The hidden talk of domestic space: family patterns embodied in the apartment layouts of contemporary Lisbon[1]

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Abstract

This paper corresponds to an initial development of a research that gave rise to a PhD thesis, called Home and Social Change: reading Portuguese society change through home, concluded in 2010 in ISCTE- Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Portugal. In order to identify a typology of domestic structures, we developed a content analysis of the interior plans of housing, using real estate advertisements that were published in a popular Portuguese weekly newspaper (N= 70). The analysis identifies a typology composed by 6 types of domestic structure: 1) the pure modern matrix; 2) the transition traditional – modern; 3) continuous couple's privatization or the modern matrix with moderate reinforcement of conjugal privacy; 4) continuous privatization of the whole family; 5) radical couple's privatization; 6) radical privatization of the whole. Despite the predominance of the domestic modern matrix developed by the architects of the Modern Movement, the few changes observed were essentially related to the private sphere of home: the bedroom area. This should be interpreted as the partial embodiment of

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one of the main aspects of contemporary society: the process of individualization and the need for autonomy within the family.

On housing as material culture

The general purpose of this paper is to deconstruct the meaning systems that are embodied in some of the main housing types that have characterized the development of Lisbon along the 20th century. The central argument is related with the great heuristic potential incorporated in material production such as the built environment. It results from a cultural approach of housing which underlines its communicative dimension. All human material productions materialize some intentions which give some sort of strength to the technical cultures of those who are involved in the process. The probability of conflict rises with the growing number of actors involved and this is particularly visible in the real estate sector. Beyond the comprehension of the productive process of a specific good and of the good itself as a resource to capitalization - being it from an individual, an enterprise or even a professional group -, there is another dimension, much less reflexive and which results from the fact that all human beings are socially framed. The concept of material culture thus gives us a perception of goods as the material expression of the system of values and norms of a specific society. It gives materiality to the less tangible universe of concepts.

But, while focusing in the analysis of the dominant housing types, which refer directly to the anchorage space of the social unit of family, we privilege its social representations; the core of our analysis is the familiar models and the relative normative orientations that are embodied in space and that are readable from it. This approach is based on the family typology created in the decade of 1940 by Burguess and Locke and afterwards reviewed by Roussel (1992). Even though its detailed explanation will intentionally take place along the explanation of the results, for now we will just make a brief, but essential, comment: the purpose of that typology is to understand the evolution of family in Modern society assuming as the central criteria the specificity of its relations, namely in what regards to their inner level of democracy and parity. Nevertheless, we do not assume that there is a strict correspondence between a specific housing type and a specific type of family, since the reality of social life is much more complex and heterogenic (Aboim, 2005; Bawin-Legros, 2001) than the universe of housing, something that, as we are going to prove, is much more homogeneous and unified. When looking at the interior space of a house it is possible to identify a specific *domestic spatial system* which is a combination of distinct rooms or compartments that are designated to fulfil the practice of different domestic activities – functions. Those compartments are then organized, either partially and globally, by some rules and, as a whole, they prefigure an autonomous unity with a proper logic that gives it some intelligibility. If we agree with this, then we make the following question: what can a domestic system tell us, not exactly about its

occupants, but about the perspective that its producers have on its potential occupants, their roles, status and relations? Assuming that this domestic system can be perceived as a whole which intelligibility does not result from the sum of its parts, but from the specificity of each of those parts (functional composition) as well as from the relative position that each of them assumes within the whole (structure), what does it tell about the family models that the builders and architects had in mind even if these models may not be completely rationalized by those actors?

This research began with an initial interest on both the real estate sector and on the studies about housing's morphology that were essentially developed to the city of Lisbon. In what respects to this last issue, it is in the field of architecture that we find a more consolidated research tradition. In the field of Sociology, the majority of the texts assume morphology as a minor or satellite dimension resulting from focusing the analyses on housing public policies (Baptista, 1996; Gros, 1994; Janarra, 1994) or on its impact on the way of life and level of satisfaction of its target (Freitas, 1998). There is in fact a tradition in Sociology that privileges the public sector in spite of the private one. Nevertheless there are some exceptions in the Portuguese research that we briefly refer: that is the case of the work developed on illegal housing (Ferreira et al., 1985; Pinto, 1998) as well as on the emigrant housing (Castro, 1998; Villanova, Leite and Raposo, 1995). Both of them were quite representative in the whole of the Portuguese housing scene and have a strong symbolic dimension consolidated through a peculiar structure of taste. More recently there has been some interest around the theme of gated communities that has quite often a strong normative orientation resulting from the wish, more or less assumed, to criticize the destruction of the modern concept of public space (Ferreira et al., 2001; Raposo, 2002).

As we have said before it is in architecture that the work on housing morphology is richer, something that is comprehensible because of the familiarity of this specific field with the object of study: space. But since the majority of the typological studies developed in architecture are essentially centred in three criteria – stylistic, morphologic and functional - (Lawrence, 1994, p.272), they are often lacking in interpretation and are too descriptive. This comment does not suggest however that those studies are weak or even superficial: this strong descriptive component may b e developed as a crucial resource for diagnosis in order to solve some type of pathologies, to orient rehabilitation strategies or to define the guidelines of patrimonial classification. However, after reviewing the bibliography on the issue there is a strong desire of giving another type of interpretation to that huge amount of information. In this sense the challenge was to make an *exploratory attempt of a connotative analysis of domestic space*.

Methodological approach

There are some aspects that must be clarified. Some of them, while circumscribing the study's universe, may constrain the analytical contents to some uniformity. First, we underline the

adoption of three criteria intentionally restrictive: 1) a territorial one that leads us to circumscribe the research to the city of Lisbon; 2) the other is related to the type of building, being our option to focus only on collective housing, the dominant housing type in Lisbon, in contrast, for instance, with Porto where there is relevant tradition of individual housing; 3) finally, the research explores only the private sector, despite the importance of the public, not so much in quantitative terms, but more in qualitative terms; we can not understand the evolution of housing models in private sector, which is completely dominant in Portugal, if we do not look at the public, namely during the authoritarian regime – the actual matrix that stills characterizes the majority of housing models in Lisbon, the Modern one, appeared in the public sector. Secondly, we must call attention to our commitment to a diachronic perspective. This option, follows in a certain way the concept of sociogenesis developed by Norbert Elias, despite in this case we assume a much shorter period (see also Lawrence, 1987). Assuming time as a central variable in the modelling of any social phenomenon reduces the probability of developing two types of sociological ways of thought equally reductive and simplistic: essentialist ways of thought and another one that subscribes a sort of *sociological big bang* that simply ignores all the scientific patrimony produced until then. In fact, the thickness of social phenomena is only attained if it is thought as a process of long duration, which may do not have a linear or a monistic direction or even a cumulative one: by incorporating time in sociological research, there is more opening to understand the level of innovation of the studied object as well as the specificities and forms that it assumes on the present. In other words, only by incorporating time, the researcher is able to comprehend and systematize the real meanings of the logic of social change that affects society. Besides, with the progressive valuing of urban rehabilitation, the space of cities is cohabitated by buildings that were constructed in different epochs and that embody different symbolic universes.

In this paper we will just include the analysis of the housing types along the last three decades of the 20th century, despite the fact that the research focused on the entire century. For the period until the 60's, which will not be analysed here, the central source of information was the typological works that were already developed in the field of Architecture. For this reason, the types that were analysed along that period are the ones that are already institutionalized in that field as some of the most emblematic types of the history of housing in the city of Lisbon, namely: the "gaioleiro" (until the 30's), the "Estado Novo" (40's) and the "Modern" (from the end of the 40's to the 50's). In the 60's there is a hybrid type that mixes elements of the modern matrix, which appeared in the public sector, with elements of the "Estado Novo" type. Although this period is not developed in this paper, as well as public housing, they are presented in Figure 1 and resumed in the immediate brief telegraphic text.
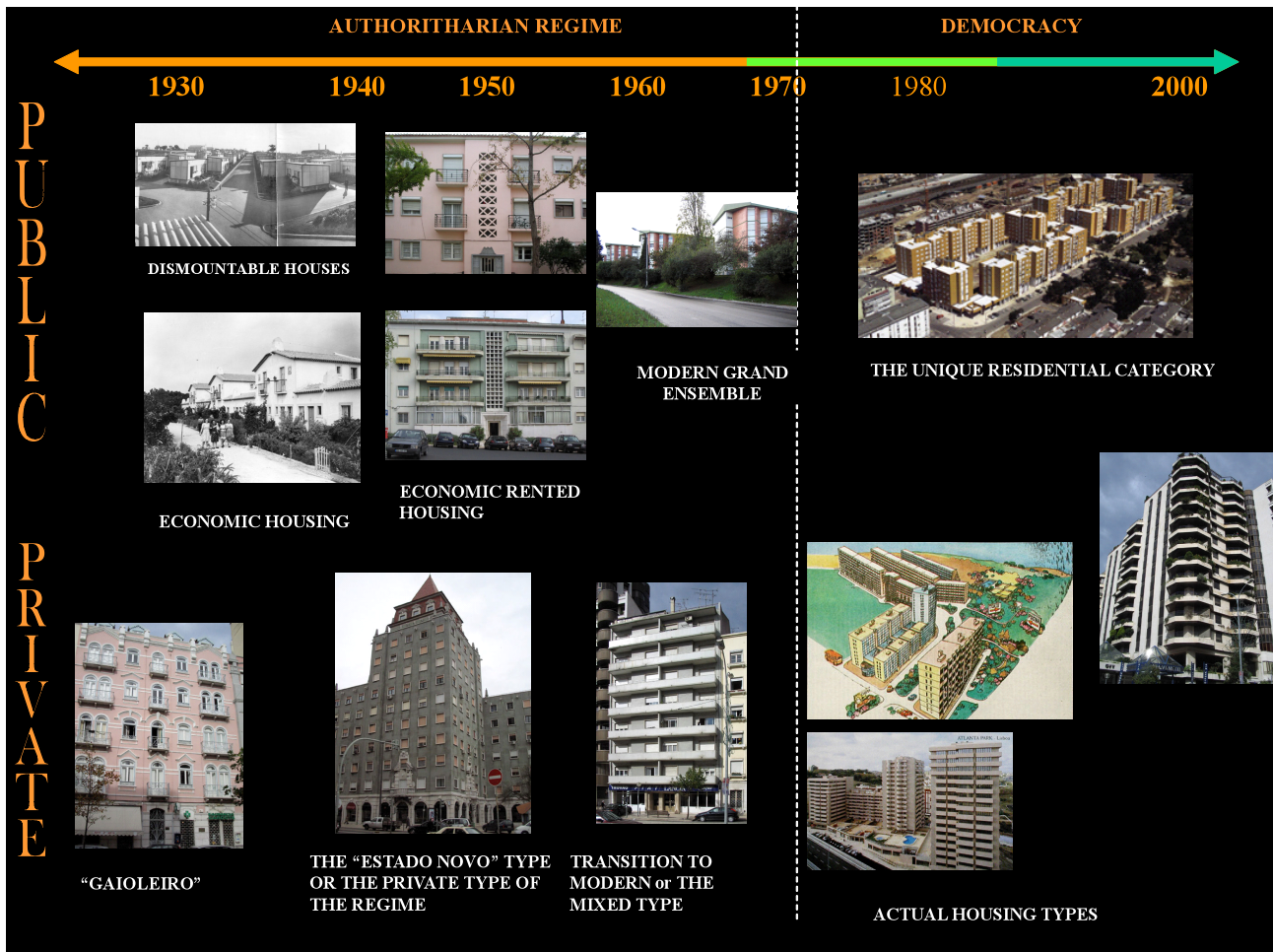
Figure 1: Main housing types, private and public, along the 20th century. Source: Dismountable Houses: Arquivo Fotográfico Municipal de Lisboa; Economic Housing: Arquivo Fotográfico Municipal de Lisboa; Economic Rented Housing: author's photo; Modern Grand Ensemble: author's photo; The unique Residential Category: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1997: 59; "Gaioleiro": author's photo; The "Estado Novo" Type: author's photo; Transition to Modern: author's photo; Actual Housing Types; advertisement published in Expresso; author's Photo; advertisement published in Expresso.

PUBLIC SECTOR

i. ECONOMIC HOUSING: the reification of the regime ideology or the gift to the institutionalized

ii. DISMOUNTABLE HOUSES: residential environment as an instrument of indoctrination of the working class

iii. ECONOMIC RENTED HOUSING: the resignation to the collective housing solutions and the emergency of the technician *modus operandi*

iv. MODERN GRAND ENSEMBLE: "la machine à habiter" or the creation of the domestic conditions to the family democratization

v. THE UNIQUE RESIDENTIAL CATEGORY: housing as a right to the excluded

PRIVATE SECTOR

i. "GAIOLEIRO": the emergency of the modern family

ii. THE "ESTADO NOVO" TYPE OR THE PRIVATE TYPE OF THE REGIME: the reification of the Portuguese heroic exploits

iii. TRANSITION TO MODERN or THE MIXED TYPE: towards family democratization, not yet social

iv. ACTUAL PRODUCTION: FAST DIFFERENTIATION OF THE WRAPPING *versus* SLOWLY TRANSFORMATION OF THE PITH

For the last decades – the 70's, 80's and 90's – the principal source of information is real estate advertising: we have collected the totality of the advertisements that were published in the most important weekly newspaper of Portugal – Expresso – since its first edition in 1973 to 1999 (N= 539). In this period the connotative analysis is preceded by a previous systematization of the plans of the interior space of homes: the purpose of this process was to find regularities in morphological and compositional terms that would give some intelligibility, from a sociological approach, to the development of domestic spaces along the 20th century. An intelligibility that would expectedly reached through the recognition of different types of *systems of domestic space*.

Despite the multiple dimensions that incorporate our object, each of them with a peculiar relevance, for the present it will be privileged only one: the interior space of home through the analysis of its composition and configuration in order to understand the existence of different domestic spatial systems. It should be said that not all the advertisements have the plan of the home that is being commercialized, being the total number of plans analysed of 70 (N)[2]. To conclude this methodological note something more should be said in order to justify the exploratory character of the research. Though it is not crucial for this paper, the period until the decade of 1960 rose the scientific question of the representation of the studied types in relation to the housing universe of the related period; in fact, that representation is variable from case to case. As to the second period – the last three decades of the century – we believe that the exhaustive collection of the whole of the real estate advertisements, even if circumscribed to one single paper, has an unquestionable scientific value due to the present macro context of a market economy. In spite of this, we admit two possible fragilities in terms of representation: a first aspect that is related with the exclusion of the real estate promotions that were not advertised or with those advertisements that were not included in this newspaper. It seems, however, that this aspect looses some of its weight as long as the sector becomes fully integrated in the market since in this context advertising gains an enormous importance – the result is an explosion of the number of advertisements essentially by the end of the 80's; the other aspect is related to the fact that the majority of those advertisements do not include the plans of the house something that reduces the representative potentialities

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[2] In some cases, there is even more than one plan. Although not very representative, those cases refer to two types of situations: a first one that is more common related to those advertisements that include several plans each of them corresponding to houses with different dimensions within the same building (1 room/ 2 rooms/ 3 rooms, etc.); the other situation, more unusual, when the builder or the marketing enterprise presents several plans referring to different buildings.

particularly in terms of the research of the domestic spatial systems. Those two fragilities could only be solved if we were able to collect within the municipality the whole of the projects that were approved. But this would be a quite unrealistic task for several reasons, with the bureaucratic dimension being one of the most dissuading ones.

The relation between a dictatorial regime and housing

The contemporary history of Portugal should be understood in the context of Europe's development during this period. In the beginning of the XX century the country experienced the end of the monarchy and the implementation of a Republic. Nevertheless, this first republican regime would be interrupted by a military *coup d'etat* in 1926 from which resulted an autocrat government led by Salazar. This autocratic regime was called "Estado Novo" or "New State" and it was essentially a conservative and nationalistic one, a regime in which the society was organized and controlled by the means of corporatism and ruled by the ideological trilogy: GOD[3] - NATION - FAMILY. The regime would last for more then 40 years, until 1974 when a revolution led by the military put an end to it and began a democratization process. The stabilization of the democratic regime was reached by the middle of the 80's and coincided with the national adhesion to the European Community (Cruz, 2000, p.123). This period gave a considerable impulse to the Portuguese modernization that had multiple effects from economy to society: we have assisted to a rapid change that promoted a sort of a direct passage from a pre-modern society to a Late Modern one, but with several contradictions related from the almost inexistent intermediate phase.

Nevertheless, within the long period of the dictatorial period (1926-1974) there are different moments in political and economical terms that have strong impacts on housing. There is a first period that corresponds to the consolidation of the political dictatorship that is reified by the correspondent Constitution promulgated in 1933. Until then there was no public intervention in housing. There is then a second moment that was marked by a strong intervention that was however almost centred in the city of Lisbon. In fact, Lisbon was hugely valued since it was considered the capital of the Portuguese Empire which was constituted by different colonies, being the most important the African ones such as Angola and Mozambique. This first wave of public intervention on housing had basically three purposes as if it was assumed the existence of three different "Portugals" thought in a hierarchical way: a) a *minor Portugal*, constituted by the excluded population and that was supposed to be domesticated and indoctrinated through the *Dismountable Houses Program*; b) a *Contained Portugal*, formed by those belonging to the corporations protected by the State and that deserve a sort of a prize of fidelity through the *Economic Housing Program*; c) an *Imperial Portugal* corresponding to the elites to whom was urgent to build a specific housing type (promoted by the private state but completely regulated by the public one) different from the quite promiscuous

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[3] Catholic.

"gaioleiro" and that could materialize, both in morphological terms and in aesthetic ones, the superior side of the "Estado Novo" ideological program.

Only the two first programs were directly promoted by the state and both of them were inspired in the conservative housing solutions for the working class developed in the 19th century. By the end of the decade of 1940, there was a new shift within this public intervention as a result of the Second World War that increased the prices of the materials used in construction. This was essentially performed through the solutions aimed at that second Portugal, the one of the middle classes. In fact, if the Economic Housing Program presupposed an intervention centred in individual housing – the only solution at that time that enabled individuals to be owners of their houses –, the new reality proved the irrationality of that solution: an economically unsustainable solution. Therefore, the previous repudiated idea of collective housing becomes the most realistic option, something that would be materialized through the *economic rented housing program*.

That is precisely the moment when the domestic modern matrix comes into the public sector, something that begins a process of progressive generalization of its influence not only on public housing, but also on the private market. If in this first moment the entrance of the Modern Movement on public housing is essentially centred on the domestic structure and on the adoption of scientific methods of space programming in order to optimize or rationalize resources (from space in itself to materials), the decade of 60 reveals the assumption of it wholeness through a quite assumed adhesion to the Athens Charter spirit. But this shift within the principles of public housing programming is not meaningless. Indeed, it reveals the different phases of the autocracy. Therefore its major impact was reached in the first phase, 1933-1945, when the legal and institutional background of the social corporative regime was established (Cruz, 1988, p.41). During this period, residential space was in fact conceptualized as a material source, per excellence, to the reification of the ideological framework sought by the regime. The development of the *economic rented housing program* that began in the end of 1940th reveals the first signs of weakening of the ideological component of the regime as it begun to be slowly replaced by an emergent technical one (Baptista, 1996). By the 60´s, this approach is already dominant. The decade of 1960 has in itself the roots of the inevitable destruction of the regime, something that had very different expressions with distinct levels of visibility: from the more obvious student crises to the less understandable programming housing principles. In fact, as we are going to explain ahead, the modern matrix carries, under its expertness, a revolutionary purpose or a democratic one. Therefore, residential space was politically precursor through the implementation of a housing matrix that embodied democratization principles before the effective implementation of democracy that would only happen in 1974.

Under way to individualization

The results here presented are only related to the last three decades of the 20th century and to the private sector of real estate. Nevertheless, it is indispensable to refer to those two private types that have characterized the private sector along the first half of the century: the "gaioleiro" and the "Estado Novo" or the private type of the regime (see Figure 2). The "gaioleiro" is one of the most emblematic housing types until 1930 essentially aimed at the Bourgeoisie and can be resumed in the following terms:
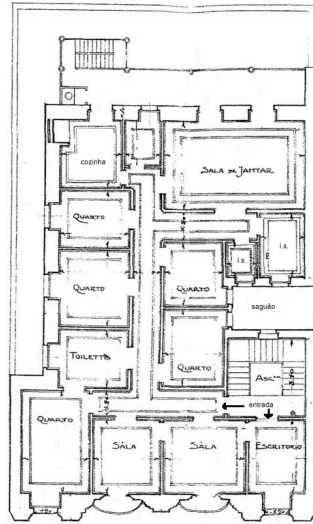

Figure 2. *Gaioleiro´s apartment layout*. Source: Appleton, 2001, p.29.

i. Distinction between the facade and the back: a) formal – noble materials used in facade/ worthless materials used in the back; b) functional – the facade is related to the extraordinary moments and the back is where occurs the daily family life; c) symbolic – the facade reifies the social aspirations of the family (the appearance) and the back represents its essence;

ii. Building/Housing structure conditioned by urbanistic and technical conditions: narrow and very profound;

iii. Division of the domestic interior space through gender and authority criterions: a) facade: 1º male space = bureau or boudoir, the compartment which is located nearby the house entrance and has a door that confers the "head of the family" the required autonomy; 2º family representational space = sitting-room, a room forbidden to children and reserved to visits; it functioned to reify the social statute attained or projected by the family; 3º female space = *toillete* (*ipsis verbis*), a space deserved for the woman of the high bourgeoisie whose way of life was defined by reference to the French society, where female appearance cult was a major value; b) back: kitchen – female space; dinning room – family informal space

iv. Undervaluation of the private sector (bedrooms) with its location between those two zones, something that shows the relative small importance of the individual within the Bourgeoisie family of the beginning of the 20th century.

The "Estado Novo" type (see Figure 3) or the private type of the regime defines a Portuguese Distinct Style inspired in the architecture of the magnificent periods of the Portuguese history. Besides, it performs the restructuring of the interior space through a partial importation of the principles of modern architecture with a triple purpose:
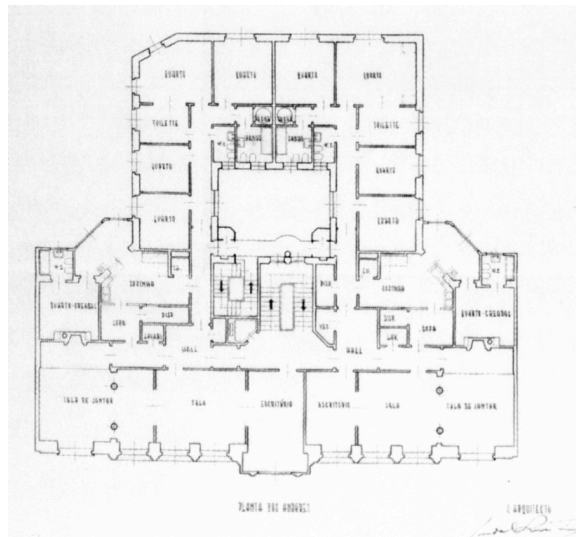

Figure 3. *Estado Novo*'s apartment layout. Source: Pereira, 2011, p.28.

i. Create the conditions for the *institutionalization of nuclear family*, something that presupposes its self enclosure. By institutionalization we refer to that family model conceptualized by Burguess and Locke in 1945 and defined by "the hierarchical relations between partners, the submission of individual to group's interests, differentiation of roles between genders, a tepid affectivity[4]" (Roussel, 1992, p.90).

ii. Create the conditions for women's domestication. By this we refer to the regime intention to attach women to domestic space in order to create the material conditions to its feminine ideal characterized by this triple function: spouse, mother and housewife.

iii. Formalize and clarify the inner social hierarchies, something that did not exist within the previous model where it was visible some sort of promiscuity between the family and its servants.

Thus, for the fulfilment of this triple purpose the "Estado Novo" type will import from the Modern Matrix two fundamental aspects: a) the introduction of nodal elements which make the transition between the public and the private (the entrance hall and other vestibules); b) the rationalistic logic of domestic space that organizes it in three main sectors, the social, the services (kitchen and relative spaces) and the private which congregates the bedrooms and

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[4] Translated from French text: "*des relations hiérarchisées entre partenaires, la soumission de l'individu aux intérêts du groupe, la différentiation des rôles entre les sexes, une affectivité tiède*" (Roussel, 1992, p.90).

the bathrooms that become more segregated in relation to the entry (Amorim, 1997). But the simplifying rationale that defines the modern matrix is at this juncture voluntarily ignored since it would completely deny that same triple purpose. Accordingly, if the clear separation of those three sectors endorses the privatization of the familiar life, the development of a quite complex sector of the services – with the introduction for instance of the maid bedroom and bathroom that did not exist before that, besides having an exclusive passage from the kitchen, was located in the most segregated space of this particular sector – materializes all at once the reinforcement of the inner social hierarchies and the space conditions that enables women to be professionals of the home. On the other hand, it reproduces the same complexity that characterized the social sector of the previous models with its partition in three spaces: a more masculine room (the office located nearby the entry), a more formal and representational one (the living-room in between these two) and a more cosy and private space aimed at the current life family (the dinning-room located at the most extreme point of it in relation to the entry).

After this parenthesis, we are able to present our results in a more consistent way. Following our methodological procedures that pointed to a previous systematization of the 70 domestic plans included in the "Expresso" advertisements collected from 1973 to 1999, we reached a typology of *systems of domestic spaces* composed by 6 types. Then, we categorized each plan of our sample according to that typology and after this we developed its statistical treatment. The typological criteria adopted for the construction of each system of domestic space is the definition of different logics used in the structuring of the sectors, both isolated and on the whole of the system: social, services and private. Our point of depart is the pure modern matrix type, type 1. This type appeared in Portugal by the end of the 40's in the public sector. The international Modern Movement within architecture had a double purpose: on the one hand, a social project that would be able to materialize the ideals of Modernity through space, ideals such as emancipation, democratization and rationalization; on the other hand, a field project aimed to the reinforcement of the position of Architecture in a society progressively specialized in scientific and technical ways (Pereira, 2004). Indeed, the content of that social project reveals a specific spatial domestic system that points to a passage from the "institution family" to the "companion family", both conceptualized by Burguess e Locke. Roussel in an attempt to "solve the excessively dichotomised character of those two models, extended the spectrum of these normative models, by introducing four models: on the most traditionalistic side, we could find the "institution family" and the "alliance family"; on the most modernist side, we could find the "fusion family" and the "association family" or "club family"" (Aboim, 2006, p.172).

We should concentrate on this second side, the modernist one, since the pure modern matrix is a spatial structure that shows a strong proximity with that fusion family model. Both those modernist family models are distinct from the traditionalistic ones because they introduce in family life new principles of democracy and informality. But, if the fusion model is essentially a

"collectivist" one, in which prevails a congregational atmosphere, the "association" model testifies the assumption of the individual and the strengthening of such ideas as personal autonomy or personal fulfilment. If, within the fusion family the happiness of each of its members is a consequence of the happiness of the whole, within the association family the happiness of the whole is a consequence of the happiness of each of its members. Thus, the specificities of the pure modern matrix (type 1) that justify its association with the fusion family model are the following:

i. it concentrates the inhabitable area, something that makes the familiar life more confluent by reducing the possibilities of spatial distance between individuals (see Figure 4);

ii. it elects the living room as the fundamental space by putting an end to the separation of functions within the social sector; this living room congregates the "collective" activities of all the members of the family, reifying the supremacy of the whole (of the family), which is supposed to be unified, over its elements (the individuals);

iii. it simplifies the services sector – with the introduction of the "laboratory kitchen" or with the removal of other functions that were part of it such as the maid room or the pantry – which becomes nearby the social sector, something that contributes to "liberate" woman and, in a certain way, to reduce the sexual division of spaces and consequently the division of roles between the couple;

iv. it gives an equalitarian configuration to the private sector that shows a certain conception of individuals as more undifferentiated in terms of power.
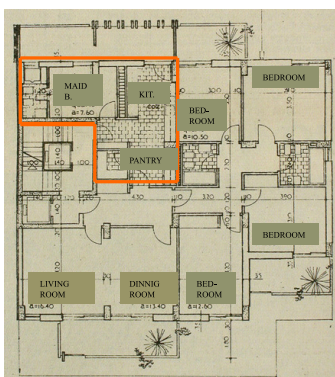

TYPE 1- PURE MODERN MATRIX
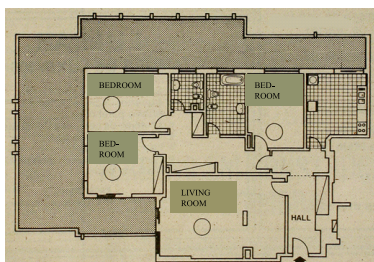
A- ORGANIZATION OF DOMESTIC SPACE IN THREE SECTORS: THE SOCIAL, SERVICES AND THE PRIVATE – EACH OF THEM WITH A BASIC COMPOSITION, NAMELY:

1. SOCIAL SECTOR: LIVING ROOM
2. SERVICES SECTOR: KITCHEN
3. PRIVATE SECTOR: VERY SIMILAR ROOMS, SHARING THE SAME BATHROOM

B- STRUCTURE OR CONFIGURATION:
1. IMPORTANCE OF THE LIVING ROOM
2. PROXIMITY BETWEEN THE LIVING ROOM AND THE KITCHEN
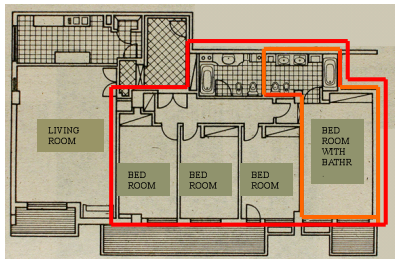3. SEGREGATION OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR

TYPE 2- TRANSITION TRADITIONAL -MODERN

REPRODUCTION OF THE MODERN MATRIX WITH MAINTENANCE OF A COMPLEX SERVICES SECTOR INHERITED FROM THE TRADITIONAL TYPE:

1. VARIABLE SOCIAL SECTOR:
1.1 AGREGATED: LIVING ROOM
1.2 DIVIDED: A DINNER ROOM AND A LIVING ROOM

2. SERVICES SECTOR: KITCHEN, MAID ROOM AND WC, AND EVENTUALLY PANTRY AND DUPLICATION OF MEANS OF ACCESS – THE SOCIAL AND THE SERVICE ENTRANCE

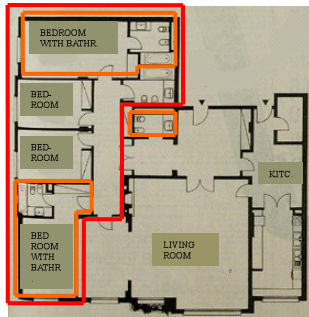3. PRIVATE SECTOR: THE SAME OF THE MODERN MATRIX

TYPE 3- CONTINUOUS COUPLE'S PRIVATIZATION

REPRODUCTION OF THE MODERN MATRIX WITH DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR CENTERED ON THE COUPLE SECTOR:

1. SOCIAL SECTOR: LIVING ROOM
2. SERVICES SECTOR: KITCHEN
3. PRIVATE SECTOR: COUPLE 'S SUITE WITH NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE OTHER ROOMS WHICH SHARE THE SAME BATHROOM
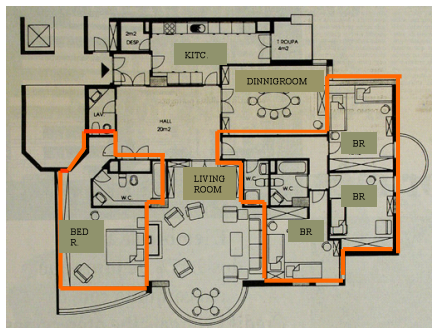
TYPE 4- CONTINUOUS GENERAL PRIVATIZATION

REPRODUCTION OF THE MODERN MATRIX WITH DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR WITH A TENDENCY TO A GENERALIZATION TO ALL THE MENBERS OF THE FAMILY:

1. SOCIAL SECTOR: LIVING ROOM AND SOCIAL WC
2. SERVICES SECTOR: KITCHEN
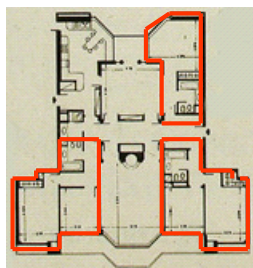3. PRIVATE SECTOR: MULTIPLICATION OF THE ROOMS WITH BATHROOM

TYPE 5- RADICAL COUPLE'S PRIVATIZATION

PARTIAL REPRODUCTION OF THE MODERN MATRIX WITH FRAGMENTATION OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR THROUGH THE AUTONOMY OF THE COUPLE'S SUITE:

1. SOCIAL SECTOR: Sector Social:
1.1- AGREGATED: LIVING ROOM (dominant solution)
1.2- DIVIDED: LIVING ROOM AND DINNER ROOM

2. SERVICE SECTOR: KITCHEN

3. PRIVATE SECTOR: DIVIDED IN 2 AREAS
3.1 – COUPLE'S SUITE
3.2 – THE REST OF THE OTHER ROOMS WHICH SHARE THE WC

TYPE 6- RADICAL PRIVATIZATION OF THE WHOLE

BREAK WITH THE MODERN MATRIX THROUGH THE DISMANTLING OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR AS A UNIT: AUTONOMY AND COMPLEXIFICATION OF THE PRIVATE SPACES OF EACH MEMBER OF THE FAMILY – MULTIPLICATION OF THE NUMER OF SUITES WHICH BECOME MORE AUTONOMOUS

Figure 4. Typology of domestic spatial systems. Source: all the layouts are from advertisements published in Expresso.

Despite having select the pure modern matrix as a sort of "ground zero" of our typology due to its centrality as *the* reference of the majority of housing built at least from the 40's, it only appears as the dominant type within the private sector on the 80's. Being aware that the small size of our sample that does not allow a generalization of the results it is however possible to advance some hypotheses. The post-revolution period (25 April 1974) did not launch an immediate shift for the democratization of the housing types supplied in the market. Therefore and although not being representative because of the small number of plans collected in this

period (5 plans, being 2 of them previous to the revolution day), the data show that the **type 2**, transition **traditional-modern**, would survive to the revolution.

In fact, this type emerged in the private sector in the decade of 1950 and became dominant in the 60's. It is a hybrid type that optimizes some aspects of the pure modern matrix, which was growing within the public sector, with some others more traditional that were inspired in the "Estado Novo" type. Accordingly, its partial adoption of the pure modern matrix is relative to the rationalization of spaces realized through the adoption of both, a plan (building and the flat) with a squared or rectangular shape, and the sector's logic of domestic space organization. However, it maintains the same complex services sector that was introduced by the regime's private type. If for the bedroom area there is a general reproduction of the same simplicity of the modern matrix, for the social sector the same is not true: despite the progressive generalization of the living-room, there is still a frequent maintenance of a partition between the dining-room and the reception-room, but positioned one next to the other. But even when there is a fusion of those two rooms there is a need to distinguish those two domestic functions through the introduction of some more or less flexible element, such as a door or a semi-wall. This type has still another aspect that deserves some comments and which refers to the services sector services that can assume two different configurations: **a rigid one or a flexible one**. The first refers to that situation when the access to the maid room is exclusively made through the kitchen; the flexible one comprehends those situations which give autonomy to the maid room, meaning that its access becomes integrated in a common vestibule, even if it is still located nearby the kitchen. This does not necessarily imply the recognition of the maid rights. However, the assumption of the flexibility attached to this area is a strong sign of the duplicity within the use of domestic space that reveals a moment of social change: it does not abolish at once the possibility of having a house maid, while also permits to transform it into one more room for some element of the nuclear family. Therefore, the incomplete adhesion to the modern matrix by the private developers along the 60's reveals the following assumption: there was a perception, more or less conscious, of the unsuitability of a model that over-simplified domestic life, not probably rationally perceived in its democratic assumptions. Anyway, this model did not fit in a society that, despite being more open than it was before, did not share a hegemonic desire for democracy. In fact, the majority of the population had no political accurate vision, because there was a quite low level of literacy. Besides, the more general criticism to the autocracy would be a direct consequence of the colonial war, that started in 1961, and that would have direct impacts in the private life of families. As to the post-revolutionary period and as we have said before, the **transition traditional-modern type** is the dominant, being only supplanted by the pure modern matrix in the 80's. This fact is understandable from two arguments: on one hand, the long duration of the housing production process which increases the probabilities of obsolescence of a product that is projected three years (an average period) before being concluded; on the other hand, the real estate sector suffered some sort of a torpor along that period as a result of a political

and economical environment hostile to the private initiative. Nevertheless, the decade of 1980 represents the recovery of the real estate market that had a great launch during the 60's with both the beginning of the tourism industry in Algarve and the expansion of Lisbon fringes. But the changes that will determine housing from now on will be much more radical with regard to the building and the residential environment than within the flat. Here, we identify a path of continuity of the pure modern matrix with no break: there are no new kind of functions that would justify the development of innovative rooms and the sector's logic is completed maintained. Hence, **type 6** – **radical privatization of the whole**, which would presume a major break through the dismantling of the private sector and its atomization, has only 1 case.

	YEARS 70	1980 - 1985	1986 - 1989	1990 - 1992	1993 - 1995	1996 - 1999	TOTAL
type 1: pure modern matrix	1	**4**	-	5	3	2	15
type 2: transition traditional-modern	**4**	-	-	-	-	-	4
type 3: continuous couple's privatization	-	3	**2**	**14**	**19**	-	38
type 4: continuous privatization of the whole family	-	-	-	3	2	**5**	10
type 5: radical couple's privatization	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
type 6: radical privatization of the whole	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	**5**	**7**	**3**	**23**	**25**	**7**	**70**

Table 1. Frequency of domestic spatial system types (1973-1999).

Even so, this path of continuity contains a new aspect that becomes a dominant one: *the establishment of the spatial conditions enabling the reinforcement of individual privatization within domestic life*. It means that there is an investment in the private sector of the home through both the introduction of the bedroom, with exclusive bathroom, and the generalization of the social WC which prevents the guests from entering in the intimate space of the family. In a first moment, the strengthening of intimacy is exclusively addressed to the couple whose bedroom becomes located in the most segregated are of the private sector – type 3 or **continuous couple's privatization**. This type appears in the decade of 1980 in a kind of competition with the pure modern matrix, which totally supplants type 2 – transition traditional-modern – by that period. Indeed, type 3 becomes the dominant one in the 90's, representing more than a half of the plans analysed: **38**. The selection of the couple as the privileged target of this privatization process presumes, but not necessarily in a rationalized way, the transformation of intimacy and the centrality of the *confluent love* (Giddens, 1995, p.41) in contemporary societies. But the extreme assumption of this principle is reached with

the **type 5 – radical couple's privatization** that introduces a partial fragmentation of the private sector. Thus, this type releases the couple's bedroom (and its bathroom) from the whole of the bedrooms and gives it in an autonomous status as it was a new domestic sector. Yet, this is a type that has no expression in our sample.

In a second phase, we assist to a generalization of the principle of continuous privatization present in type 3. This turns perceptible in the multiplication of the number of bedrooms which include a bathroom and refers **to type 4 – continuous privatization of the whole family.** In fact, we believe that this type will be the dominant one in a relative close future, mainly in respect to the bigger flats. This belief results, in part, from the following idea: the reasons that explain the tendency to the hegemony of type 3 should be looked upon at the *modus operandi* of the majority of house builders. There are three aspects, mutually interdependent, that are central and that remove any presumption on the fact that the changes in housing types would eventually result from a complete knowledge of the social transformations by builders[5]: a) the de-investment in the diagnosis of demand and in the planning of the product; diagnosis are made by the sellers who convey their sensibility on the market or, in some cases, there are flash surveys of the surroundings in order to have some sort of information about the products with more probabilities of being easily sold; b) the competitiveness is realized through the imitation of the production of those rival firms that are considered to be well succeeded in the market; c) finally, builders sustain a quantitative logic of social analysis with two results: the diversification of flats with different sizes, especially by the increase of the smaller ones (one or two bedrooms) which are supposed to respond to the decrease of the average dimension of families and to the growth of the number of single households; the multiplication of those solutions that have given proof of large acceptance, such as the bedroom with bathroom or the social WC. If the conceptualization of love in contemporary societies has been treated by several authors, from Luhman to Bauman, its development depends on that more comprising process: the process of individualization that was already present in the classical concept of *Gesellshaft*. To quote Lash (1993, p.18), in the context of individualization "structure forces agency to be free". In fact, if emotional relations are today more free and reviewable, this is because they are a component of those performative biographies resulting from a context of *porousness of institutions* (Wuthnow, 1999) that compel individuals to choose. Individualization is thus visible in **type 4 – continuous privatization of the whole family,** since it reinforces the conditions for self autonomy. In fact, it presupposes the spatial conditions for the development of the *association family* model conceptualized by Roussel, in which individual autonomy supplants the fusion *modus vivendi*. In addition, the investment in bathrooms may be a symptom of the body's centrality within Late Modern Societies (Turner, 1992; Synnot, 1993). Nonetheless, this investment does not seem to follow the general

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[5] Conclusions of exploratory interviews developed by the author of this paper and by D. Moura and coordinated by I. Guerra to a research that was financed by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia/ Foundation for Science and Technology.

sophistication of the conditions of body satisfaction, something completely assumed by the leisure industry.

Concluding remarks

The homogeneity that defines the great majority of the housing types supplied does not presume an equivalent homogeneity in social life. The main reason for this statement is the assumption that space is not an independent variable, but an expression and a resource of a specific social formation to which concur several other factors such as cultural, economic and political ones. Besides, space "consumption" or, to be more precise, the uses of domestic space do not reflect the more or less reflexive intentions presumed in its conception, since there is an inescapable renegotiation of its meanings that results from the social and cultural idiosyncrasies of individuals (Featherstone, 1997, p.94).

In fact, the supremacy of housing types with domestic spatial systems which personify more democratic normative orientations is far from producing either similar family environments or hegemonic social representations. In what concerns to this issue, several studies have shown a huge diversity of situations in which coexists normative orientations that were supposed to be sequential: next to families with a more congregational profile, there are other ones more centred in the individual autonomy and even those that assume a "hybrid" condition; next to situations revealing a superior level of democracy within familiar and couple relations, there are others much more attached to the institutional figurine (Aboim and Wall, 2002; Aboim, 2005). But, this is after all a symptom of the paradoxical nature of Portugal's Late Modernity. Anyway, our data reveals a homogenous supply that does not understand the whole cultural shift within society.

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