





SQUATTED CITY
„Push or pray until something happens“
by Kai Franz & Caroline Pachoud

Study of Havana. Focussing on 10' de Octubre

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Swiss Federal Institute of Technology

PREFACE

Due to huge emigration of rich wealthy people after the revolution, notably to Miami, the given volume of Havana was resettled and re-inhabited, or metaphorically speaking squatted after 1959. The term squatting is not entirely precise, as the exchange of population was under government control. Large building structures such as villas were subdivided into multi-family houses. Over the years this process generated its own self dynamic: due to the lack of dwellings vertical and horizontal subdivision provoked smaller and smaller units. Therefore some typical phenomenas which are listed below can be found across whole Havana. Due to huge emigration of rich wealthy people after the revolution, notably to Miami, the given

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THE STREET AS CENTER,
ANSWER GENERATOR AND
CUT THROUGH THE AREA
10 de Octubre

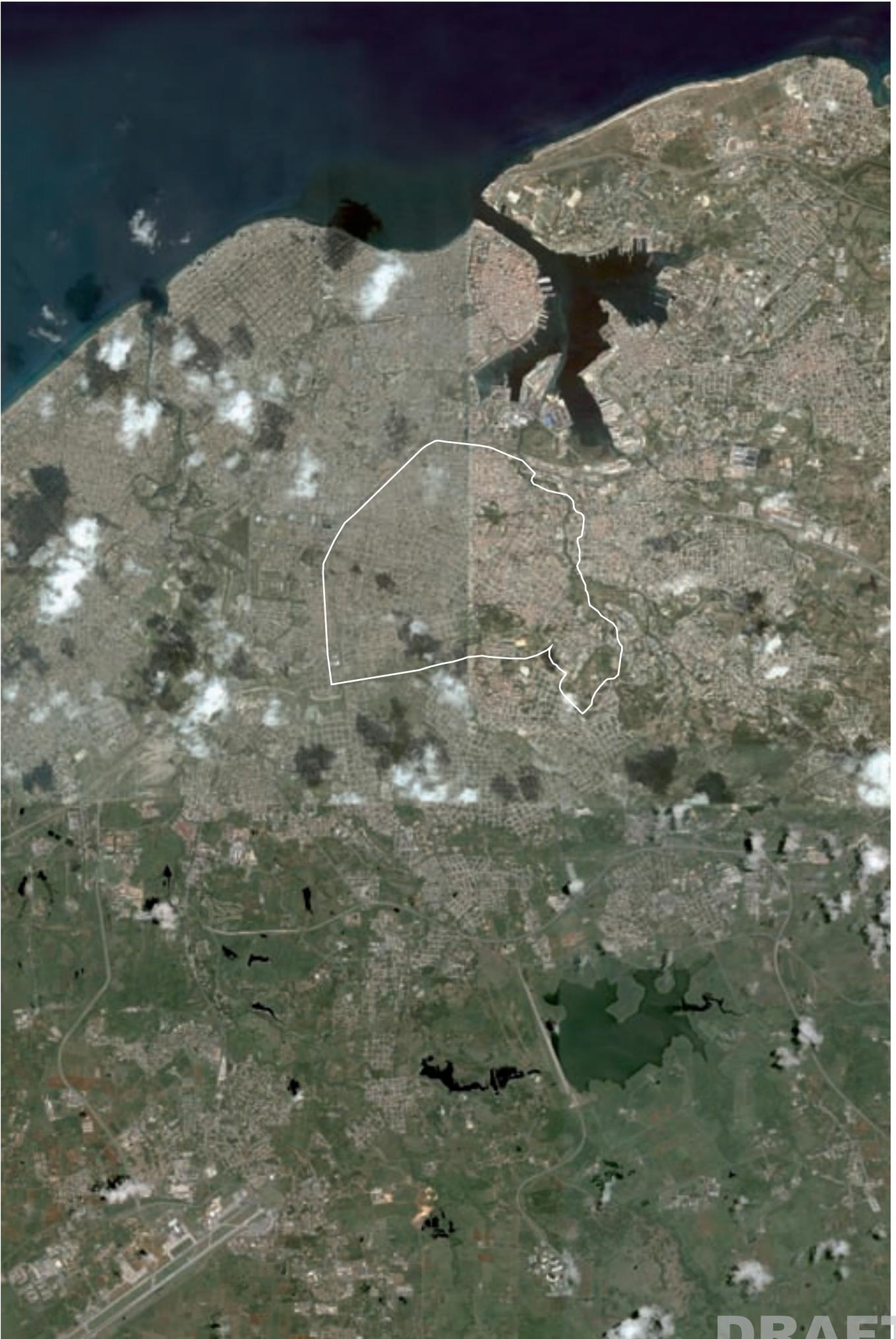




10 DE OCTUBRE

The authentic core of Havana

The research in this book is concentrated on one of the oldest and most populated municipalities of Havana, Diez de Octubre. Its foundation dates from the second half of the 17th Century. Therefore we can find an eclectic built structure nowadays. Tourism is not overlapping the area and the diversity of urban atmospheres makes it very unique. "10 de Octubre" the main and most commercial street was the first north south connection of Havana and is splitting the area in two parts. On one hand you have a former high class neighbourhood and on the other one there is a big working class district, grown in the beginning of the century because of its closeness to the harbour.



DIFFERENT URBANITIES, DIVERSITY OF ATHMOSPHERES



Former Upper-Class
Neighbourhood





Former Working-Class
Neighbourhood

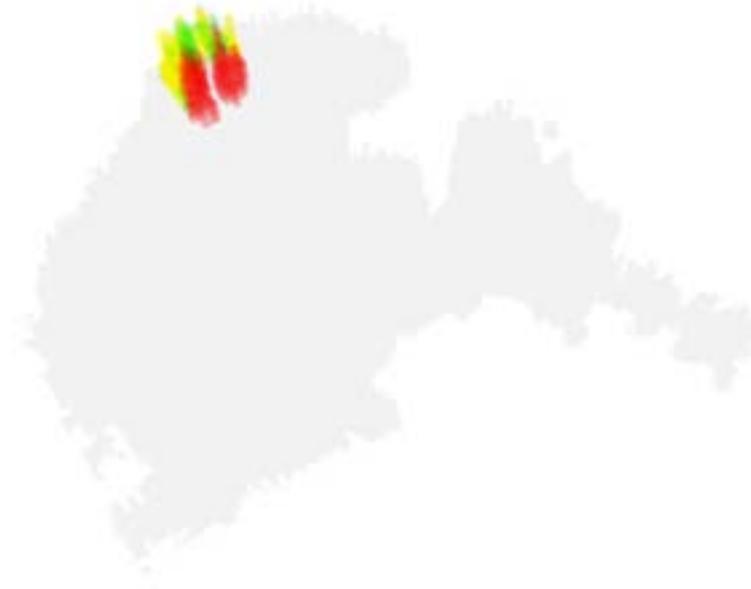
URBAN TRANSFORMATION

Focussed on deep Havana

Till the revolution Diez de the Revolution the area got
 Octubre grew in a common compressed by its structural
 way. In the years till 1930 the mutation. In this book we
 area got urbanised. Between will focus on the Phenomena
 the thirties and 1959 the which were generating those
 area did not grow anymore developments.
 but got more densed. After

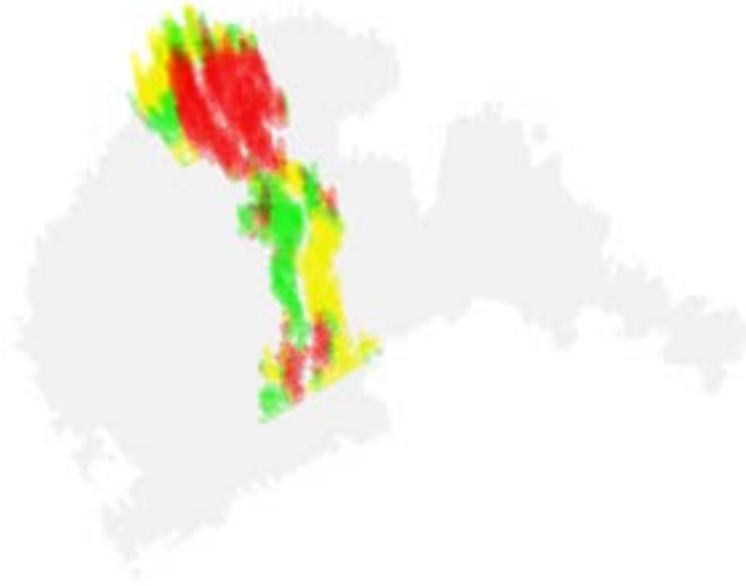
Historical growth, mutations of func- tions and density in 10 de Octubre

1750-1830 Historical growth

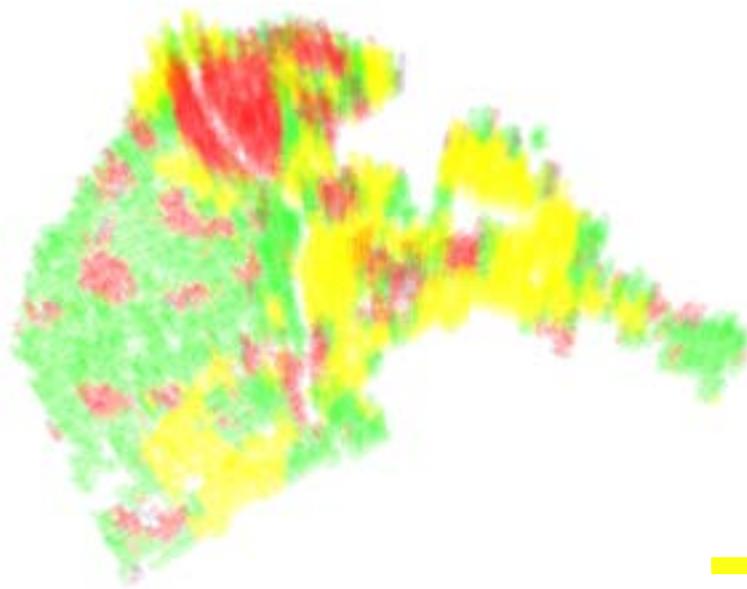


- Multy-Fam Houses
- 1-Fam Houses
- Cuarterias
- Ciudadela
- Others

1830-1899 Historical growth

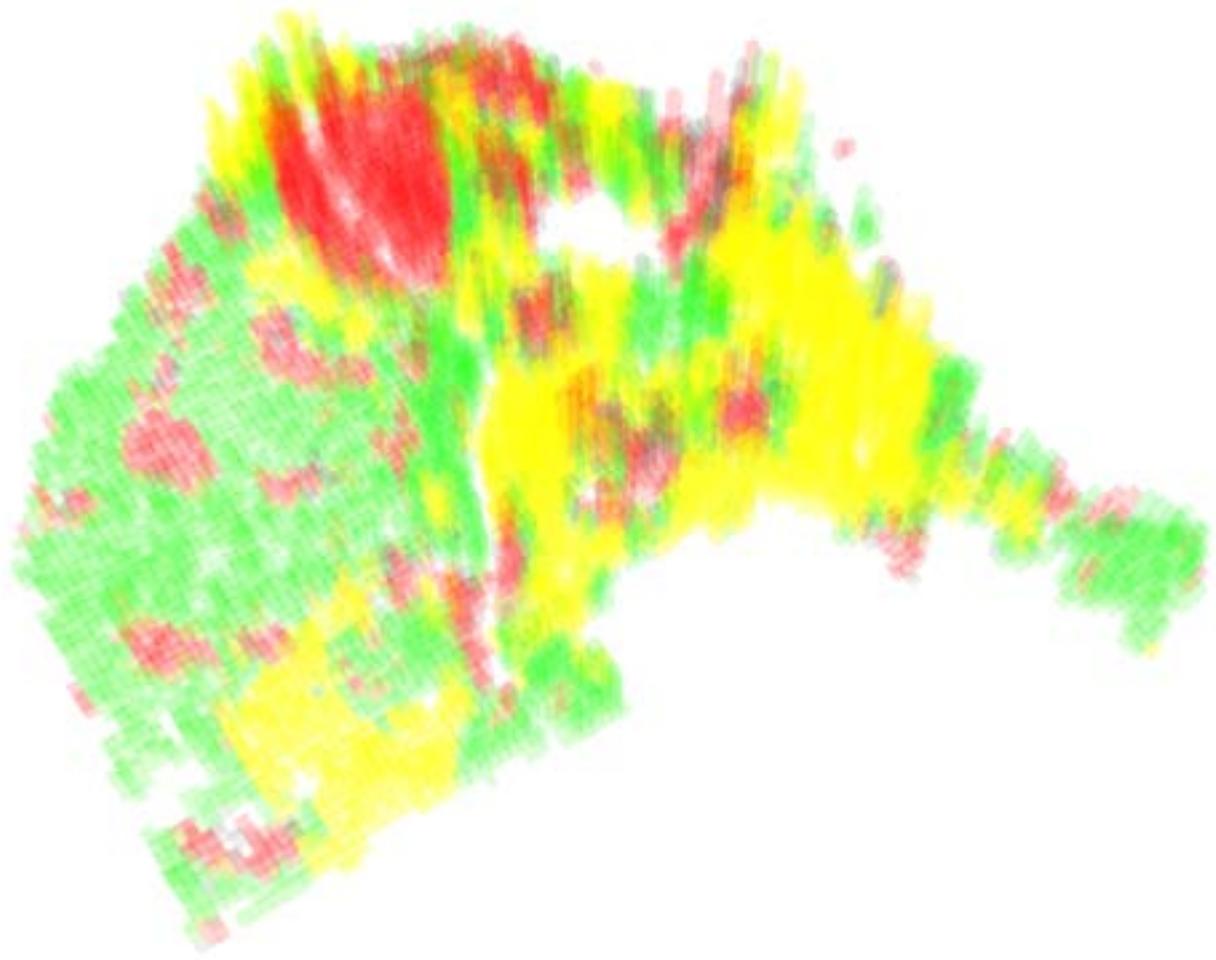


1900-1924 Historical growth



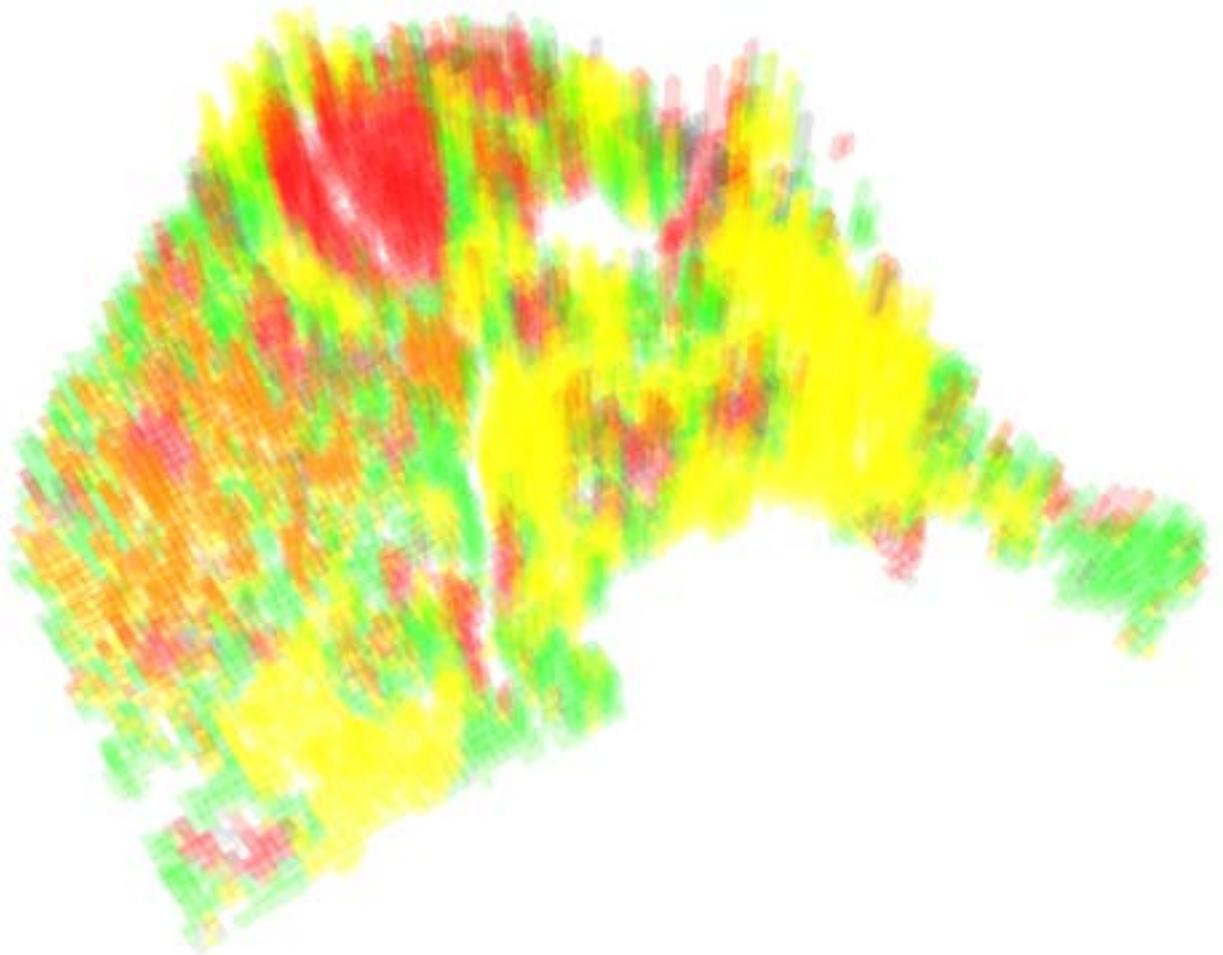
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< 1959 Transformation of density



- Multy-Fam Houses
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> 1959 Mutation of functions and density

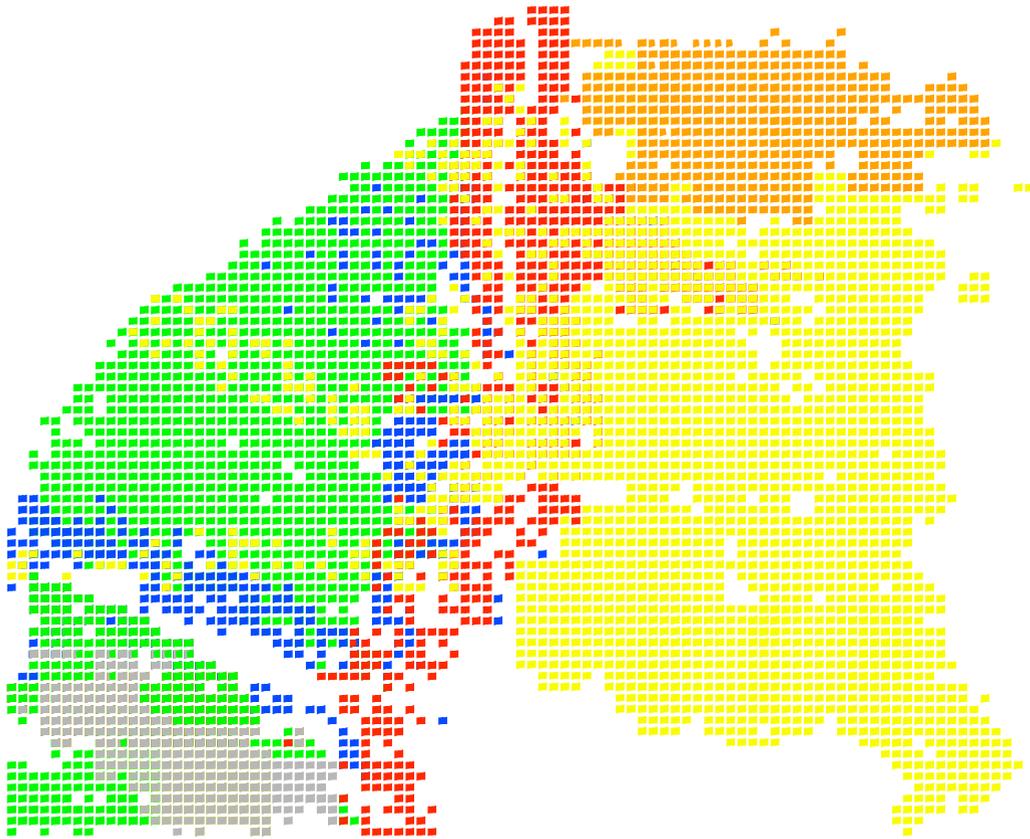


- Multy-Fam Houses
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MUTATION OF BUILDINGHEIGHTS

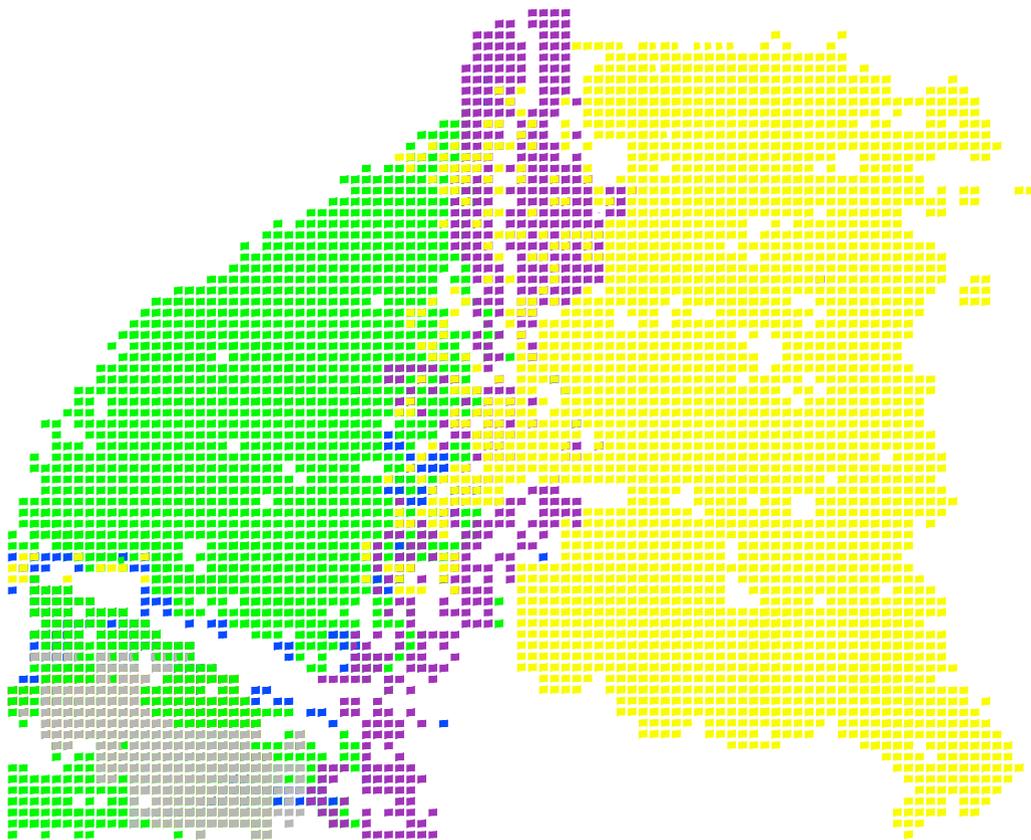
Expansion through multiplying stories

SITUATION < 59



Orange	1 story	Working Class Houses
Yellow	1-2 stories	Apartmenthouses
Blue	2-3 stories	Mansions
Red	3 stories	Bodegas
Green	3-4 stories	Multifamily Houses
Grey	unknown	

SITUATION > 59



- 1 story
- 1-2 stories
- 2-3 stories
- 5 stories
- 3-4 stories
- unknown

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EXPANSION THROUGH COMPRESSION

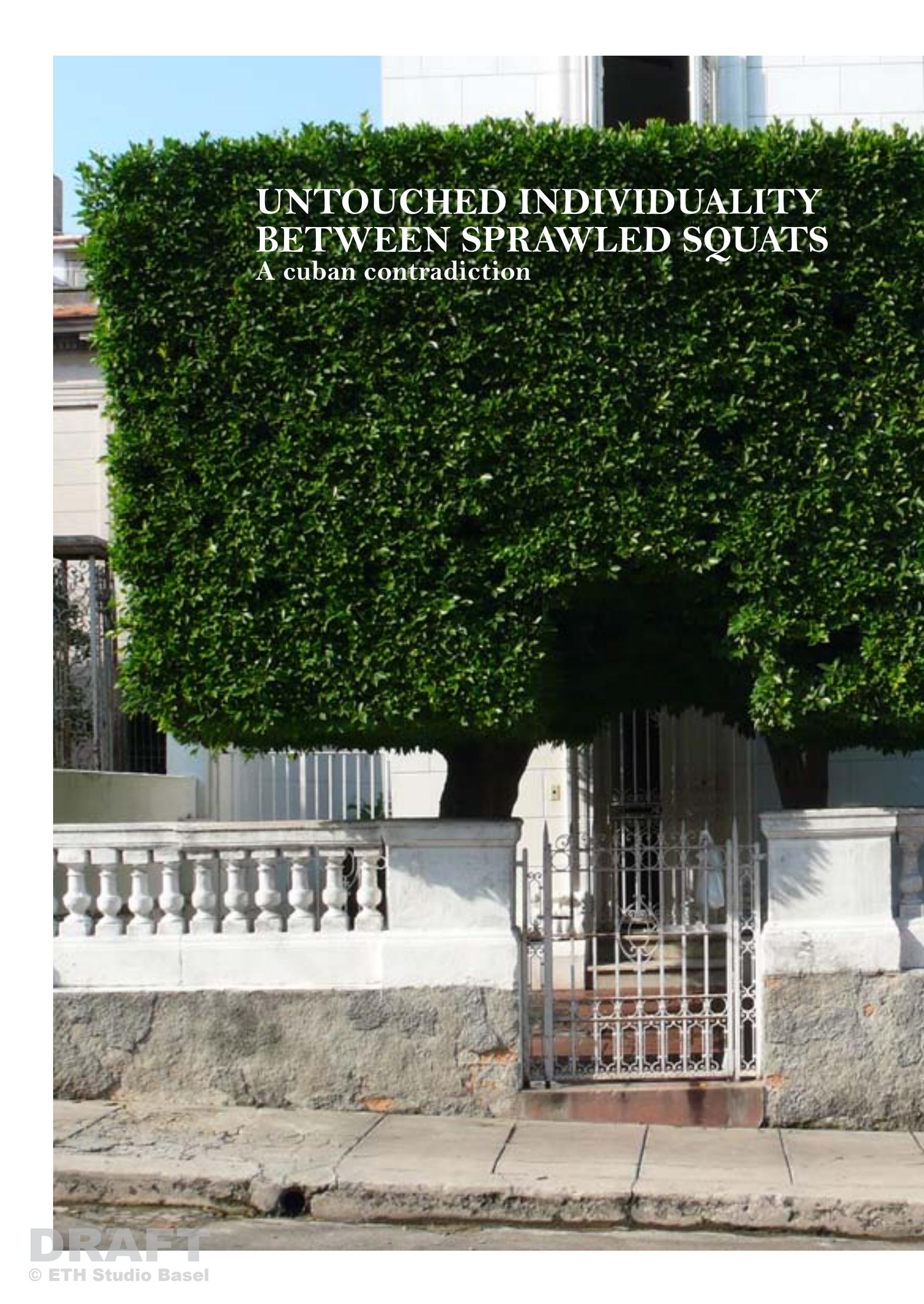
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**UNTOUCHED INDIVIDUALITY
BETWEEN SPRAWLED SQUATS**
A cuban contradiction

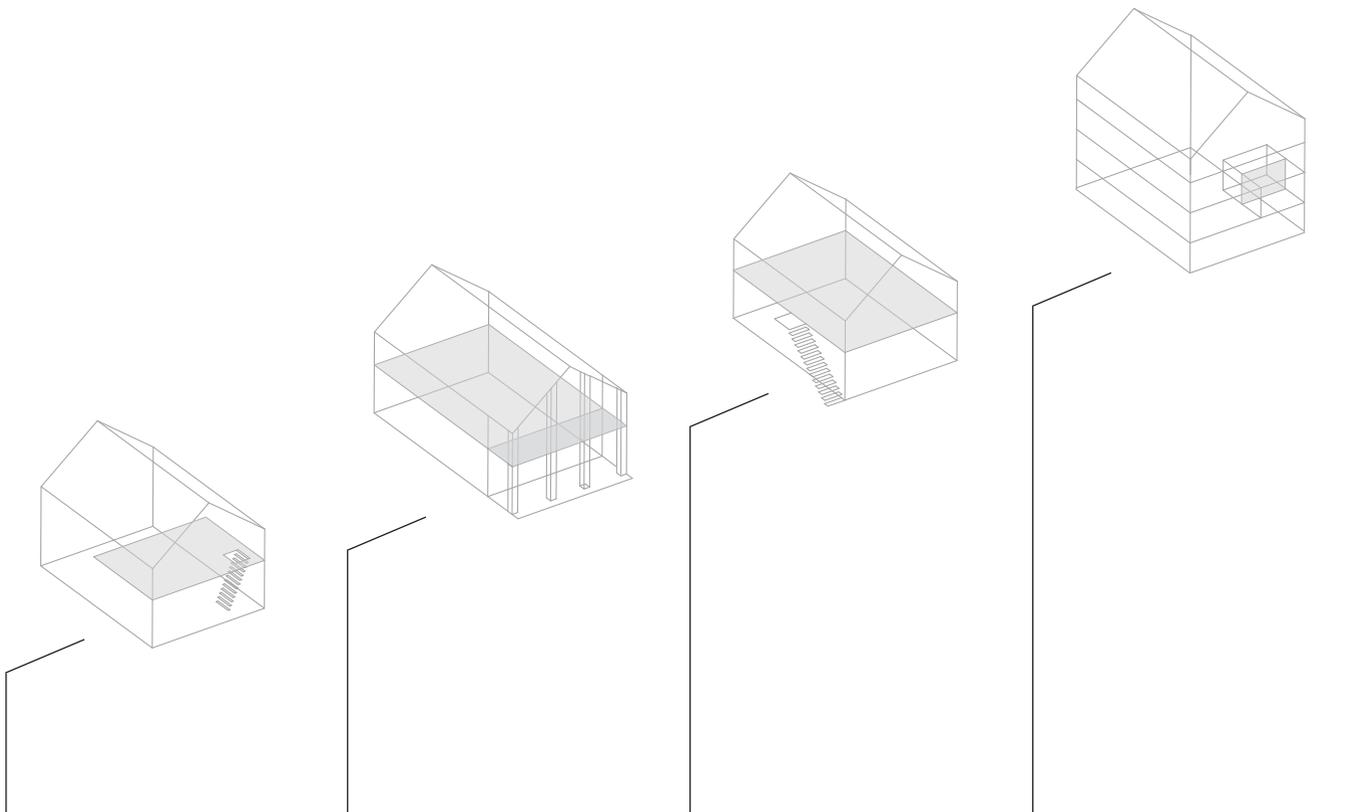


SQUATTING STYLES

Emergency Solutions

Due to huge emigration of rich wealthy people after the revolution, notably to Miami, the given volume of Havana was resettled and re-inhabited, or metaphorically speaking squatted after 1959. The term squatting is not entirely precise, as the exchange of population was under government control. Large building structures such

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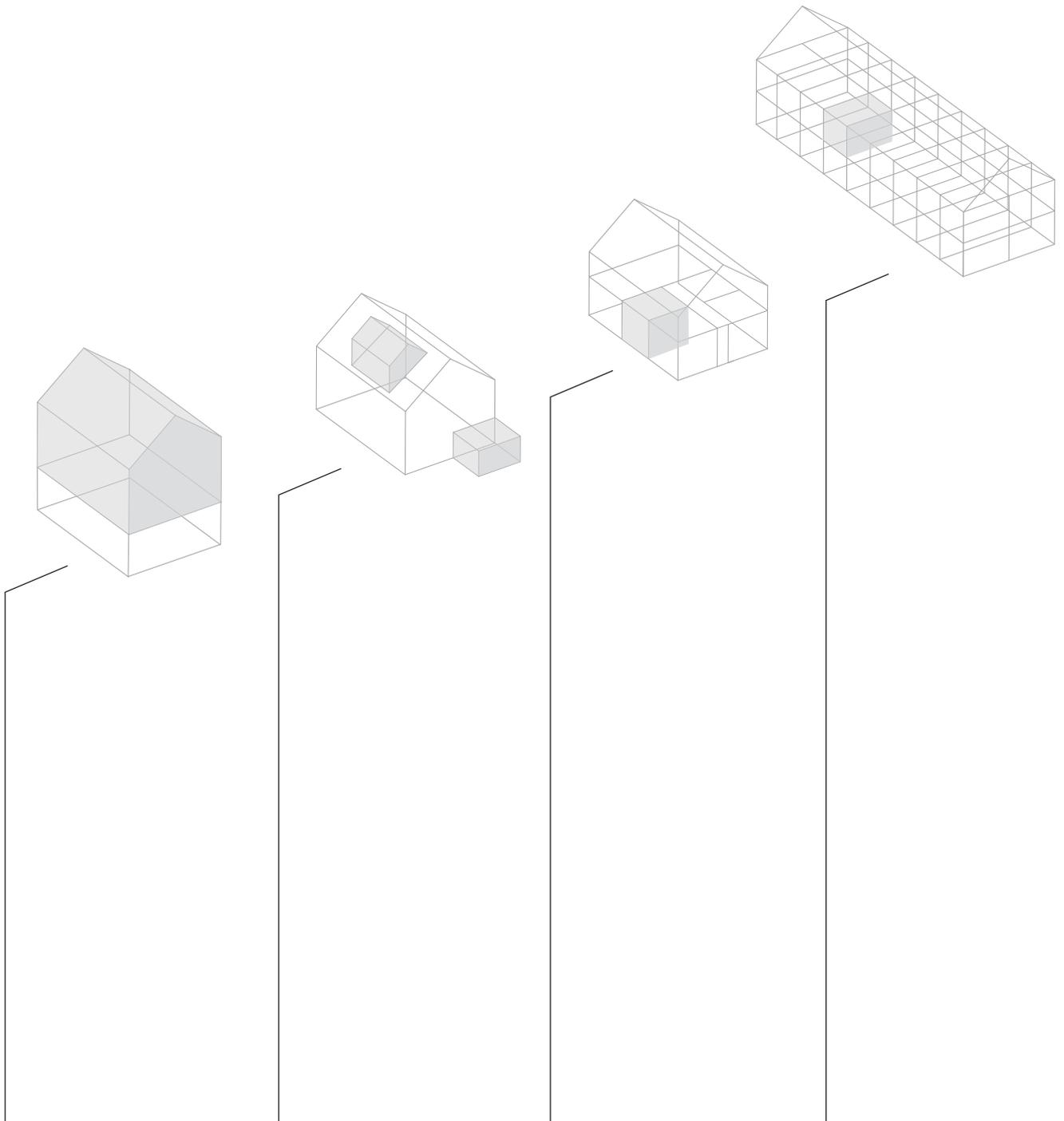


BARBACOA a native word for rustic hut or platform, but also extended to mean grill or barbecue. To accommodate relatives and growing families the occupants frequently inserted a extra floor into existing rooms, mostly used as sleeping space.

PLACA is a second floor in a building. The diffence between a barbacoa and a placa is, that a placa is covering the whole floorplan and not only a part of it and that it is a solid concrete structure which improves safety.

SPLITTED HOUSE The stairs are shifted from the inside to the outside. The results are two individual houses mostly used by different generation of a family.

REFRACTUATED FLAT If the floor height is not given to insert a barbacoa and no possibility to extend, people sometimes divide their apartments for their growing children.

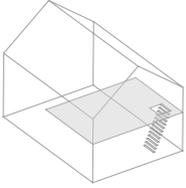


CASETA EN AZOTEA
Usually older multi-story buildings in Havana have flat accessible roofs. People often construct huts on top of existing buildings to satisfy the need for additional housing people.

AMPLIACION is a Spanish word and means extension. To satisfy the need for additional housing people often construct on top of existing buildings, extend their floors such as barbacoas or turn their balcony into a living space.

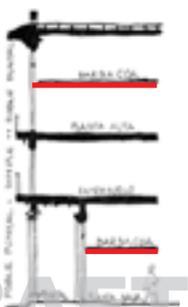
CUARTERIA is a large mansion or older hotel or boarding house subdivided into rooms, something with over 60 families. Casa De Vecinidad is almost the same, but is a smaller subdivided house, generally with 12 rooms or less.

CIUDADELA consist of a single or a double row of rooms built a long, narrow courtyard. They began as weekday housing for poor single men from rural areas who worked at Havana's big markets.



BARBACOA

“Cielo falso” - fake heaven
Horizontal subdivision of a room

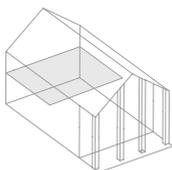
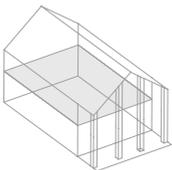
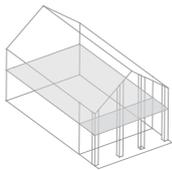
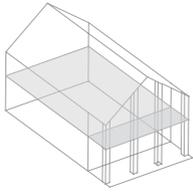


Barbacoas are a particularity in the older parts of Havana. Their high ground floor were originally built for shops and warehouses. When owners and commerce left the areas due to structural change and problems of access for transport this space was used for housing. Mostly Barbacoas have a lack of ventilation inside. Also the lack natural light is a problem. The access is normally through

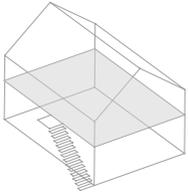
stairs comparable with ladders. The constructions are often made of unusual materials like plywood from old transportboxes, cardboard. This is also a result of connection to the Barbacoas illegally roots. It is the simplest, fastest and cheapest way to make an expansion of a house. Therefore Barbacoas are the most common constructions in Havana to enlarge houses.

PLACA

Independent second floor



A Placa is in a way an improved Barbacoa. The difference is that a Placa is usually covering the whole floorplan or at least a part of it. It works as an individual floor. Unlike a Barbacoa a Placa has several rooms, meaning at least one bedroom and a bathroom. For their construction the people mostly use concrete.



SPLITTED HOUSE

From singular to duplex

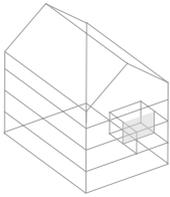


The need for additional space of a growing family often finds its solution in a simple modification. People subdivide their houses through shifting the stairs from the inside to the outside. That means the vertical connection in the house between the ground floor and the first floor is taken away and a new access to the first floor is created.

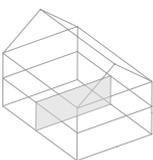
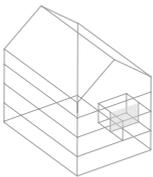
The result is that a Family house changes to a kind of duplex-house.

REFRACTUATED FLAT

From multiple to myrios

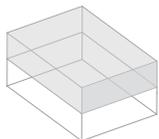
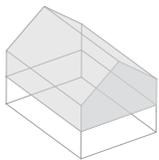
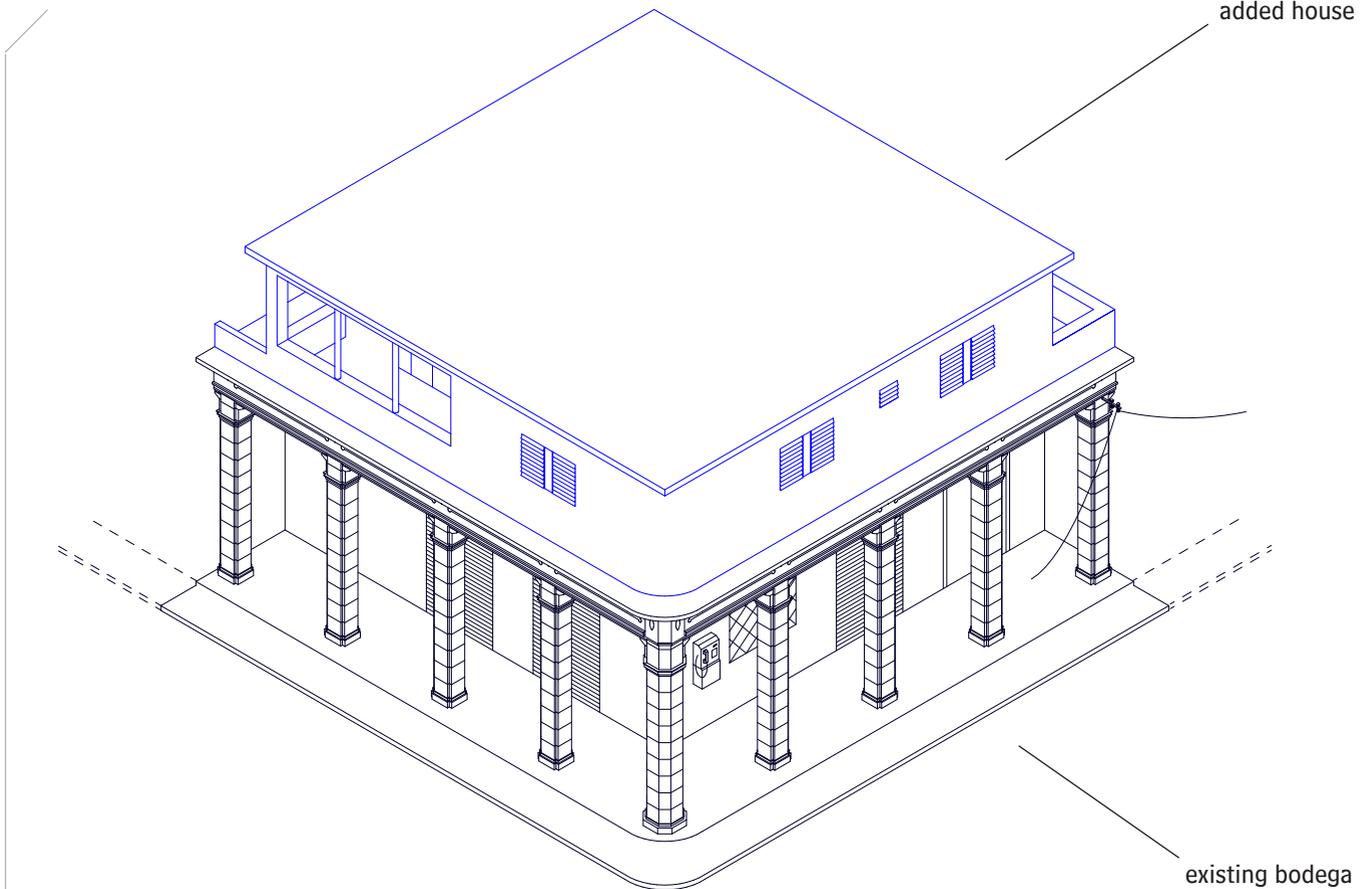
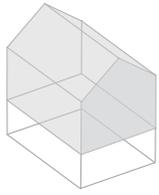


If there is no possibility to insert a Barbacoa because the height is not given, people sometimes start to subdivide their apartments. Mostly they use existing walls to create a subapartment.



CASETAS EN AZOTEAS

Space transformation

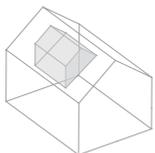
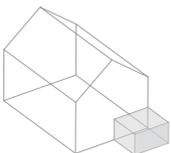
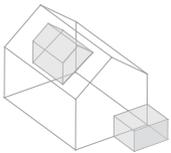
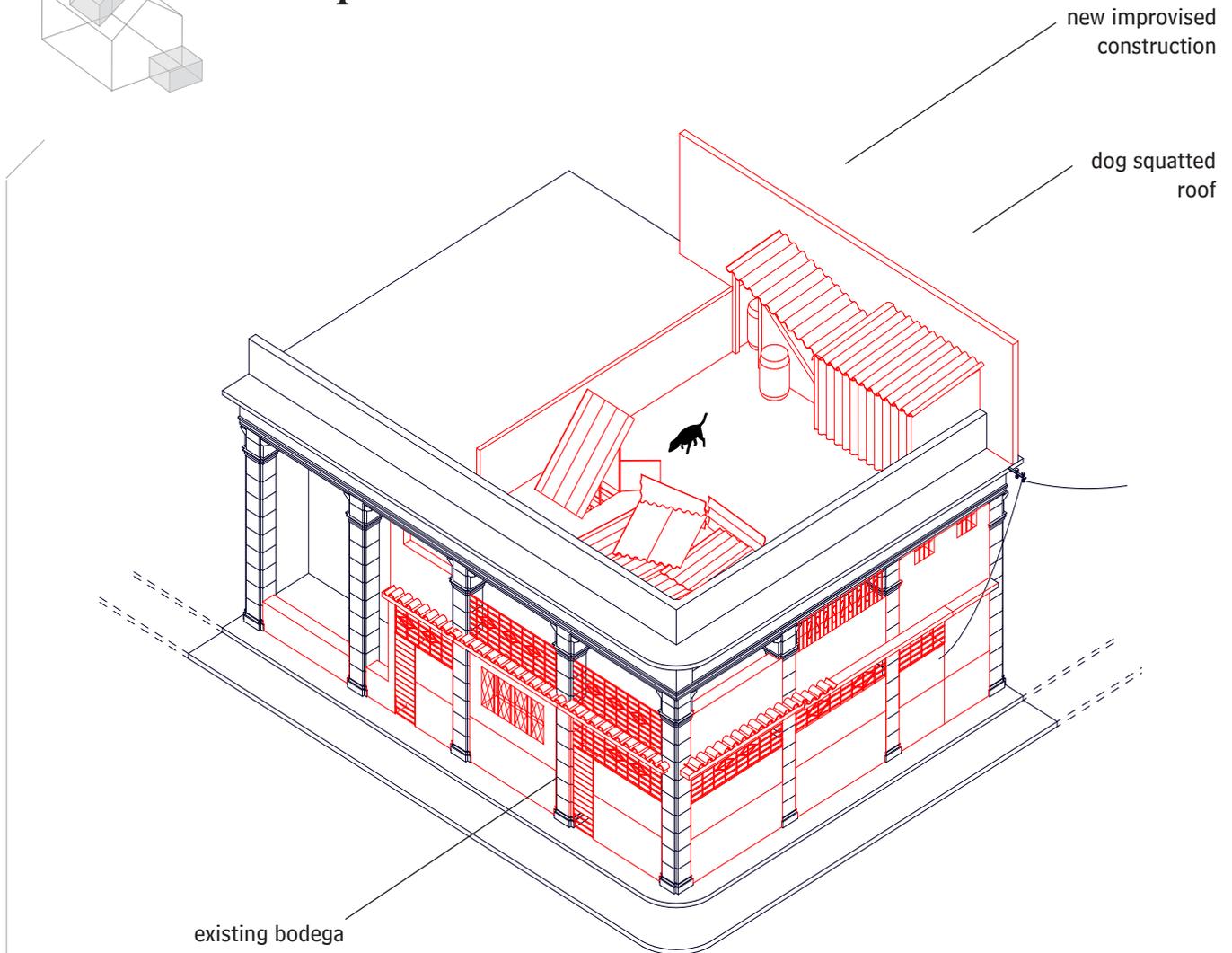
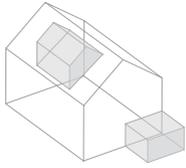


Usually older multi-story buildings in Havana have flat an accessible roofs. People often construct huts on top of existing Buildings to satisfy the need for additional housing people. The houses of residential areas built in the thirties especially in Diez de Octubre have flat roofs too. Different from old Havana these more recent structures are

normally sound. In order to use existing infrastructure (water and electricity lines, sewers) more intensively, the construction of casetas en azoteas and second floors is now being encouraged by the authorities in these areas. A special section dealing with this issue has been even included in the recent housing legislation.

AMPLIACIÓN

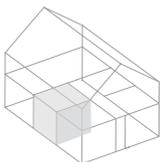
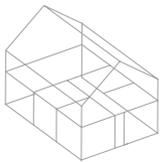
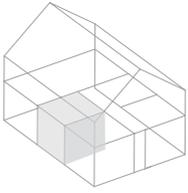
Space mutation



Ampliación is a Spanish word and means extension. To satisfy the need for additional housing people often construct on top of existing Buildings, extend their floors such as barbacons or turn their balcony into a living space. Transformation describes a legal change. Unlike a Mutation which infacts its environment entirely.

CUARTERIA

Prospering squatting

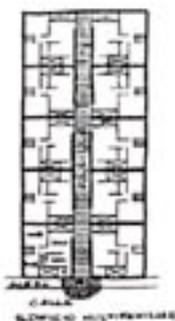
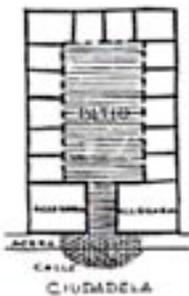
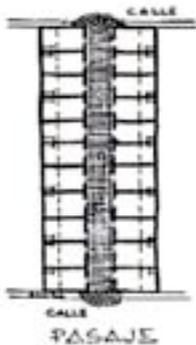
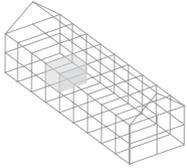


Cuarteria is a large mansion or older hotel or boarding House, which is squatted by different families. Former rooms such as libraries, kitchens, dining rooms mutated into single apartments. Cuarterias with over 60 families are not unusual. Casa De Vecinidad is almost the same, but is a smaller house, generally with 12 squatted rooms or less. Most of the units in Cuarterias content a Barbacoa. A single room can not satisfy the space

requirement of an apartment. This necessity produces a initiative of one's own and the simplest and cheapest solution is to build a Barbacoa.

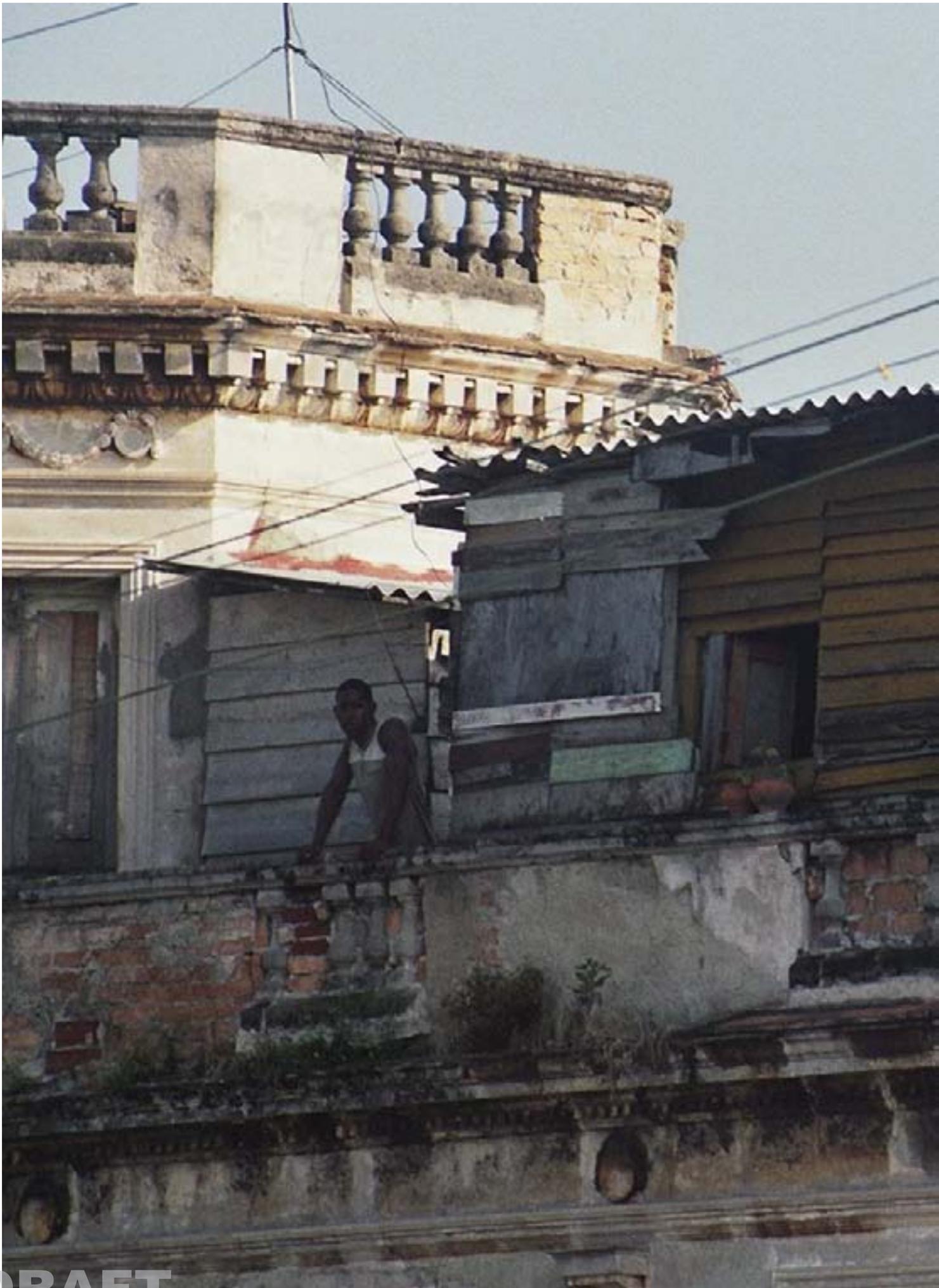
CIUDADELA

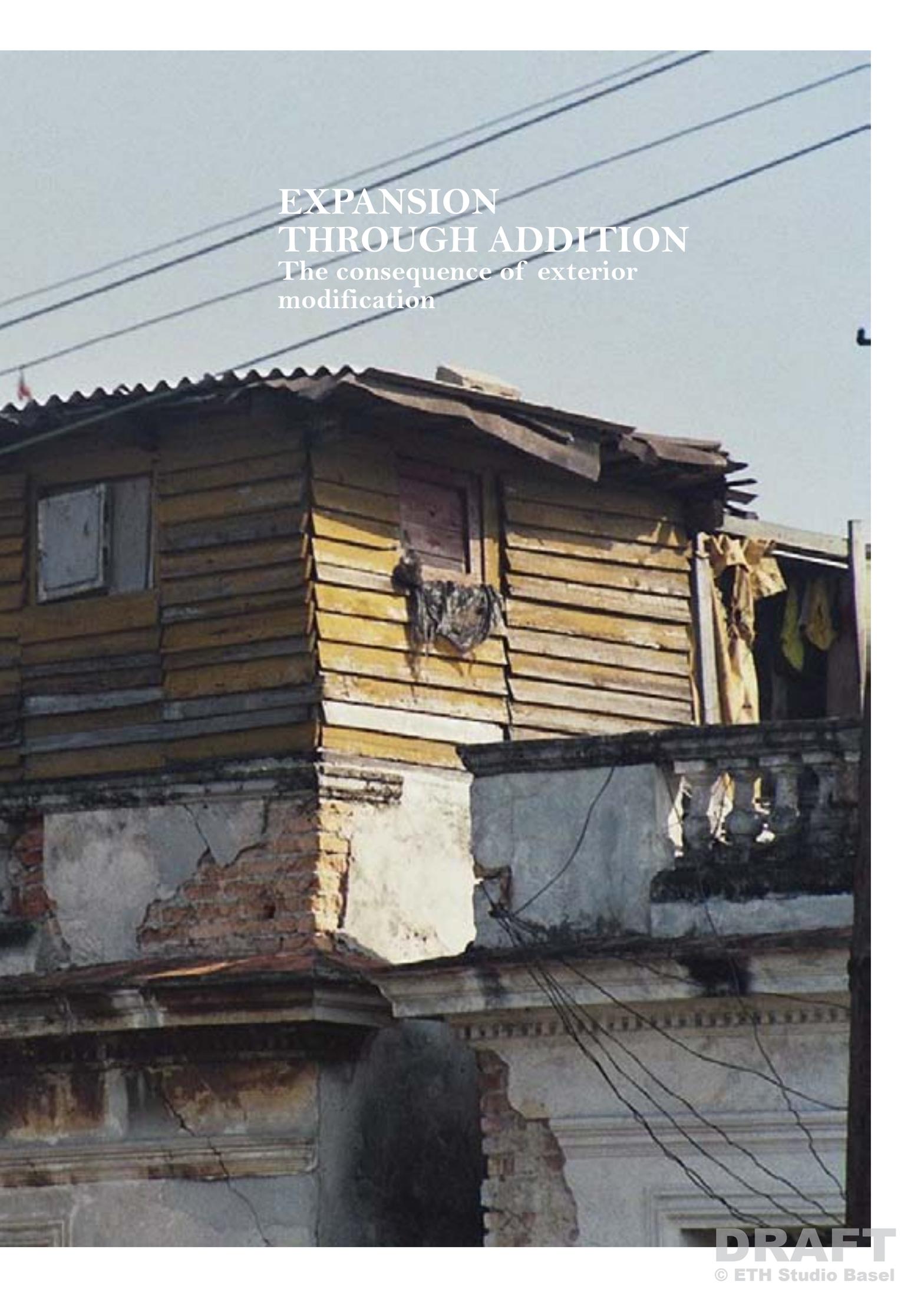
From basic units to apartments



Ciudadelas is a modified version of the former servants quarters in the rear part of colonial mansion. In post colonial times these adopted the form of long corridors of one room dwellings with collective sanitary facilities at the end, similar to inner city slums in other Latin America metropolis. More than 60'000 families are reported to live in Cuarterias or Ciudadelas. Nowadays many of those Ciudadelas have been

transformed. Collective spaces like the Patio are now separated and belong to the families. Also the former shared toilets changed to standard separated toilets inside the units, as well the segmentation to different accesses transformed the typology of a Ciudadela.

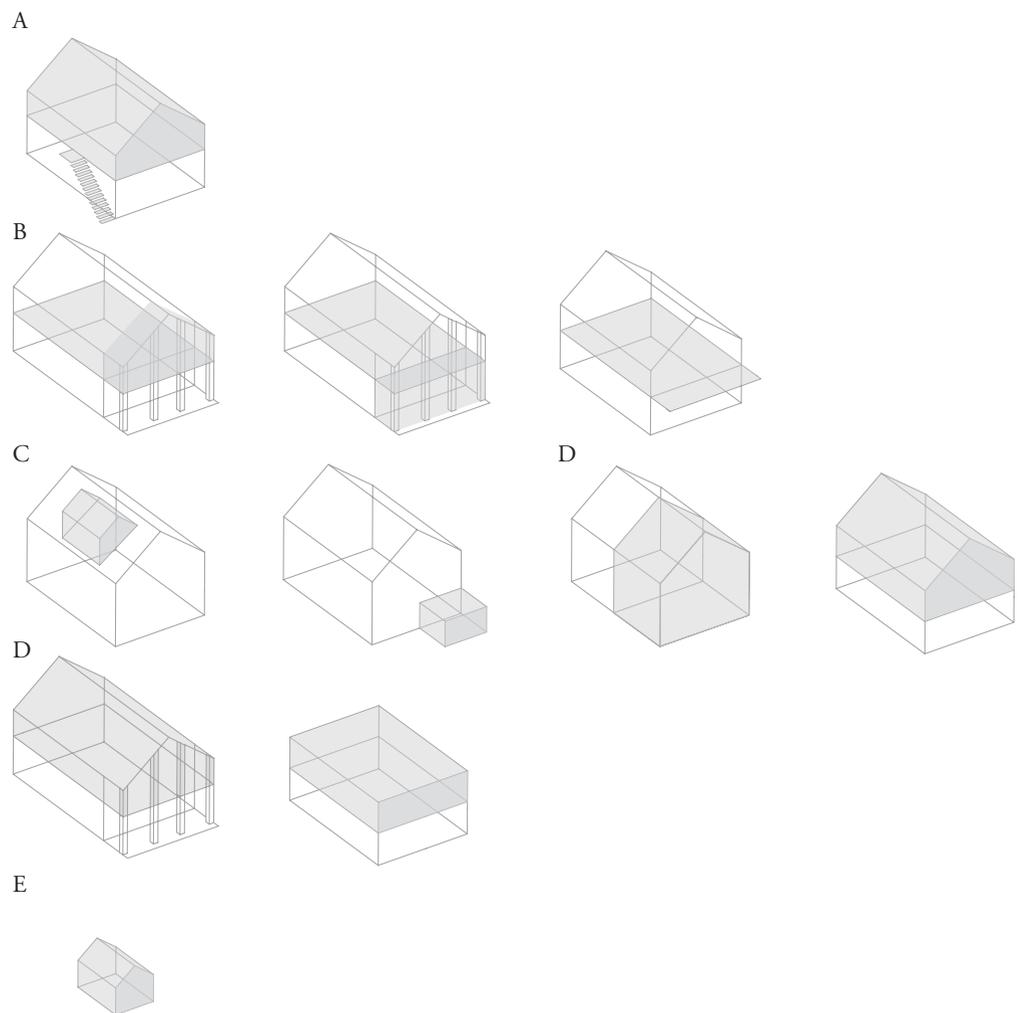




EXPANSION
THROUGH ADDITION
The consequence of exterior
modification

EXPANSION THROUGH ADDITION

The consequence of exterior modification



Expansion through Addition is material and the constructive a category of different ways of demand a lot of people are squatting in Havana. It has a limited in their personal permanent effect on the exterior intentions. Some Typologies and it is always visible from the outside. There is an enormous expanding, like ciudadelas. range of variations to squat the There is no additional space to exterior. Because of the lack of occupy by individuals.

- A Splitted house
- B Placa
- C Amplicacion
- D Casetas en Azoteas
- E Llegay Pon



D

Expansion through addition

Shifted Access

A - Splitted house

The inside access to first floor has been removed. And a new one has been created outside.





The lack of construction knowledge leads to unsecure stairaccesses.

Breaking through walls

B - Placa



The traditional typology as a consumer goods. Spreaded out interior by a family effecting typical cuban colonades.



Expansion through addition

Strange accumulation

C - Ampliación





In order to use sound existing infrastructure, (water and electricity lines, sewers) more intensively, the construction of Casetas en Azoteas and second floors is now being encouraged by the authorities.



Some people construct a hut to store their car, others to live in.



Cloning

D - Casetas en Azoteas

It is common to clone a house. People are forced to take the simplest way to get what they need. There is no focus on design, the structure is just copied.

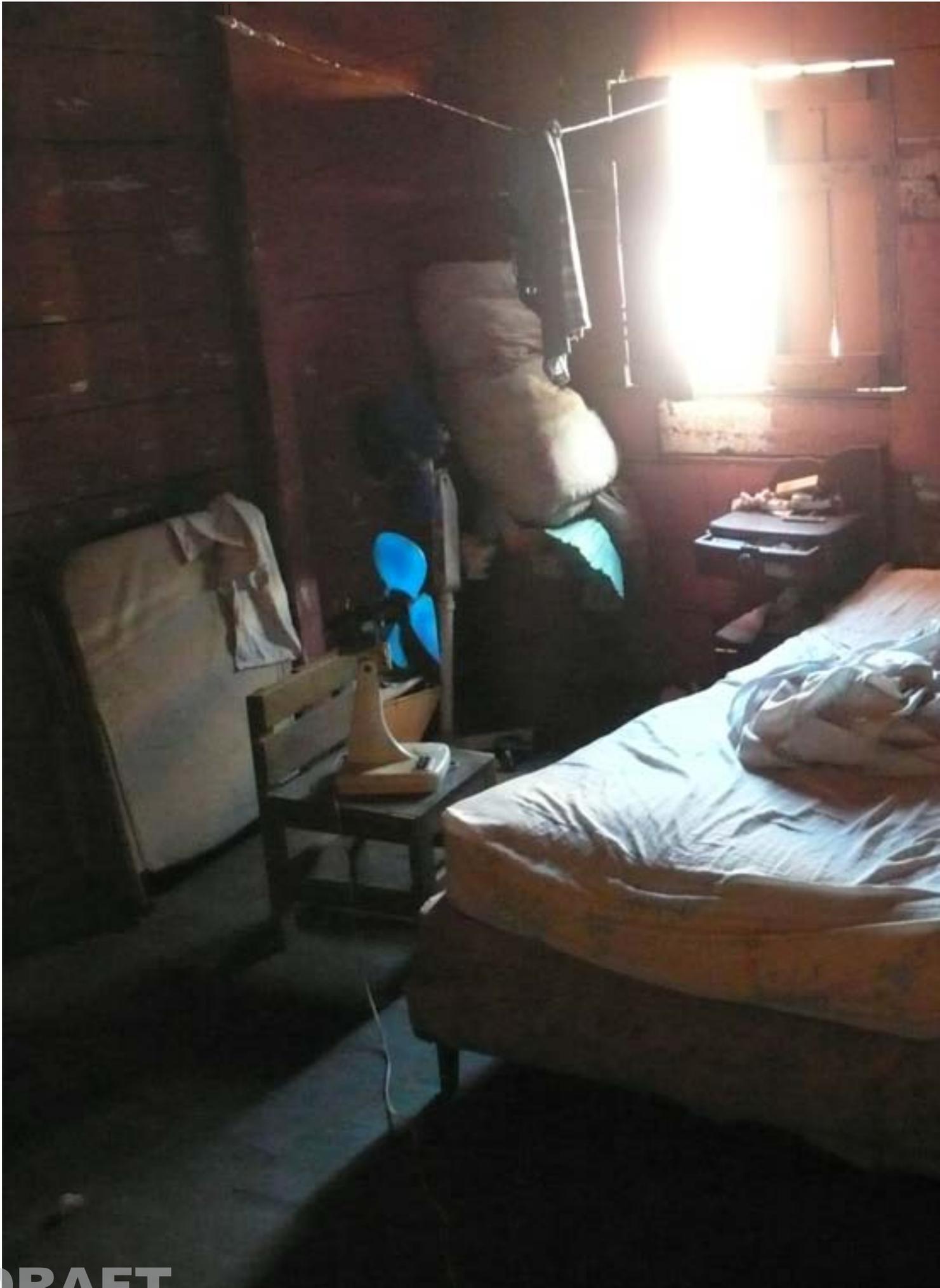


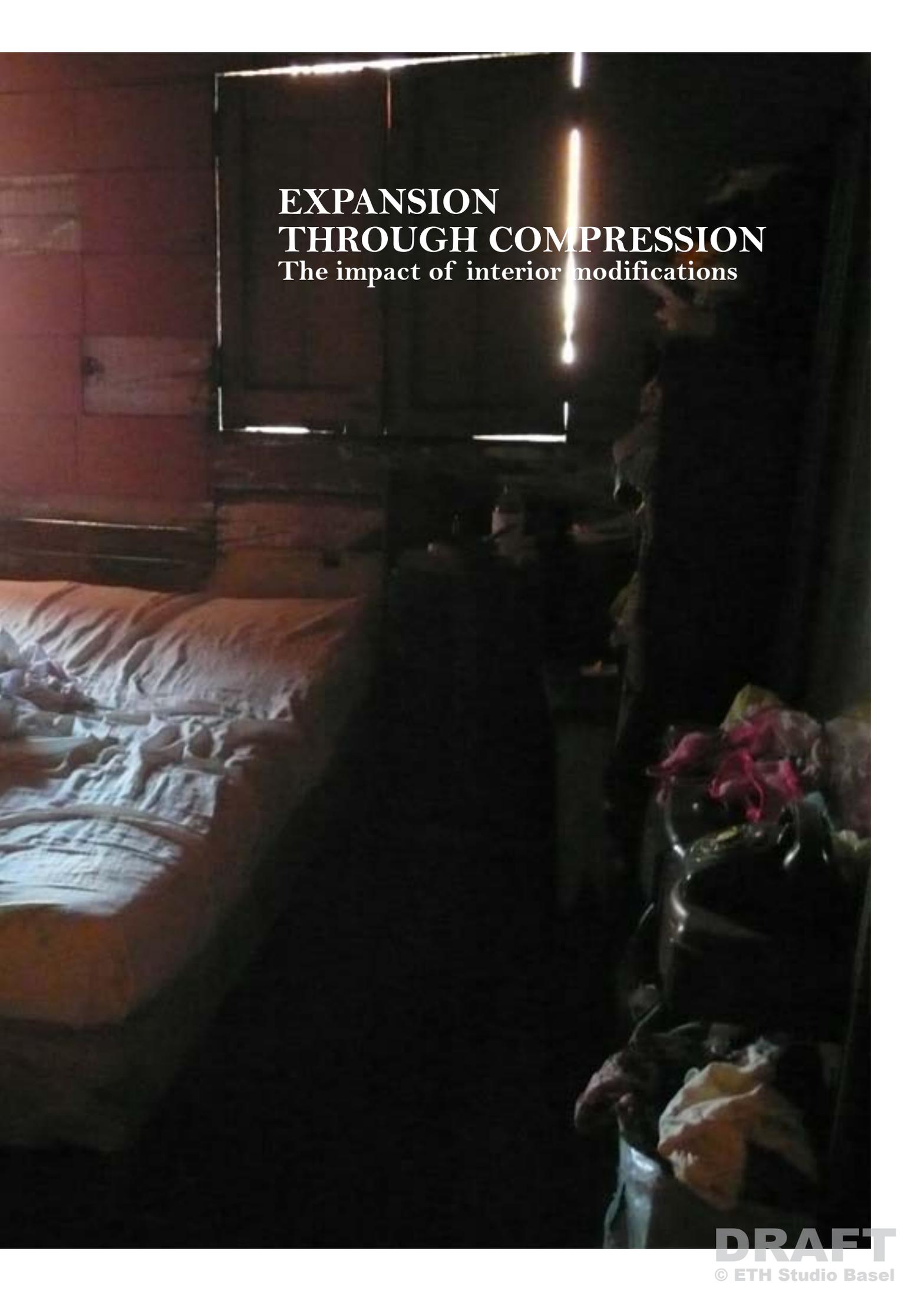


The additional V-column is a typical Cuban phenomenon. The clone is “biting” its reference.

It's possible to sell your roof as a "building site". The government is "supporting" the construction of a caseta en azotea by turning a blind eye on such activity since otherwise they would have been responsible to provide alternative accommodation.



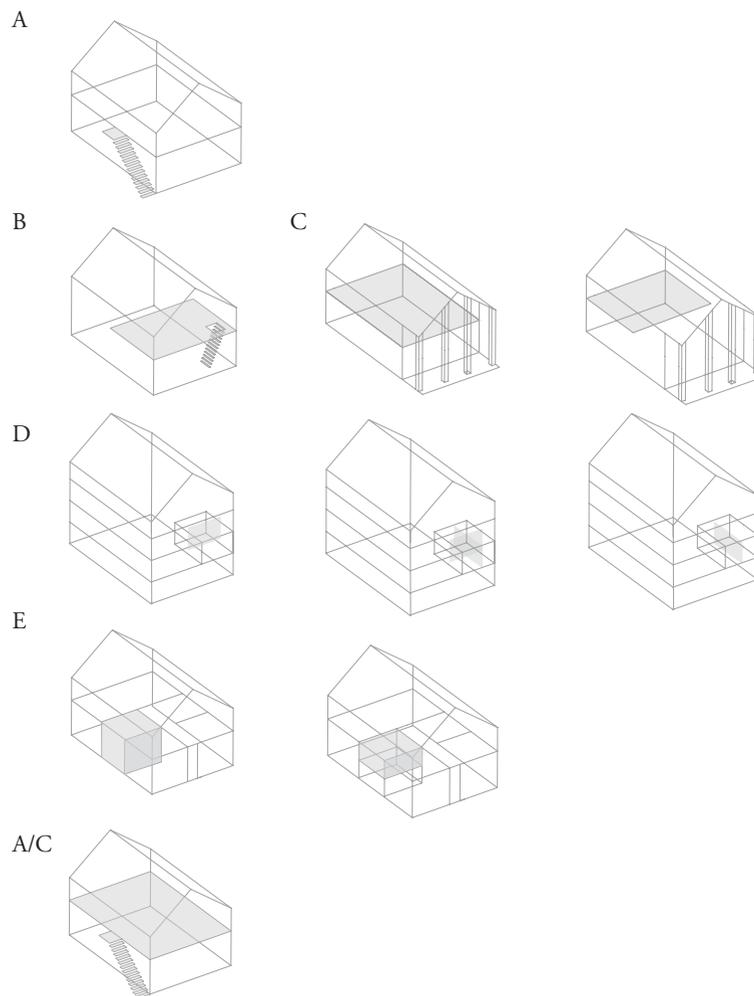




**EXPANSION
THROUGH COMPRESSION**
The impact of interior modifications

EXPANSION THROUGH COMPRESSION

The impact of interior modifications



This is a classification of squatting forms and housing phenomena. All kind of enlargements shown above are coming from the necessity of space as a basic need. The impact of those interventions does mostly affect the living

quality inside the houses. The results are narrowness of space, lack of ventilation and natural light.

- A Splitted houses
- B Barbacoa
- C Placa
- D Refractuated Flat
- E Cuarteria



B

Expansion through compression

DRAFT
© ETH Studio Basel

Densification through shifting the stairs

A - Splitted house





First a doubling of the house was made for the elderly children afterwards a new family moved in. Therefore the inner connection got replaced by the outer access.

Lacerated rooms? B - Barbacoa



The additional load on floors which aggravates to the weakness of the structures due to deterioration, and may cause the collapse of the whole buildings.



The phenomena of Barba-coa can go that far that a facade in the facade is generated.



If the material can be found, mostly on the black market, people replace their cheap wood construction by bricking up the windows.

Existing tall windows are partly bricked up and replaced by smaller ones, easily visible from the outside and mutating the architecture of the original facade.





Vainly trying to solve the problem of ventilations by making wholes at least to another room if the connection to the outside does not exist.



Improvised sunscreen of a Barbacoa window, to fight against the typically hot local climate.

Barbacoa 2nd generation C - Placa

Seamless alternation, Improved Barbacoa construction of a former Ciudadela.





Subdivision of flats

D - Refractuated flats





Individual coloring shows how former multifamily houses are compressed nowadays.

The Babuska principle

E - Cuarteria

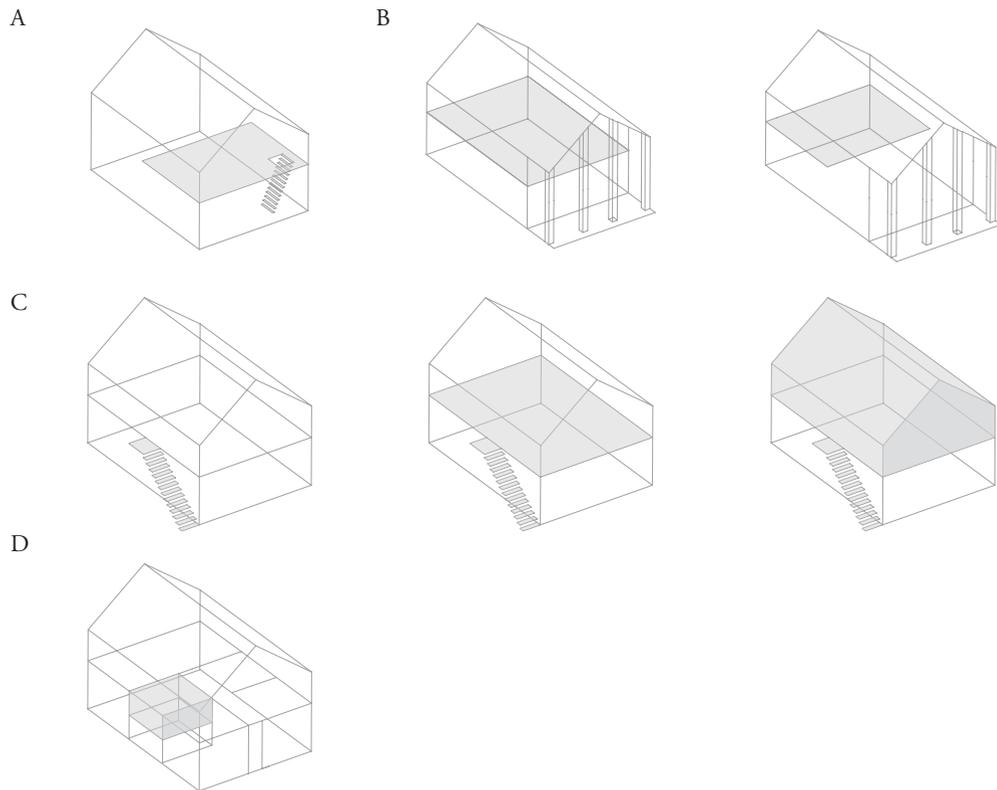




Bourgeois mansions used as a shell for multi-family housing. Rooms used as shell for apartments.

HORIZONTAL SUBDIVISIONS

Classification of different ways of squatting



- A Barbacoa
- B Placa
- C Splitted house
- D Cuarteria with Barbacoa



B



A



C



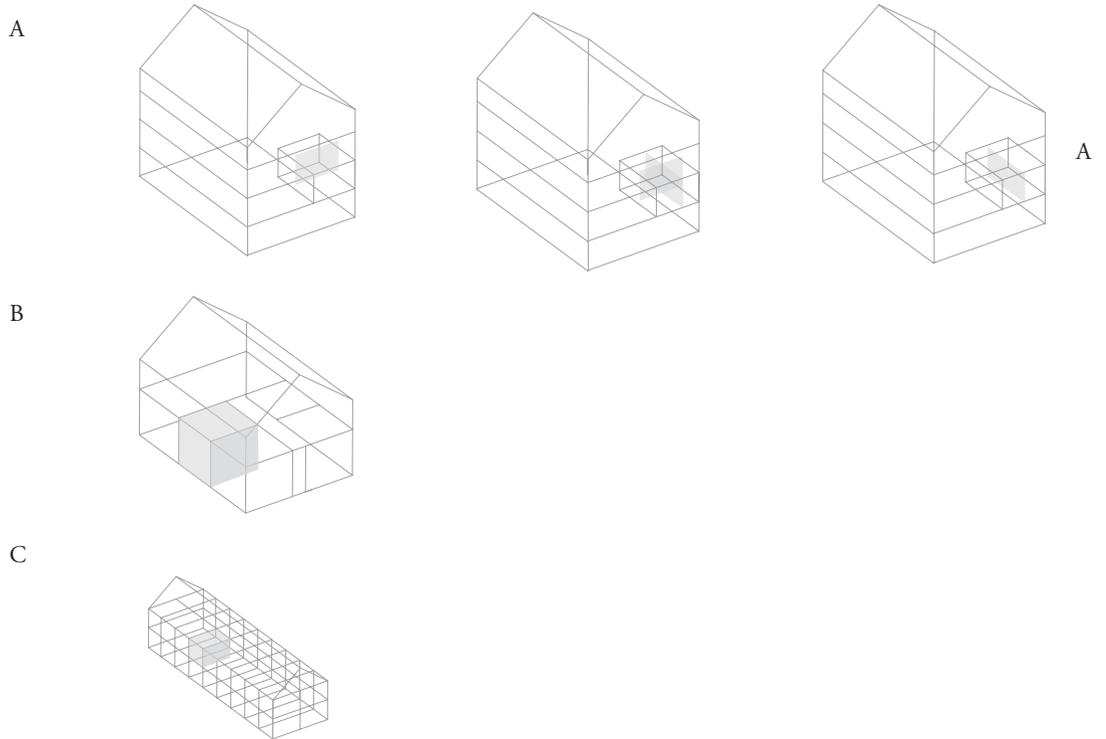
B



B

VERTICAL SUBDIVISIONS

Classification of different ways of squatting



- A Refractuated Flat
- B Cuarteria
- C Ciudadela



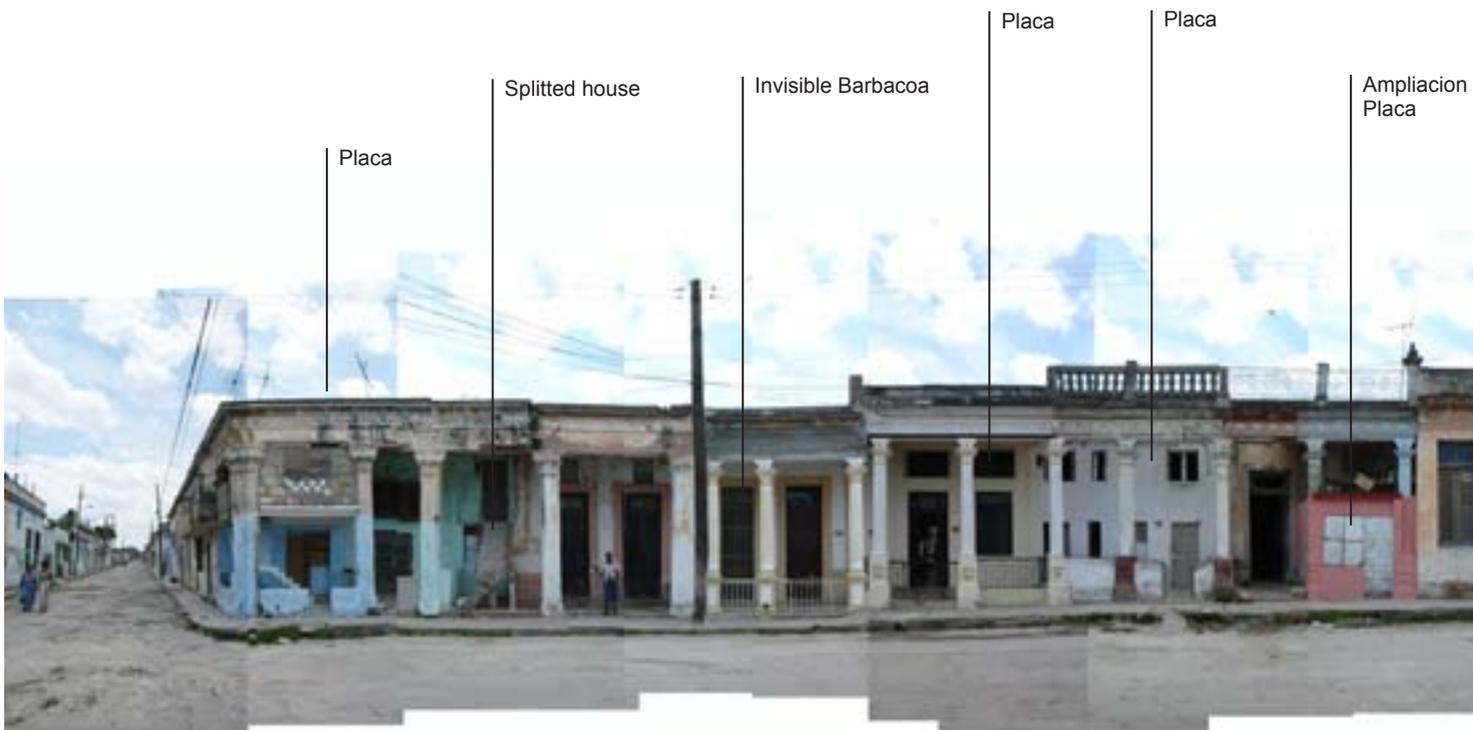
C



A

MUTATIONS IN A WORKING CLASS NEIGHBOURHOOD

Prospering squatting



The achievements of the Cuban state in improving the residential circumstances are impressive. This is particularly true if one looks at housing not only in terms of completed housing units, but strategies to overcome the underlying causes of the housing problem, which is poverty, access to land, property speculation, and secure tenure. Some countries have a considerable stock of

empty houses coinciding with large scale homelessness. This is certainly not in Cuba. Every available space is used.

The government has set the target to overcome all substandard housing conditions, such as cuarterias, ciudadelas and barrios insalubres (classical slums).



MUTATIONS OF A COMMERCIAL STREET

Oldest Mainstreet of 10 de Octubre

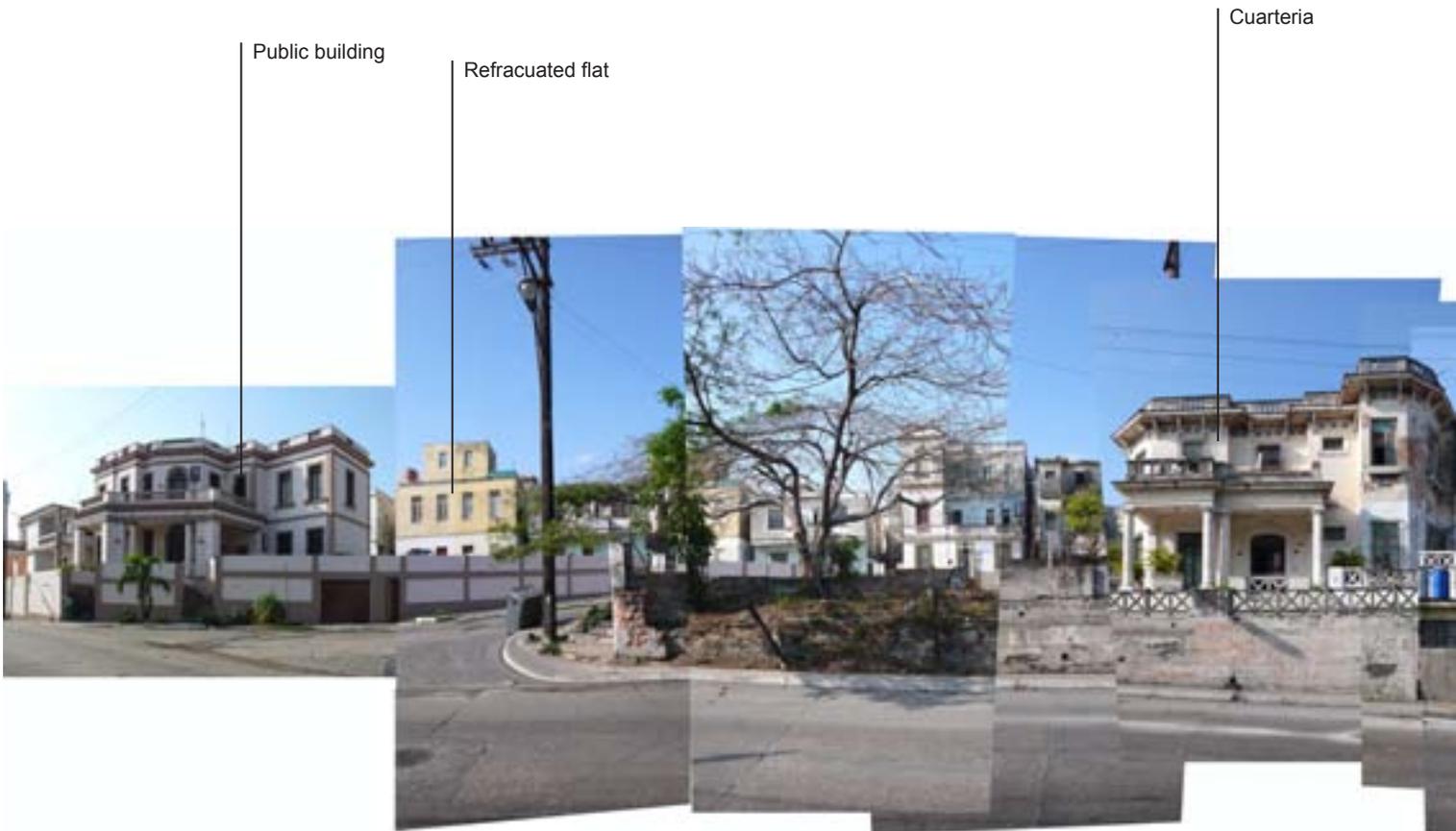


Barbacoa are a particularity in the older parts of Havana. Their high ground floor were originally built to accommodate shops and warehouses. Also the rooms in the first and second floor, formerly lived in by owners of the enterprise, had high ceilings. When owners and commerce left the areas due to structural change and problems of access for transport this space was used for housing.



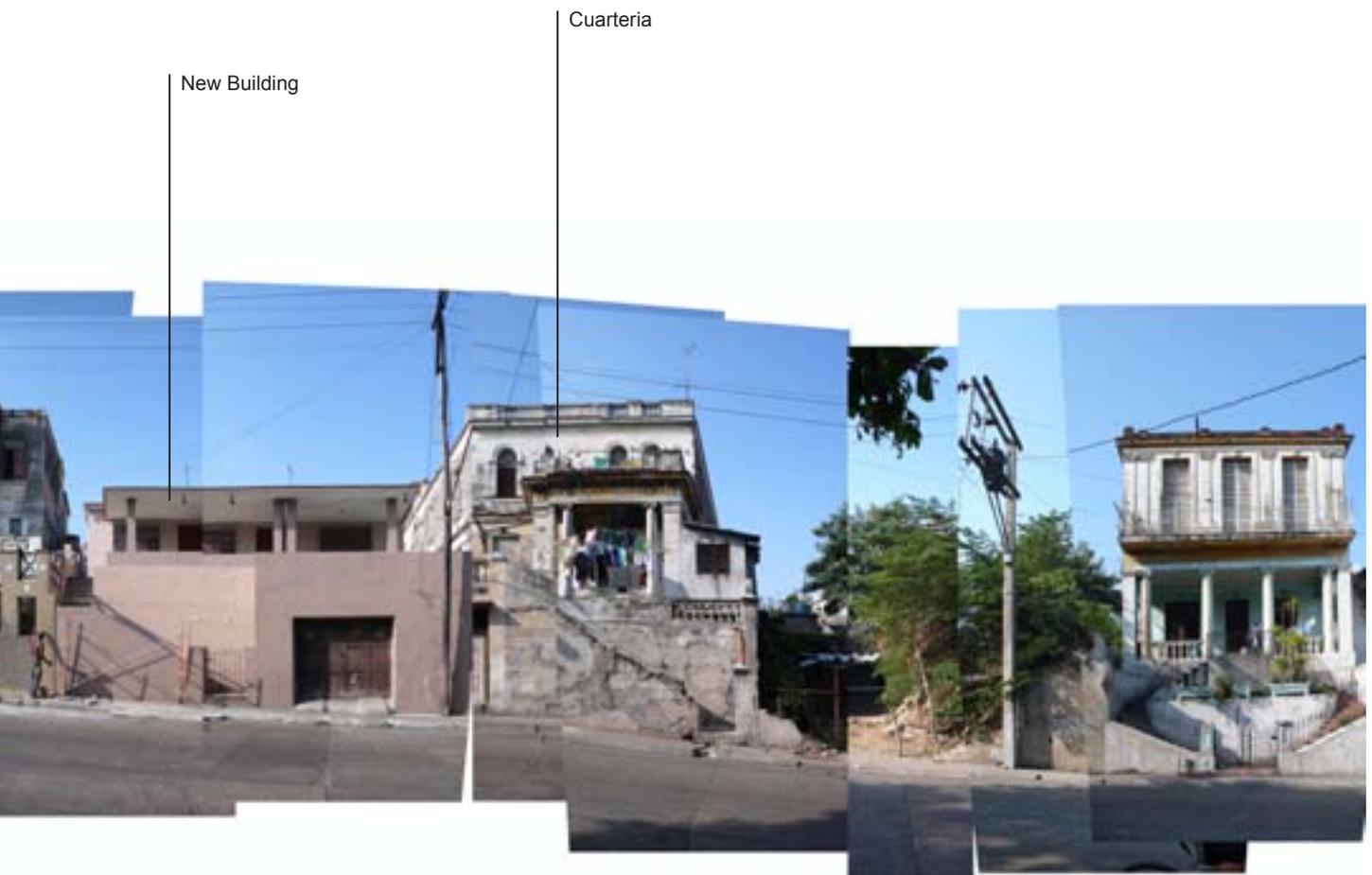
MUTATIONS OF A RESIDENTIAL AREA

Former upperclass neighbourhood



In Cuba different qualities of accommodation do not imply social segregation, since income differentials are not very big in the first place, and generally speaking, housing access does not follow the rules of the market. Already the Moncada program of 1953, a kind of manifesto outlining the priorities of the Cuban revolution, established the right

of every family to a home; this principle has also been included in the constitution of 1976. Because shelter is considered as a social good.



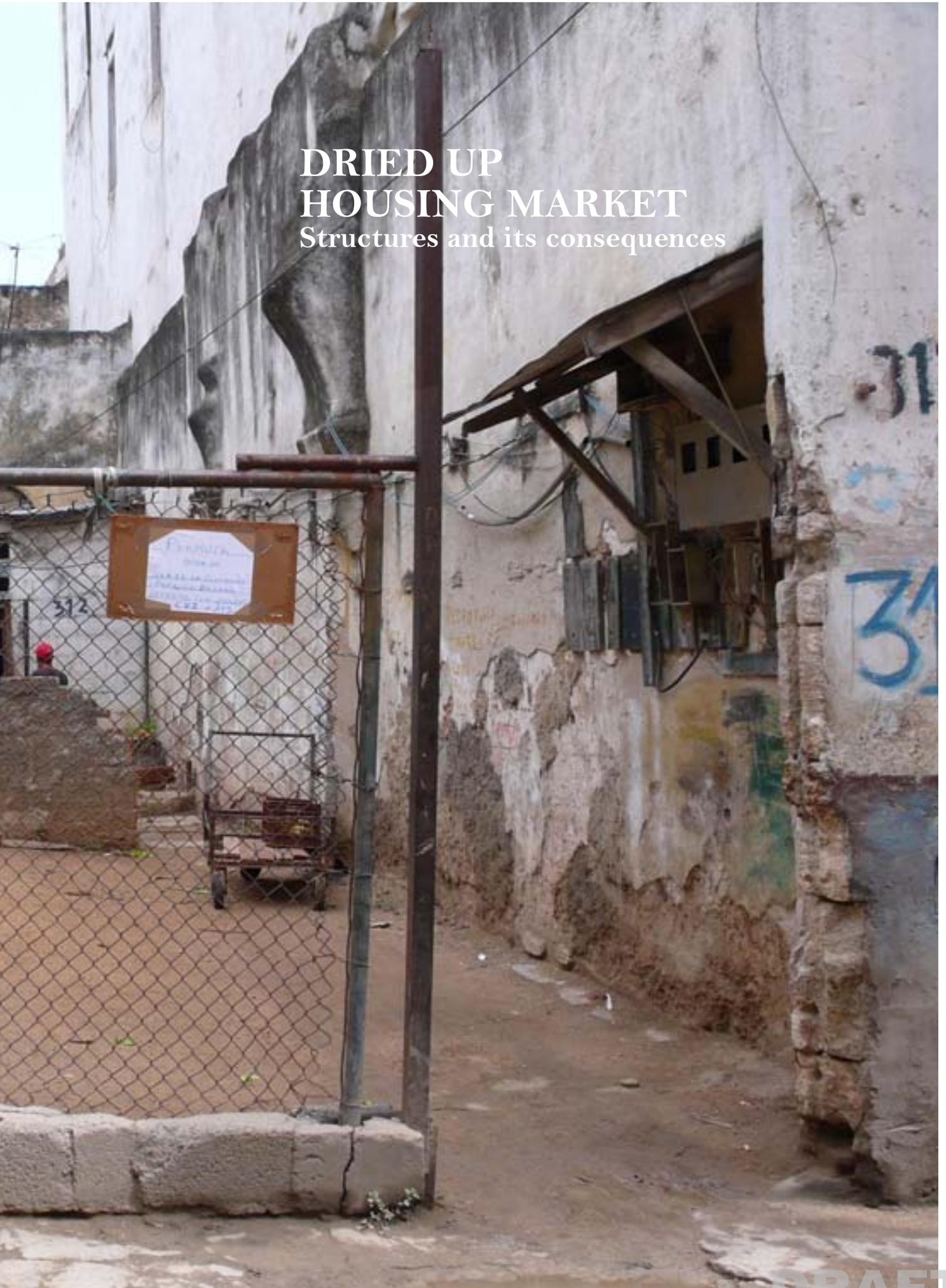
STRUCTURES

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DRIED UP HOUSING MARKET

Structures and its consequences



THE PERMUTA

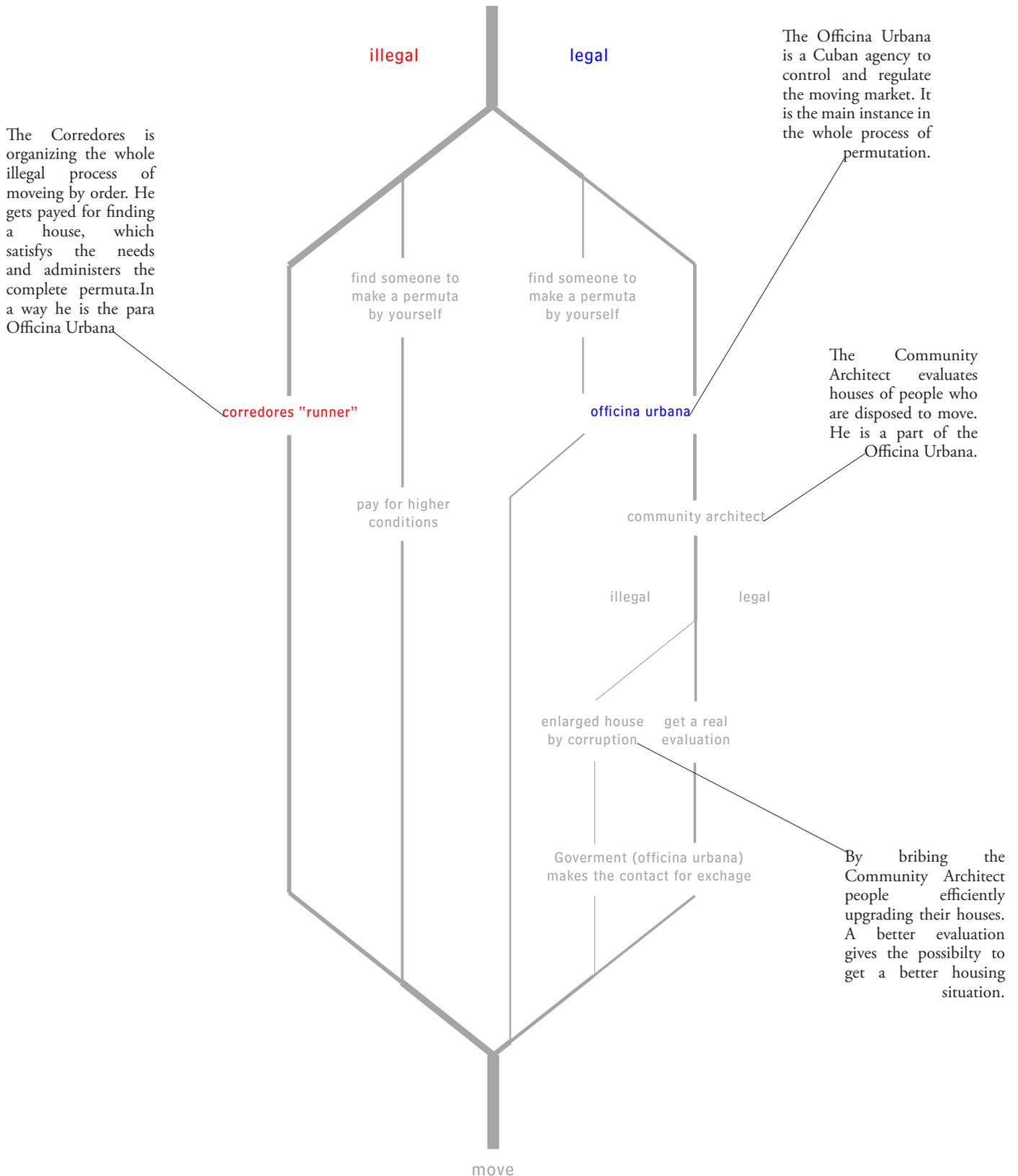
State driven relocations

Moving in Cuba is totally different than in any capitalistic country. In Cuba its only allowed to move under a permutation. That means you only can exchange your house if you would like to move out. Because of this it is called Permuta (permutation). Most important is that both houses, flats or appartments have to be under comparable technical/ constrictive conditions and the size has to be comparable. By moving in an other district or province the number of persons is also important, because every district has fixed number of maximal inhabitants. The whole process is highly controled by the Cuban goverment and the result of all rules and the protraction is that the people rarely move.

The records the people wich have done a Permuta in the past. Archivied at the desks in the Oficina Urbana.

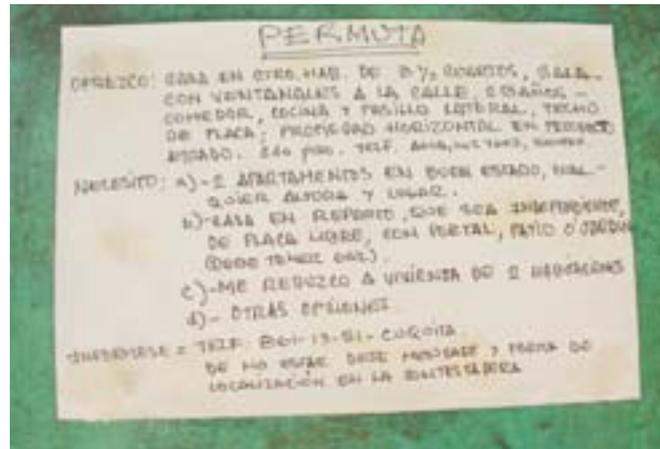


Ways of making a Permuta



RARE IMAGES

Adds of the housing market





OFFICINA URBANA

Deserted Institution

The permutation is based on the evaluation of the dwelling by the Community Architect. Both houses need to be under comparable conditions concerning the technical and constructive conditions. The Size of the houses has to be the same. Not the amount of rooms is important, but the amount of square meters. The organization of those legal Permutas is made by the Oficina Urbana. It is a Institution, which controls the all steps of a Permuta. Parallel to that exists a kind of para-Oficina Urbana. The so called Corredores (meaning runner) is a person which is organising illegal Permutas.





The rules and common handlings for Permutas and the dried up housing market shows its effect inside the Officina Urbana. The absence of people.

Urban Antidynamic The frozen housing market

The effect of all the rules for moving and the fact that moving is only possible by making a Permuta is that the people in Cuba extremely seldom move. By 200.000 inhabitants in Diez de Octubre 780 people per year are making a legal Permuta. In comparison with Germany the value of moving people per year by 200.000 inhabitants would be around 21.000.



LEGAL PERMUTA PROCEDURE

Mooving within the same district is a different and easier procedere than a Permuta to an other district or provence

UFFICINA URBANA

only with ownership documents

COMMUNITY ARCHITECT

record will be created

WITHIN THE SAME DISTRICT

TO A DIFFERENT DISTRICT

The extern CDR-office will prove the certificat for a intern permuta

record will be proved extern by CDR-office

verification of if there was a former attension to escape from the country.

number of persons will be checked, squaremeters counted, number of rooms, housing condition.

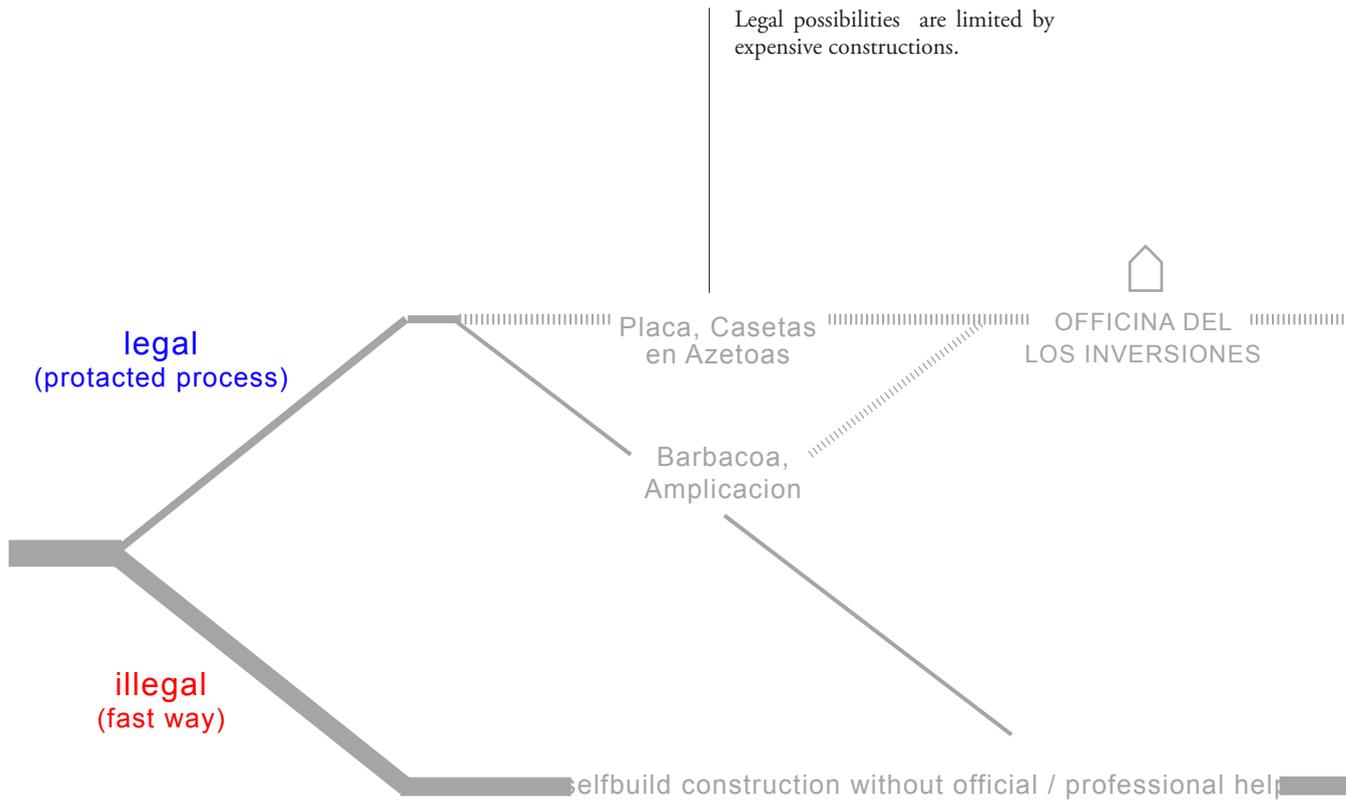
Poder Popular Municipal will prove the record

PPM will prove the record and decide if the permuta will be allowed

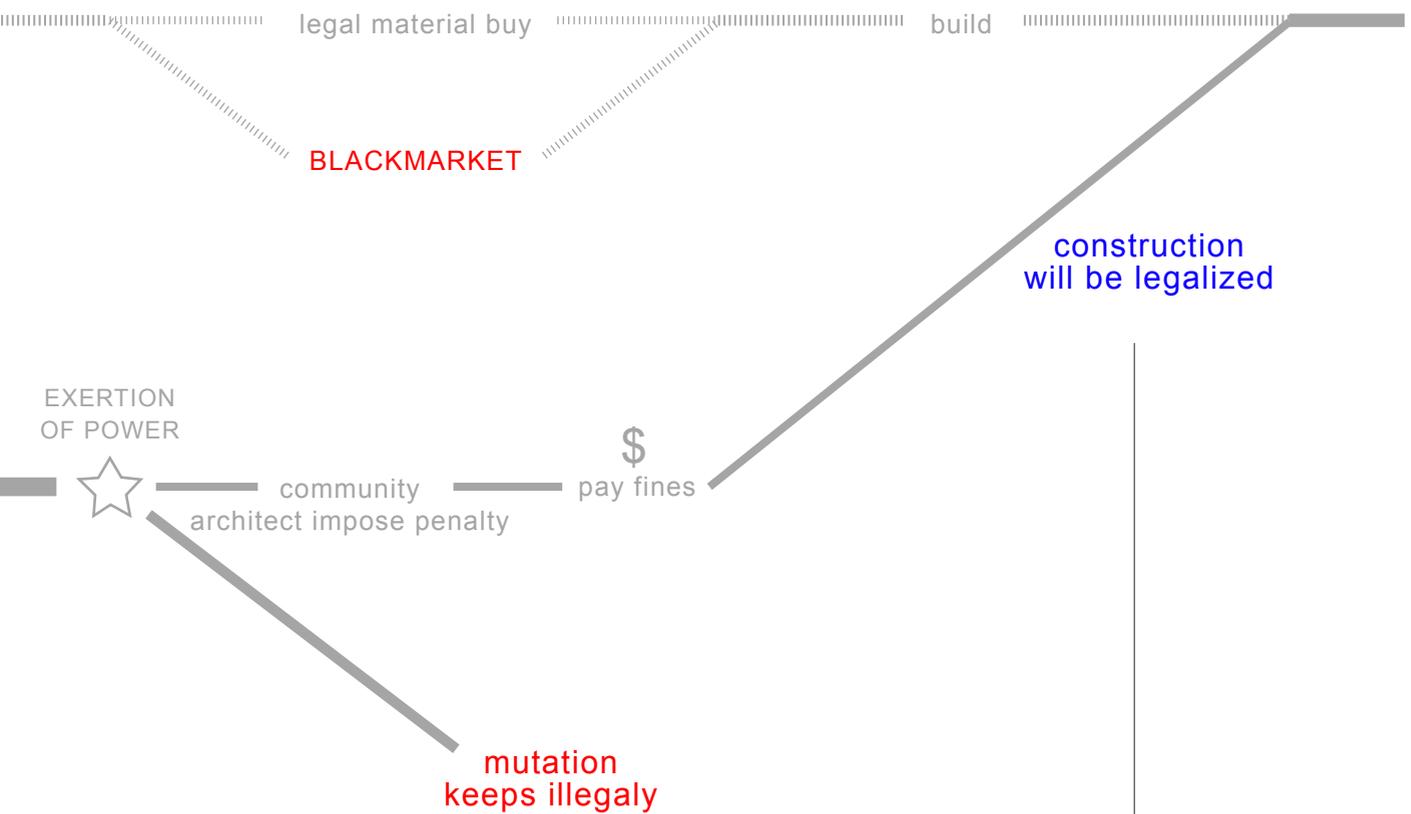
Permuta will be allowed / denied

GETTING LEGAL

Informality as a control instrument



-  Cuban Police (representante)
-  Investment Office: advise about construction and legalisation
-  LEGAL (protected process)
-  ILLEGAL (fast way)
-  ordinary way
-  unusual way (mostly impossible)



The Government can hold its policy of stability through tolerating informality.

TENURE AND HOME OWNERSHIP

“Housing as a public service”

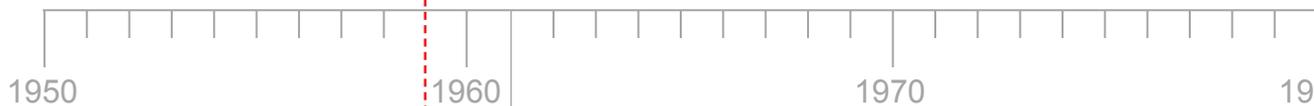


Within three month after the Revolution, eviction were stopped, most rents reduced by 30 to 50 %, and potential Homeowners aided by a Vacant Lot Law designed to stimulate and eliminate land speculation. Most land was not nationalised, but the government confiscated land and dwellings owned by those leaving Cuba as emigrants.

LIVETIME LEASES AT RENT

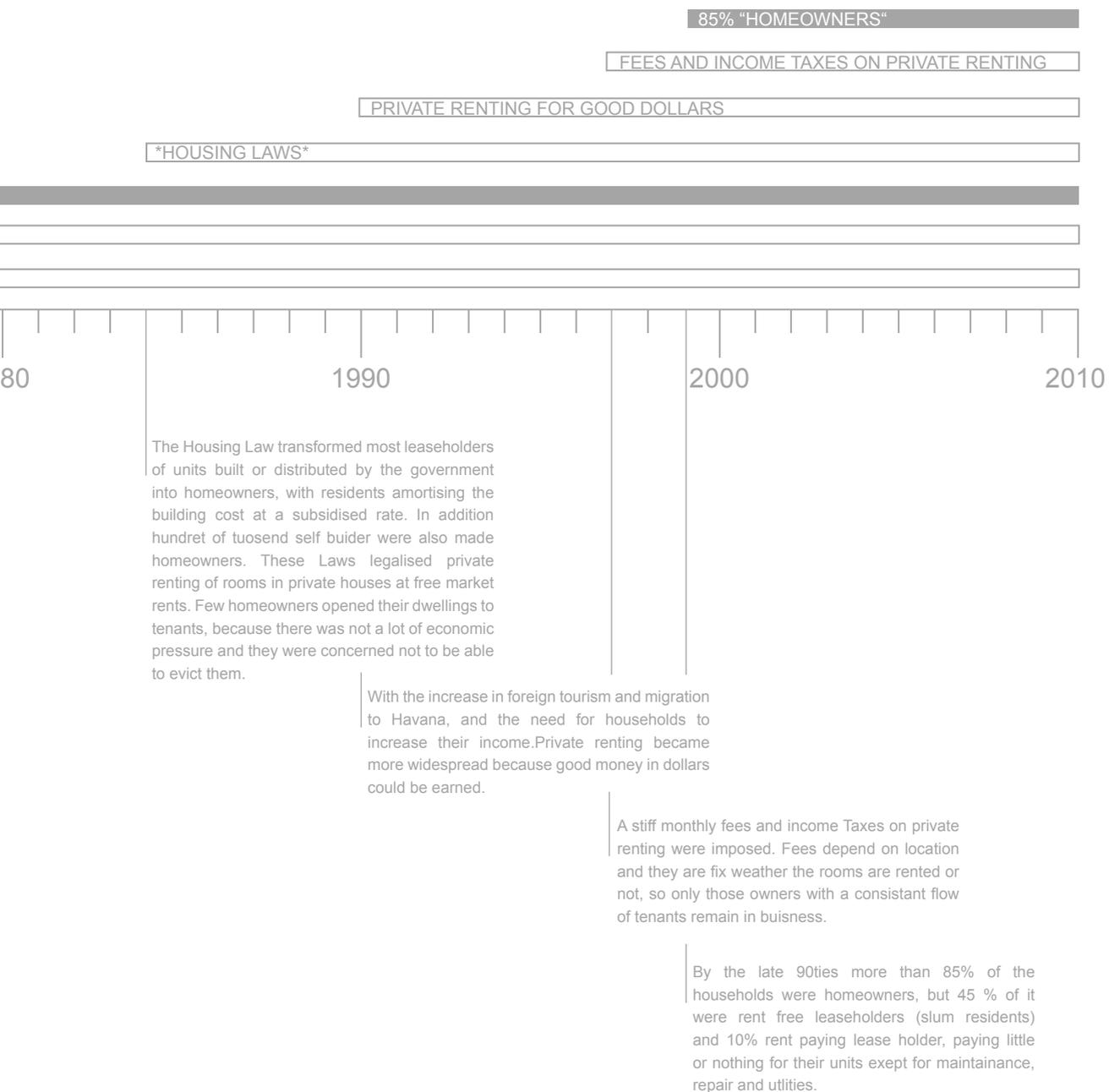
URBAN REFORM LAW

VACANT LOT LAW



The Law established housing as a public service, with the stated goal of making housing free. It indicated two basic Tenure forms: home ownership and long-term leaseholding (usufructo) in government owned units. Individuals were permitted to own no more than one permanent and one vacation home. The law prohibited almost all private renting.

Residents in housing built or distributed by the government were given lifetime leases at rents \leq than 10% of family income. Individuals could buy and sell land but only at government set prices and the government had first option to buy. Although little legal private buying and selling occurred for the next two decades, informal sales of land for self-building were common. Housing exchanges were the way most households moved to another dwelling.



PRESENT-DAY OWNERSHIP

The three basic tenureships

PROPRIETARIO

The Proprietario is a house owner which has legal status like a owner in capitalistic countries. To become a Proprietario of a house people have to make a legal Permuta through the Oficina Urbana. The legal Permuta is the condition for the ownership alteration. 40% of the cuban population are proprietors.

USUSFRUCTO

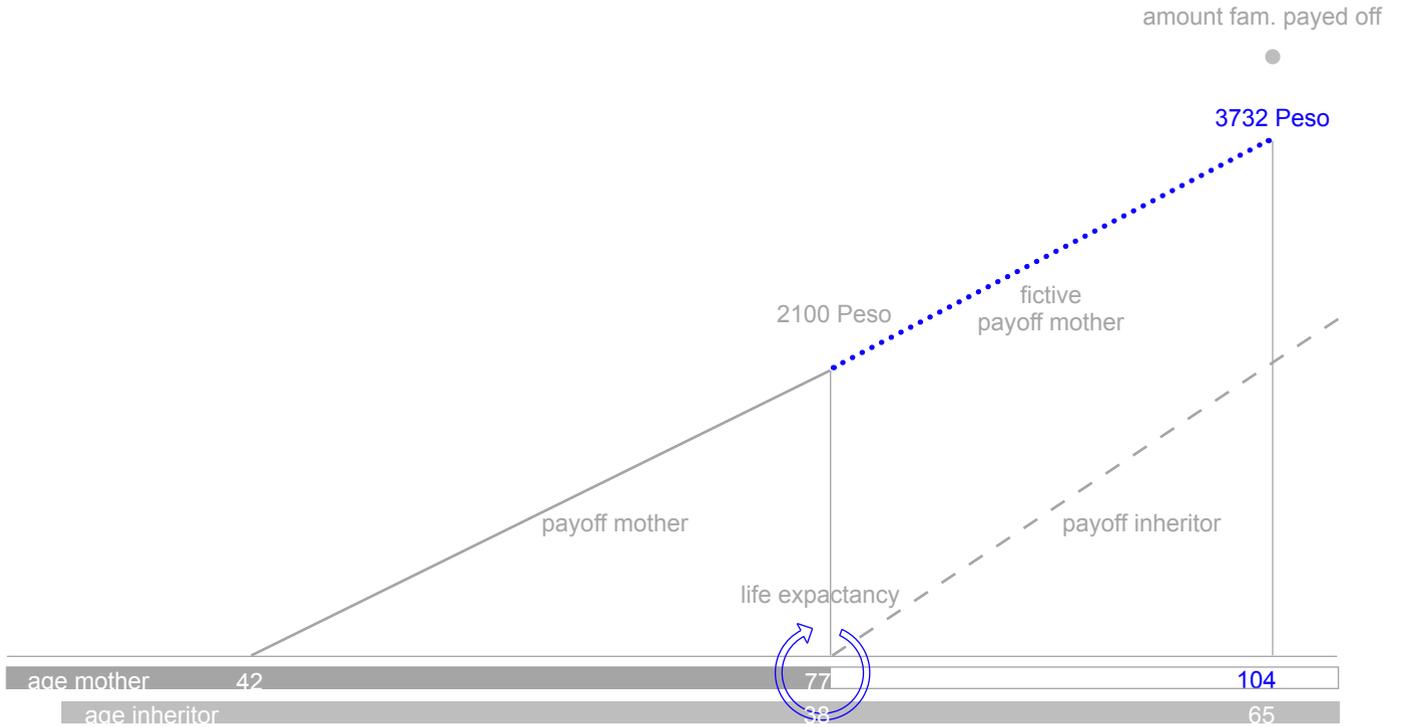
Usufructo is a special kind of tenureship. It means that a person can live in a house or apartment without paying a rent. They are not the owners but they have the right to live there. Usufructos are mostly poorer

ARRENDATARIOS

Arrendatarios are longtime-leaseholder. Whern they inherit a house, the house will be evaluated by the state. Then the Arrendatario pays the amount as a kind of interest-free credit off. This repayment is normaly by a small monthly amount. In Cuba 45% of the people are Arrendatarios

ARRENDATARIOS

The recursion of ownership



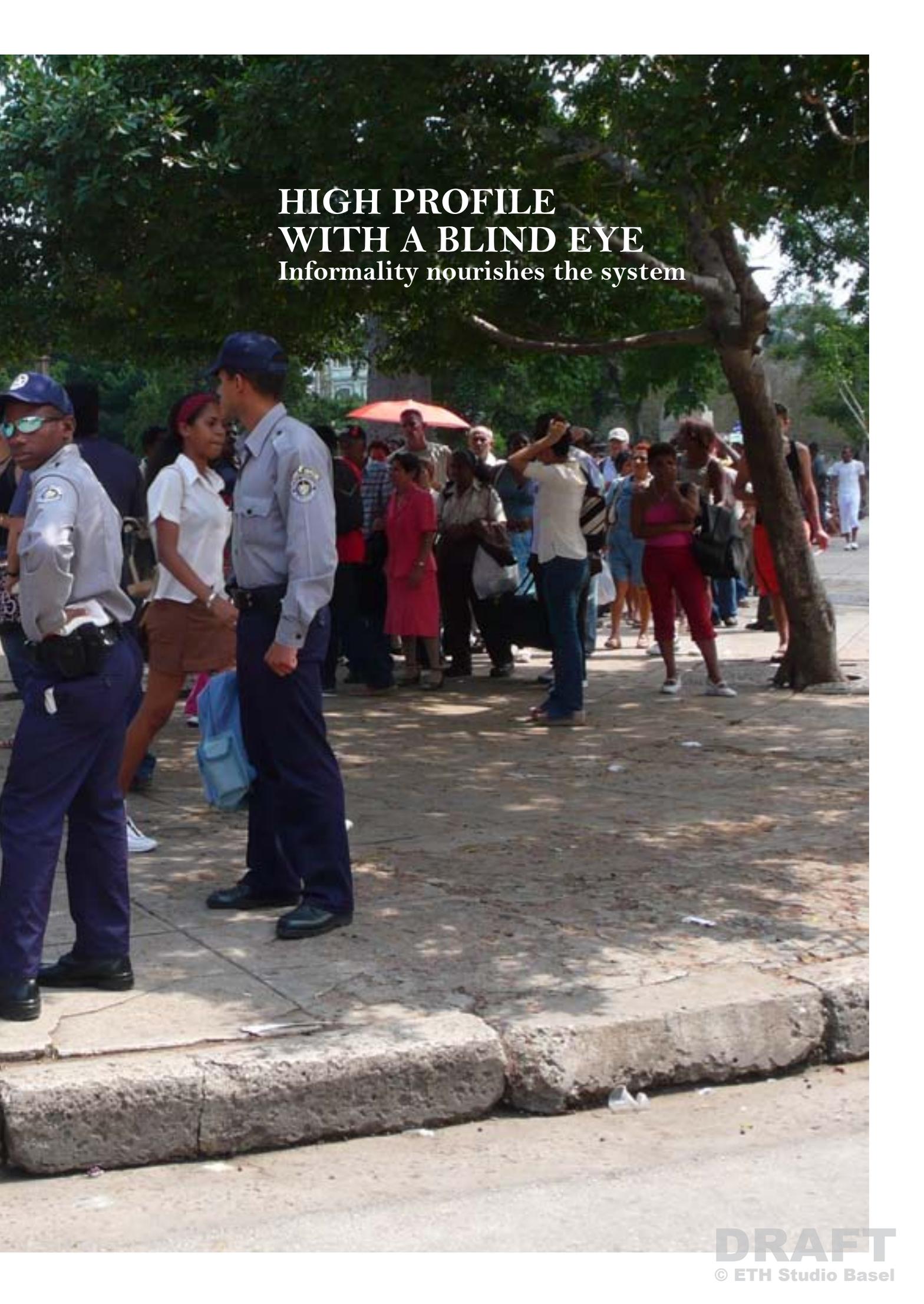
mother inherits the house. The House gets evaluated and a interest-free repayment to the government will be started (total credit here 3732 Peso). The amount for the rate will be defined (never more than 10% of the

expected death of mother. her inheritor has the claim on the house. Then the house gets reevaluated and the repayment will be restarted by 0.00 Peso. A new amount for the rate will be redefined in dependence on the financial situation of the inheritor.

at this point the inheritor is 65 years old. The payed off amount is 1944.00 Peso (in 27 years). In charging to the amount wich was payed off by the mother (2100 Peso) payed off, the famlily already payed 4044.00 Peso. These difference between this and the first evaluation by the staate shown the problematic, that the family will maybe only by a miracle of medicine rearly own the house.

- pay-off of mother
- - pay-off of inheritor
- fictive pay-off after death of the mother
- added amount (mother + inheritor payed-off amount)
- ↻ point of recursion of ownership



A photograph of a busy street scene. In the foreground, two police officers in light blue shirts and dark blue trousers are walking. One officer is wearing a blue cap and sunglasses. In the background, a large crowd of people is walking along the sidewalk. A large tree is on the right side of the frame. The text "HIGH PROFILE WITH A BLIND EYE" is overlaid in white, bold, serif font, and "Informality nourishes the system" is overlaid in a smaller, white, serif font below it.

**HIGH PROFILE
WITH A BLIND EYE**
Informality nourishes the system

CONCLUSION

Tactics

Urban Idyll

The political environment in Cuba creates a unique urban vegetation. So if 10 de Octubre is understood as an urban Idyll, the question arises what makes this urbanity so unique?

The system producing Havana's urban structure is based on clear rules and administrative handling. This is especially the case for 10 de Octubre, which is a kind of Deep Havana. In nature, vegetation is the result of vegetable growth, influenced by climate, relief and soil. The urban diversity in Havana has its origin in a unique colonial architecture which changed after '59 under the own initiative of the inhabitants of the city. This initiative caused urban transformations and mutations. In analogy to nature the influences on that change of the city would be the political environment (climate), the grown city structure (relief), the availability of building material (soil) and the peoples'

activity (vegetable growth). The political system-stabilizing tactics of the government are total control of the housing market and rules for home ownership and building. Techniques like Permuta or the handling with „built illegality“ are used as an instrument. This

could not only be understood as a control instrument but also as a measure of shifting responsibility on the population. The result of the frozen housing market is, of course, an inhibited or non-existing urban dynamic, which forces people to operate with their surrounding. In this situation the basic need for space influences the change of the existing building structure. The transformation and mutation of the Havana's city is produced by the expansion through addition and through compression.

Leveling

The administrative handling behind that mainly is reducing the possibilities of illegal constructing. The improvisation of the urban processes defines the image of Havana, 10 de Octubre and the everyday life of the city inhabitants.

Another interesting part of the urban changes in Havana is that the people's own initiative, which isn't a direct reaction on state regulations, but still on the political environment, is producing a kind of levelling of the different social standards. Examples are the phenomenon of Cuaterias (house mutation from a one-family-house to a kind of apartment house) and the changes of Ciudadelas (a

Potential

social house with several units) to different self-sufficient apartments. One damages the situation and the other improves it. It is interesting that from a more distant point of view both produce a comparable housing or living standards, although they derive from different situations. The adaptation as a result of own initiative is in a way very communistic. A communism which comes not only from the government as a political strategy but also as a Cuban's strategy?

The flourishing of Havana's Urban Idyll through people's activity represents an ability. The meanwhile established tackling with this particular situation brought specialized constructing skills to the cuban population. The diversity of Havanas Urban Idyll exhibits those unique creativities of the Cubans, a nation which is acting with niches and where improvement means improvising.





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The Case Of Havana, Cuba
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