



KAMIKADZE LOGGIAS VIEWED
FROM THE STREET IN NUTSUBIDZE
PLATO, TBILISI, 2015

KAMIKADZE LODŽIE Z POHLADU
Z ULICE NA NUTSUBIDZE PLATO
V TBILISI, 2015

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová

Architecture Without Architects. Informal Redevelopment of Late-Modern Prefabricated Housing in Tbilisi, Georgia

Architektúra bez architektov.

Neformálna prestavba neskoromodernej
panelovej výstavby v Tbilisi, Gruzínsko

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Veľké obytné súbory z obdobia socializmu sú spoločnou témou viacerých krajín už niekoľko desaťročí. Postkomunistické krajiny sa historicky konfrontovali s podobnými problémami bytovej otázky, napríklad s nedostatočnou výstavbou bytov a po rozpade Sovietskeho zväzu s nesystematickou privatizáciou v deväťdesiatych rokoch. V postsovietskom teritóriu na východ od Slovenska sa vývoj uberal iným smerom, najmä pre nedostatočnú reguláciu výstavby.

Hlavným záujmom výskumu je fenomén *kamikadze lodží*. Rozmanitá a nesúrodá zmes dodatočných prístavieb panelových domov dodáva gruzínskym sídliskám charakteristický ráz. Vyskytujú sa v mnohých sídliskách z obdobia socializmu, koncentrovane sú však prítomné v hlavnom meste Gruzínska, Tbilisi. Architektonický a sociálny experiment bol dovedený do praxe práve v Gruzínsku. Schopnosť adaptability a flexibility v bývaní však vychádza z kultúrnej tradície a sociálnej praxe. Projektanti v Gruzínsku sa podujali vyriešiť nedostatok obytnej plochy priam šalamúnsky. Navrhli prídavné oceľové konštrukcie k exteriérom fasád panelových domov a nechali samotných

obyvateľov, aby si nové prístavby dostavali podľa svojich možností a predstáv. Štát projekt formálne zlegalizoval a riešenie tak ponechal na obyvateľov. Vyriešil sa tak síce čiastočne problém s nedostatkom obytného priestoru, no problém financovania a nedostatku stavebných materiálov sa „elegantne“ posunul na samotných vlastníkov. Rozpad Sovietskeho zväzu síce priniesol nebývalú slobodu, no v stavebníctve zároveň aj nedostatok stavebných materiálov, chaos v riadení krajiny na úpätí Kaukazu, a divokú privatizáciu. Nasledujúce desaťročie bolo pre Gruzínsko náročnou skúškou, keď sa malá krajina, počtom obyvateľov o niečo menšia ako Slovensko, snažila dokázať, že si svoju slobodu dokáže obhájiť. Dnes Gruzínsko odvážne hľadá smerom do západnej Európy a snaží sa riešiť svoje problémy postupne.

Jedna z vývojových vetiev postmodernizmu sa vo veľkej mierke prejavila aj v obytnom a verejnom priestore slovenských sídlisk. Tendencie postmoderny sa u nás ujali najviditeľnejšie na povrchu, kriklavým premalovaním sivej každodennosti, potlačením tektoniky stavieb, jej obalením do pláštia zdanlivej dokonalosti, hoci pod povrchom sú prestarnuté spoje panelových konštrukcií.

Humanizácia sídlisk, ktorá bola načrtnutá samotnými projektantmi a architektmi štátnych projektových ústavov, naďalej po zamatovej revolúcii prebieha, nielen na Slovensku. V duchu postmoderny však v našom teritóriu nabrala smer nových princípov urbanizmu, akými sú participácia občanov na návrhu rekonštrukcie, iniciovanie prestavieb a transformácie spoločných vnútroblokov, ale aj vstupy individuálnych návrhov architektov, ktorými sa zahusťujú priestory sídlisk.

Domnievame sa, že dnes potrebujeme znovu objaviť a redefinovať nielen vzťah k verejnému priestoru v meste, ale aj vzťah ku komunitě spoluobyvateľov. Privlastňovanie si verejného priestoru samotnými obyvateľmi je už niekoľko rokov jasným signálom, že záujem novej generácie obyvateľov sídlisk sa zmenil. Hoci je to malá mierka, zmena sa deje od jednotlivca, síce neriadene, no opäť smerom zdola hore. Príklad vývoja obytného priestoru krajín bývalého východného bloku je pre nás nielen mementom, ale aj prípadovou štúdiou, kde môžeme v priamom prenose sledovať vývoj a adaptabilitu opatrení, experimentov, ktoré, hoci naplánované s dobrým zámerom, sa vymkli kontrole a stali sa samo-organizovanou sociálnou krajinou sídlisk.

Introduction: Research Topic and Theoretical Background

The following report addresses the previously unexplored phenomenon of spontaneity in architecture, researching its way of manifestation, different conditions for its origin, typology and relationship between the people and the urban space. The main focus of the study is situated in several states that formerly belonged to the Soviet Union – Georgia, Armenia and Ukraine. Within the mapping of informal architecture, the author visited the cited countries in situ during 2015 – 2018. The methodology includes a historical-geographical study, terrain mapping in situ, morphological study, and oral history performed in collaboration with the inhabitants. For the present moment, we would like to stress the importance of the creativity and the solutions of non-architects and their relationship with the built environment, while at the same time seeking a new perspective on the past, as a possibly relevant source for urban planning if taking into account the long-term development following the economic and housing crisis in post-communist states.

Based on the word's etymology, *plan* has several meanings, such as “an idea of how to do something, a method of doing something, an intention or arrangement”, but in the context of architecture, the closest meaning represents “a drawing, diagram showing a building, town as if seen from above”; therefore, to plan means to “to design” a building, town, etc¹. The definition of planned architecture refers to conscious design with clearly defined steps, each of which are supposed to lead to a definite result in the plan's aim, whether form, structure, building, urban

masterplan, or city, and requiring a design method or strategy. Nor was it merely in a formal way that the plan was central to the modernist vision: as suggested by French architect Le Corbusier, “*The PLAN is a generating moment of volume and surface. Everything is irreversibly determined by it.*”² On the other hand, *unplanned architecture* is the term applied to an architecture that originates in the subconscious and spontaneous way of thinking of the author, casting doubt on whether the plan could, in fact, determine everything.

As the title predicts, architecture without planning is additionally a term referring to vernacular architecture, which was studied in the 1970s by Austrian architect Bernard Rudofsky.³ Contrary to the assumption of how vernacular or traditional architecture was viewed as primitive or uncivilized, Rudofsky considered the solutions of non-educated anonymous builders as appropriate architectural and sustainable ecological solutions. Often, their architecture is an intuitive and simple response to problems in the immediate spatial or environmental configurations, directly addressing the needs of inhabitants. At the time, Rudofsky's re-evaluation represented a manifesto against the stances of both modernism and neoclassicism, grounded equally on following a set of rules or a plan. In terms of self-made or informal architecture, a further dimension is its status as an unintended side product of an earlier state welfare and social policy. In our case study, the social experiment of humanizing post-communist prefabricated housing with additional constructions became a phenomenon particularly in the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi.



**VIEW FROM THE NUTSUBIDZE
PLATO RESIDENTIAL COMPLEX ON
KAMIKADZE LOGGIAS IN TBILISI,
2015**

POHLAD Z OBYTNÉHO KOMPLEXU
NUTSUBIDZE PLATO NA KAMIKADZE
LODŽIE V TBILISI, 2015

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová

The Political Background of the Social Changes after 1989 in Georgia

After the fall of the Soviet Union and the winning of political autonomy, the dismantling of state socialism was initiated in Georgia. The “extra-legal” and chaotic situation in the economy and politics encouraged the self-organized approach to architecture.⁴ Once the Georgian government initiated the process of housing privatization, the former Soviet large-scale housing projects emerged as a modernist platform for expanding the living and public space. At the beginning of political changes, the grey economy emerged as a growing force, in parallel to the situation in former Czechoslovakia. In Georgia, the inclination to the West became significant during the 1990s, again after the Rose Revolution in 2003, and especially after president Mikhail Saakashvili initiated economic and governmental reforms. It was during his term in office that he initiated investments in civic infrastructure and invited foreign architects to design important public buildings, like the Tbilisi Public Service Hall from Italian architect Massimiliano Fuksas (completed in 2012) or customs checkpoints in remote highway areas in the mountains by German architect Jürgen H. Meyer.⁵ Foreign aid, further liberalization and investments helped to overcome the economic crisis and corruption. The question of whether Georgia belongs to the East or the West, Europe or Asia has historically been a geopolitical issue. Undoubtedly, mental inclination towards the West is a view strongly supported by Georgians. Recently, it was declared in a renewed application for full membership to the European Union, submitted jointly with Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova in June 2022.

Unfortunately for the Georgian people, the request was declined, citing the need to solve more problems in terms of political stability, yet all the same, the European Union recognized the nation’s European promise. However, the legislative gaps and failed social policies that prevented EU membership also stimulated the possibility for self-organized emergent architecture. Thus, Georgia’s legacy in this area offers an experimental field for re-evaluation of the future restoration of mass housing

estates even in Western Europe, especially in times of economic, political, and social crisis, now ever more significant after the start of war in Ukraine.

Contemporary Tbilisi blends diverse historical layers. As the city’s location destined it to become a crossroad between Europe and Asia, its built environment reflects the diversity of structures, ranging from detached family houses, apartment buildings with communal courtyards from the late 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, planned prefabricated panel large-scale social housing projects from Soviet rule, up to post-Soviet apartments or commercial buildings, or postmodern Western architecture. Although the development resembles similar trajectories in post-socialist countries in Eastern Europe, the result is a participatory form of architecture, a self-regulatory urban matrix built by non-architects, as evidence of how provisional form became permanent.

The Kamika(d)ze Loggia

The most widely known informal addition to existing buildings is the “kamikaze loggia”. This picturesque term describes various extensions of the facades of panel housing constructed by the inhabitants at their own expense. Often of poor quality and construction, it was their risky character that inspired a Russian journalist to make the connection between the Japanese suicide pilots of World War II – the kamikaze- and the most common Georgian family surname ending – dze, drawing a romantic parallel between the suicidal character of the act and the suicidal character of the construction as a product of non-architects.⁶ As a cultural phenomenon, the kamikaze loggia was introduced to the international public during the 55th Venice Art Biennale in 2013 in the Georgian pavilion, curated by Joanna Warsza and designed by the artist and researcher Gio Sumbadze and hosting the exhibition of the artists: Bouillon Group, Thea Djordjadze, Nikoloz Lutidze, Gela Patashuri in cooperation with Ei Arakawa and Sergei Tcherepnin.

Despite the provisional conditions, this addition creates an alternative opportunity to extend living spaces and adds

**KAMIKADZE LOGGIAS ON
PREFABRICATED PANEL HOUSING
IN NUTSUBIDZE PLATO IN TBILISI,
2015**

KAMIKADZE LODŽIE NA
PANELOVOM DOME NA NUTSUBIDZE
PLATO V TBILISI, 2015

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová



a diverse authentic layer to the urban architecture and environment. During the time of perestroika in the late 1980s the state committee Gosstroy was entrusted with solving the issue of the housing shortage.⁷ Due to the bad economic situation, the lack of flats caused a serious housing problem. In Georgia, the state solved the problem by legally allowing additional steel constructions to be affixed to the existing prefabricated houses. Lack of state support, growing numbers of inhabitants, and failure to fulfil state economic plans were all factors resulting in the unplanned spread of informal extensions which forced the inhabitants to do it on their own, resulting in a kind of “do-it-yourself” system and ad-hoc architecture. Their base was the large housing structures built since the 1950s in the USSR’s “microrayons”⁸, where the additional steel constructions were also built in the late 1980s. A high concentration of such structures is situated on Nutsubidze plato in the Saburtalo district in Tbilisi.

The economic and social crises in the 1990s intensified the efforts of self-build solutions especially in the modernist prefabricated panel housing settlements. The grey economy was rising, inflation and economic crisis influenced and shaped the market and its related living costs; therefore, self-build architecture provided an option to overcome the insufficient housing quantity offered by the state. Another factor that influenced the rise of additional extensions was socio-cultural, as the inhabitants were adding functions and living spaces as extended families. In some cases, families who had migrated from rural areas preferred the transformation of their urban homes even if they have had enough capital to move to another dwelling.⁹ In Tbilisi, state companies started installing metal extension frames already in 1987.¹⁰

The materiality of the adjustments naturally derived from what was available in the market and environment, in

**RENOVATED TRADITIONAL
LOGGIAS IN THE HISTORICAL
CENTER OF TBILISI NEAR THE
ABANOTUBANI SULPHUR BATHS,
2015**

TRADIČNÉ ZREKONŠTRUOVANÉ
LODŽIE V HISTORICKOM CENTRE
TBILISI NEĎALEKO SÍRNYCH
KÚPEĽOV ABANOTUBANI, 2015

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová



dependence as well on the social as well as economic status of the family. The chaotic period after the collapse of the Soviet state and its centralistic ideology had an understandable influence on the market and the living standards. Part of the steel extension frames remained unfinished, but some of the later extensions are now being completed with new plastering, walls, or refurbishment. The mixture of cheaper and provisional constructions unable to meet construction standards with accidentally more refined constructions creates a specific type of ad-hoc aesthetic characteristic for Tbilisi. Besides the technical, structural, and legislative aspects, we can observe also the creativity, innovative thinking and diversity of the additional structures. This characteristic originates from the local culture and tradition, a knowledge of which is essential for understanding the variety of extensions.

In Georgian culture, the loggia is a traditional archetype forming part of the dwelling. The significance of the loggia originates in the traditional spatial organization of a house and is interconnected with symbolical ornamentation. As an extension of the living area constructed of various inexpensive, available, or reused materials, this architectural form emerged from the dramatic landscape and steep slopes of the Caucasus Mountains. Another factor was the mild climate, enabling the family to rest in the semi-private loggia space in the hot summers. Usually lasting several hours, the traditional dinner called *supra* takes place in summer in the loggia. As the loggia was traditionally a place for social interaction among families, friends, and the local community, this social dimension is no less crucial in the present. After the regulatory humanization of prefabricated housing turned into a utopian vision in the form of steel constructions added to the existing facades of the housing,

the extensions developed as modified versions of the loggia. Once a traditional archetype of a semi-private space in a village house, it has now become a phenomenon that characterizes the nation's capital and chief metropolis. It was after the fall of the Soviet Union, that the lack of regulations led to ad-hoc constructions, predominantly visible in the modernist settlements and housing, but random additions in different forms can be found on many types of residential apartments. The transition from traditional construction has shifted into modern interpretations and beautification restorations – “euroremont”¹¹, which are nowadays popular around the country.

The Legislative State of the Extensions in Georgia

At present, the situation on the market for residential real estate is similar to the one in Slovakia. Most of the new residential buildings are built by private developers. Residential complexes mostly arise in the cities, where the most common types of new constructions are the ‘white frame’ or ‘black frame’ varieties.¹² On the market, most of the apartments are delivered in ‘white frame’ finishing: completed rough framing, plumbing, electric and insulation but without finished interior surfaces and fittings. Even today, it is still preferred to complete the design of an apartment by its owners according to their style and needs. Additionally, this cultural specificity is common because most people have family or relatives and friends who can provide contacts to reliable craftsmen and finish the interior on their own. The market is reflective of domestic buyers, as Georgians like to be flexible when designing their apartment to their specific requirements, in comparison to Europeans, who like to buy a more thoroughly completed apartment. In the case of ‘black frame’ constructions, the building is unfinished on the outside



**THE HALL OF THE MODERNIST
ROSSIYA CINEMA BUILDING
SURROUNDED BY ATTACHED
SHOPS AND PARKING LOT IN
YEREVAN, 2016. AUTHORS:
ARTUR TARKHANYAN, SPARTAK
KHACHIKYAN, HRACHYA
POGHOSYAN, 1975**

HALA MODERNISTICKEJ BUDOVY
ROSSIJA CINEMA OBKLOPENÁ
PRISTAVANÝMI OBCHODMI A
PARKOVISKOM V JEREVANE,
2016. AUTORI: ARTUR TARKANIAN,
SPARTAK KHAČIKIAN, HRACHIK
POGOSIAN, 1975

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová

THE ENTRANCE OF THE ROSSIYA CINEMA, TRANSFORMED INTO A SHOPPING CENTER WITH TEMPORARY MARKET STANDS, 2016

VSTUP DO ROSSIJA CINEMA
TRANSFORMOVANÝ NA NÁKUPNÉ
CENTRUM S DOČASNÝMI
PREDAJNÝMI STÁNKAMI, 2016

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová



construction as well as the interior. According to Georgian legislation, buildings and structures are divided into five classes, in which Classes II, III, IV and V require a permit. Many of the additional constructions, therefore, belong to the Class I buildings and structures which do not require a construction permit. This category involves buildings with a total floor area of less than 60 m² with specifications for volume and height of the building, temporary outdoor trade structures, open playgrounds, open parking lots, billboards, as well as emergency repair works, or the addition or removal of small architectural elements, etc.¹³ For the Class I constructions, notification for the local self-government is required. However, there are several examples of extensions in almost all of the countries of the former Soviet Bloc which exceed the restrictions and hence require another classification or additional legitimization. In fact, after the chaotic period of self-made architecture without regulations, it seems as if no one wants to assume the risk and the willingness to take responsibility for the existing ones. As well, this present condition is probably tolerated in light of the significant quantity of extensions, making it impossible to reconstruct or demolish them all and likely to cost the state a major public finances. During the research, we identified the main factors influencing the quality of current residential housing:

- quick construction
- incompleteness of apartments
- cheaper construction and materials
- significant amount of additional extensions
- lack of maintenance in residential housing
- variable quality of craftsmanship
- repairs and maintenance done by inhabitants by themselves
- unaffordable housing in bigger cities

- construction of unfinished apartments and semi-finished structures¹⁴

Materiality and Local Specificities of Interventions of the Post-Communist Countries

In the capital of Armenia, Yerevan, the common practice was to use local stone for the construction of the building as well as for the facades. Mainly, the material used was pink tuff, probably due to accessibility and the possibility to craft reliefs and decorative elements from folklore and culture. The distinctive colour of this stone created the characteristic appearance for the important buildings along with the city's prefabricated panel housing. Hence the appropriation of space by its inhabitants was not only confined to the residential areas. For the observed former states of the Soviet Union – Georgia, Armenia and Ukraine - we noted several shared characteristics:

- Tradition
- Local variations
- Symbolism
- Using of "in-between" space
- Semi-private and semi-public spaces
- Efficiency of construction
- Flexibility of construction and forms
- DIY – system of construction
- Availability of materials
- Appropriation of public space
- Materiality as a symbol of social status
- Disregard for the borders and character of public space¹⁵

In 1975 the Rossiya Cinema was built in Yerevan, using a spectacular concave shape¹⁶. The post-communist change of function is explicitly visible in this extraordinary building,

a public venue transformed in the 2010 into a market hall. Although the building is in bad condition and unreconstructed, it provides an almost heterotopic space that successfully serves the public. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the system of direct utopia and social engineering was subjected to bottom-up transformation that also affected the form of social landscapes. Similar to the organic growth of informal architecture, we can observe these tendencies even on an urban scale. Although the planned modernist city was part of a utopian vision, it offered a matrix of unpredicted and unfulfilled voids in the city: uncompleted projects, unrealized public spaces, abandoned sites and brownfields, left-over gardens.¹⁷ The ephemeral nature of markets, public street spaces, courtyards, or the terraces of pre-fabricated houses represent an architecture where we can find “non-places”¹⁸. And analogous non-conceptual, unplanned places can be found not only in the 19th-century historical city centre of Tbilisi but also in the modernist settlements of Bratislava. For after all, the ephemeral character is one of the prevailing characteristics of unplanned and informal architecture¹⁹ as something unpredicted, contrary to the plan.

**THE EPHEMERAL ARCHITECTURE
OF DEZERTER BAZAAR IN TBILISI,
2016**

EFEMÉRNA ARCHITEKTÚRA BAZÁRU
DEZERTER V TBILISI, 2016

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová

A New Perspective on Self-Made Extensions

As Rem Koolhaas writes in his *Elementals*, the typology of the balcony and loggia, as it evolved through history, gained an additional meaning of political representation. Emerging from Renaissance Italy, they expanded through a modernist viewpoint associated with improved health and hygiene²⁰. Connecting the outside with the inside, the loggia oscillates between the seen and the unseen and represents an “in-between” space between private and public. Moreover, during the 2020 – 2022 pandemic, the balcony and loggia gained a renewed importance: too often, their space was for many people the only possible connection to the exterior, to nature and the outside world. The quarantine and the hygienic restrictions started to redefine the modernist idea of the use of the balcony as the space providing fresh air, sun and visibility. The other significant impact could be observed in the increased market interest for cottages, gardens and village houses removed from the cities, similar to the situation in the socialist period of former Eastern Bloc countries when the borders of the country were closed, but in this case for political reasons. Once more, the balcony and loggia became not only a symbolic ornament or façade decoration, but vital elements that renewed the building’s connection to the individual inhabitants and the public realm of the city. And in the vertical matrix of mass housing, the loggia and balcony creates a tiny space of individuality.



**PINK TUFF FACADES ON
RESIDENTIAL HOUSING IN
YEREVAN, 2016**

FASÁDY Z RUŽOVÉHO TUFU
SÍDLISKA V JEREVANE, 2016

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová



**DETAIL OF VARIOUS
INTERVENTIONS ON THE FACADE
OF AN APARTMENT BLOCK IN
YEREVAN, 2016**

DETAIL ROZMANITÝCH INTERVENCIÍ
NA FASÁDE OBYTNÉHO DOMU
V JEREVANE, 2016

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová



**COURTYARD OF A RESIDENTIAL
COMPLEX IN THE TEREMKY
DISTRICT OF KYIV, 2016**

VNÚTROBLOK OBYTNÉHO
KOMPLEXU V ŠTVRTI TEREMKY
V KYJEVE, 2016

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová





DISPLACED RESIDENTS LIVING IN THE SAKARTVELO SANATORIUM IN TSKALTUBO, 2015. ARCHITECTS: M. CHKHENKELI, R. JANASHIA, CA. 1973 – 1983

PRESÍDLENÍ OBYVATELIA ŽIJÚCI V BUDOVE SANATÓRIA SAKARTVELO V TSKALTUBO, 2015. ARCHITEKTI: M. ČKĚNKELI, R. JANAŠIA, CCA 1973 – 1983

Photo Foto: Daniela Majzlanová

Conclusion

Since the beginning of the war in Ukraine in February 2022, millions of people have been internally displaced. “UNESCO has verified damage to 139 sites, including 62 religious sites, 12 museums, 26 historic buildings dedicated to cultural activities, 15 museums, and seven libraries across Kyiv, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Zaporizhzhya, Zhytomyr, Donetsk, Lugansk, and Sumy.”²¹ For Ukrainians, it is an existential struggle; for the rest of Europe, it should already be a challenge for a strategy for rebuilding their cities. Confronting new problems in the international dimension, what can we do as architects in this terrible conflict? At the beginning of the war with Russia, hundreds of thousands of people have been displaced. With rising energy prices, the cost-of-living crisis translated into permanent occupation of territories that were not planned for housing. Temporary solutions became permanent, with the result – again - being ad-hoc architecture. Maybe we could learn from Georgian history how to deal with existential crises and avoid the situation in which the temporary is forced to become a permanent solution. For Ukrainians, it is a critical time in which the masses of displaced persons will need a place to live peacefully. We need to start to think quickly about the future reconstruction of the housing and the infrastructure of the country.

In terms of post-materialism, we should rethink the necessity of having and buying too much and pay attention to the local possibilities. How should we build, how should we behave, how do we want to live? With whom do we want to meet and how? Do we want to be present in our environment, do we want to create the common good? With whom are we going to live in our surroundings and what kind of neighbourhood are we going to create? What kind of neighbourhood, what kind of space do we want to build? Are we going to care about the space afterward or do we expect someone else to do it for us? And most importantly: How do we plan? These questions are important

to answer before we project and invest the resources and energy into a new living or public space.

The faults evident in the construction of mass panel construction have long obscured the potential for creating new forms of living in such a way that diversity and density do not prevent individuality and uniqueness. A paradigm based on modernist principles that eventually proved dysfunctional is longer enough for us today and it is necessary to re-evaluate and innovate the homogeneous to match the flexible and adapt it to today’s needs for inhabitants, whether in a small residential or an urban scale. The practice of self-construction confirms that existential value is a free option of free choice: the unplanned and spontaneous is part of the creative process as opposed to the plan. In the end, integrating the unplanned leads to more liveable sustainable places, where the change starts bottom-up and participation follows. It is our belief that in the future, participation will become a regular part of design practice without any need for “additional humanization”.

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- 1 See “plan” in MONČEKOVÁ, Elena and MALÁ, Eva (transl.). 2002. *Password – Anglický výkladový slovník so slovenskými ekvivalentmi*. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, p. 439.
- 2 “PLÁN je generujúcim momentem objemu a povrchu. Jím je všechno nezvratně určeno.” [translated by the author]. Le Corbusier wrote about the plan as one of the three challenges for an architect: these being specifically volume, surface and plan. See CORBUSIER-SAUGNIER, Le. 2005. *Za novou architekturou*. Praha: Nakladatelství Petr Rezek, p. 8.
- 3 RUDOLFSKY, Bernard. 1964. *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture*. New York: Doubleday & Company, 157 p.
- 4 WARSZA, Joanna (ed.). 2013. *Ministry of Highways: A Guide to the Performative Architecture of Tbilisi*. Berlin: Sternberg Press, p. 8.
- 5 Among other projects are Mestia Police Station (2012), House of Justice (2012), Sarpi Border Checkpoint (2011) or Airport Building in Mestia (2010) designed by the German studio J. Mayer H. Architects.
- 6 E-FLUX. 2013. *Kamikaze Loggia: The Georgian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale* [online]. Available at: <https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/32794/kamikaze-loggia/> (Accessed: 28 April 2023).
- 7 ZAIČEK, Martin. 2015. Architektúra Tbilisi vo vibráciách posledných dekád. *Alfa*, 2015, (4), p. 57.
- 8 The term “microrayon” (Rus. микрорайон) or micro-district is a residential complex in the former territory of the USSR. For more information see GURGENIDZE, Tinatin and FORMOZOV, Alexander. 2020. *Danarti* [online]. Available at: <https://danarti.org/en/article/microrayon-where-half-of-urban-population-of-the-former-ussr-live/99> (Accessed: 30 April 2023).
- 9 BOUZAROVSKI, Stefan, SALUKVADZE, Joseph and GENTILE, Michael. 2011. A Socially Resilient Urban Transition? The Contested Landscapes of Apartment Building Extensions in Two Post-communist Cities. *Urban Studies*, 48(13), p. 2705 [online]. doi:10.1177/0042098010385158 (Accessed: 28 April 2023).
- 10 Bouzarovski, S., Salukvadze, J. And Gentile, M., 2011, p. 2706.
- 11 The term “euroremont” was used as a neologism in the context of post-Soviet apartment renovations. The exhibition of life-sized kamikaze loggias was part of the Georgian pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale with the main theme *Fundamentals – Absorbing Modernity* in 2013. See
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