

Development of Anti-Modernist Ideas in Western Europe: An Overview

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Abstract Modernist architecture and urban planning are often viewed merely as a stylistic phenomenon or a form of architectural and spatial organisation derived from technological achievements. Such a definition fails to fully capture the deep-seated factors that shaped the emergence and development of modernist architecture and urban planning.

In this article, the authors argue that modernist as well as anti-modernist ideas were closely linked to and followed the broader shifts in political-economic realities of their times. To support this argument, they trace the genesis of anti-modernist ideas in post-war¹ European urban planning and architecture through an ample selection of projects from various periods.

Key words: Modernism; Urban Planning; Team 10; International Style; Anti-Modernist

1.Introduction

In the architectural and planning discourses, modernist architecture and urban planning are frequently presented and discussed as stylistic expressions or forms of spatial organisation shaped by contemporary technological progress (Seelow 2019). This understanding was cultivated and sustained by practitioners and scholars throughout the 20th century². However, such interpretations often overlook the broader social, political, and economic conditions that influenced the evolution of

architectural and planning ideas.

This article offers a more comprehensive view of the evolution of architectural and planning thought in the 20th century, based on a selection of architectural and planning projects from Europe and the United States of America implemented in the interwar and post-war periods.

More specifically, the article examines the emergence of anti-modernist ideas in European urban planning and architecture, arguing that both modernist and anti-modernist approaches were deeply embedded in, and responsive to, the changing political and economic realities of their respective periods. To support these arguments, a discussion of selected projects is presented in the context of contemporaneous socio-economic and political transformations and concurrent epistemological and ontological shifts.

2.Modernist Architecture and Urban Planning: Formative Principles

Modernism in architecture and urban planning should primarily be understood as an intellectual response to the urban and socio-cultural consequences of the late 19th-century "laissez-faire" capitalist urbanisation and its consequences (Hall, 2014). Following the First World War, with changed economic and political realities, favourable conditions emerged to put these ideas into use through

¹ For the purpose of this article, the term 'post-war' denotes the post-Second World War period.

² See, for example, Gideon, S. (1948) *Mechanisation*

Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History,

practical attempts to eliminate these consequences. This process was further energised by the economic crisis of 1929–30, the subsequent Keynesian revolution,³ and the accompanying demands for social reform.

The numerous architectural and planning experiments in European cities in the interwar period provided a fertile ground for international exchange and discussion. The *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) was a flagship of these experiments and an accelerator of new architectural and planning ideas. The Athens Charter, adopted by CIAM in 1933, consolidated these ideas into principles for addressing the accumulated urban problems in Western cities. These were: the strict functional zoning of the city into residential, working, recreational, and circulation areas; the rejection of the traditional 'corridor-type' street and the dispersal of housing blocks within green landscapes to create hygienic and healthy living environments; a radical restructuring of existing urban fabric and the clearance of slums; as well as the standardisation and industrialisation of architecture through rational and functionalist approaches⁴ (Gold, 1998). One can trace the evolution of these ideas in the key projects of the 1920s and early 1930s, such as Ludwig Hilberseimer's *Hochhausstadt*⁵ (1924), Walter Gropius's Dammerstock Housing Estate in Karlsruhe (1928), Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse* ("The Radiant City", 1930), and Cornelis van Eesteren's General Expansion Plan of Amsterdam (AUP, 1934).

While the interwar period was pivotal for the consolidation of modernist principles of architecture and urban planning, their enforcement gained unprecedented momentum in the aftermath of the Second World War. The widespread infrastructure

destruction and social crisis across Europe posed planning challenges on a much broader scale. The political-economic framework for addressing these challenges was provided by the Fordist mode of production, Keynesian economics, and a new 'social contract' adopted by European states. This new framework implied an active role of the state in planning and managing the economy, large public investments in infrastructure development, mass production and consumption under conditions of full employment, a high degree of resource redistribution between social classes, a belief in social progress and, respectively, an active state role in social engineering. Architecture and urban planning, through their modes of production, spatial organisation, and aesthetics, were viewed as a means of social reproduction and social stability, primarily through the universal provision of housing (Svenarson et al., 2014).

Thus, modernist architecture and urban planning can be seen as an integral element and as a spatial manifestation of fundamental transformations that took place in Europe's political-economic structure in the twentieth century. Rather than being a mere consequence of technological progress, they played an active role in shaping a new reality. Post-war modernism, in particular, functioned as an ideological, technological, and spatial instrument for achieving the political and socio-economic objectives of the welfare state, built upon the Fordist production model and the post-war social consensus.

3. The Post-War Modernist Reconstruction in Europe

Understanding the impact of major large-scale modernist projects implemented in European cities after the Second World War is crucial for

³ The Keynesian revolution refers to the mid-1930s paradigm shift in macroeconomic theory and policy triggered by John Maynard Keynes. It overturned the orthodox Classical view that free markets naturally self-correct to full employment through wage flexibility (*laissez-faire*), demonstrating instead that economic output is driven by aggregate demand. Consequently, it established the structural and intellectual justification for state intervention, using counter-cyclical fiscal policy and deficit spending to manage capitalist business cycles and stabilize employment.

⁴ It should also be noted that, contrary to the view that later emerged regarding the neglect of cultural heritage by modernist planning, the Athens Charter had, from the outset, acknowledged the necessity of preserving outstanding architectural monuments.

⁵ The Vertical or High-rise City concept was proposed by architect and planner Ludwig Hilberseimer in his treatise on urban planning in 1924. A central idea was a vertically integrated structure of different functions, where residents would live and work in one seamless unit, travelling up to apartments and down to factories in elevators.

analysing the subsequent anti-modernist turn. The reaction to these projects is believed to have laid the foundation for the reformist, and later, for more radical anti-modernist movements.

One of the most influential large-scale urban reconstruction projects was the rebuilding of Le Havre, the French port city, which had been heavily damaged during the war. The reconstruction plan, designed and carried out between 1945 and 1955 by Auguste Perret, almost completely ignored the historic structure of the old city centre. While it maintained some major urban axes, it enforced strict functional division and a hygienic approach to urban space, prioritising light, air, and openness of wide boulevards and green spaces.



Figure 1 and 2: Aerial photo of Le Havre before the war;

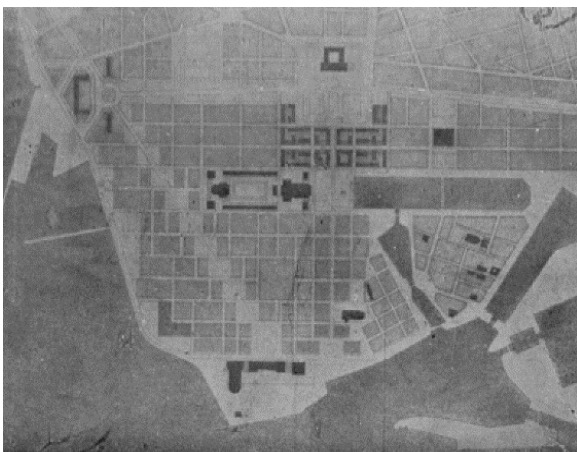


Figure 2. Reconstruction Plan of Le Havre, 1945.



Map showing the boundaries of the nominated property

Figures 3 and 4: Le Havre, View of the city Centre and Plan of modern Le Havre (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Nomination Dossier 1181, 2005).

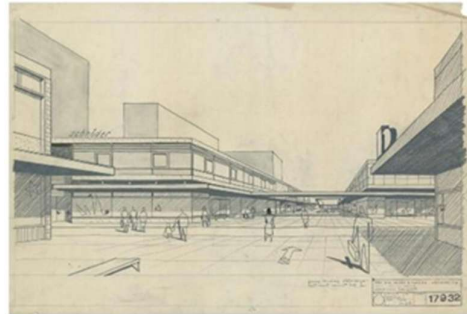
Another notable example is the Rotterdam reconstruction plan, designed in 1946 by Cornelis van Traa. Similar to Perret's work, the new Rotterdam plan disregarded the medieval outline and historical urban fabric of the city. It prioritised a hygienic approach and access to sunlight, with buildings no longer arranged in continuous perimeter blocks but instead organised as separate, freestanding units. It introduced a modern transport system with wide boulevards and transport nodes, emphasising the priority of automobile traffic.



Figure 5, 6 and 7: 17th century plan of Rotterdam; aerial view of Rotterdam in 1945 and Van Traas plan of Rotterdam, 1946.

It was the effect of the Rotterdam reconstruction that sparked debates about the problem of the city centre in the early 1950s, focusing on the issues emerging as a result of the strict functional zoning of urban areas. The Rotterdam reconstruction plan conceived the city centre primarily as an administrative and workplace district, while the residential function was entirely relocated to peripheral areas. As a result, the centre became largely deserted and lifeless outside working hours. These effects instigated discussion over the concepts of a “dead” and “living” urban center among the urban planners and architects (Adams, 2014; Wagenaar, 2013). As a response, the Lijnbaan shopping street—

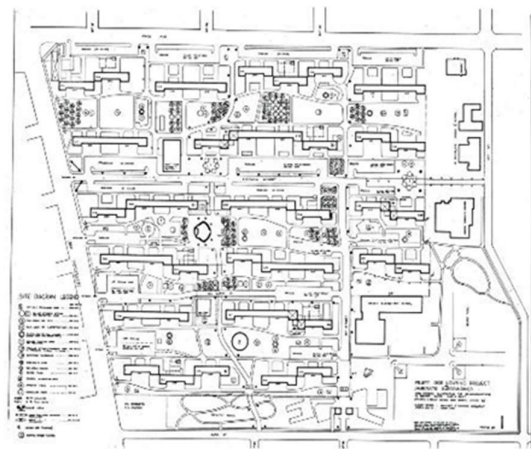
widely regarded as the world’s first purpose-built pedestrian shopping precinct—was put in place in 1953. This intervention aimed to reintroduce urban vitality through commercial and pedestrian activity within the centre (Beumer, 2015). This case was particularly relevant to the CIAM meeting in 1951, dedicated to the problems in “the heart of the city”. The criticism of the Rotterdam reconstruction plan can thus be seen as part of the broader intellectual and professional critique of the consequences of modernist planning principles.



Figures 8, 9 and 10: Drawing of the street view of the low-rise commercial, pedestrian-only street Lijnbaan by Broek en Bakema, 1951; pictures of the completed Lijnbaan, 1955.

Among the housing projects of the 1950s, the

Pruitt-Igoe housing estate by Minoru Yamazaki, built in 1954 in St. Louis, USA, deserves special mention. Similar to other housing projects of the time, it aimed to resolve severe housing conditions of the city's working class. The design of the estate, with its 33 freestanding blocks, was based on the principles of functional zoning and hygiene. The buildings were exclusively of residential use and spatially separated from workplaces and other urban functions⁶.

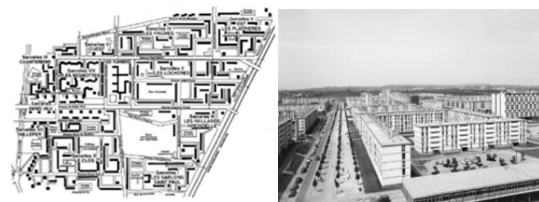


Figures 11 and 12: The aerial view of Pruitt-Igoe housing estate and a general plan of Pruitt-Igoe housing estate.

The flagship large-scale housing projects in European cities of the post-war period were the Bijlmermeer housing project in Amsterdam and the Sarcelles housing project in Paris. Importantly, unlike the Pruitt-Igoe housing estate, these were built on the outskirts, mostly on vacant or agricultural land.

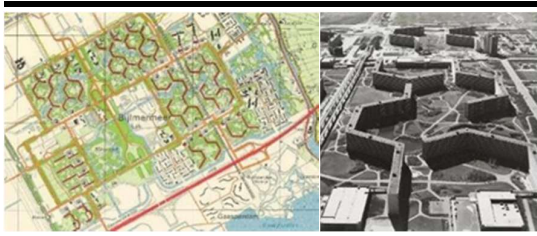
The first French *Grand Ensemble* - Sarcelles was developed over more than 15 years from 1955 to 1970. The project was implemented in several phases and served as a laboratory for increasingly industrialised engineering solutions and prefabricated materials. This model of large-scale housing development was replicated in various forms across France and beyond. Like other post-war housing projects, its primary objective was to relieve the housing shortage and promote improved domestic standards for the working-class populace, offering modern kitchens, heating systems, and private bathrooms. In line with the modernist principles, the project featured a monofunctional residential district composed of both high-rise and five-storey freestanding housing blocks.

Bijlmermeer housing estate, built between 1966 and 1972, is widely regarded as one of the last large-scale modernist housing schemes designed in Europe (Wassenberg, 2013). The development featured 31 massive high-rise residential blocks arranged in a honeycomb-patterned spatial structure, reflecting the modernist emphasis on sunlight, air, and open space. The district was conceived as a monofunctional residential area, while workplaces were planned separately in a nearby office park. The project offered a separate vehicular and pedestrian circulation: cars moved along elevated roadways, whereas pedestrians and cyclists occupied the green spaces below. In many respects, the project can be viewed as an urban-scale manifestation of the modernist "machine for living" concept. The project also offered an innovative model of middle-class urban living.



⁶ The demolition of the estate in 1972 was famously interpreted by the architecture historian Charles Jencks as a symbolic manifestation of the end of modernism and the

launch of the postmodern era in architecture and urban planning (Jencks, 1977).



Figures 13, 14, 15 and 16: urban plan map and aerial view of newly built quarter of Sarcelles, 1961; Original master plan for the Bijlmermeer area and aerial view of one of its quarters.

The projects discussed above served as important testing grounds for the modernist planning ideas on an urban scale. They embodied the ideological aspirations for the future of urban life - micro-utopias through which these ideas were materially manifested.

During the 1960s and 1970s, these large-scale housing projects became fieldwork sites for sociologists and urbanists, who studied the social and urban impact of modernist urban interventions. These studies contributed to amplifying the professional discontent and nourished alternative urban and architectural agendas that emerged alongside the grand modernist projects.

4.Reformists: The First Critical Sentiments

It was precisely through the critique of grand modernist developments that, from the early 1950s onwards, a growing scepticism toward the Athens Charter emerged within the modernist movement itself. This critique was led by a younger generation of architects and urban planners, a group formed during the CIAM meeting in 1953. The group became known as "Team 10" because these younger participants were tasked with organising the tenth CIAM Congress in 1956. Rather than rejecting modernism outright, Team 10 adopted a reformist position, seeking to "humanise" it. Team 10 did not aim to produce a new style, but rather "a method of working together" to create "dwelling for a large number without losing individual identity" (Risselada & van den Heuvel, 2005).

It is important to take into account that in the 1950s Keynesian economic policies were still

fully operative, and, as in earlier modernist agendas, the primary concern remained the mass provision of housing for working-class families. However, unlike the earlier period—driven largely by post-war urgency—the increased economic prosperity offered a window of opportunity for experimentation. Team 10 embraced this opportunity and advocated for the shift from "mechanistic" toward the "humanistic" and "sociological" urban thinking (Smithson & Smithson, 1994). Whereas the senior generation of CIAM viewed the city primarily as an engineering and hygienic problem, the younger generation approached it as a problem of human association. These debates were echoed in contemporary urban and architectural critique globally.⁷

The central point of critique advanced by Team 10 was that the rigid separation of functional zones had destroyed the vitality of urban life. They proposed to replace functional zoning with a hierarchy of human relationships: house – street – district – city. In the view of Team 10 members, the street was not merely a traffic corridor, but a social space where neighbours met, and children played. Rather than separating urban functions, they sought to organise the city around patterns of human interaction, reflecting how everyday coexistence actually takes place.

Team 10 conceived the city centre as a site of collective memory and social catalyst. Opposing the *tabula rasa* approach to urban renewal, they argued that city centres should remain dense, pedestrian-oriented environments of spontaneous encounter and discovery. In contrast to the Athens Charter, which proclaimed the "death of the street", Team 10 rejected their complete elimination. They acknowledged that traditional streets could be unsafe or degraded, yet they were socially significant and functionally viable. The alternative solution, proposed by Team 10, was the connection through elevated pedestrian routes. The idea of "streets in the sky" sought to preserve high-density housing while reintroducing the social dynamics of the

⁷ see, for example, Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York: Vintage Books or Rudofsky, B. (1964)

Architecture Without Architects, New York: MOMA.

traditional street at elevated levels within the building fabric.

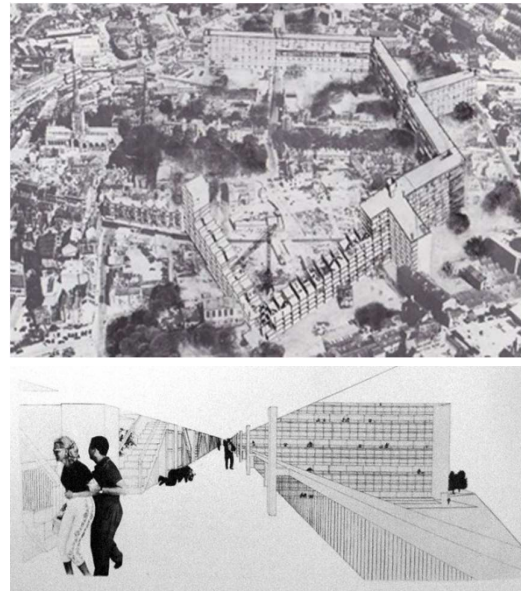
Furthermore, Team 10 argued that the city was a living and evolving organism that could never be considered finished.

Their approach was defined by the idea of vitalism and growth. Influenced by thinkers like Patrick Geddes, they viewed the city as a living and evolving organism that could never be considered finished. Instead of the idealized static "Master Plan" of CIAM, they proposed "Open Systems" and "Webs" (notably in the work of Shadrach Woods and Georges Candilis) that could grow and change like a biological structure. Drawing on Jaap Bakema's ideas, they advocated open-ended and "stem-like" structures that were intended to evolve, allowing cities to grow organically rather than imposing static, predetermined forms (van den Heuvel, 2018).

Where earlier modernists promoted International Style and pursued universal solutions to urban problems, Team 10 called for contextual specificity, arguing that architecture should reflect the cultural and social identity of its inhabitants. They moved away from Le Corbusier's concept of "universal man" toward a more grounded understanding of a "real person," embedded in psychological, social, and historical relations.

The Golden Lane Housing Project competition entry, designed by Alison and Peter Smithsons in 1952, can be viewed as the first and most influential manifestation of this paradigmatic shift of ideas. The "urban re-identification", proposed through the concept, shifted the focus toward the city as a socially meaningful phenomenon, drawing on the atmosphere and parameters of the traditional English terraced street. The concept proposed the integration of the new development with the existing urban fabric through a network-like structure, conceptualised as an evolving urban "stem" and cellular organisation inspired by molecular geometry. The concept of "streets in the sky" was further offered as a connective spatial system within and between buildings. The

competition entry was realised through avant-garde collage techniques, depicting a destroyed urban landscape overlaid with projected scenes of everyday life (Risselada & van den Heuvel, 2005).



Figures 17 and 18: photomontage proposal for the Golden Lane Housing Competition, 1952.

The proposal for the Berlin reconstruction plan competition in 1957 demonstrated Team 10's larger-scale vision for a city centre. The entry was a manifesto of novel approaches like the integration of new development with the existing urban fabric, the rejection of a 'closed' and strictly zoned master plan in favour of an open system, and the development of a cellular urban structure combined with a pedestrian "stem" network. The project criticised modernist urban life, proposing an "aesthetics of change" and emphasising social interaction between people (Smithson & Smithson, 1967). The ideas embodied in this competition entry gave birth to later concepts such as the Pedestrian City and Megastructure Urbanism.⁸

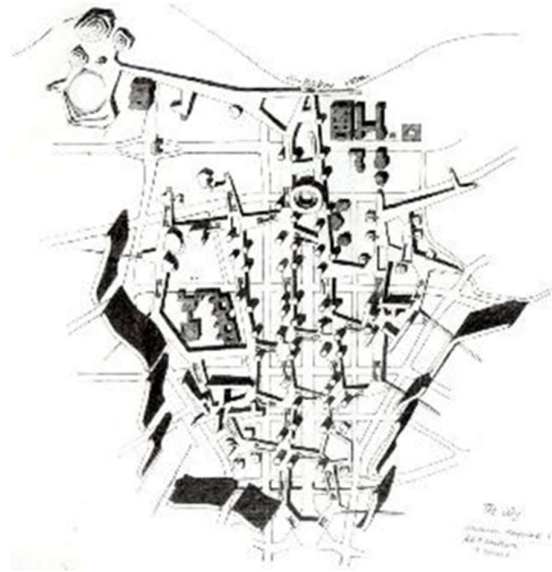
In the same period, Giancarlo De Carlo's master plan for the University of Urbino (1958–1964) echoed these ideas through enhancing the functional integration of the university into a historic city centre. The plan aimed at reactivating the declining centre by strengthening the use of its existing structures,

Harper & Row.

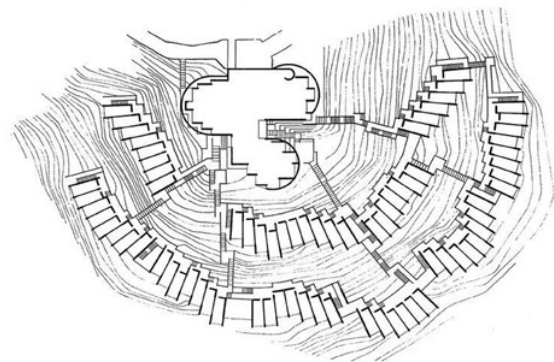
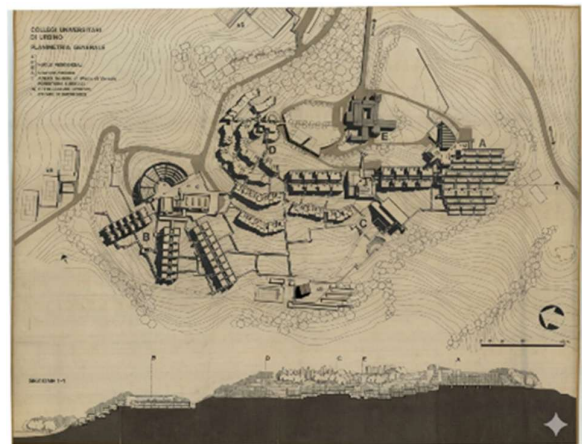
⁸ For more information see Banham, R. (1976). *Megastructure: Urban futures of the recent past*.

to resist the museumification of the historic core - a growing concern for many Italian historic cities at the time. The plan materialised De Carlo's vision towards a synthesis between territorial thinking and landscape, a design through a "reading" of the city, and his emphasis on materiality, participatory planning, and communal spaces (De Carlo, 1970).

In contrast to De Carlo's project, the Le Mirail development master plan in Toulouse (1961) designed by Georges Candilis, Alexis Josic and Shadrach Woods, had to accommodate rapid demographic growth. The authors offered the solution through creating a "counter-city", a fully integrated new development rather than merely a dormitory suburb. The central pedestrian axis materialised the concept of a "stem" and, combined with a cellular planning logic, formed an open and evolving urban system. As in other Team 10 proposals, the traffic circulation was vertically separated into vehicular and pedestrian layers. The project also introduced a mixing of building typologies, and most notably the idea of the "building as a carpet," which later reappeared in other works by Team 10.



Figures 19 and 20: Berlin Hauptstadt proposal designed by Alison and Peter Smithson for a 1957 competition.



Figures 21 and 22: General site plan for the University Colleges of Urbino; Site plan depicting the Collegio del Colle student

housing of the University Colleges of Urbino.



Figures 23 and 24: master plan for Toulouse-Le Mirail in France and its relationship to the old city of Toulouse; Scale model of the Toulouse-le-Mirail urban development project showing different housing typologies integrated in the project.

5.Socio-Economic and Political Drivers of the Critique of Modernism

The ideas of Team 10 laid the groundwork for many different strands of thought around cities, historical continuity and the principles of spatial organisation. Their works also inspired the emergence of more radical forms of so-called utopian or “paper architecture”⁹.

These radical utopias can be seen as indicative of broader cultural shifts and a slow demise of established social-economic frameworks, becoming visible by the end of the 1960s. In the 1970s, Keynesian economic systems and the political model of a welfare state were in deep crisis across advanced capitalist societies (O'Connor, 1973). The rupture with the post-war consensus and embracing of the ideas of flexible accumulation of capital were accompanied by interconnected transformations in every domain, including philosophical and cultural (Harvey, 1989).

One can argue that renewed interest in ‘paper architecture’ reflected the growing distrust of grand modernist narratives and the fragmentation of its universal knowledge and perception systems. The ideas, considered universal, became increasingly understood as relative and conditioned. Subjective ‘reading’, lived experience, memory, and history became key driving concepts, recognised as partial and situated constructs rather than objective totalities.

These transformations, also referred to as the ‘cultural turn’ (Jameson, 1998), signified a shift in the role of representation, identity, and meaning. Cultural production and forms of expression became increasingly dispersed and heterogeneous. Urban space and architecture, in turn, were no longer understood as expressions of a coherent social project but as layered, contested, and symbolic environments.

The analysis points out that the cultural transformations happened along with the restructuring of the global economic systems. The globalisation of the systems of production and subsequent deindustrialisation in the advanced Western societies led to the decline of traditional manufacturing economies and the fragmentation of organised labour. The assaults on the industrial working class, under the neoliberal political regimes of Reaganism and Thatcherism (Deeds, 1986), were part of the broader process of dismantling Fordist social compromises and welfare-state

⁹ The leading design concept of these architectural utopias of the time was Megastructure, as seen in Constant

Nieuwenhuys’ New Babylon and Yona Friedman’s Spatial City, and later on in the work of architectural groups such as Superstudio, Archizoom, and Archigram.

frameworks. This restructuring fundamentally altered patterns of labour, consumption, and, respectively, urban development. Western cities increasingly shifted from sites of production to spaces of consumption and spectacle, embracing global competition for identity, symbolic values and tourism (Harvey, 1989).

6. Anti-Modernism in Full Swing: Architectural and Urban Planning Language of Italian Neo-Rationalists

The cultural, economic, social and political transformations have nurtured vibrant architectural and urban planning discourses in Europe. One of such distinct schools of architectural thought emerged in Italy, which implied a critical re-evaluation of both the modernist and the reformist agendas, thus taking the anti-modernist shift to the next level. Architects such as Aldo Rossi and others from the *Tendenza* group rejected both modernism and its reformist critiques and declared the need for a fundamentally different theoretical foundation.

Rossi was particularly critical of Team 10's sociological orientation, which he viewed as a naïve form of functionalism (Rossi, 1982). He argued that architecture is an autonomous discipline with its own internal logic and historical continuity, and that it should not be reduced to a social function. The group prioritised typology over function. The latter was seen as variable and contingent. Architecture was understood as a system which outlasts temporary social trends. Accordingly, the city was interpreted as a repository of architectural meaning and collective memory of unfolding that meaning. Each building contributed a new chapter to the urban artefact (Rossi, 1982).

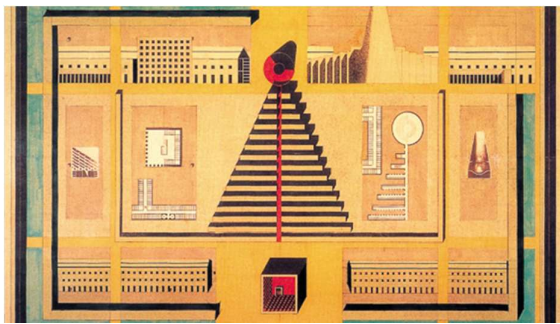
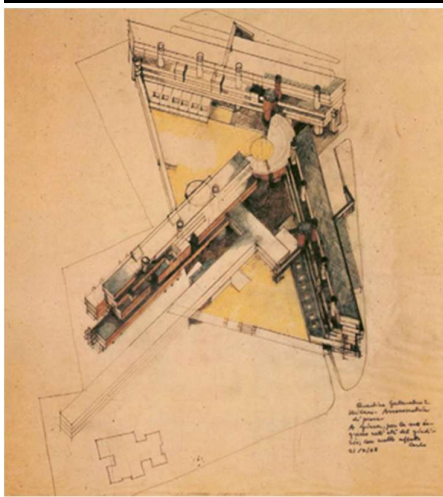
Following the 15th Milan Triennale in 1973, where Rossi curated the exhibition "Rational Architecture", the *Tendenza* group came to be referred to as Neo-Rationalists. Even though they, to some degree, identified themselves with the Italian rationalist tradition, they had their own distinct agenda and features. Ultimately, it was their orientation toward the past as a primary source of architectural knowledge, and their drive towards

reconnecting with the "lost" soul of the European city.

The material manifestation of the Neo-Rationalist principles can be best observed in the Monte Amiata Housing ensemble in Milan (1967–1974) and the San Cataldo Cemetery in Modena (1971–1984).

The Monte Amiata Housing project, designed by Carlo Aymonino and Aldo Rossi, stands as one of the most significant manifestos of Neo-Rationalism. The architects attempted to replicate the complexity, history, and monumentality of a historical city within a single residential ensemble. The project was designed as a fragmented urban organism – a city within a city – with a variety of building heights, winding alleys and open theatres to mimic the spontaneous variety and social encounter in an old European urban centre. A massive colonnade, featured in one of the blocks, serves no functional purpose other than to evoke the historical porticos of Italian cities.

The San Cataldo Cemetery, designed by Aldo Rossi and Gianni Braghieri, embodies the idea of the "City of the Dead" that mirrors the city of the living, with its monumentality, typological archetypes, incompleteness, and autonomy, prioritising form over function. The most recognisable element of the project is the massive terracotta-coloured ossuary, which deliberately lacks functionality. The building is designed as a shell, evoking a sense of metaphysical silence. The project is situated next to a 19th-century neoclassical cemetery, creating dialogue between the two with a similar linear organisation and courtyard structure.



Figures 25 and 26: Drawing representing the Monte Amiata Housing Complex; Drawing of the San Cataldo Cemetery in Modena.

From today's perspective, the new architectural and planning approaches proposed by Neo-Rationalists can be viewed as a pivotal element in the history of 20th-century architecture and urban planning. Neo-Rationalism has deepened the rupture with modernist ideas that were launched by Reformists in the 1950s. At the same time, it also broke with their revisionist approach, proposing a radical reformulation of the architectural and urban planning agenda as well as language (Kousidi, 2020).

For example, while Team 10 prioritised the "social", in their attempt to "humanise" modernism, the Tendenza placed form over the function. They isolated architecture as an autonomous and transcendental art form. Their ideas were imbued with historicism and memory. Focus on typology allowed them to be rational without being functionalist. The main distinctive features of the three strands of thought are summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Theoretical shifts in 20th-century

architectural and urban planning, based on European examples

Modernism	Reformism	Neo-Rationalism
Functionalism	Human Association	Typology and Autonomy
A machine for living, zoning	A social network/cluster	A repository of collective memory
Tabula rasa	Growth and change	Permanence of types/monuments

7. 'Angry Young Men' of Architecture: Critique of the Postmodern

The previous sections attempted to describe some of the main strands of architectural and urban planning discourse and practices in Europe in the context of concurrent socio-economic and political developments. In this section, we attempt to critically review these developments, drawing on the seminal works of the architectural historian and critic Manfredo Tafuri.

Contemporary to Team 10 and Tendenza, Tafuri's criticism reveals the sharp disagreement within the professional circles over the new ideas breaking with modernist principles. Tafuri, along with many others, acknowledged the crisis of modernism, but he viewed the return to history with deep scepticism. In his view, Neo-Realists work resembled "architecture in the boudoir"-beautiful but nostalgic and useless art that had lost its social relevance and power of action (Tafuri 1974). Contrary to the replication of historical forms and typologies, advocated by the Neo-Realists, he put forward an alternative approach to the past. Tafuri was convinced that understanding history was critical for the demystification of the past. History was to expose the contradictions, failures, and political realities of architecture, not merely offer a design manual.

Tafuri's position was equally critical of Team 10's ideas. While Team 10 saw themselves as rescuing modernism from the "machine-like" functionalism of CIAM, Tafuri viewed their

ideas as 'regressive utopia' and 'naïve sociology', which were more a symptom of the crisis of modernism rather than a solution to it (Tafuri, 1976). He recognised their discontent with alienating aspects of functionalism as valid, although he argued that the proposed responses were misplaced. Seeking a solution in "humanising" architecture, the 'angry young men' were merely reacting to the symptoms without addressing the underlying economic factors and conditions. Thus, the 'clusters' and the 'street-in-the-air' appeared not as radical new forms, but as ideological cover that masked the reality of capitalist urban planning. As a staunch Marxist, Tafuri saw that architecture and urban planning cannot enact community cohesion where the economic system is designed for exploitation.

Tafuri admitted the defeat of the modernist dream that architecture and urban planning could rationally organise the world. The subsequent developments were merely a retreat, a surrender to the chaotic forces of the capitalist market.

8. Conclusion

From today's perspective, looking back at late 20th-century developments in architecture and urban planning, one can agree with Tafuri in many aspects. Postmodern attempts to resolve urbanistic challenges with "poetic", humanistic or rationalist approaches were only partly or temporarily successful. These interventions have demonstrated that while architecture and urban planning can undoubtedly contribute to the vitality of cities, form and typology alone are insufficient to resolve the broader problem of creating liveable urban environments. The growing emphasis on historicism, heritage-making, and cultural branding within the context of global tourism competition has transformed many once-vibrant urban districts into monofunctional non-places, not unlike the effects of modernist functional zoning. While modernist zoning was blamed for being imposed authoritatively by architects and planners, the postmodern cities fell victim to the imperatives of globalising capital, arguably with no less dramatic consequences.

These observations suggest that the

developments in architecture and urban planning are closely tied to broader socio-economic and political contexts. The modernist project arose in response to the crisis of the nineteenth-century industrial city, and, to a significant extent, succeeded in addressing these challenges and improving living standards for millions of people. The consolidation of the welfare state allowed the conditions for a critique of modernism to emerge. Within the Keynesian era, however, this critique largely retained a constructive character and preserved a humanistic ambition to reorganise the social environment in a more humane and socially responsive way.

Following the crisis of the welfare state and the decline of the Keynesian model, the critique of modernism assumed a fundamentally anti-modernist form and shifted onto new philosophical grounds. In the post-Keynesian context, critique increasingly implied a withdrawal from broader social ambitions and a retreat into the autonomy of the architectural discipline itself, where formal, typological, and representational concerns became central. In this sense, post-Keynesian anti-modernist positions bore important parallels with the individualistic and anti-statist tendencies of neoclassical economic thought and may be understood as part of the broader ideological transition associated with flexible accumulation and the rise of neoliberalism.

Accordingly, these two historical moments also produced radically different modes of interpreting history, which became increasingly relational and dependent on the subjective philosophical and political positions of an interpreter. Whereas Keynesian-era critiques largely remained tied to collective social transformation, post-Keynesian anti-modernism often abandoned such universal ambitions, treating historical forms instead as autonomous cultural and symbolic constructs.

In conclusion, the anti-modernist transformation reflects not only changing architectural paradigms but also broader shifts in the political economy of capitalism. The transition from the socially oriented critiques of post-war modernism to the disciplinary autonomy and cultural fragmentation of the

neoliberal period reveals how architectural theory remained deeply conditioned by wider economic and ideological transformations.

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