White Rose
university consortium
Universities of Leeds, Sheffield & York

# Commoning "Bucla" (the Loop) With Conviviality. Ephemeral Spaces and Informal Practices in Support of Urban Commons in the Post-Socialist City

**Alex Axinte, Doina Petrescu**

PhD student | Professor, PhD, Sheffield School of Architecture (SSoA), Sheffield, UK
aaxinte1@sheffileled.ac.uk | d.petrescu@sheffield.ac.uk

Thirty years after the fall of the Berlin wall, thriving neoliberal policies, facilitated by a hegemonic anti-communist narrative, transformed the post-socialist cities of Romania. Hosting most of the country's urban population, collective housing neighborhoods built during the socialist era faced radical privatization, collapsing public infrastructure and rampant individualization. Their public and civic spaces, such as streets, parks, sport and cultural facilities, were fragmented, underfinanced, and commodified. However, nested in surviving grids of public infrastructure, practices of appropriation and everyday protocols of collaboration have been crystalizing, evidencing to a certain extent what is understood as a "latent" form of *commoning*.[1]

This paper aims to illustrate how the informal practices developed in the context of collective housing generate ephemeral spaces which support permanent commoning relations among dwellers. Situated practices of commoning and local patterns of living together are evidenced through the case-study research and activation project OPEN Garage,[2] set in Drumul Taberei housing estate of Bucharest, Romania.[3]

### Collective Housing in Bucharest – Laboratories of Living Together

Socialist Romania was radically urbanized through industrialization in only a few decades, immediately after the end of the World War 2.[4] Bucharest had undergone a massive process of "urban systematization" to accommodate the rapid increase of population which followed.[5] Through limitless access to resources, state planning, standardization, pre-cast technology and centralized housing distribution, planners of the Eastern bloc urgently kickstarted the construction of a utopian city. Starting with the 1960s, large collective housing estates have

---

1   According to Peter Linebaugh, "the commons is an activity," that goes beyond patterns of governance, "commoning" referring to the relationship between the community and its shared resources. For more, see Peter Linebaugh, *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

2   OPEN Garage was initiated in 2020 by Alex Axinte as part of his PhD fieldwork. In 2021, after receiving a grant from the Romanian Order of Architects, the research activities and team were expanded to include: Bogdan Iancu (anthropologist), Iris Șerban (anthropologist), Anca Niță (sociologist), Ileana Szasz (director), Diana Culescu (landscape designer), Ioana Tudora (architect), Ioana Irinciuc (librarian).

3   This paper sits in the broader context of a practice-based PhD which aims to illustrate what forms of urban commons can (still) be found in the collective housing estates of the post-socialist city and what is their contribution in sustaining the quality of life in the context of the current ecological, social and political crisis of the city.

4   With 76% rural population in 1948, Romania reaches 54% urban population in 1992 (INS, "Baze de Date Statistice" [Statistical Database] 2018).

5   Bucharest' population grew by 100% between 1948 and 1992, going beyond 2 million inhabitants (INS, "Baze de Date Statistice," 2018).

Fig.1: Typical inner courtyard, from Drumul Taberei Monograph (1973).

been built on city's outskirts.[6] As "an integral part of the labor economy,"[7] the state-subsidized housing was a right for all. Taken off the market, housing became an asset for attracting workers to the city. This economic model favored the production of living units rather than the grid of public infrastructure.[8] As the initial utopian urban promises were found wanting, this failure turned out to be an opportunity for housing estates to be adopted and cared for by their inhabitants. Consequently, the dwellers hacked the planners' top-down universal model of dwelling and developed situated practices of living together.

After 1989, the collective housing estates endured a radical privatization of public services and housing stock. As the state retreated, the massive privatization and the constant fragmentation of the public infrastructure increased.[9] Expanding on hacking tactics developed during socialism, it was the inhabitants who stepped in, engaging in a "radical maintenance" process.

6   Massive collective housing estates have been built, amounting to staggering accomplishments, such as neighbourhoods for 300.000 inhabitants, like Balta Albă or Drumul Taberei, ranking within Romania's top 5 cities, (INS, "Baze de Date Statistice," 2018).

7   Ivan Szelenyi, "Urban Development and Regional Management in Eastern Europe," *Theory and Society* 10, no. 2 (March 1981): 187.

8   Due to economical and ideological reasoning, this was a generalized situation throughout Romania and other Eastern countries, as the community equipment remained on paper, while available budgets were used to build more apartments.

9   Bucharest reaching a "super-home-ownership" of 98%, the highest in the EU, see Alice Pittini et al., "The State of Housing in EU in 2017" (Housing Europe, the European Federation of Public, Cooperative and Social Housing, October 2017).

Fig.2: The care for green spaces gained momentum in the 1970-1980s, when encouraged by the legislation, the inhabitants set up gardens around their buildings and on individually allotted plots. Piața Moghioroș area, Drumul Taberei.

The ephemeral transformations of the in between spaces happened at scale. These housing districts became open air laboratories for collective living. Here, situated solutions were forged by the very inhabitants affected by these massive changes. After several stages of adaptations and adjustments, inherent to such "new town" type of housing districts built from scratch, abruptly populated and radically affected by systemic shifts, these areas have finally settled. Perhaps the spatial, as well as the civic generosity of the initial urban planning was the key feature which allowed the planned projects to become actual neighborhoods.

Drumul Taberei district is one of the most remarkable projects for collective housing. One of the more generous examples of housing estates in Bucharest, Drumul Taberei which follows Balta Albă housing district in establishing a more equitable standard of living.[10] Although with a planned public grid only partially materialized on the ground, it nevertheless greatly exceeds the pre-war and post-1990 local realizations in terms of spatial and civic generosity. Benefiting from a high rate of housing ownership from the start,[11] people tried "bringing each other"[12] into the neighborhood, creating family-and-vicinity-based networks, which proved to be more resilient against the fragmentation and disengagement specific to other districts (Fig. 1). However, the area has always been an unfinished place, fertile for ad-hoc adaptations. The hard utopian grid of public networks, which attempted the scientific organization of life, and the inhabitants' soft practices of attachment and care for their neighborhood are both illustrated in Drumul Taberei (Fig. 2) qualifying it as an ideal case study to understand the operating social-civic mechanisms of the post-socialist city, on the basis of which processes of qualitative regeneration can be articulated.

10 Finished in the 1970s and located in the east of Bucharest, Balta Albă district is another remarkable achievement in terms of urban planning, spatial and infrastructural generosity.

11 In need for cash, during the 1960s, the socialist state allowed dwellers to purchase their apartments, Drumul Taberei district attracting the socialist middle class of the time, which thus avoided the typical "repartition" procedure of public housing assigned by the factories or institutions to their employees for a small rent.

12 Excerpt from transcribed recording realized in the research phase of the OPEN Garage project, 2021.

### Urban Commons and Conviviality in the Post-Socialist City

In recent years, the commons narrative has gained momentum in the discussions about urban democracy. Going beyond the state-market opposition,[13] most definitions of commons account for three interdependent components: the resources, the community, and the governance processes.[14] Applied to the city, the traditional rural model of commons falls short, calling for a "new commons" paradigm, adapted to the more complex ecosystem of actors of the city.[15] Urban commons become an alternative socio-political proposition, enabling a more democratic, just and sustainable city. Processes of commoning, enacted through various local collective living patterns, articulate implicit and explicit ways of resistance to the hegemonic paradigm of individualization and marketization at the city level into forms of public space and services privatization, fragmentation, enclosure and commodification of community spaces and their narratives. Urban commons do not offer only an exportable model, as a package of formal organizational structure, with administrative and legislative measures which can be universally applied, but are also a way of collective life, situated in diverse local contexts.

In the post-socialist city, the urban commons can be identified as supported by the inherited public grid, which is now fragmented, evidencing as such Elinor Ostrom's "nestedness" principle.[16] Iaione & Foster consider this principle as a condition for the existence of commons in the city.[17] This extant, broken and vulnerable public grid needs repair, maintenance and support, triggering collaboration, care and solidarity among its users. This grid in need activates what De Angelis calls "latent" commons already existing in the society.[18] By lacking a formal governance practice, latent commoning carries only tacitly agreed and informally performed rules. Alternative living patterns to pursuing profit, like "loyalty to friends, conviviality, mutual aid and even struggles,"[19] can further developed into systemic patterns of explicit commoning. Forged in specific historical and spatial post-socialist context, performed in everyday acts, becoming some sort of modern rituals, latent commons allow inhabitants to develop a sense of belonging to the community and grow their attachment to their neighborhood.

However, the urban commons theory cannot be easily evidenced within the context of the post-socialist city. Informal practices of caring and repairing the public grid imply a low level of explicit organization, while the commoning resource is often partially out of the community's control, thus making it less identifiable as "urban commons." Perhaps these situations can be better understood through the concept of "conviviality" proposed by Ivan Illich which aims "to designate the opposite of industrial productivity."[20] In a convivial society, "convivial tools" are enabling the visions of creative and autonomous persons in relation to their environment, beyond the dominant imperative of efficient production and permanent growth.[21] By hacking the dwelling rules in their living spaces, the inhabitants are acting as "convivial agents," designing relational tools based on improvisation and creativity. As such, while fostering programs' adaptations, like transforming garages in hobby rooms and meeting spaces, or by enabling citizen-driven spatial visions, like community gardening and animals sheltering, the post-socialist collective housing neighborhoods work as repositories and enablers of conviviality. Seen as a form of pre-commoning, conviviality situations testify to the latency of the commons, which could further lead to explicit activation.

13 Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, Canto Classics (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge Univ Press, 2015).

14 Urban Commons Research Collective, *The Urban Commons Handbook* (Barcelona: dpr Barcelona, 2022).

15 Stavros Stavrides, *Common Spaces of Urban Emancipation* (Manchester: University Press, 2019).

16 Ostrom, *Governing the Commons*.

17 Christian Iaione and Sheila R. Foster, "Ostrom in the City: Design Principles for the Urban Commons," 2017, https://www.thenatureofcities.com/2017/08/20/ostrom-city-design-principles-urban-commons/.

18 Massimo De Angelis, *Omnia Sunt Communia: On the Commons and the Transformation to Postcapitalism* (London: Zed Books, 2017): 12.

19 De Angelis, *Omnia Sunt Communia*: 17.

20 Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality* (London: Marion Boyars, 2009): 11.

21 Ibid.

### Mapping in and for Space

Spatial manifestations of urban commons and illustrations of conviviality were investigated through the case study of the OPEN Garage research project, which reflects on the collective use, management and transformation of shared infrastructure from Drumul Taberei district. The case study was approached through a series of methods ranging from architecture, urban planning, social sciences, history, pedagogy and design.

One of the main methodological pillars was the qualitative research, which ensured a situated approach to the production of knowledge. Place-based semi-structured interviews, participant observation, architectural ethnography and mapping have been used as qualitative methods for co-producing knowledge. Such qualitative methods also carried the capacity to generate a social space, which stimulated the spatial practice and prompted further research opportunities. Mapping played a vital role as it was used to represent the data gathered through interviews and observation, but also to generate spatial knowledge (Fig. 3). As defined by Doina Petrescu, relational mapping allowed tracing implicit connections between existing informal practices in the neighborhood and their ephemeral spatialization.[22] Mapping aimed "not only to 'represent' or 'conceive' but to enhance experience,"[23] enabling the research process to acknowledge the informal practices impact and value their contribution in creating sociality in the neighborhood. Perhaps less obvious, but nevertheless an essential qualitative method, was the creation of a space for the community of proximity. Initiated by the research process, a former garage was repurposed to host different phases of the project, from research lab to classroom and exhibition space.

### OPEN Garage – Research and Activation in "Buclă" (the Loop)

OPEN Garage is a research-driven proposition for a community equipment, situated in the context of post-socialist collective housing estates (Fig. 4), developed through cultural activation, applied education and action-based research. Opened on the ground floor of a block of flats in Drumul Taberei, in a former garage (also former herbalist shop and former tailor's shop), the OPEN Garage aimed to be an "extra room" for the inhabitants and for active field researchers in the "Buclă."[24] The street level location was beneficial for the project, as it facilitated the participation into the ecosystem of local practices and informal networks.

The project had two interdependent components: a research phase focusing on the informal collective practices as manifestations of transforming and managing common spaces and a spatial activation phase, developed through cultural and educational activities. The activation of the space related with the concept of urban commons in two ways: firstly, in support of the commoning process, and secondly, aiming to become a common resource in itself. The Garage for commoning articulated a narrative behind latent and disconnected informal practices by tracing their protocols, valorizing their impact and drawing on their potential to increase the quality of life in the neighborhood. As such, the Garage took on the role of a community equipment acting as resource to be shared collectively by multiple users.

The field research consisted in a quantitative inventory documenting about 400 examples of informal transformations of the spaces detected in the Loop, such as: gardens, garages, animal shelters, furniture, or graphics. The research outputs consisted of a Map of Collective Practices in the Loop (Fig. 5) and a laboratory exhibition opened in the Garage (Fig. 6). The exhibition contained extracts from the research, together with objects, photographs, installations and

---

22 Doina Petrescu, "Relationscapes: Mapping Agencies of Relational Practice in Architecture," *City, Culture and Society* 3, no. 2 (2012): 135–40.

23 Ibid.

24 "Buclă" meaning "the Loop" is the informal nickname given by the locals to Drumul Taberei Micro-rayon 7, referring to the curved shape of its main boulevard.

Fig.3: The Informal practices - transforming, using and managing common spaces assembled garden furniture, materializing the need that became acute during the pandemic for spaces of social interaction, through the creative and collective reuse of limited resources.

Fig.4: The Garage DESCHIS/ OPEN Garage space at the ground floor of a collective housing apartments building in "Buclă," Drumul Taberei, Bucharest.

Fig.5: The Map of Collective Practices in "Buclă" consists an inventory of typologies of collective practices of managing common spaces.

Fig.6: The "Drumul Taberei. OPEN Neighbourhood" exhibition spatialized the research results in the garage space, through photo, text and artwork installations.
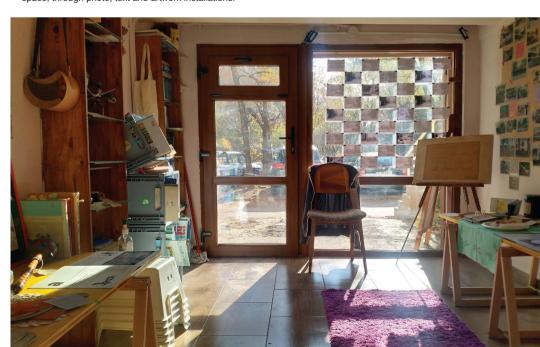
Fig.7: The Garage Library, with its mobile shelving, hosts a children's and youth collection, created from donations and exchange.

Fig.8: The open garage typology - inhabitants are turning garages into pantries, workshops, play and hobby areas, or opening small stores and service spaces, which became social hubs and local nodes.

artworks related to the researched topics. Expanding the exhibition online, a series of videos documented the neighborhood's generous urban planning and illustrated several case studies of spatial transformations and informal uses carried by the neighborhood's inhabitants. Completing and supporting the research, the Garage hosted a wide range of activities, from DIY, storytelling, or mapping workshops, to applied education for students from anthropology and landscape. And it all started with a library.

The Garage hosted an informal library too, taking inspiration from the former *home libraries* program, which involved volunteers taking charge of small collections of books and further distributing them to their neighbors.[25] The book collection is dedicated to children and teenagers and grew from personal contributions, donations from neighbors or authors living nearby, as well as new prints from the Arthur Publishing House. Furthermore, the Garage Library hosted a series of educational and DIY workshops. Relying on trust and cooperation, the Library encouraged readers' participation from the proximity. Neighbors borrowed, contributed and donated, brought their relatives and friends, while spreading the word or just passed by. Thus, the Library created a social space; it worked as a collective resource, evidencing the potential of shared cultural goods to support the emergence of commoning practices (Fig. 7).

The initial garage transformed into the OPEN Garage is one of the many garages of the apartment blocks in Drumul Taberei district, which today offer opportunities for socialization.[26] Located at the ground floor of the buildings, the garages were one of the extra functions included in the generous design of the district, used in all ways other than parking one's car, becoming an "extra room"[27] for their owners, and hosting diverse private and even public activities. Today's garage typologies in the "Buclă" area include *open garages* (hosting corner shops and small service spaces), *semi-open garages* (used by neighbors and friends as closed-circuit meeting places) and *closed garages* (as apartments' private extensions). Their functional and material repurposing turned some of them into informal social hubs, answering the need for such spaces in the district, acute especially during the lockdown.

However, the conflict is looming behind half-closed doors, between garage owners and users on one side, and other neighbors on the other side. The proximity to the apartments' windows in connection with the success of the open garages which are working as corner shops, or of semi-opened garages functioning as meeting places, can sometimes lead to disputes among neighbors. There are still some inhabitants who practice the "going out to the garage" as a form of relaxation and interaction with neighbors, which is an embodied participation to street life. Thus, garages are also working as relational devices among neighbors (Fig. 8). This widespread practice of the ephemeral reprograming of the garages in the area inspired the project, not only to document the phenomenon and investigate it, but also to get involved in the practice by actively transforming a garage into a space for the community. Thus, by reprograming a garage into a neighborhood library, the project joined other ephemeral spaces in the area, crossing between two forms of latent commons, aiming to activate them and make their community potential manifest.

It's not just transformed garages which act as "narrative spaces"[28] and opportunities for socialization of proximity, but also the green spaces between the blocks of flats which have grown into informal gardens. Their roots go back to the first years after the founding of the neighborhood, when gardening benefitted from access to resources, institutional support and

25 Starting with the 1950s, Bucharest libraries had a program complementary to the network of library branches, which included, besides the *home libraries,* also the *bibliobuz* (library in buses), temporary *summer libraries* (park libraries) or pop-up *reading corners* (in factories). *Călăuza bibliotecarului* [Librarian's Guide] (Bucharest: Comitetul de Stat pentru Cultură și Artă, 1965 -1949).

26 Approximately 15% of the apartment blocks from "Buclă" have garages on the ground floor, while a standard block has 54 garages per 60 apartments.

27 Excerpt from transcribed recording realized in the research phase of the OPEN Garage project, 2021.

28 Richard Sennett, *The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities* (New York, NY: Norton, 1992).

skilled inhabitants, being even legally encouraged.[29] While mapping today's gardening practices in the "Buclă", the research highlighted several types: *the showcase garden* (DIY in the green), *the talking-playing garden* (activities in the green) and *the planted garden* (working the green). To them, the *pandemic garden* must be added as an emerging type, effected by lockdown restrictions and becoming permanent as a combination of the above typologies. The research evidenced informal gardening as both a manifestation and one of the sources of the inhabitants' attachment to their neighborhood (Fig. 9). However, as in the case of transformed garage spaces, the informal gardening by the block leads sometimes to abuses and further conflicts. Due to the less explicit nature of their governance model of sharing resources, gardens sometimes become private spaces, fenced off against destruction or theft, but also closed for other users except a selected few.

### Ephemeral Spaces for Permanent Practices of Commoning

Findings from the field research of the OPEN Garage project seldom illustrate the traditional urban commons' model, where a clearly delimited community of users explicitly governs a shared resource. Empirical evidence points to a situated form of urban commons, specific to living practices in the post-socialist city collective housing districts. Characterized by a rather diffuse, embodied and tacit form of commoning, the local commons are nevertheless "nested", as in Elinor Ostrom's model, by a public grid.[30] Key elements in the emergence of this local version are the informal practices, which are creating ephemeral spaces. These practices are triggered mostly by a basic need for radical maintenance of the fragmented and derelict public grid in need of repair, like public and green spaces, street furniture, or public institutions, such as libraries. The ephemeral nature of this process manifests spatially, becoming a permanent practice through repetition in everyday acts, nearly as an urban ritual for living together. Nevertheless, these almost urban commons' situations are not based on aimless ephemeral manifestations but are loaded with commoning intentions in a similar way as "latent commons." This latent commoning gets activated and becomes explicit occasionally, depending on the situation, location and context. Most of the documented examples in the OPEN Garage case study reveal that inhabitants are rather creating what Illich described as "tools for conviviality."[31] These tools allow inhabitants to create a convivial way of being in the proximity as a specific local pattern for collective living through ephemeral transformations of the in between spaces, as well as more permanent social spaces of belonging which articulate an ecosystem of places and practices.

In this context, action research projects like OPEN Garage can support and value these existing informal practices, which are often depreciated by both the official lines and the public opinion. The research acknowledges their role in increasing the quality of life in large housing estates. Moreover, the ephemeral transformation of the garage space into a community hub allows the research to act also from within. As an ephemeral form of research action, the repurposing of the garage differs from what is largely defined as "temporary urbanism," which aims to revitalize underused spaces. OPEN Garage operates mostly on the design level of revitalizing existing relations among people, spaces, and stories. As evidenced in the field research, the already existing ephemeral spatial revitalizations undertaken by the inhabitants are quite numerous in "Buclă" (Fig. 10). Thus, by learning from informal practices and replicating existing local processes, the actions of the OPEN Garage project attempt to stabilize perhaps one of the most precious, but nevertheless elusive, and often ephemeral, outcomes of a collective living situation: the community. In sum, this practice-based engagement for the local community through a research and activation project can become a situated solution to the ecological, social, and political crisis of the city.

---

29 The "Street Law" from 1975 indicates that maintaining the blocks' courtyards and their green spaces was the inhabitants' responsibility, while the "Supply Lay" of 1980 encouraged citizens to grow even productive crops on unused urban lands.

30 Ostrom, *Governing the Commons*.

31 Illich, *Tools for Conviviality*.

Fig.9: The showcase garden typology - inhabitants care for the spaces around the buildings, beautify them, use them for relaxation and socialization, becoming solutions during the pandemic.

### Conclusion

In a Bucharest characterized by exacerbating individualism, radical privatization, closures of community spaces and constant commodification of places, practices, and stories, informal spatial-commoning practices are forms of post-socialist immaterial heritage. By creating ephemeral spaces like informal gardens, where ecological practices can be tested, or by supporting alternative practices to the pursue of commercial profit, like mutual aid and solidarity among neighbors, or by enabling participative democratic practices through constant space negotiation among users, the informal practices creating ephemeral spaces for more permanent commoning situations are valuable answers to the ecological, social, and political crisis of the city.

The leading orientations in the local context concerning the built environment are generally top-down and based on the dominant aesthetic values, which favors spatial organizations following imported references of Western models. Being mainly attached to the representativeness of the city center, the dominant narratives are ignoring or diminishing the role of informal practices in supporting the quality of life in the collective housing neighborhoods. Threatened by the "civilizing" perspective of the local administrations, which excludes them from the design and use of the in between spaces, they suffer from a lack of a clear and accepted policy framework, thus being increasingly exposed to further conflicts and discredit. In consequence, they are poorly assumed and less explicitly articulated even by communities themselves.
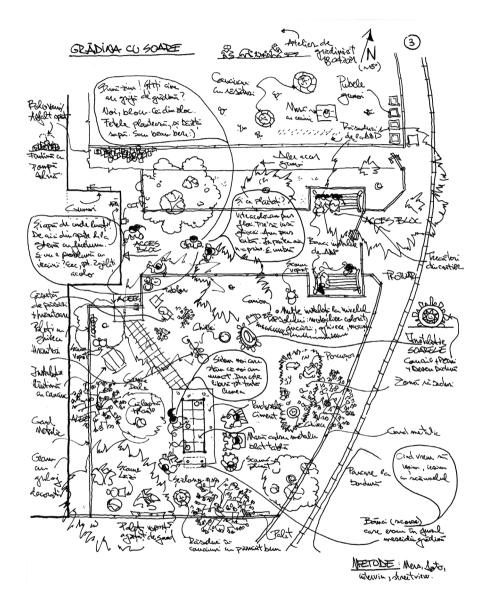
Fig.10: The pandemic garden typology - an example of an informal garden initiated and collectively managed by a group of neighbors developed from the showcase garden typology and featuring DIY beautification installations alongside infrastructure for relaxation and socialization.

Against this context, research-driven design projects like OPEN Garage act as manifestos for bringing fresh evidence in support of the value of informal practices for communities. Through maps, exhibition and videos, while generating relational devices, like spaces, objects and events that activate some of the commoning latency in the neighborhood, the project aimed to trace the impact of these practices. The research and activation phases of the project seek to articulate an alternative narrative that reconsiders the ephemeral spaces and the informal practices which support them. Their valorization, support and articulation constitute a proposition for a qualitative regeneration of the collective housing neighborhoods. This perspective goes beyond reconsidering only the regeneration of hard determinist modernistic infrastructure but looks at the soft and ephemeral "infrastructure as people"[32] carrying potential and having developed specific practices to coagulate into local communities. Acknowledging this as a starting point, the door of the Garage remains open to the inhabitants who are borrowing books or attend workshops, to students involved in applied education, or to researchers in action. In the future, beyond its functioning as a research laboratory, the Garage can become more active in the neighborhood's network of civic spaces, acting more as an Urban Living Lab (ULL)[33] that can influence policy and planning by entering in various partnerships with the local administration or economic agents, and functioning as a proposal of a community equipment, specific to collective housing neighborhoods.

### REFERENCE LIST:

De Angelis, Massimo. *Omnia Sunt Communia: On the Commons and the Transformation to Postcapitalism*. London: Zed Books, 2017.

Buluță, Gheorghe. *Civilizația Bibliotecilor*. Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1998.

Buluță, Gheorghe. *Scurtă Istorie a Bibliotecilor Din România*. Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2000.

Chelcea, Liviu, and Oana Druță. "Zombie Socialism and the Rise of Neoliberalism in Post-Socialist Central and Eastern Europe." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 57, Issue 4–5 (2016): 521–544.

Iaione, Christian, and Sheila R. Foster. "Ostrom in the City: Design Principles for the Urban Commons," 2017. https://www.thenatureofcities.com/2017/08/20/ostrom-city-design-principles-urban-commons/.

Illich, Ivan. *Tools for Conviviality*. London: Marion Boyars, 2009.

INS. "Baze de Date Statistice." 2018. http://statistici.insse.ro:8077/tempo-online/#/pages/tables/insse-table.

Linebaugh, Peter. *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Marin, Vera, and Liviu Chelcea. "The Many (Still) Functional Housing Estates of Bucharest, România: A Viable Housing Provider in Europe's Densest Capital City." In *Housing Estates in Europe. Poverty, Ethnic Segregation and Policy Challenges*, edited by Daniel Baldwin Hess, Tiit Tammaru, and Maarten van Ham. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92813-5.

Martinescu, Pericle. *Începuturi modeste*. Biblioteca Bucureștilor, I(7) (1998): 15–16.

Mihăilescu, Vintilă. "Public și privat în București. O introducere." In *Of, Bucureștii mei*, edited by Vintilă Mihăilescu. *Societatea reală* 2 (2005): 5-22.

Ostrom, Elinor. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Canto Classics. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge Univ Press, 2015.

---

32 AbdouMaliq Simone, "Ritornello: 'People as Infrastructure,'" *Urban Geography* 42, no. 9 (October 21, 2021): 1341–48, https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2021.1894397.

33 Agatino Rizzo, Abdolrasoul Habibipour, and Anna Ståhlbröst, "Transformative Thinking and Urban Living Labs in Planning Practice: A Critical Review and Ongoing Case Studies in Europe," *European Planning Studies* 29, no. 10 (October 3, 2021): 1739–57.

Petrescu, Doina. "Relationscapes: Mapping Agencies of Relational Practice in Architecture." *City, Culture and Society* 3, no. 2 (2012): 135–40. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ccs.2012.06.011.

Pittini, Alice, Gerald Koessl, Julien Dijol, Edit Lakatos, and Laurent Ghekiere. "The State of Housing in EU in 2017." Housing Europe, the European Federation of Public, Cooperative and Social Housing, October 2017. http://www.housingeurope.eu/resource-1000/the-state-of-housing-in-the-eu-2017.

Poenaru, Florin. *Locuri comune: clasă, anticomunism, stânga*. Bucharest: Tact, 2017.

Rizzo, Agatino, Abdolrasoul Habibipour, and Anna Ståhlbröst. "Transformative Thinking and Urban Living Labs in Planning Practice: A Critical Review and Ongoing Case Studies in Europe." *European Planning Studies* 29, no. 10 (October 3, 2021): 1739–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2021.1911955.

Sennett, Richard. *The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities*. 1. paperback ed. New York, NY: Norton, 1992.

Simone, AbdouMaliq. "Ritornello: 'People as Infrastructure'." *Urban Geography* 42, no. 9 (October 21, 2021): 1341–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2021.1894397.

Stavrides, Stavros. *Common Spaces of Urban Emancipation*. Manchester: University Press, 2019.

Szelenyi, Ivan. "Urban Development and Regional Management in Eastern Europe." *Theory and Society* 10, no. 2 (March 1981): 169–205. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00139891.

Urban Commons Research Collective, *The Urban Commons Handbook*. Barcelona: dpr-barcelona, 2022.

**ILLUSTRATION CREDITS:**

Fig.1: From the Mihai Oroveanu Collection of Images, courtesy of Anca Oroveanu and Salonul de Proiecte. More can be found at www.photopastfuture.ro.

Fig.2: Photo by Dan Dinescu, 1984.

Fig.3, 10: Drawings by Alex Axinte, 2021.

Fig.4, 6, 7, 8, 9: Photos by Alex Axinte, 2021.

Fig.5: Drawing by Ioana Capotă. Graphic design by Edi Constantin, 2021.