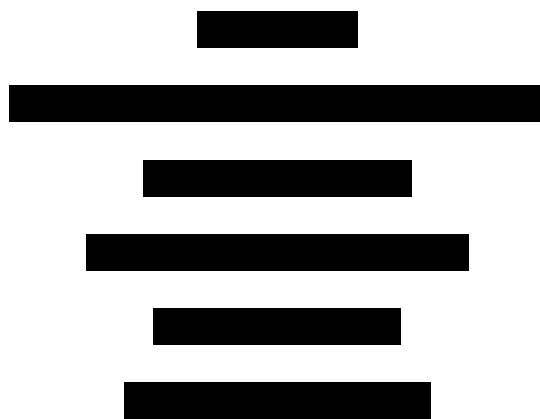


Brutalism as a controversial architecture movement:
Contrast between Great Britain and Czechoslovakia solution



Synopsis

The extended essay aims to investigate sustainable living for people in post-war architecture. It discusses different approaches to preserving or eradicating Brutalist buildings in the 21st century. The essay approaches the architecture movement in general and compares two primary case studies as examples for illustration. It begins by looking into concrete as a material. How is sustainable concrete compared to other materials, what introduces advantages and disadvantages of use, and if it is necessary to demolish these types of buildings? In chapter two, the decision approaches London, one of the most controversial brutalist buildings, Robin Hood Gardens. Finally, the last chapter is indicated Brutalism building in The Czech Republic and refers to similarities about the same issue as previous chapters. I use examples such as The Barbican in London or The Hutchesontown in Glasgow to get a complex context and complete picture of an issue. Furthermore, a couple of exciting and significant architectural pieces from the Czechoslovakia period.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

List of illustrations.....3

Introduction.....5

Chapter 1: Set up terms Brutalism, Concrete vs sustainability.....7

Chapter 2: Robin Hood Gardens.....11

Chapter 2.1: The same fate, different cities19

Chapter 2.2: When is Robin Hood demolished, The Barbican Estate is thriving.....21

Chapter 3: Hotel Thermal.....23

Conclusion.....27

Bibliography.....29

List of illustrations:

Fig. 1: Havirov city: URL https://hanakzhor.rajce.idnes.cz/Havirov-Mesto_v_Ostravske_panvi_vznikle_sloucenim_nekolika_obci/1416347661
(Accessed:09/11/2022)

Fig. 2: Primary school renovation in 2018: URL <https://prf.osu.cz/cvvpt/22594/zs-1-maje-havirov-mesto/> (Accessed:12/12/2022)

Fig. 3: City hospital after renovation: URL <https://www.edb.eu/czech-firm-97555-nemocnice-s-poliklinikou-havirov-prispevkova-organizace> (Accessed:16/12/2022)

Fig. 4 and 5: Kotva shopping centre before and after reconstruction: URL <https://od-kotva.cz/en/> (Accessed: 30/11/2022)

Fig. 6: The Zeits Museum of Contemporary Art, 2017: URL <https://zeitzmocaa.museum/>
(Accessed: 10/11/2022)

Fig. 7: The Zeits Museum of Contemporary Art, 2017: URL <https://zeitzmocaa.museum/>
(Accessed: 10/11/2022)

Fig. 8: Robin Hood Gardens complex from Woolmore street, Archive Photos: Photographs by Alison and Peter Smithson / Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010), page 79

Fig. 9: Plan, Archive Photos: Photographs by Alison and Peter Smithson / Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010), page 79

Fig. 10: Google maps screenshot, URL: <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=google+maps+poplar+london+> (Accessed: 02/11/2022)

Fig. 11: Outside corridor, Archive Photos: Photographs by Alison and Peter Smithson / Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010), page 79

Fig. 12: Entrance into flats with glass details to bring natural lights into the interiors, Photographs by Ioana Marinescu, 2009 / Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010), page 134

Fig. 13: Residents from complex enjoying area, Archive Photos: Photographs by Alison and Peter Smithson / Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010), page 79

Fig. 14: Saved elevation by V&A museum, URL: <https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/robin-hood-gardens> (Accessed: 20/11/2022)

Fig. 15: Balforn Tower, Photograph: Riba Collections 1969

Fig. 16: Hutchesontown: Photo by George Oliver in 1975, Glasgow School of Art Archives: reference number: DC 066/2/24

Fig. 17: Hutchesontown January 1774, Glasgow School of Art Archives: reference number: DC 066/2/24

Fig. 18: Hutchesontown flats with inner exterior, Glasgow School of Art Archives: reference number: DC 066/2/24

Fig. 19: Corridors in the Barbican complex, Photo by Graham and Megan Miln, URL: <https://stories.miln.eu/graham/2013-02-28-barbican-centre-london-highlights/> (Accessed: 07/11/2022)

Fig. 20: Entire complex of Hotel Thermal including the swimming pool, URL: <http://www.lazne-pobyty.cz/spa-hotel-thermal-karlovy-vary-3/>, (Accessed: 20/11/2022)

Fig. 21: Original plan of the hotel, Gabrian, A. (2015) Bazén Hotelu Thermal: Gebrian vs, Stream. Available at: <https://www.stream.cz/gebrianvs/bazen-hotelu-thermal-205442> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

Fig. 22: Exterior of congress hall, Gabrian, A. (2015) Bazén Hotelu Thermal: Gebrian vs, Stream. Available at: <https://www.stream.cz/gebrianvs/bazen-hotelu-thermal-205442> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

Introduction

Context, people and politics always influence architecture design. Much has been written about Brutalism and its effect on our quality of life. Brutalism as an architectural movement is about designing objects in detail for practical and functional reasons. In most cases, these buildings are designed in this way, which explains their success. However, most of the public finds Brutalism ugly, unattractive, plain or tense, focusing on the buildings' visual aspect. Brutalism alone is a controversial topic to discuss. Unfortunately, in the twenty-first century, we cannot repurchase such an area in one place and allocate such a large amount of public money to a city territory. Nowadays, population is trying to be eco-friendly, but at the same time, we are wasting and destroying buildings that are still usable.

We are surrounded by concrete. Fifty kilos of concrete are required to use about thirty litres of water. Only in the UK, the average number of demolished buildings annually is 50,000. The alarming fact is that these buildings are transformed into 126 million tonnes of waste. In general, this represents two-thirds of the total British waste⁽¹⁾

In light of these facts, I began to think about whether it is sustainable to build new residential areas when it is easier to rebuild and renovates previous zone. In addition, from the point of view of historical heritage, it is imperative that essential buildings be preserved for the future generations, especially in architecture. However, all this information is unlikely to be interesting for mammon such as developers and sometimes city councils.

These aspects are included in chapter one about Brutalism, concrete and sustainability. The paragraph is also inspired by *Barnabas Calder*, who published a book named *Raw Concrete: The Beauty of Brutalism* in 2016. Calder is a senior lecturer at the University of Liverpool for History of Architecture and collaborates with RIBA British Architectural Library Special Collections. The first chapter will also provide readers with some examples of Brutalism from Czechoslovakia to better understand its aesthetics.

Chapter two introduces a controversial topic which was a case followed by the whole world. The Robin Hood Gardens. Located in the Poplar area in London, was designed by Alison and Peter Smithson and completed in 1972. One of the two most famous brutalist buildings in London. The building reached the end of its life. The primary source for the second chapter is *Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions*, a book by C20 Society's campaign to save the building. The book is a collection of interviews with Alison and Peter Smithson, an interpretation of their ideas and perspectives on the building from Zaha Hadid, Neil Jackson or Richard Rogers. The book was published in 2010, only two years since the lively discussion about demolishing started leaking to the public.

⁽¹⁾ Wang, Kejin. *SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT & CONCRETE TECHNOLOGY*. 2004/ [online, page 212]

The last chapter will describe one of the most controversial brutalist properties built during the socialist era in Czechoslovakia. I am interested in this architectural piece as I was born in the Czech Republic. I often notice how people view these buildings, which are inextricably linked to the state's history. Probably, not only for Czech citizens but most likely in general, people have connected brutalists with the Soviet Union era of architecture and influence on our lives in post-Soviet countries. Most decisions about the demolition of such buildings in the Czech Republic are based mainly on this argument and, therefore, on an emotional level. However, we can find the same stigma in Britain as well. Older generations saw in the 1960s and 70s massive demolition of Britain's Victorian and Georgian architecture. Modern concrete became associated with political corruption and social failure.

Hotel Thermal is part of the city which leads to the UNESCO heritage. In this chapter, I support my argumentation with two primary sources. First are educational videos made by theoretician architect Adam Gebrian who published two short movies about the hotel and open conversation about public properties in the Czech Republic. "*Tour of the Thermal Hotel with Adam Gebrian*" was created during the International Film festival in 2018. Another short document named *Gabrian vs Thermal*, filmed in the same year, has diverse points and is focused more on technical details. When the first movie tries to explain why the public should be interested and involved in the property, the second video demonstrates how unique and impossible it is to build a mass building like the Thermal hotel today in the Czech Republic. ⁽²⁾

In this extended essay, I will discuss whether preserving these buildings is vital rather than demolishing them. What is the main reason for preserving these buildings? Over more, how we cope with the idea of demolishing and the regeneration of cities.

⁽²⁾ Wilkinson, T. (2020) *Robin Hood Gardens: Requiem for a dream*, *Architectural Review*. Architectural Review. Available at: https://www.architectural-review.com/films/robin-hood-gardens-requiem-for-a-dream?gclid=Cj0KCQiAvqGcBhCJARIsAFQ5ke6wgeJwPBazdtdikdtmMh6n5zvcqn2Z2XW1F04z46I5XKLi4NZ5Y14aAhODEALw_wcB (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online]

Gebrian, A. (2018) *Hotel thermal a Adam Gebrian Patři K sobě! | Mall Na Kviffu #7 | Mall.tv, YouTube*. YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c_cE53dAM1Q (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online]

Chapter one: Set up terms Brutalism, Concrete vs sustainability

"Brutalism is controversial, muscular term for controversial, muscular style." – Barnabas Calder⁽¹⁾

Materials, textures, and construction play a key role in Brutalism, producing highly expressive forms. From Le Corbusier's *Unité d'Habitation* in Marseilles in the late 1940s, when the term *béton brut* was used, Alison Smithson first used the term for an unrealized project in Soho in 1953. It was the first warehouse style in England with bare concrete, brick, and wood described as the "new brutalism".⁽³⁾

In British architecture, almost everyone can imagine several buildings as examples of Brutalism. Middle and Eastern European Brutalist buildings are less well known. In the Czech Republic, it is possible to find the unique city of Havířov. The last town which has been established in the entire state. The town is particular because it was all built in less than ten years and seems like a small brutalism utopia world finished in 1955. Concrete houses, streets and squares, all significant buildings for every city, such as train stations or city council, have been built in a similar style. It is a collection of concrete artefacts in one town.

The original idea of the communist party was to create a place where residents could get about anywhere by escalators. Currently, the look of the city reminds me of similar buildings ranging back to the 20th century. The utopian dream about the modern city has never been realized. Unfortunately, Havířov did not change for decades. Nowadays, the entire town looks old fashioned and unwelcoming to new generations. Changes such as colourful exterior facades on the flat blocks or poor renovation of significant buildings, for example, the central train station, do not help. Another aspect that did not support the city's development is that this region, where Havířov is located, is the third poorest in the entire republic.



Fig 1: Havířov city, Lenin street, among other things, is evidence of a generous attempt to create a new type of city and architectural style in 1965.

⁽³⁾ *Brutalism* (no date) RIBA. Available at: <https://www.architecture.com/explore-architecture/brutalism> (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online]

⁽¹⁾ Calder, Barnabas, *Raw Concrete: The Beauty of Brutalism* (London: William Heinemann, 2015) [page 3]



Fig. 2: (left) Renovation of Primary School with colourful façade

Fig. 3: (right) City hospital after reconstruction

Another example of Czechoslovakian post-war architecture is the shopping centre Kotva in Prague. The same architects designed Kotva as hotel Thermal. In the following pictures, you can recognise the shopping centre needed reconstruction and was successful.

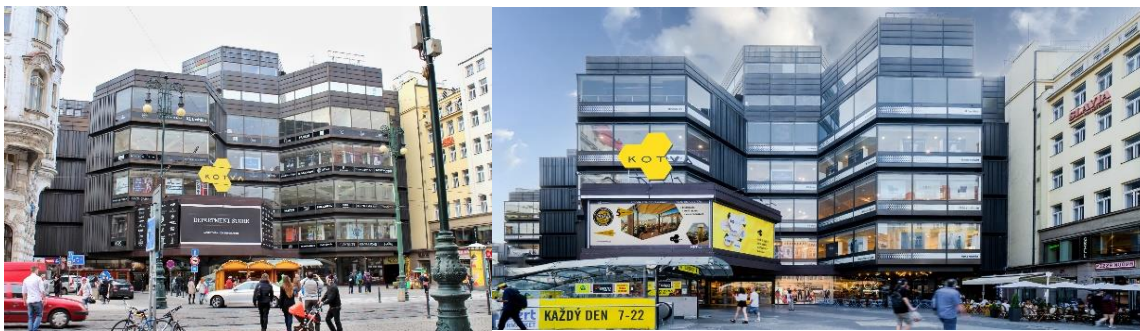


Fig. 4 and 5: Kotva shopping centre before and after reconstruction

There was an observation and understanding of the original idea. Renovation clearly copied lines, timid material and overall, is more vibrant than it used to be. Unfortunately, these examples are one of the few that have been preserved after renovation. ⁽⁴⁾

All mentioned buildings are produced from heavy, difficult recycled materials, mainly from reinforced concrete. This material is less sustainable than we are presenting. It is the world's most widely used substance after water. In spite of its benefits, its use also poses huge threats to the environment, human health, and culture. It is challenging and forceful to recycle if it contains lots of contaminants. The more we reuse and try to recycle the material, the less it is worth and suitable for new modern buildings. It is possible for recycled concrete to have lost strength over the years, with compressive strength decreasing between 10 and 30% over time, which means that it is unsuitable for further use and could even be dangerous.

⁽⁴⁾ Haviřov (2022) *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation. Available at: <https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hav%C3%AD%C5%99ov> (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online]

In contrast with conventional concrete, green concrete is an eco-friendly alternative that uses waste materials from different industries and requires less energy to produce. Sustainable concrete offers lower prices and is durable. In addition, it produces less carbon dioxide, the same substance we can find in factories that launch the fumes. ⁽⁵⁾

"Concrete causes less environmental damage than steel, and therefore, whether our claim that concrete is a sustainable..."⁽¹¹⁾

This is one of the main reasons why it does not make sense to demolish the older building with real purpose and bring, for example, new luxury apartments—the story which happened in the Robin Hood area.

In the world, when we have been building mainly with concrete material since the second world war ended and Brutalism became popular, there is more often questions about sustainability of the material. In a consumerist society, everyone wants the best standard of living and has a habit of wasting money, materials, and food, significantly damaging the environment. All the arguments mentioned earlier support the idea of keeping brutalist buildings which are not only made of concrete but also have value related to the history of architecture.

The significant advantage of concrete is that it has incredible characteristics. It is malleable into any shape that enables the creation of modern buildings such as The Zeits Museum of Contemporary Art in Africa.

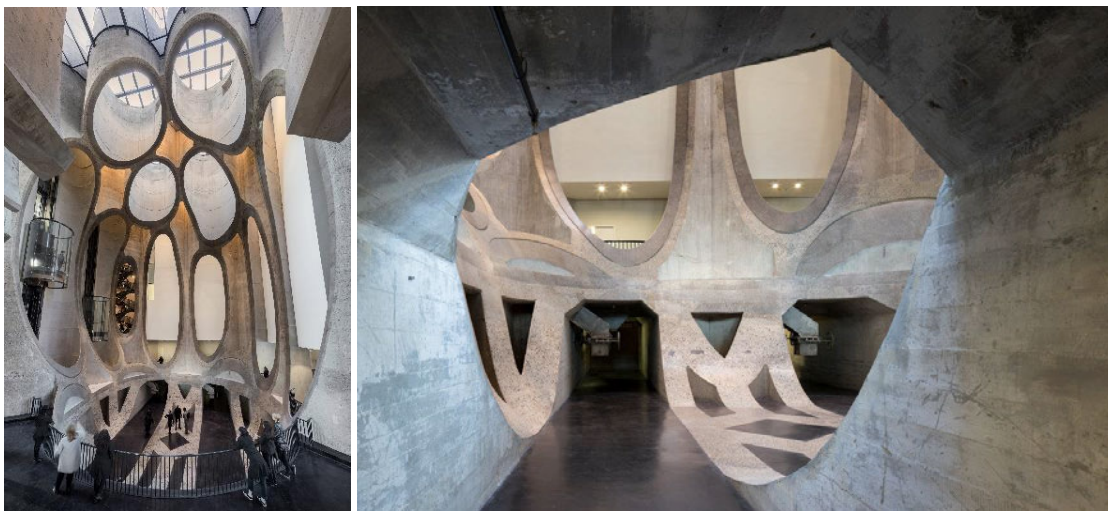


Fig. 6 and 7: The Zeits Museum of Contemporary Art, 2017

⁽⁵⁾ *Eco-friendly alternatives to traditional concrete* (2019) *Specify Concrete*. Available at: <https://www.specifyconcrete.org/blog/eco-friendly-alternatives-to-traditional-concrete> (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online]

⁽¹¹⁾ *Eco-friendly alternatives to traditional concrete* (2019) *Specify Concrete*. Available at: <https://www.specifyconcrete.org/blog/eco-friendly-alternatives-to-traditional-concrete> (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online]

In the last century, technologies did not allow us to build mass construction in a few days or even hours as we currently know it. Similar to materials in Brutalism, architects had to be flexible.

Besides, all technical facts aside, architecture is still an art form judged visually. The following quote from reddit.com demonstrates the opposite view of this type of architecture. Posted by user *elfombro_investing* in September 2021, this exhibits and expresses people's feelings about Brutalism objects.

“Here's a list of what this kind of buildings make me feel:

Hopelessness, sadness, misery, dystopia, monotony, solitude, coldness, boredom, life stagnation.

*No wonder why nearly everyone hates this style, it makes you think that you can't make any progress in life and that you'll have to work at the same s**t job and live at the same dull and crowded building for the rest of your days. And the entire city looking like that makes it even worse, you look around and you see that everyone has to deal with the same s**t, from hallway cleaners to doctors... it's kind of tells your that there's no escape from it no matter how hard you try.”^(III)*

One of the most famous UK examples of hate by the public can be found in London in Poplar.

^(III)User *elfombro_investing* (2021) *R/architecture - I deeply hate Brutalism*, reddit. Available at: https://www.reddit.com/r/architecture/comments/pkyxyc/i_deeply_hate_brutalism/ (Accessed: January 12, 2023).

Chapter 2: Robin Hood Gardens

A broad bulk of work has been written about Alison and Peter Smithson. Robin Hood Gardens are the only massive residential housing to have been built by Smithson. After a long struggle, this building has been demolished to make place for band new luxury accommodation. During the research, I discovered that they only created a few residential buildings. However, it set the program for much of the architecture of the 1960s in the UK. They were also the first British architects since the Arts and Crafts movement to have any influence abroad.

Robin Hood's gardens were completed over 20 years after the Smithson's' brutalist architecture had gone out of style. Despite a resurgence of architectural interest in the discipline, it remains a hard sell and Brutalist buildings are still regularly voted the most hated buildings in Britain in popular polls. This public hate translates into political populism, which creates the idea of demolitions.

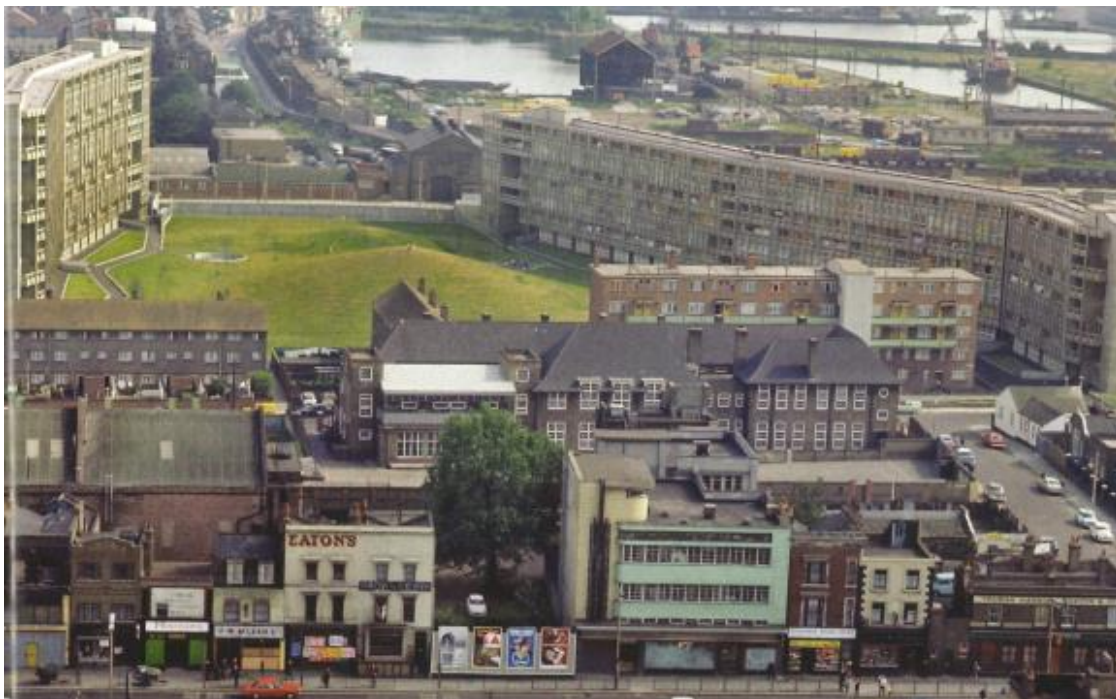


Fig 8: Robin Hood Gardens complex from Woolmore street

The area of the neighbourhood had real issues. The Smithson were in a tricky situation to solve it. The complex is surrounded by roads, including the still popular Blackwall tunnel approach. The air is heavy with fumes and noise pollution. ⁽⁶⁾

Alison. S.: "London has simple suitable spaces, but above this scale, there is virtually nothing. London really has never faced up to being more than a collection of villages." ^(IV)

This argument about London is valid, in fact, when we see the surrounding area around the Robin Hood complex. It is clear it was not the most welcoming area. However, bringing greenery in the middle stimulates the need for nature in an overcrowded city like London.

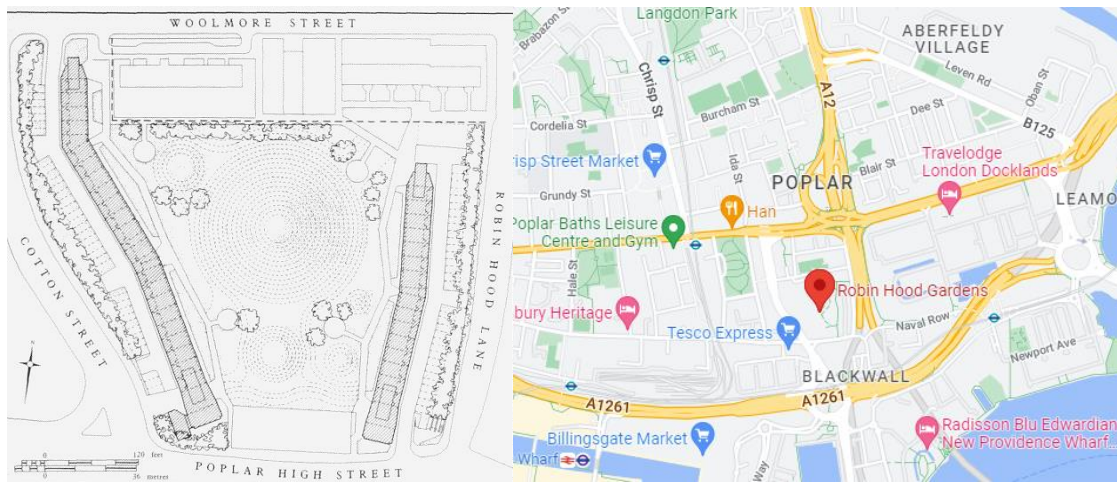


Fig 9: Picture on the left side is original plan of Robin Hood Gardens with central greenery into middle. Fig 10: Right picture demonstrates in yellow lines noisy motorways and which are nearby the location.

⁽⁶⁾ Wilkinson, T. (2020) *Robin Hood Gardens: Requiem for a dream*, *Architectural Review*. Architectural Review. Available at: https://www.architectural-review.com/films/robin-hood-gardens-requiem-for-a-dream?gclid=Cj0KCQiAvqGcBhCJARIsAFQ5ke6wgeJwPBazdttdikdtmMh6n5zvcqn2Z2XW1F04z4615XKLi4NZ5Y14aAhODEALw_wcB (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online]

Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, *Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions* (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010)

^(IV) Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, *Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions* (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010) [page 56]

Over more, the site is cut off in the broader neighbourhood, the noisy area. They tried to resolve these problems by bringing walls which were meant to help as acoustic partitions and turning the buildings inwards away from all this chaos. Nevertheless, the problem with this is that it made the property seem even more introverted and isolated. Similar issues are constantly repeated in others brutalist objects. Monstrosity and dullness combined with the volume of interiors make people anxious. The other solution was that the Smithson surrounded the building with a moat. Sadly, this solution is maladaptive for residents. The primary principle of architecture is to build for people and bring them together, not select them. Any selection or segregation of people will not bring the community together whatsoever.

However, the whole place seems welcoming and valuable for people who need housing. Another problem for modern people is parking. Initially, parking was provided for 70% of flats. Nowadays, almost everyone in each household owns a car. This area is not definitely for someone who enjoys a luxury type of housing. However, in the past, that was not the idea in any case. It was the concept of community living for working class. In order to preserve some of the dwellings, it would be enough to be modest. People who are in an existential crisis would definitely welcome at least a smaller home more than before. Social housing is mainly based on the principle where poorer families can find affordable housing. Which helps them about struggle with all bills and essentials. ⁽⁷⁾

Moving from exterior to interior and outside corridors running along with the building, modern people complain not only about the location but also the old fashion solutions of interiors. However, this layout was typical for brutalism architecture and conforming to the times. The issue is more about tension when residents request more space for living as some believe it is no longer suitable for living. Actual measurements have been a site zoning with 136 people to the acre. It was the solution to an “open space deficiency”, which seems tiny for a modern family. Another problem that recent community find out before the demolish describes Tom Wilkinson from The Architectural Review:

“These stairwells are dark, unnerving, especially at night and meanly proportion spaces. And they still have the unmistakable aroma of pests no matter how much cleaning fluid has been spilled on them. But does design cause crime? Is there a causal link between these spaces and the antisocial activities that have happened and in it?”^(V)

⁽⁷⁾ Wilkinson, T. (2020) *Robin Hood Gardens: Requiem for a dream*, *Architectural Review*. Architectural Review. Available at: https://www.architectural-review.com/films/robin-hood-gardens-requiem-for-a-dream?gclid=Cj0KCCQiAvqGcBhCJARIsAFQ5ke6wgeJwPBaztdikdtmMh6n5zvcqn2Z2XW1F04z46I5XKLi4NZ5Y14aAhODEALw_wcB (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, *Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions* (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010)

^(V) Wilkinson, T. (2020) *Robin Hood Gardens: Requiem for a dream*, *Architectural Review*. Architectural Review. Available at: https://www.architectural-review.com/films/robin-hood-gardens-requiem-for-a-dream?gclid=Cj0KCCQiAvqGcBhCJARIsAFQ5ke6wgeJwPBaztdikdtmMh6n5zvcqn2Z2XW1F04z46I5XKLi4NZ5Y14aAhODEALw_wcB (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online]

Tom Wilkinson found a critical question to ask as a designer about the crime. In this case, there is no clear answer. This question will prompt us to ask again whether there is really architecture and interior design for people or vice versa.

Compared to The Barbican master plan, which was deliberated into micro details, The Robin Hood Gardens might seem thoughtless. Between these two particular buildings, it seems like a brutalist competition which building bring heritage value subsequently get green light to keep alive.

Smithson also designed riveting artefacts. Corridors around as circulation and flow areas have been seen by Smithson as streets. Everything with three walls can be seems as interior. Do not matter if it a street or bus shelter. These corridors should be wide enough for children to play or to meet with neighbours.



Fig 11: Outside corridors

Another aspect that supports the neighbourhood community is the entrance door to the apartment opposite each other. It was another detail of bringing people from the same community together. The situations which encourage you to start conversations with neighbours.



Fig 12: Entrance into flats with glass details to bring natural lights into the interiors.



Fig 13: Residents from complex enjoying area

The same as a community was crucial for Smithson; the area as a whole is not anti-child. While observing an older picture of Woolmore street, have been discover adorable details, such as wooden animals that encourage kids to play and spend time outside. These photographs indicate that locals appropriately used the place, and people enjoy staying there for years. Robin Hood gardens could be a pleasant demonstration of sustainability for community living. ⁽⁸⁾

⁽⁸⁾ Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, *Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions* (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010)

More than these family-oriented artefacts are needed to save Robin Hood Gardens. English Heritage members declined to bring Robin Hood Gardens into listed buildings. Under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990, they did not find any proper reason to keep this building alive, despite the fact building reflects relative architectural and historical interest. From listing the final report, one of the members exculpate the decision:

“(...) It is important to know what the original intentions were, and what the estate originally looked like. Public housing is often well documented, illustrated in contemporary architectural magazines and with good surviving council records.”^(VI)

A Council survey discovers that 75% wish to demolished the building. It has been implied by some commentators that estates fail because residents do not like them. Tenants' decisions and opinions about their homes are influenced by several factors.

However, what is more salient is that 80% of residents in Robin Hood Gardens wanted only refurbishment. Foremost we should ask what inhabitants want rather than people who are not living here. Since 2017 when the demolition of the building began, over 1500 people from the working class had to move out, and a place for the middle class was created. Currently, not only London has fallen into a housing crisis. Is its new luxury accommodation for the mid-class or privileged families necessary? How sustainable on the level of environment and humanity is this solution? Fifty-two thousand people were on a waiting list for re-housing in 1961. Statistics from 2020 show that London is still facing this issue.⁽⁹⁾

At the end of this building's life, this area reminds filthy nooks filled with rotting smell. Before the demolition, curators from the Victoria and Albert Museum in London came to the decision to save part of the elevation of the Robin Hood Gardens building.

^(VI) *Robin Hood Gardens* *Robin Hood Gardens - Whatdotheyknow* (no date). Available at: https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/48673/response/124022/attach/23/Robin%20Hood%20Gardens%20COI%20Report.pdf?cookie_passthrough=1 (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online, page 15]

⁽⁹⁾ Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, *Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions* (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010)



Fig 14: Saved elevation by V&A museum

Dr Christopher Turner, Keeper of the V&A's Design, Architecture and Digital Department, said:

“This three-storey section of Robin Hood Gardens, complete with 'street in the sky', is an important piece of Brutalism, worth preserving for future generations. It is also an object that will stimulate debate around architecture and urbanism today – it raises important questions about the history and future of housing in Britain, and what we want from our cities. ... will motivate new thinking and research into this highly experimental period of British architectural and urban history.”^(VII)

The reaction has been mixed in reception to the V&A's move, with some criticizing that the museum should have intervened sooner and supported a 2008 campaign to list the estate. It was deemed unfit for living by Margaret Hodge, the architecture minister at the time. At the same time, it is not good enough for social housing, so how this can be in the museum if it is not good enough for the working class? Does not match up with the V&A's opinion. People in London protested against ethnic glancing – moving working people out of the city and selling the land to rich people – so London became a fantasy land for rich people. This means no history of the population in London of working-class culture.

^(VII) V&A · Robin Hood Gardens (no date) Victoria and Albert Museum. Victoria and Albert Museum. Available at: <https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/robin-hood-gardens> (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online]



Fig.15: Balfron Tower by Ernő Goldfinger has been the subject of a negative campaign against gentrification. It was one of the tower blocks left for social housing. Currently, the apartments are privately owned.

Chapter 2.1: The same fate, different cities

Robin Hood Gardens were at least partially saved compared to Hutchesontown blocks in Glasgow. Social housing buildings are frequently demolished in the name of the regeneration of cities. However, the main question, in this case, is how Hutchesontown blocks have been demolished. Live stream from Red Road Flats to Celtic Park to allow watch the entire demolishing process in real time to everyone who came for the Commonwealth games in 2014. It was a way how to present the idea “reborn” of Glasgow. Like the residents of Robin Hood Gardens, people had to move out of their homes. This is when two different opinions and perspectives on the whole event are disjunctive. None of these blocks has been saved. An act of violence can be seen in this demolition by residents who have been growing up there and creating a community the same as memories from their childhood. ⁽¹⁰⁾

A short anecdote by classmate from a college who used to live in these blocks of flats.

“Growing up in Hutchesontown was so formative of my personality today, the sense of community and always going door to door to hang out with your friends is such a fond memory for me. I lost touch with most of my mates from there after we moved and it was devastating for it to be demolished. Rent became more expensive for my family and things never felt the same.” – Theresa, 56 ^(VIII)

This is an example of what came up from people who used to like living in these blocks. Demolition means looking for a new house in a different location with a much way different range of monthly rent. The fact that Hutchesontown and Gorbals have always been cheap areas does not help people made a further decision when residents have been forced to move out. However, Hutchesontown has been in bad condition, and people have been embarrassed to talk about living there. In the 1980s had a bad reputation. Furthermore, there was a big contrast of opinion between architects and residents.

. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Owens, Paul, ‘Hutchesontown: A Housing Story’ (Glasgow School of Art, 2015)

^(VIII) First-hand account information /28.10.2022/ personal observation about topic

The following photos describe life in this area during the years 1974 and 1975. It was found in Glasgow School of Art archives and currently are not available in digital version.



Fig. 16: Photo by George Oliver in 1975



Fig. 17: Hutchesontown January 1974



Fig. 18: Hutchesontown flats with inner exterior

Chapter 2.2: When is Robin Hood demolished, The Barbican Estate is thriving

A similar example of social housing built in London finished in 1982, and one of the best know brutalism mass complexes is The Barbican. The Barbican came from Latin word *Barbecana* and presents gateway or defense for castle or city.

Before Robin Hood Gardens got the final official decision about demolish, Barbican became the stronger argument supporting to take down.

“...Interiors will be very simple, and only the earliest, or model estates such as the City of London’s Golden Lane Estate or Barbican, will have internal fittings worthy of mention in a description.” (IX)

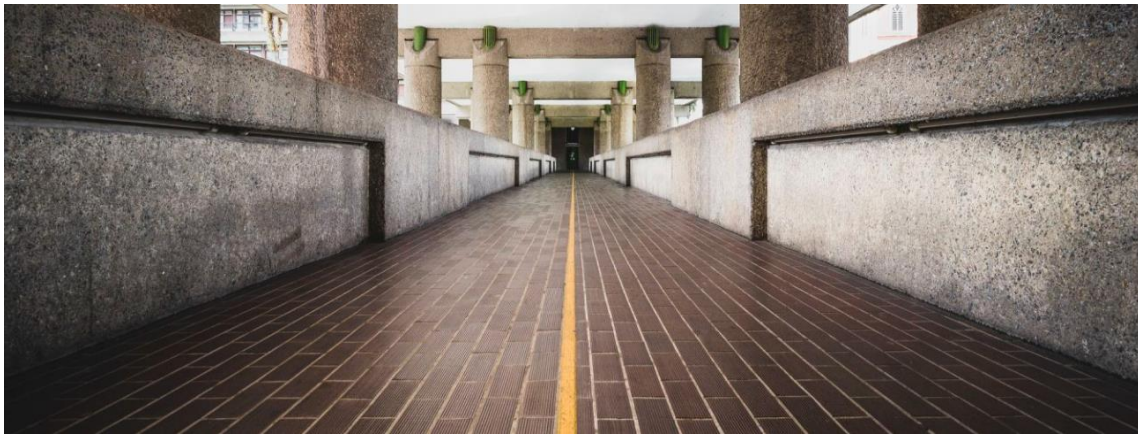


Fig19: Corridors in the Barbican complex

To understand in depth why Poplar's famous architectural gem was torn down, it is important to know how significant Barbican is compared to others. Barbican was not only housing for the working class but included value added in a theatre or tropical plants with a water tank in the middle of the complex. The place overflows with details, from small details on the columns (as shown in the photo fig. 19) to tall skyscrapers.

It was a utopian vision after world war two when areas were bombarded and, after the war, made space for brand-new housing. With over 2000 apartments and various public, cultural, and civic facilities linked by elevated walkways, it is a massive complex.

(IX) *Robin Hood Gardens* *Robin Hood Gardens - Whatdotheyknow* (no date). Available at: https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/48673/response/124022/attach/23/Robin%20Hood%20Gardens%20COI%20Report.pdf?cookie_passthrough=1 (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online, page 15]

London's ugliest building award is frequently given to the Barbican complex. Is the Barbican still alive and survived because the wealthy community had an interest? This place is fantastic example of how we can observe and learn from brutalism architecture and even more about urbanism. Also, we can learn about communities and their heritage. ⁽¹¹⁾

However, not everyone finds beauty in Brutalism. King Charles, still a prince at the time of the documentary, describes London's post-war architecture:

"Sometimes, it's during this century, something went wrong. For various reasons, we allow terrible damage to be inflicted on parts of this country's unique landscape and tan skin. Look at the National Theatre. It seems like a clever way of building a nuclear power station in the middle of London without anyone objecting. (...) Can you imagine the French doing this sort of thing in Paris on the backs of the same round Norte Dome or the Venetians building tower blocks?" ^(X)

The part of the documentary *A Vision of England*, filmed in 1988, clearly demonstrated the damage preceding the creation of a new post-war architectural style such as Brutalism. It also mirrored the situation when St. Paul's Cathedral is surrounded by modern buildings and objects without being dominated and visible by the river Thames. Compare London to other European cities. The whole point has been critically observing the city centre of London and the changes created by new architectural movements.

^(X) Kirkham, M. (2019) *Royal Fury: How Prince Charles was devastated by London's architect...*, *Express.co.uk*. *Express.co.uk*. Available at: <https://www.express.co.uk/news/royal/1072743/prince-charles-devastated-london-architect-ure-spt> (Accessed: January 12, 2023).

Chapter 3: Hotel Thermal

Like Robin Hood Gardens or Hutchesontown in Glasgow, The Czech Republic deals with the hating issue of brutalism buildings. The range of comments is strongly supported by the period when post-war, and brutalist buildings were built. “Concrete monster” is one of the nicknames people named an entire object located in the heart of the town.



Fig 20: Entire complex of Hotel Thermal including the swimming pool

In the northwest of the republic, there is a famous festival hosted by this city every year, International Film Festival Karlovy Vary. Due to the event of such a festival, Czechoslovakia then decided to build an object that would support all the necessary activities, including a cinema and a swimming pool. In the 1960s, the city council announced an architectural competition to construct a new international hotel complex. Same as Smithson, the architects of hotel Thermal have been life partners Vera and Vladimir Machoninovi. The building was constructed between 1967 and 1976. The Thermal complex was built in the Brutalist style, and from the beginning, it was considered as a congress hotel. The hotel rooms offer a view of the spa and business part of the city. About 30 houses, mostly Art Nouveau from the 19th century, had to be demolished before the hotel's construction began. ⁽¹²⁾

⁽¹²⁾ StandaShow, S.T.A.N.D.A.S.H.O.W. (2019) *Nejkrásnější Bazén v ČR. Proč je zavřený? Procházka Hotelem Thermal S vnučaty Architektky*, YouTube. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uRIEGCSS3rs> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

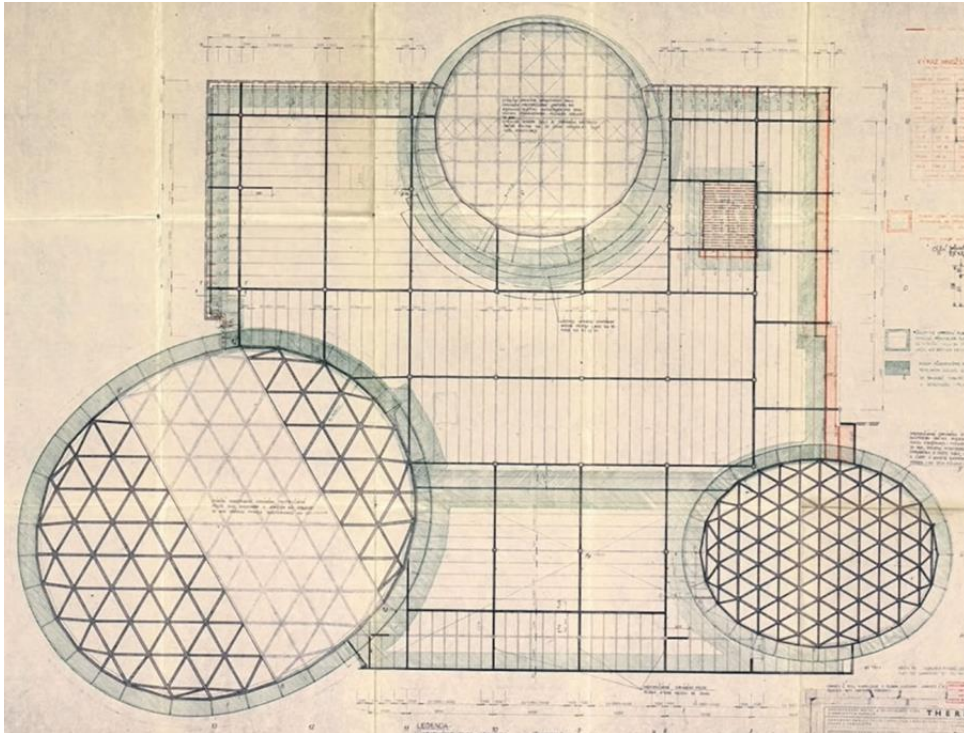


Fig 21: Original plan of the hotel



Fig 22: Exterior of congress hall

Hotel Thermal was built by the government, and the property belongs to the Ministry of Finance. Thermal is basically the property of everyone who pays taxes, and there has never been a referendum or any voting. Privatizing the hotel or even tearing it down and replacing it with a more suitable structure has been talked about since the 1990s. Compared to London's The Barbican, where we can clearly find people's interest, the Czech Republic had zero interest in Brutalism architecture for almost fifty years. As a result, the hotel complex remains in the hands of the Czech government despite a failed attempt to sell it to a private owner.

The festival city was in conflict with Russia until almost the 90s of the 20th century when the festival took place every other year. During the 20th century, the Russians acquired most of the city for personal ownership. Especially after 1990, and to this day, more than 60% of the owners of private houses are Russian. Consequently, no referendum has been held on whether to demolish or keep the building.

Even though the architect Vera Machoninova still owns the copyright to the design, she was never included in the new reconstruction. For decades, Hotel Thermal was in devastating condition, and the fact that the government owns the building does not help to make further decisions. At this point, the grandchildren of architect Machonin established an organization named "*Respect Madam*". The campaign is led by architect Pavel Smetak, graphic Matej Polak and already mentioned descendants Jan and Marie Kordovrsky. The following text is a transcription of an interview with Marie:

"However, all steps taken by the state so far are opaque and do not reflect the architectural value of the building. The reconstruction, as it is going on, has no architect, is far from reaching the artistic quality of the original design and is technologically below the average of the current hotel standard. We are trying to point out this fact and make the public aware of it. We think that the festival palace should be renovated in a high-quality and transparent way and become a place for everyone (including locals), not just a stop for rich tourists from the East."^(XI)

Unfortunately, the current plan for the hotel is to bring back rich people from countries such as China or Saudi Arabia. Like the city council, the government absolutely ignores that the Thermal spa should be primary for locals, including all range facilities building has. The swimming pool, cinema, and restaurant or cafe areas might profit from local clientele the entire year, not only during festival season.

^(XI) (no date) *Respekt madam – za hotel thermal, za architektonickou tvorbu manželů machoninových, za brutalismus a za respektování moderní architektury v ČR*. Available at: <http://respektmadam.cz/cs/> (Accessed: December 1, 2022). [online]

The entire complex has another value: a significant pointer of emergency to keep the building alive. In the socialist period, every single architectural master plan had to add included works of art representing at least 4% of the entire project. In this case, demolishing the resort will mean the loss of art pieces which currently have incalculable value. Some of these art pieces are some of the few preserved works by prominent Czechoslovak artists of the time. This point is one of the most valuable why not demolish the building. Unfortunately, demolishing does not mean destroying only historical buildings but also getting these artworks out of context. However, the hotel was not demolished. Currently is under renovation since 2019, thanks to the initiative of architects and some of the residents from Karlovy Vary. Considerable value brings Adam Gebrian as a populariser of architecture. Finally, the entire city, including the hotel, has been the UNESCO monument since July 2021.⁽¹³⁾

However, the story continued. The entire new construction contract is intertwined with the largest construction company in the Czech Republic. There was no pitch competition for rebuilding. These circumstances have the consequence that the current rebuilding does not have an architect. Who else than an architect will understand the point of view that the narrative for the building is not of the houses around but hills and nature in the surrounding area?

Adam Gebrian invites people to join the campaign. Thanks to him and his series about important buildings, people in the Czech Republic became more interested in architecture, public space and city planning. “*This building is yours.*” is a robust and effective sentence about how Gebrian tries to involve people in general discussion.

Most politicians still believe that the building should be demolished. For the government, it is an incredibly huge investment which is not guaranteed that the money will return and the whole project will be profitable. Even the corruption scandal did not miss the entire reconstruction. Ultimately, it is about preserving the architectural heritage of the building from the last century.

There is a vital question to think about it. Is the interest of Machonovi's grandchildren based on their interests, or did their ancestors strongly influence them? Would they fight for this hotel if they did not have all this information and relatives connected with it? Would their interest be so great? The campaign *Respect Madam* might never exist. In addition, the entire campaign is interested in only one particular building.

⁽¹³⁾ Gabrian, A. (2015) *Bazén Hotelu Thermal: Gebrian vs, Stream*. Available at: <https://www.stream.cz/gebrianvs/bazen-hotelu-thermal-205442> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

Gebrian, A. (2018) *Hotel thermal a Adam Gebrian Patří K sobě! | Mall Na Kviffu #7 | Mall.tv, YouTube*. YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c_cE53dAM1Q (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

StandaShow, S.T.A.N.D.A.S.H.O.W. (2019) *Nejkrásnější Bazén v ČR. Proč je zavřený? Procházka Hotelem Thermal S vnoučaty Architektky, YouTube*. YouTube. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uRIEGCSS3rs> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

CONCLUSION:

I believe this essay has effectively demonstrated the entire topic and the main purpose of the architecture movement.

Through this essay, I have mainly observed two examples of divergent buildings with rich histories, contrasting stories and target markets. The primary connection between all these buildings is that all of them used to be owned by cities. I find it fascinating how different cities approach similar issues and how they communicate with the public. All mentioned buildings had to be convicted of demolishing rather than taking care of them and created space for working class people. However, I discovered similarities, such as people who still do not admire and even hate brutalist buildings in any geographic area. Especially, in the Czech Republic when the history of the buildings is closely connected with events such as political processes in the 1950s or the beginning of Russian troops' occupation in 1968. We all have some memories connected with specific places. It is no surprise that people living under the repressing regime do not find the enthusiasm to admire the architecture of this period. As someone born at the turn of the generation of Millennials and Generation Z, I am not able to understand their memories and experiences fully. However, I believe our generation of designers and architects can find meaning in post-war buildings again. Modern architecture admires simple lines, minimalism and as few materials as possible to reach simplicity, which reminds thinking of brutalism architects.

All mentioned arguments in chapter two demonstrate why The Barbican is more valuable than Robin Hood Gardens. The chapter helped me understand the entire situation. I found it interesting to watch the video on Dezeen's YouTube account about demolition. Not only as a consequence, it was a unique piece of architecture but an idea of how many memories people have connected with the place. At the same time, I understand the building was no longer suitable for living.

Similar to people in the Czech Republic, residents have memories from Hutchesontown blocks. Hutchesontown block meant significant change for Glasgow urbanism in the 1960s, and they were an integral part of the city that the local people remember.

Another different approach I discovered was about Robin Hood Gardens when the city council surveyed people about the situation. Unfortunately, this act of democracy never happened in the Karlovy Vary region about the hotel. In the end, it does not matter what the function of these buildings is. We all should have the right to vote in polls or referendums about surrounding areas where we live and are settled. Especially the Thermal hotel, which is not a private property, should be an appropriate option as the solution.

According to the public discussions I read and watched, no one will be engaged in the issue if we do not explain the importance of individual buildings, their historical context, and the problem of demolition or preservation. Also, the public will not participate in referendums or care about them without any edification.

Brutalism probably will keep with expressive language about aesthetic visuals. Also, the volume of the space which these buildings cover is massive. In my opinion, it is pointless to criticize brutalism buildings when every single solution has a proper reason, and most of these examples are designed into tiny details. This architectural movement is one of the most

practical as I can imagine. However, I respect different opinions and points of view when people simply do not like visual proportion, they are not able to feel comfortable in buildings and the interior seems old-fashioned. It is still only a vast volume of concrete in a drab shape.

In the last decades, large buildings were proven to become ugly and uninteresting. In the previous five years, a wave of hatred replaced interest in the structures represented in books such as *Soviet Bus Stops*, *SOS Brutalism: A Global Survey*, or *This Brutal World*. Especially in England, Brutalism and post-war architecture are getting a second chance in the twenty-first century. A range of articles talks about preserving some of these. However, a minimum of articles informs about social housing, which is still essential for people worldwide.

There are misconceptions about concrete's sustainability for the public. We are using this material only because it is the most sustainable compared to others. This has resulted in the consumption of ten billion tons annually worldwide.

In my personal interest, I can say I found surprising buildings, facts, and solutions not only about brutalism. My research was overwhelming, and I prioritised buildings and architectural pieces from which I can benefit in the future. It is a complex and controversial topic which can definitely be communicated through a dissertation or even better in a thesis. The research part makes me feel it is a never-ending bottomless topic with a range of problems beginning with residents and councils of these cities, same as material or sustainable living space. It furthermore showed me why we should sympathise with both opinions. When one side see old ugly pointless buildings, other can find historical value.

Finally, I believe found the advantages and disadvantages of brutalism during my research, as I was always interested in this architectural movement. I would recommend visiting <https://www.flickr.com/groups/2977489@N21/> by Barnabas Calder, who created this website to share brutalism buildings with other architects, designers and enthusiasts.

Bibliography

Calder, Barnabas, *Raw Concrete: The Beauty of Brutalism* (London: William Heinemann, 2015)

Bennett, David, *Sustainable Concrete Architecture* (London: RIBA Publishing, 2010)

Owens, Paul, 'Hutchesontown: A Housing Story' (Glasgow School of Art, 2015)

Powers, Alan, Peter Smithson, and Alison Smithson, *Robin Hood Gardens: Re-Visions* (London: Twentieth Century Society, 2010)

Amy Frearson | 15 September 2017 30 comments (2022) *Heatherwick reveals Zeitz MOCAA art galleries in Cape Town Grain Silo*, *Dezeen*. Available at: <https://www.dezeen.com/2017/09/15/thomas-heatherwick-zeitz-mocaa-cape-town-art-museum-south-africa/> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

V karlovarském hotelu thermal rekonstruovali téměř 270 pokojů. Změny proběhly I U Venkovního Bazénu (no date) *iROZHLAS*. Available at: https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/karlovy-vary-hotel-thermal-rekonstrukce-alena-schillerova_2008101720_vtk (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

Schillerová: Rekonstrukce Thermalu je právně v pořádku, Nemůžeme Hotel nechat spadnout (no date) *iROZHLAS*. Available at: https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/schillerova-rekonstrukce-thermalu-je-pravne-v-poradku-nemuzeme-hotel-nechat_2002131723_cen (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

A tale of two Brutalist housing estates: One thriving, one facing demolition (2016) *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/jan/13/brutalist-housing-estates-private-barbican-social-london> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

Sandes, C.A. (1970) *Identity and heritage in the Global City: The Barbican Estate and Robin Hood Gardens, London, UK*, SpringerLink. Springer International Publishing. Available at: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-09689-6_4 (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

Brutalism (no date) *RIBA*. Available at: <https://www.architecture.com/explore-architecture/brutalism> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

Robin Hood Gardens (2022) *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robin_Hood_Gardens (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

(CCA), C.C.for A. (no date) *1956: House of the Future, Canadian Centre for Architecture*. Available at: <https://www.cca.qc.ca/en/articles/issues/2/what-the-future-looked-like/32734/1956-house-of-the-future> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

- Eco-friendly alternatives to traditional concrete* (2019) *Specify Concrete*. Available at: <https://www.specifyconcrete.org/blog/eco-friendly-alternatives-to-traditional-concrete> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).
- (10 April 2014) *The Glasgow Commonwealth Games 2014 and the Red Road Flats controversy*. Available at: <https://www.open.edu/openlearn/people-politics-law/politics-policy-people/the-glasgow-commonwealth-games-2014-and-the-red-road-flats-controversy> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).
- Januszek, T. (2020) *Podívejte SE, jak šel čas S HAVÍŘOVEM. Nejmladší Město slaví 65. Narozeniny, Deník.cz*. Deník.cz. Available at: <https://www.denik.cz/regiony/havirov-havirov-65-let.html> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).
- Havířov* (2022) *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation. Available at: <https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hav%C3%AD%C5%99ov> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).
- Historie a současnost* (2020) *Statutární město Havířov*. Available at: <https://www.havirov-city.cz/historie-soucasnost/historie-soucasnost/historie-soucasnost> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).
- (no date) *Respekt madam – za hotel thermal, za architektonickou tvorbu manželů machoninových, za brutalismus a za respektování moderní architektury v ČR*. Available at: <http://respektmadam.cz/cs/> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).
- V&A · *Robin Hood Gardens* (no date) *Victoria and Albert Museum*. Victoria and Albert Museum. Available at: <https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/robin-hood-gardens> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).
- sites.barbican.org.uk. (n.d.). *Everything You Wanted to Know About Barbican Architecture*. [online] Available at: <https://sites.barbican.org.uk/barbicanfacts/>.
- Wang, Kejin. *SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT & CONCRETE TECHNOLOGY*. 2004.
- Gabrian, A. (2015) *Bazén Hotelu Thermal: Gebrian vs, Stream*. Available at: <https://www.stream.cz/gebrianvs/bazen-hotelu-thermal-205442> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).
- Gebrian, A. (2018) *Hotel thermal a Adam Gebrian Patří K sobě! | Mall Na Kviffu #7 | Mall.tv, YouTube*. YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c_cE53dAM1Q (Accessed: December 1, 2022).
- StandaShow, S.T.A.N.D.A.S.H.O.W. (2019) *Nejkrásnější Bazén v ČR. Proč je zavřený? Procházka Hotelem Thermal S vnoučaty Architektky, YouTube*. YouTube. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uRIEGCSS3rs> (Accessed: December 1, 2022).
- Wilkinson, T. (2020) *Robin Hood Gardens: Requiem for a dream, Architectural Review*. Architectural Review. Available at: <https://www.architectural-review.com/films/robin-hood-gardens-requiem-for-a->

dream?gclid=Cj0KCQiAvqGcBhCJARIsAFQ5ke6wgeJwPBazdttdikdtmMh6n5zvcqn2Z2XW1F04z46I5XKLi4NZ5Y14aAhODEALw_wcB (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

Robin Hood Gardens robin Hood Gardens - *Whatdotheyknow* (no date). Available at: https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/48673/response/124022/attach/23/Robin%20Hood%20Gardens%20COI%20Report.pdf?cookie_passthrough=1 (Accessed: December 1, 2022).

Henley, Simon, *Redefining Brutalism* (London: RIBA Publishing, 2017)

Banham, R. (2021) *The new brutalism by Reyner Banham*, *Architectural Review*. Available at: <https://www.architectural-review.com/archive/the-new-brutalism-by-reyner-banham> (Accessed: January 12, 2023).

Hurst, W. (2021) *Critics round on V&A's acquisition of Robin Hood Gardens Section*, *The Architects' Journal*. Available at: <https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/critics-round-on-vas-acquisition-of-robin-hood-gardens-section> (Accessed: January 12, 2023).

'the Council tenants weren't going to be allowed back': How Britain's 'ugliest building' was gentrified (2022) *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2022/jul/26/balfron-tower-britain-ugliest-building-gentrified> (Accessed: January 12, 2023).

Kirkham, M. (2019) *Royal Fury: How Prince Charles was devastated by London's architect...*, *Express.co.uk*. Express.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.express.co.uk/news/royal/1072743/prince-charles-devastated-london-architecture-spt> (Accessed: January 12, 2023).

Unknown (2018) *The real Goldfinger: Communist whose Brutalism transformed housing was inspiration for Ian Fleming's bad guy – and threatened to sue over the portrayal*, *Daily Mail Online*. Associated Newspapers. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/fb-5413361/The-REAL-Goldfinger-Communist-brutalism-transformed.html> (Accessed: January 12, 2023).

User elfombro_investing (2021) *R/architecture - I deeply hate Brutalism*, *reddit*. Available at: https://www.reddit.com/r/architecture/comments/pkyxyc/i_deeply_hate_brutalism/ (Accessed: January 12, 2023).

Bowder-Ridger, T. (2022) *How England's brutalist buildings are getting Second lives*, *Metropolis*. Available at: <https://metropolismag.com/viewpoints/how-englands-brutalist-buildings-are-getting-second-lives/> (Accessed: January 16, 2023).