite of rationality and eroticism – constituted femininity, and

ment of this state is their bodies which bear offspring, multiply). Contesting the idea of the »free subject« has also led to an obscuring of the division. Nevertheless, the notion of »existing for the Other« can be detected in the underlying ideology of housing design, and perhaps that is why woman is so readily associated with it. In architectural hierarchy, monumental buildings have been ranked higher than dwellings; similarly men's »independent« work for wages has been valued higher than women's »dependent« housework. The ideology of the 1940s is characterized by the emphasis it places on the undervalued areas of this hierarchy – dwellings and household work.

¹¹³ Stigell 1945, 7. The priority of children's welfare and the emergence of a new kind of mother-child relationship have been viewed as a characteristic of the modern family. Shorter 1977, 168.

the emphasis given in the discourse of housing to the family, to motherhood and the body in effect de-eroticized sexuality and the body. The naming of woman as mother ties her to her body and her femaleness, while her erotic corporeality is simultaneously denied.¹¹⁴ The de-eroticization of motherhood means the repression of the body. According to Kristeva, a woman's hidden existence – her silence and her silencing – are above all linked to the mother's role which has been rejected in our culture.¹¹⁵ Through denials and restraints, a mother's role has been defined more rigidly than that of a woman's. And yet womanhood has been equated with motherhood: a woman is expressly a mother, as in the housing ideology of the type-planned house.¹¹⁶ According to Adrienne Rich, we are accustomed to thinking of the institution of motherhood and its locus, the home, as an extremely private area. Motherhood has no symbolic architecture expressive of authority, power and strength to parallel that of other institutions.¹¹⁷ However, the dwelling – a depersonalized form of power – does order the life and actions of its family members through the invisible understandings and practices it contains.

In the discourse of housing around the type-planned house of the 1940s, the family and the interrelationship between the sexes became limited and precise. As a cultural signifying system and a series of representational practices, the dwelling actively produces and maintains definitions of sexual difference (often considered as natural in our culture) and participates in its bio-cultural construction. It leads to the formation of the sexual subject; it is the locus of family and social relations, a part of the symbolic order and the social contract, and – with the mother – it is also the place where the one is differentiated from the Other and the sensation of space is created in a maternal metaphor. Certainly the dwelling is not a neutral or an exclusively private space. The architectural division of its floor plan has a distinct ideological function: in re-differentiating and specifying anew the spatial arrangement of dwelling the type-planned house creates certain notions of sexual difference and differentiates the two genders. Thus the modern urban notion of gender division receives visible expression in the type-planned house. The trinity within the type-planned house cha-

¹¹⁴ Man is defined as mind and reason, but on the other hand he is also associated with bodily work and building.

¹¹⁵ Suppression of the mother is suppression of the Other who threatens the boundaries of identity.

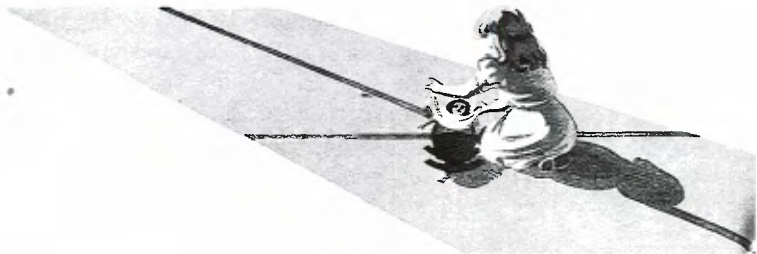
¹¹⁶ Thus the woman's role is reduced to that of the mother, and woman's sexuality to just one of its forms, that of motherhood. Irigaray 1987, 141–164, *passim*.

¹¹⁷ Rich 1974, 275. However, the relationship between parents and children, mother and child, is always a productive power relation too.



KODIN, PERHEEN JA LASTEN YHTEIS- KUNTA

Kansalaistietoa
väestökysymyksessä



168. Kodin, perheen ja lasten yhteiskunta (A society of home, family and children). Cover of the publication of Väestöliitto 1946.

racteristically builds on opposites and on the sharp division of gender identities. It is here that the phenomenon of »dichotomous citizenship» (Irma Sulkunen's term) ¹¹⁸ acquires an architectural expression.

A woman was often defined through the fact that she was a woman, man through his actions and work. The private/female-public/male split seems to permeate the housing models of type-planned houses, where the woman is situated in the home and within the private sphere, man outside the home in the public world. The notion is coloured by a dualistic hierarchy where the feminine is coupled with being and passivity, the masculine with doing and activity. But these oppositions are not obvious, and in fact the crucial point is that the housing model of type-planned houses is a radical departure in its emphasis on the middle-class nuclear family and the woman's activities in the home in particular: home was a place of active work. Moreover, just as important as the feminine/masculine division was the construction of both gender ideals in relation to and through the family and the triunity of housing. New parts of the dwelling became important in the planning of housing, and the architectural focus shifted from aesthetics to practice, from the man's leisure to the woman's work, from family rooms to the kitchen.

Although the dwelling as a private shelter and a place of rest was emphasized, the crucial element is nevertheless the new link between the home and the woman; activity and passivity, doing and being exchange places: instead of the man's rest the emphasis is now on the woman's work. The 19th-century home ideology and the beauty of home contained the idea of a refined, private woman, the guardian angel.¹¹⁹ Indeed the woman's role in the housing model of the type-planned house seems at first to be one of maintaining the home and the difference between the private and the public, so that linking these spheres to the woman and man respectively seems an excessively dichotomic operation. In fact, on closer analysis the woman's role and the relationship between the private and the public turn out to be much subtler than at first they appeared. The home is still regarded as an essentially feminine sphere, but in addition to the fact that the active and practical aspects of the home which are important to a woman's work become the central determining elements in housing design, the private home and the woman also exist in relation to the public; the private and the public are not separate, and the public continuous-

¹¹⁸ Sulkunen 1987, 171–172.

¹¹⁹ On woman as the guardian angel, and on 19th-century home ideology and home as an escape from the world outside, see eg. Corrado Pope 1977, 300–311; Häggman 1991, 145–150.

ly sets norms for the private. Even as a »private creature« the woman stands in relation to the public in her roles as, for instance, the educator of the children, the transmitter of culture and as a person who has a decisive influence in making the children into new citizens.¹²⁰

The exchange of roles is an important element in the type-planned house. Here the change for the man is from work (doing) to rest (being), for the woman from being a woman to doing – i.e. taking care of the family. The dwelling is feminized into the scene of the woman's doing, or more precisely into the woman's *scene of doing for the Other*. Neither the woman nor the man has a private space in the dwelling, and thus a social order that deviates from earlier models of housing has been sealed: it is an order where the woman no longer has any opportunity to change places. The man is a kind of exterior monitoring eye and a constant visitor, whereas the woman is placed at the centre as the operating agent and the target of observation. The superficially neutral type-planned house with its transparent gender roles can be interpreted as a feminized dwelling dedicated to motherhood, reproduction and, most of all, to the family; it completes the feminization of the family that began in the 19th century. As a cluster of concepts it ties home, family, woman and motherhood together in itself. It exists primarily for the woman and the children – and the woman in turn exists for the family. The dwelling becomes expressly the space for mother and children, the seat of motherhood. The man is an absent power who is invisibly present in the dwelling and he is in fact the constitutive force of the family¹²¹. He is surrounded by silence and thus a fiction is created about the woman as the structure that supports the family.

In terms of habitation, the places accorded to woman and man are determined by the relationships between presence and absence, between the

¹²⁰ In fact, Elizabeth Wilson, for example, has emphasized that even the private/public split of the 19th-century bourgeois city was not complete: in Paris in particular, women, children, married couples and whole families belonged in the public sphere as much as men. Women were not restricted solely to the domestic sphere, as many feminists have argued by basing their arguments in Impressionist paintings (Wilson refers here especially to Pollock and Janet Wolff), but participated both actively and passively in the public arena although the price they paid was their over-sexualization and participation in voyeuristic spectacle. Although women did not have complete access to the world outside, industrialization drew them into public life ever so. Wilson argues that urban life, despite its disadvantages, has emancipated women more than rural life or suburban domesticity. Wilson 1991, 8–10, 52–56.

¹²¹ During the war the home was centred on the fact that man was away from home and yet present in it. After the war his absence continued because his work kept him away from home.

visible and the invisible. A symbolic building of motherhood and a feminized space, the type-planned house is the seat of femininity – and of the woman – within a masculine cultural order. If the woman possesses a central status inside this mother-centred/father-oriented model and moreover carries the responsibility for the home, is the man then the possessor of power? Or is power inherent in those relationships, invisible practices and contracts, in that act of habitation which the spatial organization of the type-planned house makes possible? Despite the fact that the implicit habitation practices of the type-planned house and the meeting of the micro and macro levels of power represent a network of power which has a patriarchal emphasis and in which power is associated with masculinity and the man's role, the man is *not* the possessor of power.

Home is a woman's realm, in which she herself is a subject.

Sources and bibliography

Abbreviations

AAA	Arkkitehtitoimisto Alvar Aalto & Co:n arkisto (Archives of Alvar Aalto Architects Ltd.)
HKA	Helsingin kaupungin arkisto (Helsinki City Archives)
HKM	Helsingin kaupungin museo (Helsinki City Museum)
HKRVVA	Helsingin kaupungin rakennusvalvontaviraston arkisto (Building supervision authorities of the City of Helsinki)
MHL	Maanhankintalaki (Land Acquisition Act)
MV	Museovirasto (National Board of Antiquities)
PAL	Siirtoväen pika-asutuslainsäädäntö (Emergency Settlement Act)
SRM	Suomen Rakennustaiteen museo (Museum of Finnish Architecture)
SVT	Suomen Virallinen Tilasto (Finnish Official Statistics)
VA	Suomen valtionarkisto (Finnish State Archives)

Unpublished sources

Arkitekturmuseet (Swedish Museum of Architecture), Stockholm.
Type plans and catalogues of single-family houses.

Arkkitehtitoimisto Alvar Aalto & Co:n arkisto (Archives of Alvar Aalto Architect Ltd.),
AAA, Tiilimäki 20, Helsinki.
Architectural drawings.
Photocopies of drawings and plans.

Helsingin kaupunginarkisto (Helsinki City Archives), HKA, Helsinki.
Archives of land development companies.

Helsingin kaupungin museo (Helsinki City Museum), HKM, Helsinki.
Pictorial archives.

Helsingin kaupungin rakennusvalvontaviraston arkisto (Building supervision authorities of the City of Helsinki), HKRVVA, Helsinki.
Copies of building plans and drawings.

Helsingin yliopiston taidehistorian laitos (University of Helsinki, Department of Art History), THL, Helsinki.

Ahmavaara, Anna-Liisa 1961. Käpylän puutarhakaupunki. (Graduate thesis).

Suominen-Kokkonen, Renja 1989. Rakennusmestariarkkitehtuuri Suomessa ja sen taustalla ollut koulutus. Rakennusmestarit ja teollisuuskoulujen huonerakennusosastojen opetus 1885–1911. (Licentiate thesis).

Jyväskylän yliopiston historian laitos (University of Jyväskylä, Department of History), Jyväskylä.

Mertanen, Tiina 1989. »Toimia maalaisrahvaan rakennustavan parantamiseksi». Maa-seudun rakennusneuvonta 1800-luvun lopulta vuoteen 1939. (Graduate thesis).

Maatilahallitus (State Board of Land Settlement), Helsinki.

Rakennustoimisto (Construction Office).

Type-plans of the Central Union of Agricultural Societies.

Museovirasto (National Board of Antiquities), MV, Helsinki.

Rakennushistorian osasto (Department of Monuments and Sites).

Type plans of Heikki Siikonen.

Marja Alanko (Ivars) – Marja-Terttu Knapas 1985. Mallipiirustukset maatalouden rakentamisessa 1920–30-luvulla. Unpublished manuscript.

Historian kuva-arkisto (Section for History).

Pictorial Archives.

Pääesikunta (Main headquarters), Helsinki

Photographic archives.

Rakennustietosäätiön arkisto (Archives of Building Information Institute), Helsinki.

Building Information Files.

Annual Reports.

Photographs.

Suomen Rakennustaiteen museo (Museum of Finnish Architecture), SRM, Helsinki.

Architectural archives.

Type plans and annual reports of Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f.

Kaj Englund's type plans for the Ministry of Social Service.

Erkki Koiso-Kanttila's type plans for Lappish Building District.

Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund: »Husmoderns krav på bostaden.» (Unpublished lecture notes from the 1940s).

Puutalo Oy, collection of photographs and newspaper material.

Type plans of the Finnish Association of Architects' Reconstruction Office.

Gustaf Strengells collection.

Photographic archives.

Suomen Valtionarkisto (Finnish State Archives) VA, Helsinki.

Sosiaaliministeriön asuntoasiaintoimiston arkisto (Archives of the Housing Department of the Ministry of Social Service).

Type plans of the Ministry of Social Service 1940–42.

Rakennushallituksen arkisto (Archives of the National Board of Public Works and Buildings), RHA.

Heikki Siikonens plans for small farms 1931.

Tampereen yliopiston historiatieteen laitos (University of Tampere, Department of History), Tampere.

Markkola, Pirjo 1989a. Naisten ansiotyö maatalousyhteiskunnassa. Tutkimus Hämeen maaseudun naisista 1870-luvulta ensimmäiseen maailmansotaan. (Licentiate thesis).

Tampereen teknillinen korkeakoulu, arkkitehtuurin osasto (Tampere University of Technology, Department of Architecture), Tampere.

Jarva, Hilikka – Saarela, Liisa 1976. Viinikka – Nekalan saneeraussuunnitelma. (Thesis for a diploma).

Teknillinen korkeakoulu, arkkitehtuurin historian laitos (Institute of the History of Architecture, Helsinki University of Technology) TKK, Espoo, Otaniemi.

Kairamo, Kirsti 1980. Pientalojen rakenteet ja tyyppisuunnittelu vuoteen 1948. Jälleenrakennuskauden kohdealue, perusrakennusesimerkkejä. (Thesis for a diploma).

Kuosmanen, Merja 1972. Työväenasutokysymys Helsingissä 1880–1930. (Thesis for a diploma).

Peltonen, Vesa 1983. Piirteitä eräiden Helsingin huvilakaupunkien syntymisestä. (Thesis for a diploma).

Turun yliopiston kulttuurihistorian laitos (University of Turku, Department of the History of Civilization), Turku.

Ollila, Anne 1989. »Yhteiskunta kaipaa äidin sydäntä ja naisen kättä.» Marttaate vuosina 1918–1939. (Licentiate thesis).

Published sources

Aalto, Alvar 1930. Pienasunto? *Pienasunto?* Pienasuntojen rationalisoimisoston julkaisu. Helsinki, 22–25.

Aalto, Alvar 1931. Asuntomme problemina. *Domus 8–10/1930*. Helsinki 1931.

Aalto, Alvar 1939. Esipuhe. *Asunonäyttely 1939*. Helsinki, 4.

Aalto, Alvar 1941a. Euroopan jälleenrakentaminen tuo pinnalle aikamme rakennustaiteen keskeisimmän probleemin. *Arkkitehti* 1941. Helsinki, 75–80.

Aalto, Alvar 1941b. Maaseudun rakennuskysymys. *Arkkitehti* 1941, 132–139.

Aalto, Alvar 1941c. Rakentava Punainen Risti. *Arkkitehti* 1941, 92–93.

A-talo. Tulevaisuuden talo. Advertising leaflet. A. Ahlström OY [s.a.]. SKSK Oy:n syväpaino.

Åkerman, Brita 1941. *Familjen som växte ur sitt hem*. Stockholm.

Amerikka. Oman kodin luvattu maa. (Mrs. E.) *Kotiliesi* 1923, 400–404.

Amerikka rakentaa 1945. Amerikkalaisen rakennustaiteen näyttely Ateneumissa 6.–21. 10. 1945. Järjestäneet Suomen Arkkitehtiliitto ja Suomalais-amerikkalainen yhdistys. Helsinki

Andersin, Harald 1921. Pienempien asutyyppien standardiseeraus. *Arkkitehti* 1921. Published also in *Ilmarinen* 7–8/1920.

Andersin, Harald 1930. Pienasuntojen kehityksestä yksityistonteilla Helsingissä. *Rakennustaite* 23/1930.

Arkitekten/Arkkitehti 1903–1959.

Asetus omakotirahastosta 1940. Published in *Omakotilainat ja -talot* 1946. Helsinki.

Asuinrakennukset ja saunat 1943. Siirtoväen pika-asutustoimintaa varten valmistettujen rakennuspiirustusten Valintaopas 1. *Maatalouseurojen Keskusliiton asutusvaliokunnan julkaisu no 7*. Helsinki.

- Asuntokysymys 1904.* Esitelmiä ja ehdotuksia julkaissut kansantaloudellinen yhdistys. Helsinki.
- Asunonäyttely 39.* Helsingissä messuhallissa 7. 10. – 22. 10. 1939. Helsinki.
- Asunonäyttely ja rakennusmessut (M 40) 1940.* Helsinki.
- Bättre bostäder på landsbygden.* Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland. Landsbygdens bostadsdagar oktober 1940. Helsingfors.
- Bättre Bostäder nr 3* 1948. Katalog över typritningar. Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f. Helsingfors.
- Blomstedt, Aulis 1943. Suunnitteluapu. *Arkkitehti* 1943, 57.
- Böök, Einar 1912. Asuntokysymys Suomessa. *Nykyaikainen yhteiskuntapolitiikka XII. Porvoo.*
- B(öö)k., E.(inar) 1919. Työväenasunnot. *Tietosanakirja. X osa.* Tietosanakirja-Osakeyhtiö. Helsinki.
- Böök, Einar 1928. Omakotiliike. *Kotiliesi 16/1928.*
- Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland 1938–1969* 1969. Helsingfors.
- Brunila, Birger 1909. Asuntokysymyksen kehitys Euroopassa. *Rakennustaito* 1909, 201–212.
- Brunius, August 1912. *Hus och hem.* Andra uppl. Stockholm. (Translated in Finnish by Salme Setälä. Koti ja Kontu. Otava, Helsinki 1917).
- Daly, César 1864. *L'Architecture privée au 19ème siècle sous Napoleon III, I–III, A. Morel & Cie, Paris.*
- Ekelund, Hilding 1932. *Suomen rakennustaidetta.* Julkaissut Suomen arkkitehtiliitto. Helsinki.
- Ekelund, Hilding 1937. Asunto ja ympäristö. Suomen kolmas yleinen asuntokongressi 1937. *Asuntoreformiyhdistyksen julkaisuja 19.* Tampere.
- Ekelund, Hilding 1939. Arkihuone, makuuhuoneet. *Asunonäyttely 39.* Helsinki, 67–73.
- Ekelund, Hilding 1940. Bostadsplanering i terränger och dess planläggning. *Bättre bostäder på landsbygden* 1940. Helsingfors.
- Elenius, Edward 1915. *Kotiemme kauneus. Asuinrakennukset, huoneiden sisustus, puutarha.* Kansanvalistusseuran käsiteollisuuskirjasto no 17. Helsinki.
- Emännän tietokirja I–III* 1948–49. Uudistettu laitos. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Enblom, Rudolf S. 1908. *Ett hem på landet. En rådgivare för byggherrar.* Stockholm.
- Englund, Kaj 1939. Onko vuokra-asunto edullisempi kuin oma?. *Kotiliesi* 1939.
- Englund, Kaj 1941. Ruotsin lahjatalot. *Arkkitehti* 2/1941, 20–21.
- Englund, Kaij 1949. Eräs puurakennusjärjestelmä. *Arkkitehti* 6–7/1949.
- Ensimmäisen Suomalaisen Asuntokongressin näyttely. Opas 1917.* Laatinut Otto-I. Meurman. Yhdistys Yleishyödyllisen Rakennustoiminnan Edistämiseksi. Julkaisuja 15. Helsinki.
- Ervi, Arne 1943. Kansainvälinen Desimaali-Klassifikaatio ja rakennusalan luokittelu. *Arkkitehti* 9/1946.
- Ervi, Arne – Simonen, Aarre 1940. Tehdasmaisesti valmistettujen puutalorakennosien tutkimuksissa saatuja tuloksia. *Arkkitehti* 1940, 13–14.
- Federley, Birger 1902. Työväen asumustemme kehitys. *Rakentaja* 1902.
- Frosterus, Sigurd 1933. Asunnon pohjamuodon kehitys Suomessa viime vuosien kuluessa. *Rakennustaito* 21/1933, 266–272.
- Gebhard, Hannes 1910. *Asunto-olot. Tilattoman väestön alakomitea II. Tilastollinen tutkimus yhteiskunta-taloudellisista oloista Suomen maalaiskunnissa v. 1901.* Helsinki.
- Gebhard, Hedvig 1928. Nykyisen murrosajan kotitalouskysymyksiä. *Kotiliesi* 14/1928, 472–473.

- Gripenberg, Ole 1927. Kunna vi nedbringa hyreskontots andel i vår utgiftsbudget. *Arkitekten* 1927.
- Groundstroem, Oskar 1897. Työväenasuntokysymys meillä. esitelmä Kansantaloudellisessa yhdistyksessä maaliskuussa 1896. *Kansantaloudellisen yhdistyksen toimituksia 2:n osa* 1897. Helsinki.
- Harmaja, Laura 1922. Kotitalous. *Suomen maatalous II*. Helsinki.
- Harmaja, Laura 1925. *Kotitalous nykyajan yhteiskunnassa*. WSOY, Porvoo.
- Harmaja, Laura 1928. *Perheenmännän taloudellinen tehtävä*. Kotilieden kirjasto. WSOY, Porvoo.
- Harmaja, Laura 1930. Nainen ja perheenäiti. Dresdenin hygienisessä näyttelyssä. *Kotiliesi* 14/1930, 739–764.
- Harmaja, Laura 1931. The Role of Household Production in National Economy. *Journal of Home Economics*, Vol. 23, No 9, September 1931, 822–872.
- Harmaja, Laura 1939. Kehittykö asuntokysymys oikeaan suuntaan?. *Kotiliesi* 1939, 742–764.
- Harmaja, Laura 1943. Perheenmäntien merkitys taloudelliselta kannalta. Toukokuun toinen sunnuntai. Äitienpäivä ohjelmistoa II. *Väestöliiton julkaisuja no 5*. Helsinki.
- Harmaja, Laura 1946. *Kotitalous kansantalouden osana*. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Harvia, Yrjö 1936. *Helsingin esikaupunkiliitos. Ensimmäinen nide. Päämietintö. (Mietintö no 1)*. Helsinki.
- Harvia, Yrjö 1937. Avajaispuhe. *Suomen kolmas yleinen asuntokongressi 1937*. Asunto reformiyhdistyksen julkaisuja 19. Tampere 1938.
- Havard, Henry 1884. *L'Art dans la maison (Grammaire de l'ameublement)*. Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée. Ed. Rouveyre et G. Blond, Paris.
- Helsingin kaupungin painetut asiakirjat (HKPA) 1908/14.
- Helsingin kaupungin valtuuston (HKV) painetut asiakirjat 2/1917*.
- Hertzen, Heikki von 1946. *Koti vaiko kasarmi lapsillemme*. Väestöliiton julkaisuja 15. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Ingman, Ann-Mari 1939. Keittiö, pesutupa, mankeli ja silityshuone. *Asunonäyttely 39*. Helsinki, 73–79.
- Jahnson, Katri 1934. Kaipaatko tupakeittiömme uudistusta?. *Kotiliesi* 1934.
- Jung, Bertel 1901. Ett problem. *Ateneum* 1901, 456–460.
- Jung, Bertel 1911. Stor-Helsingfors. *Arkkitehti* 1911.
- Kaupunkilaisten kesätarhoja. *Kotiliesi* 1928, 631–633.
- Kekkonen, Jalmari 1908. *Asuntomme ulkoa ja sisältä. Neuvoja ja ohjeita »oman kodin» rakentajille*. Kansanvalistusseuran toimituksia 148. Helsinki.
- Kerr, Robert 1864. *The Gentlemen's House*. London. Johnson Reprint Corporation. Johnson Reprint Company Ltd, New York/ London 1972.
- Key, Ellen 1899. *Skönhet för alla. Fyra uppsatser*. Studentföreningen Verdandis småskrifter 77. Andra upplagan. Stockholm.
- Key, Ellen 1900. *Barnets århundrade I-II*. Stockholm.
- Kivimaa, Olavi 1944. Uudet RT-kortit. *Arkkitehti* 7–8/1944, 64.
- Kodin, perheen ja lasten yhteiskunta 1946. Kansalaistietoa väestökysymyksessä. *Väestöliiton julkaisuja 17*. Helsinki.
- Komiteanmietintö 1937: 6*. Maaseudun asuntokomiteanmietintö no 1. Helsinki.
- Komiteanmietintö 1939: 5*. Asunto-olojen parantaminen. Kaupunkien asuntokomitean mietintö. Helsinki.
- Komiteanmietintö 1944: 2*. Kotiapulaistyökomitean mietintö. Helsinki.
- Komiteanmietintö 1944:7*. Naisten pikakoulutuslautakunnan mietintö. Helsinki.
- Kotiliesi 1923–1959*.
- Kuusanmäki, Lauri 1934. Talonpoikaistalo. *Suomen kulttuurihistoria II*. Jyväskylä – Helsinki.

- Kuusi, Eino 1921. Yleishyödyllisen rakennustoiminnan tukeminen. *Sosiaalinen aika-kauskirja* 1921.
- Kuusi, Eino 1925. Asuntokysymyksen yhteiskunnallinen merkitys. Suomen Toinen Yleinen Asuntokongressi 22.–23. 5. 1925. Pöytäkirja. *Asuntoreformiyhdistyksen julkaisuja* 18. Tampere.
- Kuusi, Eino 1927. Valtion varoilla avustettu yleishyödyllinen rakennustuotanto vuosina 1920–1926. II. *Rakennustaito* 20/1927, 251–254.
- Lagerborg-Stenius, Signe 1921. 2–4 huoneen ja keittiön huoneistot. *Naisten asuntopäivät* Helsingissä 19.–21. 5. 1921. Porvoo, 24–47.
- Laitinen, Taav. 1911. Asunto koskeva tietolehti. *Yhdistys Yleishyödyllisen Rakentamisen Edistämiseksi. Julkaisuja n:o 3*. Helsinki.
- Laki omakotirahastosta ja asetus omakotirahastosta 1927. *Pieni lakisarja* no 35. Helsinki.
- Laki omakotirahastosta 1934. Published in Paalanen 1935.
- Lappi-Seppälä, Jussi 1940. Sodanjälkeinen rakennustyö maaseudulla. *Kotiliesi* 1940, 218–220.
- Lappi-Seppälä, Jussi 1945. Pula-ajan koti, joka tyydyttää perheenemäntää. *Kotiliesi* 1945, 72–73.
- Lappi-Seppälä, Jussi 1948. Maanhankintalain mukaisessa rakentamisessa käytettävistä tyyppiirrustuksista. *Asutustoiminnan aikakauskirja*. Maatalousministeriön asutusasiainosaston julkaisu. Helsinki.
- Maanhankintalaki ja siihen liittyvä lainsäädäntö sekä toimeenpano-ohjeita 1945 (MHL). *Maatalousministeriön asutusasiainosaston julkaisuja* no 7. Helsinki.
- Maaseudun pienasuntojen tyyppiirrustuksia 1928. *Asutushallituksen julkaisuja* no 14. Helsinki.
- Maaseudun tyyppiirrustusten valintavihko* 1940. Toimittanut maatalousministeriön asutusasiainosasto 1939. Helsinki.
- Maatalouden tietosanakirja I–III* 1929. Helsinki.
- Maatalousministeriön asutusasiainosaston AS-rakennustyyppi* 1952. Helsinki.
- Mandelin, Walter 1948. *Jokamiehen rakennusopas omakoti- ja talkoorakentajille*. 2. painos. WSOY. Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Meillä on vain yksi huone. Pienasuntonäyttely ehdottaa uusia järjestelyjä. *Kotiliesi* 1935.
- Meurman, Otto-I. 1937. Omakotialueiden järjestely ja rahoitus. Suomen kolmas yleinen asuntokongressi 1937. *Asuntoreformiyhdistyksen julkaisuja* 19. Tampere.
- Meurman, Otto-I. 1941. Jälleenrakentamisen asemakaavallinen puoli. Arkkitehti 1941, 97–98.
- Meurman, Otto-I. 1947. *Asemakaavaoppi*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Meurman, Otto-I. 1949. Omakoti asumismuotona. *Rakennustaito* 15/1949.
- Mitä jokaisen tulee tietää asunnosta 1940. Helsinki.
- Miten asevelitaloissa asutaan? *Kotiliesi* 1943.
- Modeen, Gunnar 1934. Omakotien taloudellinen asema. *Tiedonantoja. Suomen sosiaaliministeriön julkaisemia XXIV*. Helsinki.
- Modeen, Gunnar 1937. Kaupunkien asunto-olot ja rakennustoiminta tilaston valossa. Suomen kolmas yleinen asuntokongressi 1937. *Asuntoreformiyhdistyksen julkaisuja* 19. Tampere.
- Modeen, Gunnar 1940. Bostadstandarden på landsbygden. *Bättre bostäder på landsbygden* 1940. Helsingfors.
- Muthesius, Hermann 1908. *Das Englische Haus I–III*. Zweite durchgesehene auflage. Berlin.
- Naisten asuntopäivät Helsingissä 19.–21. 5. 1921*. Porvoo.
- Niemenen, A. W. – Esti, Armas 1931. *Lantmannabyggnader*. Helsingfors.
- Nyström, Gustaf 1902. Muutamia mietteitä asunnonpuutteesta ja sen vähentämiskei-

- noista. *Rakentaja* 1902.
- Omakotilainat ja -talot 1946. *Sosiaaliministeriön asuntoasiaintoimiston julkaisuja 1*. Helsinki.
- Oman Kodin Piirustuksia*. Otavan palkintokilpailusta 1913. Otava, Helsinki 1913.
- Orola, Urho 1939. Toimenpiteitä maaseudun asunto-olojen parantamiseksi. *Rakennustaito* 1939.
- [Orola, Urho] 1940. Pika-asutuksen rakennuskysymyksestä. Otteita yliarkkitehti Urho Orolan alustuksesta maanviljelysseurojen edustajiston neuvottelukokouksessa huhtik. 29. p:nä 1940. *Rakennustaito* 1940.
- Östberg, Ragnar 1913. Ett hem. *Studentföreningen Verdandis småskrifter 131*. Stockholm.
- Paalanen, Elias 1916. *Liiketalopiirustuksia osuuskaupoille*. Rakennustaito 1916, 249–252.
- Paalanen, Elias 1924. Pienasuntojen tyyppiirustuksia. 2. painos. *Tiedonantoja. Sosiaaliministeriön julkaisemia XV, XVII*. Helsinki.
- Paalanen, Elias 1935. Omakotirakennusten tyyppiirustuksia ja rakennusopas. *Tiedonantoja. Sosiaaliministeriön julkaisemia XXXVIII*. Helsinki.
- Pajamies, Lauri 1941. Ruotsin lahjatilat. *Arkkitehti* 2/1941, 22–23.
- Pienasunto? 1930*. Pienasuntojen rationalisointiosaston julkaisu. Taideteollisuusnäytelyssä 1930. Helsinki.
- Pienasuntojen tyyppipohjia*. Arkkitehti 7/1931.
- Pienten asuintalojen piirustuksia 1915*. Helsingin kaupungin sosiaalilautakunta. Helsinki.
- Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder* 1921. Betänkande och förslag. Stockholm.
- Rakennuspäivät 1919. *Rakennustaito* 23–25/1919.
- Rakennustaito* 1905–1959.
- Räsänen, Isak 1925. *Asuntorakennuspiirustuksia pieni- ja keskikokoisia asuntoja varten*. Helsinki.
- Revell, Viljo 1943. Rakennustieto-kortisto. Arkkitehti 9/1946.
- Saarinen, Eliel 1915. *Munkkiniemi-Haaga ja Suur-Helsinki. Tutkimuksia ja ehdotuksia kaupunkijärjestelyn alalta*. Helsinki.
- S.A.F.A:n jälleerakentamiskokous 31. 1.–1. 2. 1942. Arkkitehti 1/1942, 4–8.
- Sandberg, G. H. 1908. *Om villor och egnahemsbyggnader*. Stockholm.
- Saurio, Elli 1938. *Kodin kirja*. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Saurio, Elli 1947. *Maalaismännän ajankäyttö suhteessa talouden laajuuteen ja henkilörakenteeseen*. Helsinki.
- Setälä, Salmé 1929. *Miten sisustan asuntoni*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Setälä, Salmé 1931a. *Keittiön sisustus*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Setälä, Salmé 1931b. Mitä nyt teemme?. *Kotiliesi* 15/1931, 186–188.
- Siikonen, Heikki 1926. *Pienviljelijän rakennusopas*. Pienviljelijän keskusliiton julkaisuja. Helsinki.
- Siikonen, Heikki 1929. *Miten rakennan taloni*. WSOY, Porvoo.
- Siikonen, Heikki 1931. *Pientilojen rakennuspiirustuksia*. Toimittanut maataloudellisten järjestöjen yhteisvaliokunta. Valintaopas. 2. painos 1932, 3. painos 1943. Helsinki.
- Siikonen, Heikki 1942. Pienasunnot ja asumistavat. Onko niiden välillä ristiriitaa? *Rakennustaito* 1942.
- Siirtoväen pika-asutustainsäädäntö 1940 (PAL)*. Maatalousministeriön asutusasiainosaston julkaisu no 2. Helsinki.
- Simberg, Kurt 1945. Maalaisasunnon keittiösisustuksia. *Arkkitehti* 1945, 72–73.
- Sillanpää, Miina 1921. Perheyhteiskeittiöt kotitalouden avustajina. *Naisten asuntopäivät* Helsingissä 19.–21. 5. 1921. Porvoo, 65–75.

- Similä, Yrjö 1933. Asuntokysymyksen mykyinen vaihe. Rakennustoiminta avaintoimintaa. *Rakennustaito* 25–26/1933, 313–317.
- Similä, Yrjö 1937. Asuntokysymyksen yhteiskunnallinen merkitys. Suomen kolmas yleinen asuntokongressi. Pöytäkirja. *Asuntoreformiyhdistyksen julkaisuja* 19. Tampere.
- Similä, Yrjö 1939. Asunto-olojemme yhteiskunnallinen merkitys. *Asunonäyttely 1939*. Helsinki, 25–29.
- Sirelius, U.T. 1921. *Suomen kansanomaista kulttuuria. Esineellisen kansatieteen tuloksia II*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Sjöström, Alfred 1891. *Maatalousrakennuksia. Ohjeita maanviljelysrakennusten tekemiseen etenkin vähemmällä maatilolla*. Kuopio.
- Snellmann, G.R. 1906. *Tutkimus vähempivaraisten asunto-oloista vuonna 1905 Turun kaupungissa sekä viereisissä Kaarinan ja Maarian pitäjän osissa*. Turku.
- Snellmann, G.R. 1909. *Tutkimus vähempivaraisten asunto-oloista vuonna 1909 Tampereen kaupungissa sekä viereisissä Pirkkolan ja messukylän pitäjän osissa*. Tampere.
- Stadgar för Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f.* 1939. Helsingfors.
- Stigell, Anna-Lisa 1930. »Rationalisoitu keittiö» Taideteollisuusnäyttelyssä. *Arkkitehti* 1930, 209–210.
- Stigell, Anna-Lisa 1939. Maaseudun funktionalismi. *Asunonäyttely 1939*. Helsinki, 49–55.
- Stigell, Anna-Lisa 1945. Vi sätter bo. En anledning för de unga som skall grunda ett eget hem. *Svenska befolknings förbundets i Finland r.f. publikation nr 3*. Helsingfors.
- Stigell, Anna-Lisa 1948. Riktlinjer för Bostadsföreningens typritningar. *Bättre bostäder nr 3*. Helsingfors.
- Stockholms villastäder och villasamhällen* 1911. Stockholm.
- Strengell, Gustaf 1906. Meidän aikamme tehtävä on keskisäädyn asunto. *Kotitaide III/1906*.
- Strengell, Gustaf 1909. Ett Egna-Hems-företag på kommersiell grund. *Ekonomiska samsfundet i Finland. Föredrag och förhandlingar. Band VI, häfte 6*. Helsingfors.
- Strengell, Gustaf 1911. Omakotitutkielmia englantilaisessa puutarhakaupungissa I–III. *Rakennustaito* 10–12/1911.
- Strengell, Gustaf 1923. *Hemmet som konstverk*. Otava, Helsingfors.
- Sucksdorf, V 1904. *Arbetarebefolkningens i Helsingfors bostadsförhållanden. Redogörelse för arbetarebostadsundersökningen år 1900*. Helsingfors.
- Sukselainen, V.J. 1942. Suomalaisen kodin tehtävä. *Suomalainen Suomi 6/1942*. Helsinki.
- Sukselainen, V.J. 1946. Jälleenrakennuskauden väestöpoliittiset tehtävät. *Väestöliiton vuosikirja I*. Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Suomalaisten elämää ruotsalaistaloissa 1941. *Kotiliesi* 1941, 116–117.
- Suomen Ensimmäinen Yleinen Asuntokongressi 1917. Pöytäkirja*. Yhdistys Yleishyödyllisen Rakentamisen Edistämiseksi. Julkaisuja 16. Helsinki.
- Suomen Toinen Yleinen Asuntokongressi 22.–23. 5. 1925. Pöytäkirja*. Julkaisut Asuntoreformiyhdistys. Julkaisuja 18. Tampere.
- Suomen Kolmas yleinen asuntokongressi 1937*. 10–12/IX. Asuntoreformiyhdistyksen julkaisuja 19. Tampere 1938.
- Suomen Virallinen tilasto XXXII 1938. Sosiaalisia erikoistutkimuksia 16. Maaseudun asunto-olot vuonna 1937*. Helsinki.
- Talonpoikaistalo ulkoa ja sisältä 1903*. Palkittuja piirustuksia pienemmälle talonpoikaistalolle. Suomen Teollisuuslehden joulujulkaisu 1903. Helsinki.
- Tandefelt, Claus 1946. Helsinkiläisiä jälleenrakennusperspektiivejä. *Arkkitehti* 1946.

- Toivonen, Akseli 1919. Asunto- ja rakennustyytit. Rakennuspäivät 1919. *Rakennustaito 23–25/1919*.
- Toivonen, Akseli 1920. Osakeyhtiö Helsingin Kansanasuntojen rakennustoiminta. *Rakennustaito 1920*.
- Toivonen, Akseli 1927. Kaupunkilaisasunto toisille urille. *Kotiliesi 1927*.
- Uusia omakotitalojen tyyppiirustuksia* 1950. Arava, Suomen kaupunkiliitto, Suomen arkkitehtiliitto Standardisoimislaitos. Helsinki.
- Väestöliitto 1941*. Ohjelma. Säännöt. Väestöliiton julkaisuja 1. Helsinki 1942.
- Väestöliiton vuosikirja 1*. Helsinki 1946.
- Valikoima maatalousrakennusten piirustuksia*. Julaistut ammattilehti Rakennustaidossa vv. 1906–1919. Helsinki 1919.
- Valmistava vaalikokous 1942. *Arkkitehti 1942*.
- Vilkuna, Kustaa 1934. Talonpojan maa- ja kotitalous. *Suomen kulttuurihistoria II*. Jyväskylä – Helsinki.
- Virkanaisen pikkutalo. *Kotiliesi 1937*, 688–689.
- Waern-Bugge, Ingeborg 1940. Bostadsförbättringens syftemål och nyinredning av äldre bostäder. *Bättre bostäder på landsbygden*. Helsingfors.
- Waltari, Mika 1942. *Rakennustaide ja standardi. Jälleenrakentamisen ydinkysymyksiä*. Suomen Arkkitehtiliitto, Helsinki.
- Winquist, Karl 1940. Byggnadsrådgivning hos oss. *Bättre bostäder på landsbygden*. Helsingfors.

Literature

- Aalto, Sirpa 1991. Oikonomiträdionen och den lutherska husläran. *Den problematiska familjen*. Red. Panu Pulma. *Historiallinen Arkisto 97*. Suomen Historiallinen Seura – Finnish Historical Society. Helsinki, 133–142.
- Ålander, Kyösti 1954. *Rakennustaide renessanssista funktionalismiin*. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Alapuro, Risto 1980. Yhteiskuntaluokat ja sosiaaliset kerrostumat 1870-luvulta toiseen maailmansotaan. *Suomalaiset. Yhteiskunnan rakenne teollistumisen aikana*. Ed. Tapani Valkonen et al. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki, 36–70.
- Alapuro, Risto 1988. *State and Revolution in Finland*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California.
- Alestalo, Matti 1980. Yhteiskuntaluokat ja sosiaaliset kerrostumat toisen maailmansodan jälkeen. *Suomalaiset. Yhteiskunnan rakenne teollistumisen aikana*. Ed. Tapani Valkonen et al. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Alpers, Svetlana 1977. Is Art History? *Daedalus 106*, 1977.
- Althusser, Louis 1976. Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d'État. Louis Althusser. *Poésitions*. Éditions sociales, Paris, 79–137.
- Åström, Sven-Erik 1956. Kaupunkiyhteiskunta murrosvaiheessa. *Helsingin kaupungin historia IV:2*. Helsinki, 7–333.
- Åström, Sven-Erik 1957. *Samhällsplanering och regionsbildning i kejsartidens Helsingfors. Studier i stadens inre differentiering 1810–1910*. Helsingfors.
- Atmer, Ann-Katrin 1987. *Sommarnöjet i skärgården. Sommarbebyggelse i Stockholms inre skärgård 1860–1915*. Stockholm.
- Bachelard, Gaston (1957) 1984. *La poétique de l'espace*. Quadrige/PUF, Paris.

- Banham, Reyner (1960) 1989. *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*. Second Edition. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Barthes, Roland 1964. *Éléments de la sémiologie*. Paris.
- Beauvoir, Simone de 1949. *Le Deuxième Sexe I–II*. Gallimard, Paris.
- Beecher, Catherine E. – Stowe, Harriet Beecher 1869. *The American Woman's Home*. New York.
- Belting, Hans 1987. *The End of the History of Art*. Translated by Christopher S. Wood. Chicago and London.
- Benevolo, Leonardo 1971. *History of Modern Architecture. Vol. 2. Modern Movement*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Benjamin, Walter (1936) 1973. *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*. Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main.
- Bentham, Jeremy (1791) 1977. *Le Panoptique*. P. Belfont, Paris.
- Bloomfield, Morton W. 1972. Allegory as Interpretation. *New Literary History*, Vol. III, no 2, Winter 1972.
- Bollerey, Franziska – Hartmann, Kristiana 1980. A Patriarchal Utopia: the Garden City and Housing Reform in Germany at the turn of the Century. Anthony Sutcliffe (ed.). *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning 1800–1914*. London, 135–164.
- Bonta, Juan Pablo 1979. *Architecture and its Interpretation. A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture*. Lund Humphries, London.
- Borchgrevink, Tordis – Solheim, Jorun 1988. En råtten tekst? Om kjønn, mat og fortolkning. *Sosiologi i dag 1/1988*, 35–62.
- Braudel, Fernand 1990 (1949). *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II*, I. Neuvième édition. Armand Colin, Paris.
- Braidotti, Rosi 1989. The politics of ontological difference. Theresa Brennan (ed.). *Between Feminism and Psychoanalysis*. Routledge, London and New York, 89–105.
- Braidotti, Rosi 1991. *Patterns of Dissonance*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Brennan, Theresa 1989. Introduction. Theresa Brennan (ed.). *Between Feminism and Psychoanalysis*. Routledge, London and New York, 1–23.
- Brennan, Theresa (ed.) 1989. *Between Feminism and Psychoanalysis*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Brunila, Birger 1962. Asemakaavoitus 1918–1945. *Helsingin kaupungin historia V:I*. Helsinki, 7–98.
- Brusatin, Manlio 1986. *Histoire des couleurs*. Traduit de l'italien Claude Lauriol. Flammarion, Paris.
- Burnett, John 1985. *A Social History of Housing*. 2nd revised edition. Methuen. London and New York.
- Butler, Judith 1990. *Gender Trouble. Feminism and subversion of identity*. Routledge, New York, London.
- Cardberg, C.J. 1977. Keskusjohtoisuuden merkitys puuarkkitehtuurissa. Historia, tutkimus ja suojelu. *Seurasäätiön toimitteita 3*. Helsinki.
- Certeau, Michel de 1980. *L'invention du quotidien 1. Arts de faire*. Nouvelle édition, établie et présentée par Luce Giard. Gallimard, folio essais, Paris.
- Choay, Françoise 1965. *L'urbanisme, utopies et réalités. Une anthologie*. Éditions du Seuil, Paris.
- Cixous, Hélène 1975. Sorties. Hélène Cixous – Catherine Clément, *La Jeune Née*. UGE, Paris.
- Cixous, Hélène 1984. Voice I. Interview in *Boundary 2*, vol. XII, no 2, winter 1984, 51–67.
- Chevalier, Jean – Cheerbrant, Alain 1982. *Dictionnaire des symboles*. Robert Laffont/Jupiter, Paris.

- Collins, Peter 1971. *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture*. Faber and Faber, London.
- Colquhoun, Alan 1983. Three Kinds of Historicism. *Architectural design* nr. 53 9–10/1983.
- Cornell, Elias 1969. 1800-talets elementhusbygge. *Daedalus. Tekniska museets årsbok*. Stockholm. 30–45.
- Corrado Pope, Barbara 1977. Angels in Devil's Workshop: Leisured and Chritable Women in the Nineteenth Century England and France. Renate Bridenthal – Claudia Koonz (eds.). *Becoming Visible. Women in European history*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston.
- Cowie, Elisabeth 1978. The Woman as Sign. *M/F* 1/1978, 4–63.
- Derrida, Jacques 1986. Architettura ove il desiderio può abitare. *Domus* 671, Aprile 1986, 17–24.
- Derrida, Jacques 1989. In discussion with Christopher Norris. *Architectural Design* vol. 59, no 1–2/1989, 6–11.
- Derrida, Jacques 1991. Une »folie« doit veiller sur la pensée. Entretien avec François Ewald. *Nouvel Observateur* 286, Mars 1991, 18–30.
- Diamond, Irene – Quinby, Lee 1988 (eds.). *Feminism & Foucault. Reflections on Resistance*. Northeastern University Press, Boston.
- Donzelot, Jacques 1977. *La police des familles*. Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris.
- Dorfles, Gillo 1974. Innen' et 'ausseen' en architecture et psychanalyse. *Nouvelle revue de psychanalyse*. Le dehors et le dedans. No 19, printemps 1974.
- Douglas, Mary (1966) 1991. *Purity and Danger*. An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo. Routledge, London.
- Downing, A.J. (1850) 1969. *The Architecture of Country Houses*. Dover publications, inc. New York.
- Dreyfus, Hubert L. – Rabinow, Paul 1982. Michel Foucault. *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics. With an Afterword of Michel Foucault*. The Harvester Press, Brighton, Sussex.
- Dreyfus, Hubert L. – Rabinow, Paul 1986. What is Maturity? Habermas and Foucault on 'What is Enlightenment?'. David Couzens Hoy (ed.). *Foucault. A Critical Reader*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 109–121.
- Dumézil, Georges 1970. *The Destiny of the Warrior*. Trans. Alf Hiltebeitel. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Eco, Umberto 1980. Function and Sign: The Semiotics of Architecture. Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks. *Signs, Symbols, and Architecture*. Chichester.
- Eenilä, Jukka 1974. *Porth Arthur. Turkulainen työväenkaupunginosa 1900–1920*. Turun kaupungin historiallinen museo. Turku.
- Eisenstein, Hester 1984. *Contemporary Feminist Thought*. Unwin Paperbacks, London.
- Ekelund, Hilding 1953. Modern arkitektur i Finland. *Suomi rakentaa*. Nykyarkkitehtuurimme näyttely Ateneumissa 6.–15. 11. 1953. Suomen Arkkitehtiliitto, Helsinki, 10–11.
- Eleb-Vidal, Monique avec Debarre-Blanchard, Anne 1989. *Architecture de la vie privée. Maison et mentalités XVII^e–XIX^e siècles*. AAM editions, Bruxelles.
- Eliade, Mircea 1987 (1957). *Le sacré et le profane*. Gallimard, folio essais, Paris 1987.
- Elias, Norbert 1983. *The Court Society*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Elias, Norbert 1978. *The History of Manners. The Civilizing Process Volume 1*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Pantheon books, New York.
- Erleman, Christiane 1985. What is Feminist Architecture? Gisela Ecker (ed.). *Feminist Aesthetic*. The Women's Press, London.

- Feldstein, Richard – Roof, Judith (ed.) 1989. *Feminism and Psychoanalysis*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- Finley, M.I. 1983 (1954). *The World of Odysseus*. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- Flandrin, Jean-Louis 1975. *Les Amours paysannes. Amour et sexualité dans les campagnes de l'ancienne France (XVI–XIX siècle)*. Éditions du Seuil, Paris.
- Folkhemmet bostäder 1940–1960. Svenskt bostadsbyggande under 1940- och 50-talet* 1987. red. Chirstina Engfors. Arkitektur Museet, Stockholm.
- Foucault, Michel 1966. *Les mots et les choses*. Gallimard, Paris.
- Foucault, Michel 1972. *Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique*. Paris, Gallimard.
- Foucault, Michel 1975. *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*. Gallimard, Paris.
- Foucault, Michel 1976. *La volonté de savoir. Histoire de la sexualité 1*. Gallimard, Paris.
- Foucault, Michel 1977a. L'oeil du pouvoir. Entretien avec Michel Foucault. Jeremy Bentham. *Le Panoptique* 1977 (1791). P. Belfont, Paris.
- Foucault, Michel 1977b. What is An Author? *Language, countermemory, practice. Selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault*. Ed. by Donald F. Bouchard. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 113–138.
- Foucault, Michel 1980a. Body/power. *Power/Knowledge. Selected interviews and other writings 1972–77*. Ed. Colin Gordon. New York, Pantheon Books, 55–62.
- Foucault, Michel 1980b. Truth and Power. *Power/Knowledge. Selected interviews and other writings 1972–77*. Ed. Colin Gordon. New York, Pantheon Books, 109–133.
- Foucault, Michel 1980c. The Confessions of Flesh. *Power/Knowledge. Selected interviews and other writings 1972–77*. Ed. Colin Gordon. New York, Pantheon Books, 194–228.
- Foucault, Michel 1980d. Prison Talk. *Power/Knowledge. Selected interviews and other writings 1972–77*. Ed. Colin Gordon. New York, Pantheon Books, 37–54.
- Foucault, Michel 1984a. *L'usage des plaisirs. Histoire de la sexualité 2*. Gallimard, Paris.
- Foucault, Michel 1984b. Space, Knowledge, and Power. *The Foucault Reader*. Edited by Paul Rabinow. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 239–256.
- Foucault, Michel 1986. Of Other Spaces. *Diacritics*, spring 1986, vol. 16, no 1. Ithaca, New York.
- Der Fragebogen I 1928. Hygienischen und Wirtschaftliche Grundlagen der »Minimalwohnung.« Steinmann, Martin (ed.) 1979. *CIAM. Dokumente 1928–1939*. Stuttgart.
- Frederick, Christine 1912. The New Housekeeping. *Ladies Home Journal*, vol.29, no 9, Philadelphia, September 1912.
- Frederick, Christine 1913. *The New Housekeeping: Efficiency Studies in Home Management*. Doubleday Page, Garden City, New York.
- Frederick, Christine 1923. *Household Engineering: Scientific Management in Home*. Chicago.
- Freud, Sigmund (1900) 1976. *The Interpretation of Dreams*. The Pelican Freud Library volume 4. London. Orig. Traumbedeutung 1900.
- Sigmund, Freud (1930) 1991. Civilization and its Discontents. *Civilization, Society and Religion*. The Pelican Freud Library volume 12. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- Friedan, Betty 1982 (1962). *The Feminine Mystique*. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- Frykman, Jonas – Löfgren, Orvar 1979. *Den kultiverande människan*. Skrifter utgivna av etnologiska sällskapet i Lund. Lund.
- Gamla Enskede 1974. Byggnadsinventering 1974*. Stockholms stadsmuseum. Stockholm.

- Garnier, Tony 1917. *La Cité Industrielle*. Étude pour la construction des villes, Philippe sey editeur, Paris.
- Gaunt, David 1983. *Familjeliv i Norden*. Stockholm.
- Gejval, Birgit 1954. *1800-talets stockholmsbostad. En studie över den borgerliga bostadens planlösning i hyreshusen*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms kommunalförvaltning 16. Stockholm.
- Giedion, Siegfried (1948) 1969. *Mechanization Takes Command. A contribution to anonymous history*. W.W.Norton & Company, New York, London.
- Glasverandor och snickarglädje. Villakulturen i Grankulla* 1980. Grankulla.
- Gombrich, Ernst 1972. *Symbolic Images. Studies in Art of the Renaissance*. London.
- Gouma-Peterson, Thalia – Mathews, Patricia 1987. The Feminist Critique of Art History. *The Art Bulletin* vol. LXIX, 3/1987.
- Goux, Jean-Joseph 1987. L'oubli de Hestia. *Langages*, no 85, mars 1987, 55–61.
- Graves, Robert 1978 (1955). *The Greek Myths: 1*. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- Grech, Eleanor 1979. The Dom-ino Idea. *Oppositions* winter/spring 1979: 15/16.
- Gropius, Walter 1928. Die soziologischen Grundlagen der Minimalwohnung. Martin Steinmann. *CIAM. Dokumente 1928–1939*. Stuttgart.
- Gropius, Walter 1935. *The new architecture and Bauhaus*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Haapala, Pertti 1986. *Tehtaan valossa. Teollistuminen ja työväestön muotoutuminen Tampereella 1820–1920*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 133. Osuuskunta Vastapaino. Tampere. Suomen Historiallinen Seura – Finnish Historical Society. Helsinki.
- Häggman, Kai 1991. Från självklarhet till ideologi – familjen som den bildade klassens ideal i 1800-talets Finland. *Den problematiska familjen* Panu Pulma (red.). *Historiallinen Arkisto* 97. Suomen Historiallinen Seura – Finnish Historical Society, Helsinki, 143–156.
- Hämäläinen, Helvi 1981 (1941). *Säädyllinen murhenäytelmä*. WSOY. Porvoo.
- Handlin, David P. 1979. *The American Home. Architecture and Society 1815–1915*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston and Toronto.
- Harding, Sandra 1983. Why has Sex/gender System Become Visible only Now? *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science*. Eds. Sandra Harding – Merrill B. Hintikka. Synthese library vol. 161. Reidel, Dordrecht.
- Hareven, Tamara K. 1982. *Family Time & Industrial Time*. Cambridge University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Hartmann, Kristiana 1976. *Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung. Kulturpolitik und die gesellschaftsreform*. München.
- Hausen, Marika 1987. Hvitträsk – the Home as a Work of Art. *Hvitträsk. The Home as a Work Art*. SRM, Helsinki, 10–69.
- Hayden, Dolores 1980. What Would a Non-sexist City be liked? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work. *Signs* 1980, vol. 5, no 3, suppl. Chicago.
- Hayden, Dolores 1985. *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Neighborhoods, and Cities*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Heer, Friedrich 1962. *The Medieval World: Europe 1100–1350*. Trans. Janet Sondheimer. World, New York.
- Heidegger, Martin 1962. *Being and Time*. A translation of Sein und Zeit by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson. Harper, San Francisco.
- Heidegger, Martin 1971 (1956). Building, Dwelling, Thinking. *In Poetry, Language, Thought*. Translations and Introduction by Albert Hofstadter. Harper Colophon Books, New York, 145–161.

- Heinonen, Raija-Liisa 1986. Funktionalismin läpimurto Suomessa. SRM, Helsinki.
- Heiskala, Risto 1991. How to be a virtuous male/female: The politics of gender in advertisements in some Finnish magazines in 1955 and 1985. *Semiotica* 87–3/4, 381–409.
- Helamaa, Erkki 1983. 40-luku. *Korsujen ja jälleenrakentamisen vuosikymmen*. Exhibition catalogue. SRM, Alvar Aalto museo, Jyväskylä, Helsinki.
- Helander, Vilhelm 1982. Arkkitehtuuri. *Suomen kulttuurihistoria* 3. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki 486–521.
- Hemma bäst. Minnen från barndomshem i Helsingfors* 1990. Meddelanden från folk-kultursarkivet nr 10. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland nr 562, Helsingfors.
- Hietala, Marjatta 1987. *Services and Urbanization at the turn of the century. The Diffusion of Innovations*. Studia Historica 23. Suomen Historiallinen Seura – Finnish Historical Society, Helsinki.
- Hietanen, Silvo 1982. *Siirtoväen pika-asutuslaki 1940. Asuntopoliittinen tausta ja sisältö sekä toimeenpano*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 117. Suomen Historiallinen Seura – Finnish Historical Society, Helsinki.
- Hirsch, E. D. Jr. 1972. Three Dimensions of Hermeneutics. *New Literary History*, Vol. III, no 2, Winter 1972, 245–262.
- Honkasalo, Heini 1991. *Bio-power and Pathology. Science and power in the Foucauldian histories of medicine, psychiatry and sexuality*. Oulun yliopiston historian laitoksen julkaisuja 1/1991. Oulu.
- Howard, Ebenezer 1946 (1902). *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. Faber and Faber, London (Originally published 1898 as *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*).
- Hoy, David Couzens 1986. Power, Repression, Progress: Foucault, Lukes, and the Frankfurt School. *Foucault: A Critical Reader*. Edited by David Couzens Hoy. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 123–147.
- Hurme, Riitta 1991. *Suomalainen lähiö Tapiolasta Pihlajamäkeen*. Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk 142. Suomen Tiedeseura, Helsinki 1991.
- Hustisch, Ilmari 1982. Kulttuurimaisema. *Suomen kulttuurihistoria* 3. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki, 76–109.
- Illich, Ivan 1983. *Gender*. Marion Boyards, London.
- Irigaray, Luce 1974. *Speculum de l'autre femme*. Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris.
- Irigaray, Luce 1977. *Ce sexe qui n'en est pas un*. Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris.
- Irigaray, Luce 1987. *Sexes et paréntés*. Les éditions de Minuit, Paris.
- Jacques, Annie – Moulliseaux, Jean-Pierre 1988. *Les architectes de la liberté*. Gallimard, Paris.
- Jälleenrakennuskauden pientaloalueen rakentamistapaohje* 1985. Helsingin kaupunkisuunnitteluviraston asemakaavaosaston julkaisuja AC:1/85. Helsinki.
- Jallinoja, Riitta 1980. Miehet ja naiset. *Suomalaiset. Yhteiskunnan rakenne teollistumisen aikana*. Ed. Tapani Valkonen et al. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Jallinoja, Riitta 1983. *Suomalaisen naisasialiikkeen taistelukaudet*. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Jallinoja, Riitta 1984. Perhekäsityksistä perhettä koskeviin ratkaisuihin. Elina Haavio-Mannila, Riitta Jallinoja, Harriet Strandell. *Perhe, työ ja tunteet*. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Jallinoja, Riitta 1991. *Moderni elämä. Ajankuva ja käytäntö*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki.
- Jencks, Charles 1973. *Modern Movements in Architecture*. Penguin books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- Johansson, Ingemar 1988. *Stor-Stockholms bebyggelsehistoria*. Stockholm.

- Jonsson, Leif 1985. *Från egna hem till villa. Enfamiljhuset i Sverige 1950–1980*. Stockholm.
- Jordy, William H. 1963. The Symbolic Essence of Modern European Architecture of the twenties and Its Continuing Influence. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol XXII:3, October 1963, 177–187.
- Journal of Family History* 1–3/1987.
- Junnto, Anneli 1990. *Asuntokysymys Suomessa. Topeliuksesta tulopolitiikkaan*. Suomen sosiaalipoliittisen yhdistyksen julkaisuja 50. Valtion painatuskeskus, Asuntohallitus, Helsinki.
- Jutikkala, Eino 1982. Omavaraiseen maatalouteen. *Suomen taloushistoria 2. Teollistuva Suomi*. Helsinki, 204–222.
- Kallio, Rakel 1987. Taidekriitikki ja sukupuoli-ideologia. *Taidehistoriallisia tutkimuksia* 10. Taidehistorian seura, Helsinki, 233–249.
- Kallio, Veikko 1982. Aate ja yhteiskunta. *Suomen kulttuurihistoria 3*. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki, 11–53.
- Kamerman, Sheila B. 1979. Work and Family in Industrialized Societies. *Signs* 1979, vol. 4, no 4. Chicago.
- Kantola, Helena – Koskela, Eino 1981. *Perusparannuksen mallisuunnitelmia. Jälleenkäynnäyskauden pientalot*. Rakentajain Kustannus Oy, Helsinki.
- Kaplan, Ann E. 1992. *Motherhood and representation. The Mother in Popular Culture and Melodrama*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Käpylä puutarhakaupunginosa 50 vuotta*. Helsinki 1970.
- Kearney, Richard 1984. *Dialogues with contemporary continental thinkers. The Phenomenological Heritage*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Kennedy, Margrit 1981. Seven Hypothesis on Female and Male Principles in Architecture. *Heresies 11/1981*.
- Klinge, Matti 1972. *Vihan veljistä valtiotalousiin*. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Knapas, Marja-Terttu – Ivars, Marja 1991. »Yksinkertainen parempi kuin huonosti ruusattu». Heikki Siikonen ja maatalousrakentaminen 1920- ja 1930-luvulla. *Taidehistoriallisia tutkimuksia* 12. Taidehistorian seura., Helsinki, 117–132.
- Kocka, Jürgen 1987. Bürgertum und Bürgerlichkeit als Probleme de deutshen Geschichte vom späten 18. zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert. Jürgen Kocka (Hg.). *Bürger und bürgerlichkeit im. 19. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen.
- Kolbe, Laura 1988. *Kulosaari – unelma paremmasta tulevaisuudesta*. Helsinki.
- Kolehmainen, Alfred 1979. *Suomalainen talonpoikaistalo*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Kortteinen, Matti 1982. *Lähiö*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Korvenmaa, Pekka 1989. *Kauttua. Tuotanto ja ympäristö 1689–1989*. Uusikaupunki.
- Korvenmaa, Pekka 1991. *Innovation versus Tradition. The Architect Lars Sonck. Works and Projects 1900–1910*. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja 96. Helsinki.
- Korvenmaa, Pekka 1990. The finnish Wooden House Transformed: American prefabrication, war-time housing and Alvar Aalto. *Construction History, Vol. 6, 1990*. London, 47–61.
- Krauss, Rosalind E. 1986. *The Originality of Avant-Garde and the Other Modernist Myths*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Kristeva, Julia 1969a. L'engendrement de la formule. *Tel Quel* 37/1969. Paris.
- Kristeva, Julia 1969b. Le mot, le dialogue et le roman. *Semeiotike. Recherches pour une sémanalyse*. Éditions de Seuil, coll. Points, Paris, 82–112.
- Kristeva, Julia 1974a. *Des chinoises. Des femmes*, Paris.
- Kristeva, Julia 1974b. *La révolution du langage poétique*. Éditions du Seuil, coll. Points, Paris.

- Kristeva, Julia 1977a. Le sujet an procès. *Polylogue*. Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 55–106.
- Kristeva, Julia 1977b. La joie de Giotto. *Polylogue*. Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 383–408.
- Kristeva, Julia 1977c. Le noms de lieu. *Polylogue*. Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 467–491.
- Kristeva, Julia 1977d. La femme, ce n'est jamais ça. *Polylogue*. Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 517–524.
- Kristeva, Julia 1979. Le temps des femmes. 34–44. *Cahiers de recherche de S.T.D. Université de Paris 7, no 5*, hiver 1979.
- Kristeva, Julia 1980. *Pouvoirs de l'horreur. Essai sur l'abjection*. Éditions du Seuil, coll. Points, Paris.
- Kulha, Keijo K. 1969. *Karjalaisen siirtoväen asuttamisesta käyty julkinen keskustelu vuosina 1944–48*. Studia Historica Jyväskyläensis VI., Jyväskylä.
- Kuopion kulttuurihistoriallisesti ja ympäristöllisesti merkittävät kohteet* 1980. Kuopio. Teknisen viraston kaavoitusosasto. Kuopio.
- Kurki, Hannele – Pylkkänen, Anu 1984. Miesvaltaisuuden oikeudelliset ilmenemis-
muodot. *Naiskuvista todellisuuteen*. Gaudeamus, Helsinki, 82–101.
- Kuronen, Aila 1980. Erään maalaistalon asunton, toimintaalue ja toiminnan rytmi. Talo ja perhe -symposiumi 26. 3. 1979. *Seurasäätiön toimitteita 4*. Helsinki.
- Kuusamo, Altti 1990. Miten käy »uuden taidehistorian»? *Synteesi 2–3/1990*, 1–3.
- Lacan, Jacques 1966. La signification du phallus. *Ecrits*. Éditions du Seuil. Paris.
- Lahti, Matti J. 1970. *Rakennusmestari Suomen teollistumisen läpimurtokautena. Työn opettamasta rakentajasta koulun käynneksi mestariksi*. Helsinki.
- Lahden kaupungin rakennushistoriallisesti merkittävät kohteet*. 1983.
- Laine, Jarkko 1974. *Nauta lentää*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Lao Tzu. *Tao Te Ching: The Book of Meaning and Life*. Translated by Richard Wilhelm. Arkana, London, 1990.
- Laukkanen, Veikko 1987. *Jälleenrakennusvuosien pientalo Suomessa*. Valtion painatuskeskus, Helsinki.
- Lasslett, Barbara 1975. The Family as a Public and Private Institution: A Historical Perspective. *Journal of marriage and the family* 1973: august.
- Le Corbusier (1923) 1977. *Vers une architecture*. Arthaud. Paris.
- Le Corbusier 1948. *Modulor I*. Essai sur une mesure harmonique à l'échelle humaine applicable universellement à l'architecture et à la mécanique. Denoel/gauthier, Paris.
- Le Corbusier – Jeanneret, Pierre 1928. Analyse des éléments fondamentaux du problème de la maison minimum. Teoksessa Steinmann Martin (ed.). *CIAM. Dokumente 1928–1939*. Stuttgart 1979.
- Le Corbusier – Jeanneret, Pierre 1937. *Oeuvre complète de 1910–1929*. Nouvelle édition. Zürich.
- LeFèvre, Pierre 1980. L'architecture au féminin pluriel. *Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale* 6-7/1980.
- Lehtonen, Joel 1922. *Rakastunut rampa*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Lehtonen, Tuomas M.S. 1989. Tempus adest floridum: Poems and Interpretations. From Literary Criticism to Intellectual History. *Miscellanea. Studia Historica 33*. Suomen Historiallinen Seura. Helsinki, 47–75.
- Lehtonen, Hilikka – Lepistö, Timo 1982. *Vanhat pientaloalueet*. VTT, Maankäytön laboratorio. Tutkimuksia 4/1982. Espoo.
- Lepistö, Vuokko 1991. Teknologi och huslig ekonomi som en aspekt av familjehistorien. Panu Pulma (ed.) *Den problematiska familjen*. Historiallinen Arkisto 97. SHS, Helsinki, 201–209.
- Lerner, Gerda 1981. *The Majority Finds Its Past. Placing Women in History*. Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford.
- Lerner, Gerda 1986. *The Creation of Patriarchy*. Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford.

- Lilius, Henrik 1978. Arkkitehtonisten muotojen merkitykset. *Arkkitehti* 4/1978, 16–23.
- Lilius, Henrik 1980. Arkkitehtuurin historia rakentamisen historiana. Näkökohtia arkkitehtuurihistoriallisesta synteestä. *Arkkitehti* 4/1980, 45–49.
- Lilius, Henrik 1983. Kaupunkirakentaminen 1856–1900. *Suomen kaupunkilaitoksen historia* 2. Suomen kaupunkiliitto, Helsinki, 128–220.
- Lilius, Henrik 1984. *Joensuu 1848–1890. Erään suomalaisen puukaupungin vaiheita*. 2. uudistettu painos. Joensuu.
- Lilius, Henrik 1985. *Suomalainen puukaupunki. The Finnish Wooden Town*. Anders Nyborg A/S, Akateeminen kirjakauppa, Rungstedt Kyst, Helsinki.
- Liukko-Sundström, Heljä 1986. Lapsuuden salaperäiset salit ja kamarit. *Avotakka* 1/1986, 54–56.
- Lithell, Ulla-Britt 1988. *Kvinnorbetet och barntillsyn i 1700- och 1800-talets Österbotten*. Uppsala.
- Löfgren, Orvar 1982. Kvinnofolksgöra – om arbetsdelning i boendesamhället. *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* 3/1982, 6–13.
- Lukkarinen, Ville 1989. *Classicism and History. Anachronistic Architectural Thinking in Finland at the turn of the century*. Jac. Ahrenberg and Gustaf Nyström. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja 93. Helsinki.
- Lyytikäinen, Pirjo 1989. Tulkinta ja kirjallisuudenhistoria. Kirjallisuushistoria tänään. *Kirjallisuudentutkijain Seuran vuosikirja* 43. SKS, Helsinki, 67–82.
- Les Machines à guérir (aux origines de l'hôpital moderne)* 1979. Michel Foucault, Blondine Barret Kriegel, Anne Thalamy, Francois Beguin, Bruno Frontier. Architecture + Archives/Pierre Mardaga, Bruxelles.
- McLeod, Mary 1985. Introduction. *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology*. Ed. Joan Ockman. Princeton Architectural Press, Princeton, 7–11.
- Mäkinen, Anne 1987. Puolustusministeriön naisarkkitehdit 1927–1939. *Taidehistoriallisia tutkimuksia* 10. Taidehistorian seura, Helsinki, 167–190.
- Mäkinen, Anne 1991. Hygieniaa, tekniikkaa, taloudellisuutta puolustuslaitoksen arkkitehtuuri 1930-luvulla. *Taidehistoriallisia tutkimuksia* 12. Taidehistorian seura, Helsinki, 159–176.
- Manninen, Merja 1985. Naiskohtalo 1700-luvun Kajaanissa. *Noidannuolia*. Tutkijanaisten aikakirja. Helsinki, 8–65.
- Marc, Olivier 1972. *Psychanalyse de la maison*. Paris.
- Markkola, Pirjo 1989b. Maaseudun työläisvaimot. Leena Laine ja Pirjo Markkola (toim.). *Tuntematon työläisnainen*. Osuuskunta Vastapaino, Tampere.
- Markkola, Pirjo 1991. Familjen behöver ett hem. Arbetarfamiljer, boendeförhållanden och bostadspolitiska målsättningar i sekelskiftets Tammerfors. Panu Pulma (ed.). *Den problematiska familjen*. Historiallinen Arkisto 97. Suomen Historiallinen Seura Finnish Historical Society. Helsinki, 210–228.
- Marks, Elaine – Courtivron, Isabelle de 1981. *New French Feminisms*. The Harvester Press, Harvester, Brighton.
- Matthews, Glenna 1987. *»Just a housewife»: The Rise and Fall of domesticity in America*. Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford.
- Mertes, Carla 1992. There's No Place Like Home: Women and Domestic Labor. *Dirt & Domesticity: Constructions of the Feminine*. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 58–73.
- Mikkola, Kirmo 1978. Arkkitehtuuri kansakunnan kohtaloissa. *Arkkitehti* 5–6/1978.
- Millon, Henry A. – Nochlin, Linda (eds.) 1978. *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Mitchell, Juliet 1971. *Woman's Estate*. Penguin books, Harmondsworth.

- Mitterauer, Michael – Sieder, Reinhardt 1982. *The European Family. Patriarchy to partnership from Middle Ages to the present*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Moi, Toril 1985. *Sexual/textual Politics. Feminist Literary Theory*. Methuen, London.
- Moley, Christian 1984. *Les structures de la maison. Exemple d'un habitat traditionnelle finlandaise*. Publications Orientalistes de France, Paris.
- Moneo, Rafael 1978. On Typology. *Oppositions 13*, summer 1978, 23–36.
- Moos, Stanislaus von 1971. *Le Corbusier. L'architecte et son mythe*. Horizons de France, France.
- Myter 1983. *Nationalmuseums utställningskatalog nr. 470*. Andra upplagan. Stockholm.
- Naskila, Marja (toim.) 1984. *Rakentamisen aika. Asutus ja maanhankinta*. Maanhankintalain 40-vuotisjuhlaulkaisu. Otava, Helsinki.
- Nikula, Riitta 1978. Lainanantajan tyylioppi 1920–26. *Taidehistoriallisia tutkimuksia 4*. Taidehistorian seura, Helsinki, 111–126.
- Nikula, Riitta 1981. *Yhtenäinen kaupunkikuva 1910–1930. Suomalaisen kaupunkirakentamisen ihanteista ja päämääristä, esimerkkinä Helsingin Etu-Töölö ja Uusi Vallila*. Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk. Utgivna av Finska vetenskaps-societen H. 127, Helsinki
- Nikula, Riitta 1983. Asemakaavoitus 1900–1920. *Suomen kaupunkilaitoksen historia 2*. Suomen kaupunkiliitto, Helsinki, 221–237
- Nikula, Riitta 1983b. Background. *Profiles. Pioneering Women Architects from Finland*. Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, 6–13.
- Nikula, Riitta 1988. *Armas Lindgren 1974–1919. Arkkitehti*. Architect. SRM, Helsinki.
- Nikula, Riitta 1988b. Stadsplanering och trädgårdstäder. *Glasverandor och snickarglädje*. Grankulla.
- Nikula, Riitta 1990. Rakennustaiteen 1920- ja 1930-luku. *Ars. Suomen taide 5*. Weilin+ Göös/Otava, Helsinki, 86–153.
- Nochlin, Linda 1971. Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists? *Art News*, Vol. 69, no. 9, January 1971, 22–39.
- Norberg-Schulz, Christian 1985. *A concept of dwelling*. Rizzoli, New York.
- Nyman, Kaj 1989. *Husens språk*. Art House, Helsingfors.
- Oittinen, Riitta 1989. Ompelu naisten työnä ja naisten työn symbolina. Leena Laine ja Pirjo Markkola (eds.). *Tuntematon työläisnainen*. Osuuskunta Vastapaino, Tampere.
- Ojala, Aatos 1977. Monistisia ideoita vuosisadan alun suomalaisessa kaunokirjallisuudessa. *Maailmankuvan muutos tutkimuskohteena*. Otava, Helsinki, 182–202.
- Ollila, Anne 1991. Kotitalous naisliikkeen ongelmana. *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja 2/1991*, 127–137.
- Olsen, Donald J. 1986. *The City as a Work of Art*. London. Paris. Vienna. Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
- Pallasmaa, Juhani 1992. Man, Measure and Proportion. Aulis Blomstedt and the tradition of Pythagorean harmonics. *Acanthus 1992*. The Art of Standards. Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, 7–25.
- Palmer, Phyllis 1989. *Domesticity and Dirt: Housewives and Domestic Servants in United States 1920–1945*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- Parker, Rozsika – Pollock, Griselda 1981. *Old Mistresses. Women, Art, and Ideology*. Pantheon Books, New York.
- Parker, Rozsika – Pollock, Griselda (ed.) 1987. *Framing Feminism. Art and the Women's Movement 1970–1985*. Pandora, London and New York.
- Paulsson, Gregor 1919. *Vackrare vardagsvara????*. Stockholm.
- Paulsson, Gregor 1950. *Svensk stad*. Stockholm.
- Payot, Daniel 1990. *Anachronies de l'oeuvre d'art*. Galilée, Paris.

- Peltonen, Matti 1992. Talolliset ja torpparit. Vuosisadan vaihteen maatalouskysymys Suomessa. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 164. Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Helsinki.
- Perälä, Tauno 1984. Kaupunkien aluepolitiikka ja esikaupunkiliitokset. Päiviö Tommila (ed.). *Suomen kaupunkilaitoksen historia 3. Itsenäisyyden aika*. Suomen kaupunkiliitto, Helsinki.
- Peterson, Abby 1987. Makt och auktoritet: feministisk teori och praktik. *Kvinnvetenskaplig tidskrift* 2–3/1987.
- Pettersson, Lars 1953. Huomioita maamme uusimmasta arkkitehtuurista »Suomi rakentaa» -näyttelyn yhteydessä. *Arkkitehti* 1953, 197–201.
- Pettersson, Lars 1958. Suomen kansanomaiset rakennustaide. *Oma maa IV*. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Politiques de l'habitat (1800–1850)* 1977. Collège de France. Equipe de Recherches de la Chaire l'histoire des Systèmes de pensée (sous la direction de M. Foucault). Corda, Paris.
- Pollock, Griselda 1988. *Vision & Difference. Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Porphyrios, Demetri 1981. Notes on a Method. *Architectural Design* 6–7/1981, 96–104.
- Porphyrios, Demetri 1982. *Sources of Modern Eclecticism. Studies on Alvar Aalto*. Academy Editions, London.
- Porphyrios, Demetri 1985. On Critical History. Joan Ockman (ed.). *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology*. Princeton Architectural Press, Princeton, 16–21.
- Preziosi Donald 1989. *Rethinking Art History. Meditations on a Coy Science*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Profiles* 1983. Pioneering Women Architects from Finland. Museum of Finnish Architecture. Helsinki.
- Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine-Chrysostome 1832. *Dictionnaire d'architecture*, 2 tomes. Librairie d'Adrien le Clerc & Cie, Paris.
- Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine-Chrysostome 1788–1825. *Encyclopédie méthodique* 1–3. Librairie d'Adrien le Clerc & Cie, Paris.
- Rabinow, Paul 1989. *French Modern. Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Rantalaiho, Liisa 1986. Reproduktion maisema. Liisa Rantalaiho (ed.). *Miesten tiede, naisten puuhut*. Vastapaino, Tampere, 19–56.
- Rasila, Viljo 1984. *Tampereen historia II. 1840-luvulta vuoteen 1905*. Tampere.
- Ravetz, Alison 1989. A View from the Interior. Judy Attfield & Pat Kirkham (eds.). *A View from the Interior*. The Women's Press, London, 187–205.
- Rich, Adrienne 1979. *Of Woman Born. Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. Virago, London.
- Ricoeur, Paul 1977. Construing nad Constructing. Review of Hirsch, The Aims of Interpretation. *Times Literary Supplement* Feb. 25, 1977.
- Ricoeur, Paul 1980. Narrative Time. *Critical Inquiry* 7, no 1, 1980, 169–190.
- Ricoeur, Paul 1986a. *Du texte à l'action. Essais d'herméneutique II*. Seuil, Paris.
- Ricoeur, Paul 1986b. *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Rönkkö, Marja-Liisa 1986. Kotia rakennetaan. Marja-Liisa Rönkkö, Marja-Liisa Lehto, Bo Lönnqvist. *Koti kaupungissa. 100 vuotta asumista Helsingissä*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist – Lamphere, Louise 1974. Introduction. *Women, culture & society*. Ed. Rosaldo, Lamphere. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Rose, Jacqueline 1986. Julia Kristeva – take two. *Sexuality in the field of vision*. London, Verso, 141–164.

- Rosenbeck, Bente 1987. *Kvindekøn. Den moderne kvindeligheds historie 1880–1980*. Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- Rotschild, Joan 1983. *Technology, Housework, and Women's Liberation: a Theoretical Analysis*. Joan Rotschild. *Machina ex Dea. Feminists Perspectives on Technology*. New York.
- Rowe, Colin 1976. *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Rybczynski, Witold 1987. *Home. A Short History of an Idea*. Penguin books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- Rudberg, Eva 1988. Folkhemmet bostäder – en svensk modell. *Folkhemmet bostäder 1940–1960. Svenskt bostadsbyggande under 1940- och 1950-talen*. Arkitektur Museet, Stockholm, 8–23.
- Rykwert, Joseph 1972. *On Adam's House in Paradise. The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*. Museum of Modern Art papers on architecture. New York.
- Saarikangas, Kirsi 1989. Muukalaisena Pariisissa. Reunamerkitöjä sukupuolien erillaisuudesta. *Naistutkimus – Kivnoforskning 4/1989*, 17–30.
- Saarikangas, Kirsi 1990. Talon mieli. *Arkkitehti 5/1990*, 74–76.
- Saarikangas, Kirsi 1991a. Feministinen näkökulma taiteentutkimukseen. Erkki Sevänen, Liisa Saariluoma, Risto Turunen (ed.). *Taide modernissa maailmassa. Taiteen sosiologiset teoriat Georg Lukácsista Fredric Jamesoniin*. Gaudeamus. Helsinki, 231–254.
- Saarikangas, Kirsi 1991b. *Scientia feminae, scientia universalis? Tiede & Edistys 2/1991*, 144–147.
- Saegert, Susan 1980. Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs: Polarized Ideas, Contradictory Realities. *Signs* 1980, vol. 5, no 3 suppl. Chicago.
- Salokorpi, Asko 1971. *Suomen arkkitehtuuri 1900-luvulla*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Salokorpi, Asko 1984. Kaupunkirakentaminen. *Suomen kaupunkilaitoksen historia 3. Itsenäisyyden aika*. Suomen kaupunkiliitto, Helsinki.
- Salokorpi, Asko 1990. Arkkitehtuuri vuoden 1940 jälkeen. *Ars. Suomen taide 6. Otava/Weilin+Göös*, Helsinki, 14–75.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de 1916. *Cours de Linguistique Générale*.
- Schildt, Göran 1985. *Nyky aika. Alvar Aallon tutustumisen funktionalismiin*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Scott, Joan W. 1987. Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis. *American Historical Review 2/1987*, 1053–1075.
- Seurasaaaren ulkomuseon opas* 1978. Seurasaaarisäätiö, Helsinki.
- Segalen, Martine 1980. *Mari et femme dans la société paysanne*. Flammarion, Paris.
- Sennett, Richard 1974. *The Fall of Public Man. On the Social Psychology of Capitalism*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, Melbourne.
- Shorter, Edward 1977. *The Making of the Modern Family*. Fontana/Collins, Glasgow/New York.
- Siipi, Jouko 1967. *Ryysyrannasta hyvinvointivaltioon*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Sivenius, Pia 1984. *Avautua solmuun*. Gaudeamus, Helsinki.
- Smith, Bonnie G. 1981. *Ladies of the Leisure Class. The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Soininen, Arvo M. 1974. *Vanha maataloutemme. Maatalous- ja maatalousväestö Suomessa perinnäisen maatalouden loppukaudella 1720-luvulta 1870-luvulle*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 96 SHS, Helsinki.
- Soininen, Arvo M. 1976. *Maatalousväestö v. 1910 – tilasto ja todellisuus*. Historiallinen Aikakauskirja 3/1976, 211–225.
- Soininen, Arvo M. 1982. *Maa- ja metsätalous. Suomen taloushistoria 2. Teollistuva Suomi*. Eds. Jorma Ahvenainen, Erkki Pihkala, Viljo Rasila. Helsinki, 27–52.

- Standertskjöld, Elina 1992a. Alvar Aalto and Standardization. *Acanthus* 1992. The Art of Standards. Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, 75–84.
- Standertskjöld, Elina 1992b. Alvar Aalto's Standard Drawings 1929–1932. *Acanthus* 1992. The Art of Standards. Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, 89–111.
- Stavenow-Hidemark, Elisabet 1971. *Villabebyggelse i Sverige 1900–1925*. Nordiska museets handlingar 76. Stockholm.
- Stewen, Riikka 1987. Luopuminen/lempeä kapina: 1800-luvun suomalaisessa taiteessa. *Taidehistoriallisia tutkimuksia* 10. Taidehistorian seura, Helsinki, 117–132.
- Sulkunen, Irma 1986. *Raittius kansalaisuskontona. Raittiusliike ja järjestäytyminen 1870-luvulta suurlakon jälkeisiin vuosiin*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 134. SHS, Helsinki.
- Sulkunen, Irma 1987. Naisten järjestäytyminen ja kaksijakoinen kansalaisuus. Risto Alapuro et al. (ed.). *Kansa liikkeessä*. Kirjayhtymä, Helsinki, 157–175.
- Sulkunen, Irma 1989. *Naisten kutsumus. Miina Sillanpää ja sukupuolten maailmojen erkaantuminen*. Hanki ja jää. Helsinki.
- Sulkunen, Irma 1991. Suomalainen naisasialiike ja naisemansipaatio. Irma Sulkunen. *Retki naishistoriaan*. Hanki ja jää, Helsinki.
- Summerson, John 1978. *The Classical Language of Architecture*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Suominen-Kokkonen, Renja 1992. *The Fringe of a Profession. Women as Architects in Finland from the 1890s to the 1950s*. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja 98, Helsinki.
- Sutcliffe, Aanthony 1981. *Towards the Planned City. Germany, Britain, the United States and France 1780–1914*. Oxford.
- Tafari, Manfredo 1980. *Theories and History of Architecture*. London.
- Talve, Ilmar 1979. Talonpoikaiskulttuuri 1870-luvulle saakka. *Suomen kulttuurihistoria* 1. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Talve, Ilmar 1980. *Suomen kansankulttuuri. Historiallisia päälinjoja*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 355. Helsinki.
- Tarn, John 1971. *Working-class Housing in 19th-century Britain*. Architectural Association Paper Number 7. London.
- Tickner, Lisa 1988. Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference. *Genders* 3, 1988, fall, 92–128.
- Todorov, Tsvetan 1977. *Théories du symbole*. Seuil. Coll. Points. Paris.
- Torre, Susana 1977. *Women in American architecture: A historic and contemporary perspective*. New York 1962.
- Trachtenberg, Marvin 1988. Some observations on Recent Architectural History. *The Art Bulletin* vol. LXX, 2/1988, 208–241.
- Tuulio, Tyyni 1969. Keskipäivän maa 1916–1941. WSOY, Porvoo–Helsinki.
- Valkonen, Tapani 1980. Väkiluvun ja ikärakenteen kehitys. *Suomalaiset. Yhteiskunnan rakenne teollistumisen aikana*. Ed. Tapani Valkonen et al. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki.
- Vanhakoski, Erkki 1977. Pientalosuunnittelun vaiheita. *Tiili* 1/1977. Helsinki.
- Vanhakoski, Erkki 1992. Aulis Blomstedt – works 1926–1979. *Acanthus* 1992. The Art of Standards. Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, 33–73.
- Vattula, Kaarina 1981. Palvelustytöstä konttoristiin – naisen työhönoasallistuminen 1880–1940. *Kun yhteiskunta muuttuu*. Historiallinen arkisto 76. Suomen Historiallinen Seura – Finnish Historical Society. Helsinki, 63–90.
- Vattula, Kaarina 1989. Lähtöviivallako? Naisten ammatissatoimivuudesta, tilastoista ja kotitaloudesta. Leena Laine – Pirjo Markkola (eds.). *Tuntematon työläisnainen*. Vastapaino, Tampere.
- Vepsä, Kirsti – Cronberg, Tarja 1983. *Asumisen uusi suunta*. Otava, Helsinki.

- Vidler, Anthony 1977. The Idea of Type. *Oppositions* 8 (spring 1977), 95–115.
- Vidler, Anthony 1979. After Historicism. *Oppositions* 17 (Summer 1979).
- Vidler, Anthony 1987. *The Writings of the Walls. Architectural theory in the Late Enlightenment*. Princeton Architectural Press, Princeton.
- Viita, Lauri 1952. *Moreeni*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Viljo, Eeva-Maija 1984. Suomen ensimmäiset naisarkkitehdit. *Arkkitehti* 8/1984.
- Viljo, Eeva-Maija 1985. *Theodor Höijer. En arkitekt under den moderna storstadskitekturens genombrottstid i Finland från 1870-talet till sekelskiftet*. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja 88. Helsinki.
- Viljo, Eeva-Maija 1988. Kaupungistuvan yhteiskunnan rakennustaide. *Ars. Suomen taide* 4. Weilin+Göös/Otava, Helsinki.
- Virrankoski, Pentti 1982. Maatalousmaasta teollisuusmaaksi. *Suomen kulttuurihistoria* 3. WSOY, Porvoo – Helsinki, 54–75.
- Vitruvius. *De architectura I–X*. On Architecture I–X. Loeb Classical Library I–II. Translated by F. Granger. London 1929.
- Voionmaa, Väinö 1932. *Tampereen historia. III osa. Itämaisesta sodasta suurlakon aikoihin*. Toinen, tarkistettu ja lisätty painos. Tampere.
- Waltari, Mika 1932. *Appelsiinsiemen*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Ward, Frazer 1992. Foreign and Familiar Bodies. *Dirt & Domesticity. Constructions of the feminine*. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 8–37.
- Wäre, Ritva 1983. Kaupunkirakentaminen 1900–1917. *Suomen kaupunkilaitoksen historia* 2. Suomen kaupunkiliitto, Helsinki, 238–261.
- Wäre, Ritva 1988. Bertel Jungin näkemys kaupungista. *Bertel Jung suurkaupungin hahmottajana*. Helsingin kaupunkusuunnitteluvirasto. Helsinki, 37–73.
- Wäre, Ritva 1989. Arkkitehtuuri vuosisadanvaihteessa. *Ars. Suomen taide* 4. Weiling + Göös/Otava, Helsinki, 112–169.
- Wäre, Ritva 1991. *Rakennettu suomalaisuus. Nationalismi viime vuosisadan vaihteen arkkitehtuurissa ja sitä koskevissa kirjoituksissa*. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja 95. Helsinki.
- Waris, Elina 1991. Storfamilj och familjbolag? En granskning av familjen och hushället i Sverige under 1700-talets senare hälft. Panu Pulma (ed.). *Den problematiska familjen*. Historiallinen Arkisto 97. SHS, Helsinki, 173–188.
- Waris, Heikki 1932. *Työläisyhteiskunnan syntyminen Pitkäsillan pohjoispuolelle*.
- Waris, Heikki 1936. Kaupungit ja muut asutuskeskukset. *Suomen kulttuurihistoria IV*. Jyväskylä, 226–281.
- Waris, Heikki 1974. *Muuttuva suomalainen yhteiskunta*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Waris, Heikki 1978. *Suomalaisen yhteiskunnan sosiaalipoliittikka*. WSOY, Porvoo.
- Warnke, Martin 1984. *Politische Architektur in Europa vom Mittelalter bis heute. Repräsentation und Gemeinschaft*. DuMont Buchverlag, Köln.
- Watkin, David 1978. *Morality and Architecture*. The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- White, Hayden 1987. Foucault's Discourse: The Historiography of Anti-Humanism. *The Content of the Form. Narrative Discourse and Historical representation*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London.
- Whitman, Jon 1987. Allegory. The Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Wickberg, Nils-Erik 1959. *Suomen rakennustaidetta*. Otava, Helsinki.
- Wijnblad, Carl 1765. *Beskrifning huru Allmogens Bygnader, så af Sten, som Träd, måge med största besparing upföras*. Stockholm.
- Williams, Raymond 1963. *Culture and Society 1780–1950*. Penguin books, Harmondsworth.

- Williams, Raymond 1977. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Wilson, Elizabeth 1991. *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women*. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Worden, Suzette 1989. Powerful Women: Electricity in the Home 1919–1940. Judy Attfield & Pat Kirkham (eds.). *A View from the Interior. Feminism, Women and Design*. The Women's Press, London, 131–150.
- Wright, Gwendolyn 1977. On the Fringe of the Profession: Women in American Architecture. Spiro Kostof (ed.). *The Architect. Chapters in the History of the Profession*. New York, 283–306.
- Wright, Gwendolyn 1980. *Moralism and Model Home*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London.
- Wright, Gwendolyn 1983. *Building the Dream. A Social History of Housing in America*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- 10 vuotta suomalaista puutaloteollisuutta* 1950. Puutalo OY, Helsinki.
- 1899 års Egnahemkommittés betänkande 1: 14*. Stockholm.

Appendix

Type-planned houses analysed in this study:

Abbreviations:

k	= kitchen
ks	= kitchen section
kte	= kitchenette
mk	= multipurpose kitchen
m	= multipurpose main room
r	= room
lr	= living room
ds	= dining space
sa	= sleeping alcove
ar	= attic room
br	= bathroom
wr	= washing room
s	= sauna
b	= basement
c	= cellar pit

If not otherwise mentioned all houses have a saddle roof

Alvar Aalto, AA-system 1937–41¹

Type	area	rooms	boarding	building height
<i>Omakotityyppi Standard</i>				
BI 1937	40 m ²	k, lr, r	horizontal	1 storey, b
BII 1937	50 m ²	k, lr, 2 r	horizontal	1 storey, b
BIII 1937	60 m ²	k, lr, 2	horizontal	1 storey, b
EI 1937	40 m ²	k, lr, r	horizontal	1 storey, b
GI 1937	40 m ²	ks, lr, r	horizontal	1 storey, b
GII 1937	50 m ²	kte, lr, 2 r	horizontal	1 storey, b
GIII 1937	60 m ²	kte, lr, 2 r	horizontal	1 storey, b
<i>A-talo</i> ²				
C2 1941	60 m ²	k, lr, 2 r	horizontal	1 storey, b
C3 1941	70 m ²	k, ds, lr, 2 r	horizontal	1 storey, b
C4 1941	80 m ²	k, lr, 2 r, br	horizontal	1 storey, b

¹ The numerous unrealized plans are not catalogued.

² The surface of these houses is not mentioned in advertising leaflets and I am here using estimations.

**Type-planned houses of the Ministry of Agriculture' Settlement Department
1939, published in 1940³**

K1	28,4 m ²	mk, r	vertical	1 storey, c
K2	28,2 m ²	m, ks, r	horizontal	1 storey, b
K3	29,3 m ²	m, r, wr, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
K4	29 m ²	mk, r	vertical	1 storey, b
K5	31 m ²	mk, r, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, c
K6	36,6 m ²	mk, r	vertical	1 str, b
K7	39,4 m ²	mk, r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
K8	39,8 m ²	mk, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
K9	44,5 m ²	m, ks, r, wr	horizontal	1 str, c
L1	2x30,8 m ²	k, r, wr	vertical	1 str, b
L2	2x41,5 m ²	mk, r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
L3	28x38,5 m ²	mk, r, wr	horizontal	1 str, b
M1	32,2 m ²	k, lr, r, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, c
M2	46,2 m ²	mk, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
M3	56,1 m ²	m, ks, lr, r, wr, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
M4	58,9 m ²	mk, lr, r, wr	vertical	1 str, c
M5	57,7 m ²	mk, lr, r, wr, 2 ar	plastered	1 1/2 str, c
M6	54,3 m ²	mk, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, c
M7	62,2 m ²	mk, lr, 2r, ar,	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
M8	56,9 m ²	mk, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/1 str, b
N1	40,1 m ²	mk, r	horizontal	1 str, c
	+55,8 m ²	extension wing		
N2	32,3 m ²	mk, lr, 2r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
	+33,6 m ²	extension wing		
N3	51,4 m ²	mk, lr, r, wr, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, c
	+26,9 m ²	extension wing		

The »Swedish houses» (Lauri Pajamies; Urho Orola, Jalmari Peltonen) 1940

1 (L.P.)	52 m ²	k, lr, r	vertical	1 str, b
2 (U.O, J.P.)	89 m ²	m, ks, lr, r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3 (U.O, J.P.)	58 m ²	m, ks, r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
4 (L.P.)	58 m ²	k, lr, 2r	vertical	1 str, b

Type-planned houses of the *Puutalo Oy* (Jorma Järvi, Erik Lindroos) 1940–47

Lehtola	2x38,5 m ²	mk, r, wc, ar	vertical /	1 1/2 str, b
Metsäkoto	52,38 m ²	k, lr, r, wr	horizontal	1 str
Syvääho	68 m ²	m, k, 2 r, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Nurmiaho II	–	k, lr, 2 r	horizontal	1 str
Pihlaja	56 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str
Ponjanpirtti	–	m, ks, sa	horizontal	1 str
Pyy	54 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b

³ Area here refers to the habitable area.

Rauhakoto	60 m ²	k, lr, 2 r, wc	horizontal	1 str
Rauhakoto II	60 m ²	k, lr, 2 r, wc	horizontal	1 str, b
Tikkapari	2x49 m ²	k, lr, r, wc	horizontal	1 str

**Type-planned houses of Bostadsföreningen för svenska Finland r.f.
(Eva Kuhlefelt-Ekelund, Marianne Granberg), 1942–48**

2a, 1942	48 m ²	m, ks, br, wr	vertical	1 str, b
2a, 1948	48,9 m ²	m, ks, br, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
2b, 1942	48 m ²	k, r, wr	vertical	1 str, b
2b, 1947				
var. 1	48 m ²	k, 1–2 r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
var. 2	48 m ²	k, 1–2 r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
var. 3	48 m ²	k, 1–2 r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
var. 4	48 m ²	k, 1–2 r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
2c, 1942	50,4 m ²	m, ks, r, wr	vertical	1 str, b
2c, 1947				
var. 1	48 m ²	m, ks, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
var. 2	48 m ²	m, ks, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3a, 1942	51,5 m ²	k, lr, r, wr	vertical	1 str, b
3a, 1947	51,5 m ²	k, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
var. 2	54 m ²	k, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3b				
var. 1 1947	65,7 m ²	k, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
var. 2 1947	66,9 m ²	k, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3c, 1947	77,2 m ²	m, ks, 2r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3d, 1947				
var. 1	67,3 m ²	m, ks, 2r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
var. 2	67,3 m ²	m, ks, 2r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3e, 1945	63 m ²	k, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3e				
var. 1, –47	66,2 m ²	k, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
var. 2, –46	63 m ²	k, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3f, 1947	61 m ²	k, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3g, 1946	66,6 m ²	k, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3h, 1947	80,9 m ²	k, lr, r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3i, 1948	56,7 m ²	m, ks, 2r, wr, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
»Mönsterstuga»				
var. 1946	86,5 m ²	m, ks, 2r, wr, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
var. 1948	93 m ²	m, ks, 2r, wr, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3 1/2b,	88 m ²	m, ks, 2r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
3 1/2c,	56 m ²	ks, lr, 2r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
4a	93,6 m ²	ks, lr, 2r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
4b	91 m ²	k, lr, 2r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
4c	99 m ²	m, ks, 3r, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
4d	73,5 m ²	k, lr, 2r, wr, 2ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
4e	88,6 m ²	k, lr, 2r, wr, 2ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
4f	96,3 m ²	m, ks, 3r, wr, 2ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
4 1/2a	104 m ²	m, ks, 3r, wr, 2ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
4 1/2b	103 m ²	m, ks, 3r, wr, 2ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b

Type-planned houses of the Ministry of Social Service (Kaj England), 1942–46

1, 1942	–	–	vertical	1 str, b
2, 1942	48 m ²	k, lr, r	vertical	1 str, b
3, 1942	50,5 m ²	ktte, lr, r	vertical	1 str, b
20, 1942	48 m ²	k, lr, r	vertical	1 str, b
40, 1942	–	–	vertical	1 str, b
41, 1942	49 m ²	k, lr, r	vertical	1 str, b
60, 1942	–	–	vertical	1 str, b
81, 1942	–	–	vertical	1 str, b
82, 1942	40,5 m ²	–	vertical	1 1/2 str
22, 1945	54,6 m ²	k, lr, r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
23, 1945	54,6 m ²	mk, r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
4, 1945	45,6 m ²	mk, r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
42, 1945	60,1 m ²	k, lr, r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
43, 1945	60,1 m ²	k, lr, r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
1, 1946	40,5 m ²	mk, r	–	1 str, b
2, 1946	43,5 m ²	ks, lr, r, wc	–	1 str, b
3, 1946	50,5 m ²	ktte, lr, r, wc	–	1 str, b
4, 1946	43 m ²	mk, r	–	1 str, b
21, 1946	48 m ²	k, lr, r, wc	–	1 str, b
41, 1946	49 m ²	k, lr, r, wc	–	1 str, b
61, 1946	50 m ²	k, lr, r, wc	–	1 str, b
62, 1946	60 m ²	k, lr, r	–	1 1/2 str, b
	+35 m ²	2 ar		
63, 1946	60 m ²	k, lr, r, wc	–	1 1/2 str, b
	+35 m ²	2 ar, wc		
64, 1946	42+38 m	k, r+k, r	–	1 1/2 str, b
	+40 m ²	k, r		

Type drawings of the Central Union of Agricultural Societies, published in 1943

A 1	38,5 m ²	mk	vertical	1 str, c
A 2	42 m ²	m, ks, sa, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, c
A 3	42 m ²	mk, sa, s, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, c
A 4	49 m ²	m, k, wr, ar, s, working room in the basement	horizontal	
A 5	50 m ²	m, ks, br, wr, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
A 6	42 m ²	mk, r	horizontal	1 str, c
A 7	39,5 m ²	mk, r	horizontal	1 str, b
A 8	62 m ²	m, ks, br, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 9	56 m ²	k, m, wr, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
A 10	74 m ²	k, lr, 2 r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 11	46,5 m ²	k, lr, r, wr	vertical	1 str, c
A 12	42 m ²	k, sa, rm, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
A 14	67,5 m ²	mk, 2 r, wr, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
A 15	74,5 m ²	mk, 2r, wr, 2 ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
A 16	80 m ²	mk, 2r, 2 ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
A 17	58 m ²	k, lr, r, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
A 19	70 m ²	m, ks, 2 r, 2 ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
A 21	54,5 m ²	m, ks, ds, sa, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b

A 22	+24 m ² 50 m ²	2 r, in second phase mk, br, wr, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 23	+24 m ² 47,5 m ²	2 r, in second phase m, k, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
A 24	+27,5 m ² 52 m ² +26,5 m ²	2 r, in second phase m, k, sa, wr, ar 2 r, in second phase	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b

Type drawings of the Central Union of Agricultural Societies, published in 1945

1945/A 1	50,4 m ²	mk, r	vertical	1 str
A 2	61,7 m ²	mk, r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 3	87,5 m ²	mk, 2 r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 4	84 m ²	m, ks, 2 r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 5	87,4 m ²	mk, 2 r, 1-1 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 6	90 m ²	m, ks, 2 r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 7	101 m ²	m, ks, 2 r, 1-2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 8	104 m ²	m, ks, 2 r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 9	46,2 m ²	k, r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 10	63,3 m ²	k, 2 r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 11	63 m ²	mk, r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 12	80,3 m ²	mk, 2 r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 13	64,7 m ²	k, lr, r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 14	55,5 m ² +25,9 m ²	m, ks, ar + 2 r	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 15	64,2 m ² +27 m ²	k, lr, r, ar + 2 r	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 16	70,3 m ² +30,0 m ²	mk, r, ar + 2 r	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 17	71, 2 m ² +27,7 m ²	k, lr, r, ar + 2 r	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 18	63,6 m ²	k, lr, r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b

The Finnish Association of Architects' Reconstruction Office

Asevelitalo for the Finnish Association of Comrades in Arms (Suomen Aseveljien Liitto) by Aulis Blomstedt, Kaj Englund, Lauri Tolonen, 1942

Type S	22 m ²	m	horizontal	1 str
Type A	41,2 m ²	m, ks and/or sa	horizontal	1 str

The so-called MKL series for the Central Union of Agricultural Societies by Aarne Hytönen, Yrjö Lindegren, Olli Pöyry, 1943

MKL1	31 m ²	m, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
MKL2	39 m ²	m, ks, sa, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
MKL3	55 m ²	m, ks, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
MKL4	51 m ²	m, k, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
MKL5	65 m ²	m, k, r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
MKL6	65 m	k, lr, r, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b

MKL7	–	t, ks, sa	horizontal	1 1/2 str
43 A2	–	m, ks	vertical	1 1/2 str

The so-called KYMRO types by Aulis Blomstedt and Yrjö Lindegren, 1944

Tammisuo 2	44 m ²	m, r, wc, 2 ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Tammisuo 3	54 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, 2ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Enso 1	56 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, 2ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Kymro 1	52 m ²	k, lr, r, 2 ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Kymro 2	54 m ²	k, lr, r, 2 ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Kymro 3	47 m ²	k, r, (wc), 2 ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Kymro 4	54 m ²	k, lr, 2 ar	horizontal	1 str
Kymro 5	44 m ²	k, lr, r	horizontal	1 str
Kymro 6	44 m ²	k, r	horizontal	1 str

Type drawings for the Lappish Building Administration District by Erkki Koiso-Kanttila, 1945–47

Omakoti 1, 1945	61,2 m ²	k, lr, 2, 2 ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Omakoti 2, 1945	61,2 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, 2ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Tammisuo 3	60 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, 2ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Omakoti 4, 1946	58,2 m ²	k, lr, r	vertical	1 str, b
Omakoti 5, 1946	–	–	–	–
Omakoti 6, 1947	71,25 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, 2ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Omakoti 7, 1947	71,25 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, 2ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b
Omakoti 8, 1947	58,8 m ²	k, lr, r, wc	vertical	1 str, b
Omakoti 9, 1947	80 m ²	k, lr, 2 r, wc, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
Omakoti 10, 1947	80 m ²	k, lr, 2 r, wc, ar	horizontal	1 1/2 str, b

ARAVA single-family types, Standardization Institute of the Finnish Association of Architects, 1950

Arava 1, L.S.	70 m ²	k, lr, 2 r, wc, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
Arava 2, L.P.	81 m ²	k, lr, 3 r, wc, ar	vertical	1 str, b
Arava 3, E.K.	2x57 m ²	2x k, lr, r, wc	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
Arava 4, J.B.	61 m ²	k, lr, r, wc	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
	38 m ²	k, r, wc		
Arava 5, K.E.	70,5 m ²	k, lr, r, wc	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
Arava 6, H.E.	48+16 m ²	k, lr, r, wc +ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
	65+16 m ²	k, lr, 2r, wc +ar		

Abbreviations: L.S. = Lauri Silvennoinen; L.P. = Lauri Pajamies; E.K. = Erkki Koiso-Kanttila; J.B. = Jarl Bjurström; K.E. = Kaj Englund; H.E. = Hilding Ekelund.

As types by the Ministry of Agriculture, 1952

A 1	52 m ²	m, k, r	vertical	1 str, b
A 2	60 m ²	k, lr, r, wc	vertical	1 str, b
A 3	82 m ²	m, k, 2r	vertical	1 str, b

A 4	54+35 m ²	m, ks, r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 5	54+35 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, 2ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 6	64 m ²	k, lr, r, wc	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
	+45 m ²	+ k, r, wc		
A 7	66+34 m ²	k, r, wc, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 8	79+49 m ²	m, k, 2 r, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 9	63+37 m ²	k, lr, rm, wc, 2ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 10	66+23 m ²	k, lr, r, ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
		+ extension wing: s, wr		
	45 m ²	k, r, wc (attic)		
A 11	57+34 m ²	m, k, wc, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 12	78+45 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, 2 ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
	33 m ²	extension wing: s, wr		
A 13	101 m ²	m, k, 2 r, wc, 2ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
	50 m ²	extension wing		
A 14	78+48 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, 2ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b
A 15	72+45 m ²	k, lr, r, wc, 2ar	vertical	1 1/2 str, b

Name Index

- Aalto, Alvar, 21, 80, 141, 146, 149, 234—
239, 261, 264—266, 297, 325n, 353n
Alapuro, Risto, 53n, 57n
Althusser, Louis, 27
- Bachelard, Gaston, 42, 157
Bakhtin, Mikhail, 154n
Banham, Reyner, 148
Barthes, Roland, 347n
Beauvoir, Simone de, 34, 364n
Belting, Hans, 97n
Benjamin, Walter, 48, 164
Bentham, Jeremy, 46n, 149
Blomsted, Aulis, 266, 268, 270, 278, 288
Bonta, Juan Pablo, 28, 91n, 291n
Boullée, Etienne-Louis, 83
Braidotti, Rosi, 24n
Braudel, Fernand, 26
Brunila, Birger, 191
Brusatin, Manlio, 43n
Burnett, John, 42, 63
Butler, Judith, 36n
- Certeau, Michel de, 49—50, 92
Chiewitz, G. Th., 130
Cixous, Hélène, 36, 38, 329n
Cornell, Elias, 10
Cowie, Elisabeth 347n
- Cahlberg, Erik, 111
Daly, César, 65
Debarre-Blanchard, Anne, 22n
Derrida, Jacques, 31n, 43, 91
Douglas, Mary, 356n
Durand, Jean-Nicolas-Louis, 231
- Ekelund, Hilding, 21, 76, 141, 219, 222
Eleb-Vidal, Monique, 22n
Eliade, Mircea, 47n
Elias, Norbert, 202n
Englund, Kaj, 242, 260, 270, 279, 288
Ervi, Aarne, 240, 266
- Foucault, Michel, 16, 19n, 20n, 24, 25,
29n, 35, 44—46, 50, 64, 82, 149, 341,
348, 356, 357n
Freud, Sigmund, 22, 36, 50n, 154, 191n
Friedan, Betty, 348n
Frykman, Jonas, 97
- Garnier, Tony, 108n, 144, 149—150
Gesellius, Herman, 209
Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 175
Gombrich, Ernst, 92n
Granberg, Marianne, 254, 325n
Gropius, Walter, 141, 144
- Haapala, Pertti, 64n
Hämäläinen, Helvi, 224
Hård af Segerstad, Karl, 173
Harding, Sandra, 32n, 327
Hareven, Tamara, 168
Harvia, Yrjö, 100n
Heidegger, Martin, 42, 48n, 159n, 361n
Heer, Friedrich, 5
Hertzen, Heikki von, 62, 336n
Hietala, Marjatta, 64n
Hirsch, E.D., Jr., 91n
Howard, Ebenezer, 191n, 194n
Hurme, Riitta, 22n
Hytönen, Aarne, 273, 278

- Illich, Ivan, 50, 162n, 228n
 Irigaray, Luce, 36, 38, 52, 347n
- Jallinoja, Riitta, 62, 357n
 Jäntti, Toivo, 251
 Järvi, Jorma, 251
 Jeffersson, Thomas, 353n
 Jonsson, Leif, 22n, 330
 Jordy, William, 296n
 Jung, Bertel, 100n, 209n
 Juntto, Anneli, 21n, 70n, 81, 158, 329n, 351
- Key, Ellen, 66
 Kekkonen, Jalmari, 113—114
 Kivikanervo, Saara, 242
 Koch, Elisabet, 199n
 Koiso-Kanttila, Erkki, 280
 Kolbe, Laura, 22n, 183n
 Korvenmaa, 304
 Krauss, Rosalind, 143n
 Kristeva, Julia, 24, 25, 29, 30—31, 36, 37n, 38, 44n, 49—50, 90, 154n, 326—327, 356n, 357n, 360n, 364n, 366
 Kuhlefelt-Ekelund, Eva, 254, 325n
- Lacan, Jacques, 31, 36, 37n, 50n
 Lagerborg-Stenius, Signe, 99
 Le Corbusier, 108n, 141, 142n, 143, 146—149, 232—233
 Ledoux, Claude-Nicolas, 83
 Lehtonen, Joel, 181
 Lerner, Gerda, 35n
 Lilius, Henrik, 15n, 22n, 94
 Lindegren, Yrjö, 273
 Lindgren, Armas, 209
 Lindroos, Erik, 231
 Lukkarinen, Ville, 91n, 291n
- Malmström, Karl, 118
 Markkola, Pirjo, 78, 175n
 Marsio-Aalto, Aino, 214n
 Meurman, Otto-I., 191
 Mikes van der Rohe, Ludvig, 141
 Mikkola, Kirmo, 235n
 Moley, Christian, 159—160
 Morris, William, 83
 Muller, Emile, 71n
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 20n, 43
 Nikula, Riitta, 22n, 96n, 180n
 Nochlin, Linda, 32—33n
 Nyman, Kaj, 22n, 140n
- Ollila, Anne, 175, 355n
 Orola, Urho, 242, 248
- Paalanen, Elias, 108n, 113, 118, 121, 126, 295
 Pajamies, Lauri, 248
 Palmer, Phyllis, 356
 Parker, Rozsika, 26, 33n
 Peltonen, Jalmari, 248
 Peltonen, Matti, 163n
 Pettersson, Lars, 130n
 Platon, 52, 148n
 Pollock, Griselda, 26, 33n, 63, 326n, 369n
 Porphyrios, Demetri, 19, 29, 266, 324
 Pöyry, Olli, 273
- Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine-Chrysostome, 230—231
 Quetétel, Alphonse, 233
- Rabinow, Paul, 22n, 69, 108n, 149
 Revell, Viljo, 266
 Rich, Adrienne, 366
 Ricoeur, Paul, 29n, 91n
 Roberts, Henry, 233
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 206
 Ruskin, John, 83
 Ruuth, Elli, 254
- Saarinen, Eliel, 106, 107—108n, 183n, 209
 Sadeniemi, Yrjö, 130
 Scott, Joan W., 35n
 Segalen, Martine, 163n
 Siikonen, Heikki, 137, 139, 166
 Similä, Yrjö, 151
 Sjöström, Alfred, 130, 164
 Stavenow-Hidemark, Elisabet, 22n
 Strengell, Gustaf, 103, 182
 Sulkunen, Irma, 60n, 357n, 368
 Suominen-Kokkonen, Renja, 32n, 69n, 187n

Tafari, Manfredo, 28
Tarn, John, 67
Terho, Olavi, 242
Tickner, Lisa, 32n
Toivonen, Akseli, 199n
Tolonen, Lauri, 270, 288
Tuulio, Tyyni, 218n

Vähäkallio, Väinö, 295
Väläkangas, Martti, 21, 141, 195, 219
Vidler, Anthony, 142, 149, 231
Viita, Lauri, 181, 348n

Vitruvius, 41, 51n

Waltari, Mika, 269
Wäre, Ritva, 22n, 65—66n, 91n, 329n
Waris, Heikki, 172n
White, Hayden, 27n, 235n
Wijnblad, Carl, 111, 293
Williams, Raymond, 27n
Wilson, Elisabeth, 369n
Winqvist, Karl, 329n
Wolff, Janet, 369n
Wright, Gwendolyn, 22n, 302, 328n

