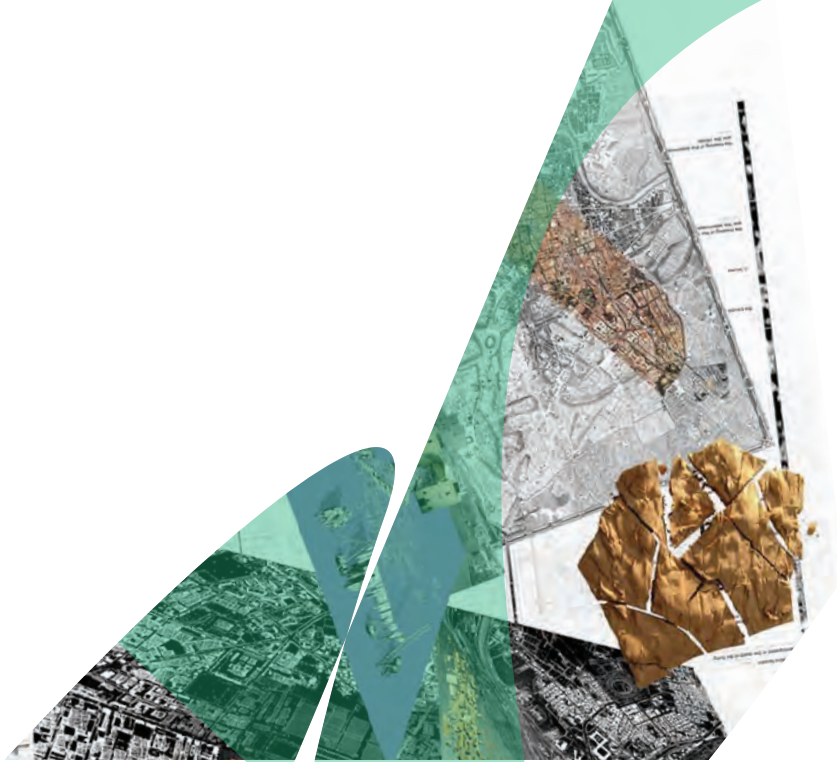


INTERSTICES 16



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The Urban Thing

Image Credit
Mark Dorrigan & Adrian Hawker,
Project Medley, Metis-architecture

Interstices 16

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Introduction: *The city without qualities*

Hannah Hopewell & Andrew Douglas

If all those leaps of attention, flexing of eye muscles, fluctuations of the psyche, if all the effort it takes for a man just to hold himself upright within the flow of traffic on a busy street could be measured, he thought – as he toyed with calculating the incalculable – the grand total would surely dwarf the energy needed by Atlas to hold up the world, and one could then estimate the enormous undertaking it is nowadays merely to be a person who does nothing at all. At the moment, the man without qualities was just such a person.

Robert Musil, *The man without qualities* (1930-43)

Writing in the age of the metropolis and the great urban concentration spawned by industrialisation and imperial expansion, Musil sketched a scene of super-saturated, sensory life in which, beyond any personal purview, “A world of qualities without a man has arisen”, a world in which private experience, indeed personal experience *tout court*, dissolves into a systematised grab for human attention run to the limit (Musil 1996: 158-159). In the intervening three quarters of a century the urban itself has assumed in many instances a ubiquity worthy of the title, *the city without qualities*. If one consequence of the truncation of human agency Musil figured he was seeing in people as “passionate and detached at the same time” was a calculatedly implanted will to irresponsibility attending an exhausting immersion in spectacle (Musil 1996: 159), another is a macro-scaled collapse of civil responsibility and civility once upheld by the term urbanity. For Jean-Luc Nancy, while ‘the city’ spreads to envelope “the orb of the world”, it displaces the old “religious Christian bond” found in the west – expressed through the papal benediction addressed to the *urbi et orbi* (to the city and the world) – instituting instead an “agglomeration” or piling up that crowds out the possibility of the civility and hospitality once

aspired to in a city-world conjoining. In place of well-being, he suggests, urban conglomeration ushers in a quality that more commonly “bears the quite simple and unmerciful name of misery” (33).

In establishing the theme for this issue of *Interstices*, it is this uncertain dichotomy in the urban between wellbeing and misery — a dichotomy seemingly linked to its expanding, de-formation as figure — that we aimed would be teased out and tested. As Lewis Mumford long ago claimed, the idea of the urban itself is linked to a protean impulse – to live a *civic life*, one where accumulating abundance might lead to social enjoyment and symbolic richness beyond mere subsistence. In short, the urban has, and ought to still, enlarge, as Mumford reflects through Aristotle, “the good life in embryo” (16). Yet despite contemporaneity’s manifest loss of such collective largesse, it warrants seeing in the urban the virtual equipment for the ‘eruption’ of broadly effected agency and enrichment.

In this regard, the sheer volume of discourses on the urban point to both deep cultural anxieties about the worth, utility, or even sense of cities *and* their persisting, emancipatory appeal. Yet the plethora of claims on the value and sustained identity of urban place potentially operates as cover for something far more disconcerting – something that Saskia Sassen calls the *savage sorting* effected by cities (a sorting out of the trustworthy from the suspicious, the haves from the have-nots, and the new productive and cultural elites from the rest). Further, if we follow Arjun Appadurai for instance, cities are both antithetical to national territoriality and are incubators for working out the tumult of citizenship against a backdrop of highly contested, sometimes violently contested, identity claims. Yet if cities test citizenry difference and work through what gets popularly instituted and affectively consolidated at a national-territorial level, they are themselves at the front line of a contestatory political-economic regime channelled through governance mechanisms.

In a recent essay in the *Guardian*, Sassen for example, sees (in the context of a buy up of urban land by corporate interests) city-ness itself being

subjected to a radical remaking. As complex places where, as she said, “those without power [also] get to make a history and a culture”, cities have long harboured a cosmopolitanism in excess of prevailing socio-economic and governmental force. It is their longevity and sheer persistence that gives cities an open, emancipatory edge:

A city is a complex but incomplete system: in this mix lies the capacity of cities across histories and geographies to outlive far more powerful, but fully formalised, systems – from large corporations to national governments. (Sassen 2015)

As Sassen warns, the possibility of exercising and consolidating a “complexity in one’s powerlessness” rests on the very possibility of a commons or domain maintained as diversely and fully ‘public’ – something we risk losing in the current appropriation of shared urban space and its over-determination formally, fiscally and socially.

The very incompleteness of the urban – as that which defines its most valuable and vulnerable version of cosmopolitanism – is similarly recognised by Richard Sennett (2010) in his deliberations on “The Open City”. In the current closed mechanisms taking hold of urban space, he sees an escalating brittleness and inflexibility that does away with the deep redundancy and reusability of city fabric and the diverse cultural practices vested in it. Worse, within the neo-liberal rhetoric of ‘freedom from constraint’, is a quest to manipulate “closed bureaucratic systems for private gain by an elite” (Sennett 2010: 5). For Sennett, openness, by comparison, means finding in cities something like a liquid substance or “colloid” in which, suspended, the matter or physical substance of places interacts indeterminately and at times ambiguously with social behaviour (Sennett 2010: 6). In this sense definitive and fixed form, no less than normatively policed behaviours or desires, stand in the way of the densely diverse and disorderly dialogics necessarily voiced by cities when they presence the promise of city-ness. It is with precisely this sense of incompleteness in mind that had us calling for an engagement with the idea of the *urban as thing*, a thing preceding object certainty and full knowing. We hoped to open up, in the context of an urban ubiquity that everywhere presses close, a distancing or problematicity in nomination as such. In short, how does the urban *thing*?

Thinging

Bill Brown, facing up to the difficult task of “thinking thingness” in the context of cultural theory and literary criticism, recognised a tendency already well in play from mid-century to relinquish theory in favour of a grappling with things (Brown 2004: 2). Where poets like Francis Ponge – the ‘poet of things’ – might have found the prospect of dealing with ideas nauseating and things, by comparison, delightful (if not compelling in an abyssal sense)¹, historicism, no less seduced by the substantive, longs for a “return of the ‘real’”, while studies in material culture and art practices indexed to a reworking of the ordinariness of objects proliferate (Brown 2004: 2). Yet beginning with, or getting back to, things – things taken in their material certainty as objects – doesn’t get around or on top of thingness; as Brown’s unpacks, objects are what we see through untroubled by any opacity of sense, while things, far from windowing onto the expected, interrupt or breakdown causing us to wonder after them, and well... think (Brown 2004: 4). Thingness would be in this sense, what sits excessively in things, temporalised as Brown put it, “as the before and after of the object” except that this latency in fact subsists as an “all-at-onceness”, a simultaneity undoing even now-ness as a refuge (Brown 2004:

5). With Kant, thingness would side then with, but elude, “phenomenal form” thereby setting in play a long rehearsed release from the demand to think precisely there, while simultaneously impelling types of thinking (phenomenological, psychoanalytic, and more recently speculative realist) that potentially could (Brown 2004: 5-6). If the subject and its hold on the world is put centre-stage (or tactically pushed off-stage in the case of speculative realism) in this seesaw, things stand out as alienated entities (sometimes withdrawn, sometimes animated depending on cultural perspectives) uncannily persisting, in any case, aside, if not *entirely apart*, from human affairs (Brown 2004: 8).

Earlier still, Martin Heidegger in the essay “The Thing” recognised that the proliferation of actual things arising with industrialisation – commodities – and “the frantic abolition of all distance” associated with the circulatory mandate of urban life, in fact served to alienate us from things themselves (Heidegger 1975: 165). Further, while science might purport to get closest to “the real in reality”, in fact the “thingness of the thing remains concealed, forgotten” (Heidegger 1975: 170). For as obliterating as the “atom bomb” is, as he noted, it is “only the grossest of all gross confirmations of the long-since-accomplished annihilation of the thing” (Heidegger 1975: 170). By reading into a modest object – a jug – the complex ways it holds open a space to gather or keep and give out or gift what is held (not just a liquid substance but an elemental associational nexus implicated with it)², he argued that things reveal their thingness by standing out as conduits capable of drawing together into nearness an interconnectedness he called the fourfold “earth and sky, divinities and mortals” (Heidegger 1975: 173). In other words, thingness gathers or brings together an arena of common or public concern in which incommensurate, yet integral dimensions of the world commingle despite their difference remaining intact as distance (Heidegger 1975: 174-176). The thing-ness of a jug, say, is not in it *per se* – which reduces the issue to matters of representation; in gathering it actions a “thinging” or bringing forth of a broader adjacency.

The urban too, might claim a jug-like summoning of a void that holds and the gifting of outpour. Mumford has claimed as much in the context of the early Mesopotamian cities where irrigation channeling and the invention of pottery vessels were crucial to agricultural production and its stockpiling or storage permitting a dense and specialised peopling.³ Linked to maternal hollowing and veneration of a bounteous earth, Mesopotamian clay tablets too became the first substance for recording inscription and storing language – that mechanism as Maurice Blanchot (1981) has written by which names murder things putting them within nominal grasp while casting things themselves into a shadowy domain beyond signification.

If key amongst Adam’s sin at Eden was his transposing the world and its things into names (see Schwenger 2004: 138), his expulsion from the garden set in play a series of lapses, the most critical of which is access to a bounteous earth and the need, for subsequent generations (from Enoch on), to secure sustenance by making cities. Urban life in this context would amount to a hollowed out place standing in for an absence of countenance as much as nourishment. Following Lacan’s reading of the Heidegger’s jug-thing, while the potter could be said to craft a vessel around a hole that longs for and prompts filling (see Schwenger 2004: 147), the urban itself in its biblical conceiving might be understood as that which has been assembled about a lost object (a divine correlation) and the gathering it calls up a psychical mechanism for managing longing. Born of a departure seen through the eyes of “Israel’s prophets”, urban history can be thought to stage in the west a break with the *oikoumenē* (or cosmic household as Jan Patočka has termed it; 1996: 35) and an Edenic series peculiar to the Judeo-Christian tradition, where “imbalance” and “eccentricity”, in Michel Serres’s account, engenders both an itinerant line and an aberrant course consequent to an alienation from a nutritive earth (Serres 1989: 10).

If Heidegger’s calling up of a fourfold echoes this cultural-psychical

disequilibrium and a broader project to recover in language an openness that withdraws, Bruno Latour building on Serres' history of science rejects Heidegger's mere fourfold in things, arguing instead that to think thingness in contemporary life it is necessary to engage with a thousand-fold convening (Latour 2004: 160-161). As he puts it:

My point is thus very simple: things have become Things again, objects have reentered the arena, the Thing, in which they have to be gathered first in order to exist later as what *stands apart*. (Latour 2004: 161)

The arena he has in mind is that encircling of common or (human and non-human) public concern enveloping every phenomenon; the fact of their standing rests on a gathering, a thinging, that adheres and insists manifestly so. Or put another way, as W. J. T. Mitchell does contra the erosive undermining of things Heidegger saw: "The slogan for our times then is, not things fall apart, but things come alive. The modernist anxiety over the collapse of structure is replaced by the panic over uncontrolled growth of structures – cancers, viruses, and other rapidly evolving entities" (232). A difficult to conceive, yet alone manage, material vitalism erupts across the scene. For Mitchell it is the legacy of a not yet finished romanticism that resonates in the plethora of appeals to things, materiality and physical objects, a resonance that confirms, as Latour has claimed, a not yet arrived modernity (244).

In issue

An invited paper by Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker titled "The exhibition as an urban thing" takes up the question of whether thingness and the urban can be exhibited? Noting Bruno Latour's reworking of Martin Heidegger's essay "The thing", Dorrian and Hawker similarly tease out a thing-object distinction seeing in Latour's contrasting of "matters of fact and concern" and its parallel demarcation between a will to master, in the case of objects, verses a tendency inherent in things to gather—the possibility that thingness potentiates both depending on how we chose to orientate to them. On the other hand, some things are more readily taken as things in the gathering sense, while others insistently draw us into object appreciation. Cities of course are both bundles of facts (or can be made so) no less than a convening (a parliament in fact to borrow Latour's sense) of concerns, as identified above. As a quasi-object, half animated and self-organising, half plastic substance 'man'-made, cities might also be seen as quasi-subjects, convening qualities in excess of persons as Musil had it. In Dorrian and Hawker's exposition of the exhibition *On the Surface* by Metis, at stake as they say, is a complex convening of retrieved things (a retrospective gathering of previous work) situated on, and in a certain sense within, a large floor drawing itself capturing multiple projects. The curatorial strategy worked to unsettle ground and scale drawing visitors into quasi-relations, relations undermining of the distancing that upholds objects.

Amongst the peer reviewed papers, Mark Jackson and Mark Hanlen diagnose an unsettling instability in modalities of planning and designing the future upon which government rationalities and design, as a predictive and derivative procedures, rely. Through a mapping of relations between space, power, contingency and writing, they critically trace the emergence of statistical and predictive modelling to better take hold of that erosive

thing subsisting within all urban futures – risk. Robert Hughes paper questions forms of civic innovation, and by proxy politics, emerging from unmeasured ambition for technocratic civic transformation. With an explication of the origins and organisational elements of NYC's self-appointment as the vanguard of a new global urban imaginary, the paper, speculates how Applied Sciences New York (ASNY) agitates and opens potential for new forms of citizen engagement. Hughes argues this new brand of digital urbanism, designed to be emulated by 'smart cities' the world over, reinvigorates the urban as a potential locus for open-ended 'world forming' resistance.

If the preceding two papers develop the socio-economic dimension of cities, Maria Koutsari, Elena Antonopoulou, and Christos Chondros in a paper titled "The urban creative factory: Creative ecosystems and (im) material design practices" further push into the consequences of post-Fordist work practices and an evolution towards immaterial production in the areas of information, knowledge, and affective, creative commerce. De-industrialised cities in the Global North, they argue, are subject to a radical makeover, one that sees them assume a factory-like organisation, but one recalibrated according to a biopolitical optimisation of productive capacity that takes up the entirety of living labour and commoditises via the production of ever-customised lifestyles and identities. Recognising the integral role of creative and design professions in this commodification, they ask what new worker categories and collectives might emerge in the creative urban factory and what emancipatory strategies and collaborations might exist for designers?

In the first of two papers that are broadly project-orientated, Simon Twose offers an exposition of his installation, *Concrete Drawing* exhibited at the Adam Art Gallery in a show titled "Drawing Is/Not Building", running April 24 – June 28, 2015. Drawn to think through material agency and certain economies of digital and analogue making, he unfolds the normative productive sequence that sees drawings lead to building, working instead from built work into drawings, that in turn engender further made objects. Arising via iterative design that foregrounds a variety of material engagements the work is shown to problematise objects, materials, scales and subjects in a parallel with built things and new designs for the city. In the second, Carola Moujan draw's the urban into question by asking can digitally augmented furniture support place-making practices now that digital informational devices, installed as *things* of the urban, are increasingly commonplace? Her critical commentary dispenses with technological performance to advocate the relational-orientated capacities of such devices as essentially aesthetic. Through the proposition of the notion of *interspace* [*entr'espaces*—experience of multiple dimensions co-existing within an *integrated* perception of realities—Moujan envisions augmentation as a form of polarisation of space through design that shifts from device, to spatial event.

The final two papers of the peer reviewed section take Tāmaki Makaurau /Auckland as subject. In the first, Andrew Douglas looks to the colonial founding of the town recognising in its formation a particularly poignant mixing of metropolitan and state imperatives or solutions aimed at heading off the systematic colonisation ambitioned by the New Zealand Company for Wellington and other colonial towns in the country. In a detailed reading of the largely unrealised 'Felton Mathew Plan' for Auckland, the paper seeks to contextualise the proposal relative to classical romantic European precedents and what can be thought of as lyric-epic sensibility transposed to the Tāmaki Isthmus – a sensibility it is argued that persists in an ongoing, topographically sensitised (sub)urbanism. Where Douglas' paper charts circumstances setting the city's founding, Manfredo Manfredini and Ross

Jenner attend to the latest configurations of public expression in Tāmaki Makaurau /Auckland. Shopping centres they argue actualise emerging forms of urban public space particularly attuned to low-density cities within neo-liberal political frameworks. As integrated urban enclosures devoted to lifestyle consumption, they pointedly develop heterotopic qualities mobilised by spectacle in pursuit of a post-consumerist associative life apposite to the digital era.

Concluding the issue are two non-peer reviewed papers exploring projects indexed to situated urban encounter. In the first, Sophia Banou's drawing practice interrogates the material and temporal limits of conventional codes of architectural drawing to address the urban as a transitory condition within a gallery installed project. The work stages a dynamic representational field constituted by situated transcription of the city of Edinburgh, the actual city of Edinburgh, and the movement of spectators through the gallery. Banou asserts this trialectic confluence as a mode of *inhabitation* within the space of representation afford material recoding to emerge and persistently renegotiate between the city's actuality and its drawn image. In the second, Hannah Hopewell, locates the urban *thing* as a material thing of thought itself to engage an encounter with *the notion of* encounter at the urban intertidal space of Juhu Beach, Mumbai. Drawing from François Laruelle's non-standard thinking methods, the project labours inscriptive practices of photography, and *philo-poetics* to exemplify a mode of thought that presents things without being *about* them. Hopewell trials *thingness* to actualise an urban address that distresses the transcendent primacy of human gaze in urban diagnostic claims on identity, and thus makes space, not for a new mode of perception, but a radicalised 'experience of thought', which is to say, an experience of immanence.

Collectively, what these papers foreground is something of the open indeterminacy of urban relations and the spatial, fiscal and relational configurations upheld there. If the task of thinking the thingness of the urban has drawn out a certain inability of the phenomenological subject to put consciousness into all things as Musil had anticipated, the city without qualities might be seen less as a ubiquitous everyplace (what Marc Augé (2009) has termed a "non-place"), or as an empirical place given by 'the facts', but as a site of problematicity or concern opening the *experience of thought*. If the question of a *thinging* of the urban turns on its substantiveness, its ontological configuring, Musil's world "of qualities without a man" suggests, not a place where "being = is" (Flaxman 2000: 47), but one engendered - for better or worse - immanently.

Endnotes

1 Scrutinising what is near to hand, Ponge wrote, means attending to its singleness, a singleness what tends to gape inordinately, becoming, as he said, a precipice of associations. For instance, in the poem “The Pebble” he concluded: “Only too happy to have chosen for these beginnings *the pebble*: for a man of wit cannot fail to be amused, and also moved, when my critics say: ‘Having undertaken to write a description of stone, he got buried under it’” (Ponge 1972: 77).

2 For example: “The giving of the outpouring can be a drink. The outpouring gives water, it gives wine to drink. The spring stays on in the water of the gift. In the spring the rock dwells, and in the rock dwells the dark slumber of the earth, which receives the rain and dew of the sky. In the water of the spring dwells the marriage of sky and earth” (Heidegger 1975: 172).

3 As Mumford put it: “Under woman’s dominance, the Neolithic period is pre-eminently one of containers: it is an age of stone and pottery utensils, of vases, jars, vats, cisterns, bins, barns, granaries, houses, not least great collective containers, like irrigation ditches and villages [...] It was in permanent containers that Neolithic invention outshone all earlier cultures” (Mumford 1984: 25).

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The Exhibition as an “urban thing”

Mark Dorrian, Adrian Hawker

Metis: Mark Dorrian + Adrian Hawker

On The Surface

Arkitektskolen Aarhus, Denmark: 10 October – 14 November 2014

Edinburgh College of Art, Scotland, UK: 27 March – 6 April 2015

Assistants: Aikaterini Antonopoulou and Richard Collins

Curator: Karen Kjærgaard

Floor textile manufactured by Ege, Denmark

What would it be to construct an exhibition that worked as a “thing” – and more particularly as an “urban thing”, with all the connotations of density, encounter, transformation and mediation that the term might imply? Bruno Latour’s influential essay “Why has critique run out of steam?” gives us some clues. In this text, he discusses the relation between what he describes as “matters of fact” and “matters of concern”. While the two phrases might at first sight appear to sit in opposition to one another, Latour characterises the former as a specific, reduced, case of the latter: “Matters of fact are only very partial and, I would argue, very polemical, very political renderings of matters of concern and only a subset of what could also be called *states of affairs*” (Latour 2004:232).

Developing his argument via Heidegger, Latour goes on to introduce the distinction between “objects” and “things”, categories that he associates respectively with his two matters of fact and concern. So, where objects are categorised as “matters of fact” (determined, decided, mastered, inert), things are instead sites where complex “gatherings” of relations occur. Latour cites the by now well-known etymology that links the word “thing” to an assembly or parliament – thus his comment that a “thing is, in one sense, an object out there and, in another sense, an *issue* very much *in* there, at any rate, a *gathering*” (Latour 2004: 233). It is not the case, however – and this is in keeping with Latour’s earlier description of facts as particularised instances of more expansive concerns – that some entities are, in themselves, “objects” and some are “things”. Instead, he seems to tell us, they are all things, and we should understand them as such, but we

frequently – perhaps usually – misrecognise them as objects. The object/thing distinction thus comes to be about the kind of relations we have with entities and our attitude to them, or better, the way we attend to them.

At the same time, however, Latour’s argument implies that some things, in the way they are given to us in complexity, are more resistant to being resolved into objects than others. So, at one point, drawing on the work of the philosopher of science Ian Hacking, he gives the example of a “banal rock” (an object) as opposed to dolomite (a thing). “The first”, he writes, “can be turned into a matter of fact, but not the second. Dolomite is so beautifully complex and entangled that it resists being treated as a matter of fact” (Latour 2004: 234). Another example he puts forward is the space-shuttle-Columbia disaster, which he characterises as the transformation of something that had previously appeared to be an object into something that could only be understood as a thing: a catastrophic unfolding of relations that already existed within and structured the vessel, resulting in a field of debris that could never be mistaken for the kind of entity that we normally describe as an “object”.

On The Surface was a retrospective exhibition of work by Metis, designed for the gallery of the Arkitektskolen Aarhus in Denmark, which ran from 10 October to 14 November 2014. Seven projects, spanning twelve years, were shown in it, stretching from Metis’s 2002 book, *Urban Cartographies*, to a competition project developed in 2014 for a spa hotel in Liepaja, Latvia. Any exhibition that involves a number of works is of course inevitably a gathering of a complex kind that brings together not only exhibits, within which multiple relations are already enfolded, but also people (producers, curators, technicians, visitors, etc.). However, this is not to say that this ‘thingliness’ remains in evidence, for more often than not it is systematically suppressed – for example by curatorial approaches that take as their imperative the pre-eminence of the pristine exhibited object.

In the case of ‘On the Surface’, we sought to articulate the ‘thingliness’ of the exhibition and make it legible through establishing a display strategy whereby all that was shown would exist on horizontal, as opposed to vertical, surfaces. In the first instance, this meant engaging the overall

space of the gallery with a large floor drawing, which was manufactured for the exhibition as a textile surface. This established a zone, a kind of mat, within the building that acted as a space of encounter and gathering place for both projects and visitors to the exhibition. Upon this zone, not only did people interact with each other and the displayed work, but also the projects themselves encountered one another in new and reconfigured ways. It was crucial for the exhibition idea that visitors could step onto the floor drawing and be visually immersed in its laterally spreading constructed field, thereby losing the kind of distanced relation that would allow the object of vision to be optically encompassed and settled.

The floor drawing was composed of representations of the seven projects, deriving from different media – some photographic, some drawing-based, some digitally generated. Stripped as they were of stable reference points (common lines of projection, scale relations, etc.) that would allow them to solidify as a “ground”, they came to interact with one another as an array of contingent forms. Here the fluctuation between disparate scales was echoed in the interplay of effects of surface and depth that was produced – the sense of a flatness that was, at the same time, experienced as a swarming, mobile, and thick space. This for us recalled baroque representations of the heavens, such as those of Andreas Cellarius, whose atlas is referred to in the *Micro-Urbanism* project that was exhibited. Situated in this force field, visitors were invited to navigate, explore and play with its constitutive array of relations. As Claudia Carbone has written of walking on this surface in a recently published review of the exhibition: “This action ... of following the drawing on the ground, enables the erasure of the specific time/place chronotopes of the seven exhibited projects, allowing new itineraries to be drawn through the crossing of this complex context” (Carbone 2015: 107–109, 107).

One effect of the floor drawing was to spatially distribute the projects in the gallery space, establishing territories that were then occupied by display tables, each holding three sheets of drawings within a double layer of glass, on top of which was also positioned a model. These, acting as anchors within the large-scale field, set up smaller and more intimate spaces that demanded a mode of closely situated reading. Here the eye was drawn toward the elevated surface of the table, concentrating vision while at the same time leaving open a peripheral zone that opened onto the expanses of the floor drawing below.

Because everything in the exhibition existed on a horizontal surface, with the tabletop height calibrated to a datum line of text running around the gallery wall, the experience of it radically transformed with shifts in height and angle of vision. When the eye was lowered to the level of the tabletops, the graphic surfaces tended to disappear, producing a reading of the exhibition as an arrangement of island-like models constellated within the space of the gallery. As the eye rose, however, and the viewing angle increased, the volumetrics of the models and the tables progressively collapsed, until they were fully absorbed into the complex differentials of the graphic surface.

Key to the exhibitionary strategy that motivated ‘On the Surface’ was the idea of an approach to each project that dispersed what would otherwise appear as an object through an array of spaces, scales and representational modalities that sat in a “flat”, non-hierarchical relation to one another and could never coalesce into a single, privileged artifact. Under these conditions, none of the projects on display were ever identifiable in an exhaustive way with a specific location or object in the exhibition. Instead, the projects emerged as *things* – which is to say, as gatherings that participated in, and interacted with, the larger complex gathering of the “urban thing”, as it was constituted by the exhibition itself.

Figures:

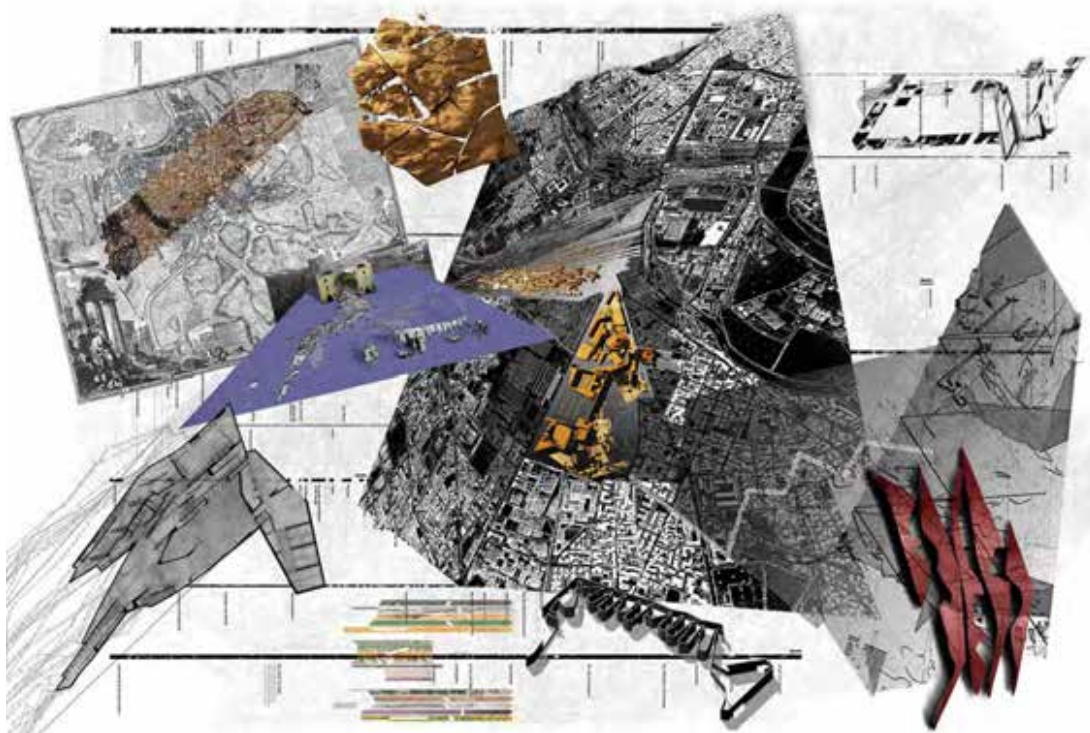


Fig. 01
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface*, [Plan of floor drawing]



Fig. 02
Andreas Cellarius, *The Southern Hemisphere and Its Heavens* [From the *Atlas Coelestis seu Harmonia Macrocosmica* (Amsterdam, 1660)]



Fig. 03
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [Low level view]



Fig. 04
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [Territories and tables]



Fig. 05
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [View with Egyptian Museum project in foreground]



Fig. 06
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [View from balcony]



Fig. 07
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [View from balcony]



Fig. 08
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [Cabinet of the City, Municipal Art Gallery, Rome]



Fig. 09
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [Egyptian Museum, Cairo]



Fig. 10
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [Micro-urbanism, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, Canada]



Fig. 11
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [Micro-urbanism, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, Canada]



Fig. 12
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [Installation in Sculpture Court, Edinburgh College of Art]



Fig. 13
Metis: Mark Dorrian and Adrian Hawker, *On the Surface* [Edge of floor drawing with boots]

Photo credits:

Figs. 03, 10	Mark Dorrian
Figs. 04 - 9, 11	Gert Skærlund Andersen
Fig. 12	Adrian Hawker
Fig. 13	Ella Chmielewska

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Freedom, self-interest and the urban: From political to post-political economy

Mark Jackson, Mark Hanlen

Introduction

Space, power and governance: emergence of political economy

From his early writings on confinement, *Madness and Civilization* (1965) and *The Birth of the Clinic* (1973), Michel Foucault's research has a fundamental concern with space and power, or how an ordering of knowing has its specific correlates in spatial practices. The Clinic is invented at that time in the 18th century when a medical gaze undergoes mutation, such that the space of disease, understood as a disciplined and defined medical discourse, and the space of disease recognized as the locus of a body were found to be allusive to one another, able too easily not to coincide. New practices were required in the developing of a new technique or technology of power, a new instrument for a medical gaze. What concerned Foucault was the difficult register of how things and words find their simultaneous space of encounter, and how what is found to be visible emerges from the invisible. With the Clinic, Foucault is particularly concerned with a spacing of the pathological or how pathologies of living things are brought into the orbit of practices of reason. Thus he notes the mutation in a medical gaze that happens between the mid-18th century and the early 19th century:

In order to determine the moment at which the mutation in discourse took place, we must look beyond its thematic content or its logical modalities to the region where 'things' and 'words' have not yet been separated, and where—at the most fundamental level of language—seeing and saying are still one. We must examine the original distribution of the visible and invisible insofar as it is linked with the division of what is stated and what remains unsaid. ... We must place ourselves, and remain once and for all, at the level of

the fundamental *spatialization* and *verbalization* of the pathological, where the loquacious gaze with which the doctor observes the poisonous heart of things is born and communes with itself. (Foucault 1973: xi-xii)

Foucault here refers to “that *full* space in the *hollow* of which language assumes volume and size” (Foucault 1973: xi). He italicizes ‘full’ and ‘hollow’, a kind of reciprocity in which discourse constitutes a doubling and complicating spacing; there is a plenitude construed in the very ways that language hollows out things, filling their radical exteriority with meaning. Language is at once empty and full, a spatialising enigma. Two essential and formative texts for understanding Foucault's trajectory here are his early essay on Maurice Blanchot, “Maurice Blanchot: The Thought from Outside” (1987), along with Blanchot's powerful understanding of space in his collection of essays, *The Space of Literature* (1982).¹ There is also Foucault's introduction to the work of Georges Canguilhem on the normal and the pathological, “Georges Canguilhem: Philosopher of Error” (1980).² This conjunction allows recognition of how the said and the unsaid find their possibility in a fundamental spatialisation and verbalisation of the pathological. Foucault suggests that modernity is founded on this essentially biopolitical relation of things to words, that a medical gaze as a regulating and defining discourse enables a complex series of spatial practices, and in fact brings into concert juridical and medical discourses that establish a whole series of spatialisings, from the planning of hospitals as spaces of confinement, to civic ordinances that define building codes related to hygiene and habitation.

That new technique was the Clinic, a certain space for the coincidence of a medical knowledge and a diseased body. With *Discipline and Punish* (1977), the space of confinement of the prison was developed in terms of a more radical extension of this mutation in visibility. This spatialising of relations of power Foucault termed Panopticism, named after the prison designed by Jeremy Bentham at the close of the 18th century. The Panopticon operates its surveillance continuously and anonymously, allowing anyone to either

operate it or be subjected to it, via constant self-modification of behaviour (Foucault, 1984: 19):

In short, to substitute for a power that is manifested throughout the brilliance of those who exercise it, a power that insidiously objectifies those on whom it is applied; to form a body of knowledge about these individuals, rather than to deploy the ostentatious signs of sovereignty. (Foucault, 1977: 209)³

Panopticism, in short, operates via the very spatial articulations and differentiations of an architectural diagram, which is at once, a diagram of power. Thus buildings and urban structures become recognisable in terms of how they determine—and are recognised—through an exercise of power. This work of Foucault was translated to English especially in the 1980s and had its ripples through the disciplines of architecture, urban planning and urban geography. In the last ten years research undertaken by Foucault during the 1970s and delivered at that time in his lecture courses at the *Collège de France* has been translated to English. Especially relevant here are the lecture courses delivered in 1977-78, *Security Territory Population* (2007) and the 1978-79 *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2008). An initial discussion of these introduces concerns that have been more recently taken up by urban planners, architects and urban geographers in developing revised political ontologies of the urban, as well as revised understandings of the political processes and governmental structures of cities.

Population and security: The birth of liberalism

What Foucault especially advances in *Security Territory Population* is the invention during the 18th century of the very notion of *population*, as that which a sovereign or monarch needs to primarily manage. Population becomes not the object of security so much as an effect of the application of a new mechanism of power: “Population is undoubtedly an idea and a reality that is absolutely modern in relation to the functioning of political power, but also in relation to knowledge and political theory, prior to the 18th century” (Foucault, 2007: 11). If discipline’s target was individuated bodies, security maintains its mechanisms at the level of the *milieu* and, with techniques of statistics, invents a new horizon of knowing for the agency of those mechanisms in what it comes to name ‘population’.⁴

Foucault develops two notions essential for how this particular lecture course develops and how he subsequently addresses the biopolitical in the following year. Those two notions are the ‘governmentality’ of the State, and the notion of ‘apparatuses of security’. During the 1970s Foucault had to do battle with political Marxists for whom power was that which a State held and that which had to be seized from the State, a governmental model that firstly, has an ontology of power-as-substance, as something one possesses and, secondly, the *governmentality* of a State understood from the model of monarchical power: a head who holds power, whether the body of the king or an elected representative of a people. Foucault’s disagreement with both of these notions was fundamental. This becomes the basis of his understanding of the governmentality of the State, where government itself becomes that which needs to be managed in a complex exercise of power with no centrality.

Under 17th -century Mercantilism, European States developed a reliance on statistics precisely as that which could measure the distributions of individuated bodies and things in a regime known as *Raison d’État*, whose political mechanism was termed Police and ensured for a sovereign an inventory or visibility of all things within a territory. However, what became increasingly obvious was the necessity to account for not the accumulation of individuated bodies under disciplinary mechanisms of spatial

confinements, but an aleatory body, population itself, which seemed, when engaged statistically, to have its *own* laws that were simply not visible or apparent to a monarch. Population was an opacity that could not be governed by disciplinary tactics, though was increasingly understood as that which must necessarily be governed. Hence, in Foucault’s terms, there emerged the attenuation of sovereign power and the birth of the *biopolitical* management of population, coincident with the necessary invention of political economy. Such relations gave rise to economics as precisely that discipline that determined the peculiar laws of population whilst in turn became governed by population’s statistical measures. These tensions saw the ‘birth’ of liberalism as a governmental reason to radically question the centrality of sovereign power or the centrality of a State’s governance. The name Foucault gives to this new regime is ‘apparatus of security’. It is security defined in terms of forecasting via economics, statistics and population as key constitutive figures of what will happen: the fundamental predictive and planning measures in the governmentality of a State. In this sense, government itself may well be posed as an obstacle to good economic planning. Probability theory, concern with risk and its management, became the key concern of State management, and a primary organising force, or base rationale of urban management. In this, the art of government and the definition of the sovereign and the sovereign State, coupled with the exclusive role of Police in the formation and governance of towns, also undergo fundamental transformations, as does a concern with what the space of government entails. It is here that governmentality emerges for Foucault and with it a new understanding of the civic, the social, the urban, the emergence of civil society and the science of political economy.⁵ The perennial question that liberalism, emerging with political economy at the end of the 18th century, and more so neo-liberalism of the 20th century, asks is: How much can or should centralized government intervene in the State? In its radical forms, neo-liberalism sees any government intervention to be detrimental precisely to those laws that govern population and political economy, which are essentially *natural* laws, determined by statistical measure.

Foucault emphasizes that while sovereign rule over territory is somewhat eclipsed by the disciplinary mechanisms of Police, a mechanism set apart from, though in the service of, the sovereign, it is in turn eclipsed by emphases on risk and planning, on probability in political economy, yet all three mechanisms maintain a role in the governmentality of the State. His exemplars are urban and taken from the 18th century: the location of the capital of a State, recognised as a decision in territorial strategy; the planning of new towns in France and Sweden, on the model of the Roman camp, concerned with a series of zones of confinement in an orthogonal grid; and the re-modelling of a port-city in order to increase the possibility of the flows and circulation of goods, people and money, primarily a case of speculative investment in a potential future. In short, Foucault suggests that sovereignty capitalises a territory, disciplines structures, and addresses hierarchies of function and distributions of elements, while security plans a milieu “in terms of events or series of events or possible elements, of series that will have been regulated within a multivalent and transformable framework” (Foucault, 2007: 20). With this articulation of security, Foucault’s understanding of power as action-upon-action, and as practice within networks and mechanisms, increasingly coincides with an articulation of security as a mechanism of power, constitutive of an immanent milieu.

Self-interest

With security as a mechanism of power there is a fundamental shift in an understanding of competition. No longer is it competition between sovereigns who command a territory, nor is it competition between nation states regulated by the complex web of regulations of the Police who aim to maximise circulation of commodities and production with the State as

its own end. Whilst the State maintains understanding as fundamentally emanating from the will of the sovereign, what arises is a new agency of competition, linked precisely to the emergence of a new understanding of freedom and a new entity to be the principal target for that freedom:

Competition will be allowed to operate between private individuals, and it is precisely this game of interest of competing private individuals who each seek maximum advantage for themselves that will allow the state, or the group, or the whole population to pocket the profits, as it were, from this conduct of private individuals, that is to say, to have grains at the just price and to have the most favourable economic situation. ... It is now a matter of ensuring that the state only intervenes to regulate, or rather to allow the well-being, the interest of each to adjust itself in such a way that it can actually serve all. The state is envisioned as the regulator of interests and no longer as the transcendent and synthetic principle of the transformation of the happiness of each into the happiness of all. (Foucault 2007: 346)

Individual interest can no longer come under the gaze of a sovereign will and hence cannot be regulated by Police in the form of disciplinary mechanisms, whose arbitrary interventions happened according to the ratio of a sovereign capability. Yet individual interest follows a regulatory mechanism no less exacting for it being all the more 'natural'. The governing or governmentality of decision happens at the level of a micro-physics of power whose exercise happens through a panoply of new techniques and technologies primarily concerned with understanding the future outcomes of one's immediate and private interests and actions in competition with those of all others.⁶ In short, the question becomes: what does one risk by acting in this way or that? Outside of the regulatory discipline of Police there is nothing prohibiting the freedom of one's actions. That is to say, the sovereign will that commands the welfare of the state is suspended, even if regulation of a judicial nature is still managed by a fundamentally new understanding of 'police'. The new technologies of power come in the form of amassing statistical and probabilistic calculations that inform decision processes concerning market investments, implementation of hygiene measures, inoculation against disease, applying building regulations, registering and licensing professionals, and so on.

The eclipse of political economy

The paper has outlined Foucault's account of the emergence of liberalism within an understanding of State governmentality. The remainder of this paper argues that there has emerged in the 21st century a fundamental mutation to what Foucault defined as apparatus of security or a liberalism that has dominated notions of governmentality in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a mutation that implicates a radical shift in an ontology of place leading to considerations for rethinking an ontological disclosure of the urban. This can be seen in applying Foucault's understanding of the governmentality of the State to the 2008 Global Financial Crisis in terms of relating our contemporary global financial structures, themselves driven by the management—or impossibility-of-managing—global derivative

debt, to an ontological disclosure of place and event as primordial determinations for urban planning. In tracing through to the present, from post Great Depression legislation in the United States, the extent to which governmental policies on welfare housing, its financing and accessibility, were crucial for determining macro-structural forces in urban development, it is possible to recognise the extent to which neo-liberal policies on housing the poor coincided with the liberalisation of the banking system in the United States. This liberalisation was instrumental for both the 2007-2008 Sub-prime Mortgage Crisis, and the 2008-2009 Global Financial Crisis. This was also coincident with the shift from State-centric approaches to social housing that had become predominant especially after World War Two, to new strategies for housing the poor that occurred with the move from Keynesian economics to neo-liberalism. These offer two distinctly different approaches to the problem of uncertainty and risk. The former takes an interventionist approach that collectively governs through techniques of social insurance, such as health, income guarantee, and housing. Neo-liberal approaches sought to individualise these risks with an acceptance of, or belief in, the efficiency of the market, actively encouraging via a series of incentive or disincentive strategies to switch from State services to private enterprises. Private enterprise concerns with individual freedom and self-responsibility aim to minimise what is termed 'moral hazard', such that individuals can set their own level of risk.⁷

These changing governmental rationalities opened those affected to new uncertainties and new risks. Deregulation of the banking system, coupled with governmental policy that aimed to encourage home ownership, created the 'sub-prime' market, essentially a form of higher-risk mortgage lending. The invention of non-vanilla derivatives, such as 'collateralised debt obligations' (CDOs), allowed higher-risk activities that were vulnerable to economic change.⁸

The end of probability

It is especially the economic thinking of Elie Ayache that resonates closely to something fundamental in Foucault's understanding of space, power and the aleatory:

This is a book about writing, pricing and contingent claims. I hold that the writing process and the pricing process are two special kinds of processes that do not take place in possibility or in probability, like the traditional stochastic processes. They fall completely outside prediction. As processes, they keep re-creating themselves and differentiating themselves, yet they do not unfold in chronological time. For this reason, their Swan bird, or the event that gives them wings, is BLANK. It is neither Black nor White; it is neither loaded with improbability nor with probability. It can only be filled with writing, as when we say 'to fill in the blanks'. (Ayache 2010: xv)

Elie Ayache wrote a remarkable work on economic theory and philosophical geography in the aftermath of the global CDO failures and the Eurozone national economy defaults. That work, *The Blank Swan: The End of Probability*, targets the fundamental errors of the major financial institutions who devised derivatives packages in terms of two ontological

determinants: the very use of probability theory as that which determines the event of pricing, and the ontological disclosure of the locale or place of the event of exchange that becomes determinable via probabilistic models. His thesis essentially concerns a fundamental ontology of place and of exchange, to which he gives the originary name “market.” Ayache’s argument, or hypothesis, at the outset, is a curious one: pricing, like writing, is outside the domain of probability. It is pure contingency, pure chance. It is for this reason, perhaps, he has as epigraphs to the book two short quotations from French literary and literary-philosophical figures, Paul Valéry and Maurice Blanchot. From Blanchot, he quips: “The necessary book is subtracted from chance” (Ayache 2010: iv).

There is something strongly resonant with the peculiar ontology that Ayache brings to bear on what he defines as the place of the market and Foucault’s ontology of space, inflecting to the work of Blanchot and what may now define the ontological disclosure of the city. Ayache draws closely in his analysis on the philosophical writing on place by the Heideggerian, Jeff Malpas (Malpas 2004), in order to develop an ontological horizon for understanding place, self, and event in terms other than those of transcendent-transcendental structures; what Malpas adroitly draws out in Heidegger’s work up to his 1936-38 *Contributions to Philosophy* (1999) attempts to arrive at an ontological disclosure of place from the horizontal disclosure of temporality. Ayache recognises uncanny resonance between Malpas’s emphasis on the failures of transcendent/transcendental ontologies and the ontologies of derivatives as probabilistic calculability and the event of the market as temporal disclosure, what Malpas identifies in Heidegger as deficiencies in thinking through ‘projection’ and ‘derivation’. Both Malpas and Ayache emphasise an ontological disclosure of immanence, whereby place becomes a milieu of its own non-originary differentiations, as intensive multiplier of the contingent and non-predictable, that coincides with Foucault’s disclosures of place in terms of security’s production of immanent milieu. The predominant planning methods of city planners, architects, and urbanists conceive of the city as an object or entity capable of projection and derivation one derives, arrives at or realises through projective planning. It is this transcendent/transcendental procedure that comes most under scrutiny when the full implications of Ayache’s analyses are recognised. It is also here that the full import of Foucault’s understanding of place or locale as immanent milieu, coincident with Ayache’s notion of ‘market’ offers a radicalising rethinking of the ontology of the urban.

There is, perhaps, something that happens in the first decade of the 21st century, a movement, paradigm shift even, bringing to a close a governmental rationality inaugurated with those mutations of the 18th century disclosed by Foucault, those inventions of population and political economy that rendered, or attempted to render transparent, what was opaque to the governmental reason of Mercantile capitalism’s *Raison d’État*: sovereign surveillance over the territories and disciplined agencies of a State and its subjects. Political economy, biopolitics and governmental techniques of democratic States all emerge and are developed and enhanced with increasing sophistication of techniques of statistics, probability modelling, and planning. The State, its mechanisms and procedures, discourses and agencies become the privileged domain of a series of new design agencies, emerging in the 19th century as the human sciences. The city is their privileged object of empirical enquiry, concentration of potential archives of quarried fact, from which manifold models for development and totalising rationality could be developed. Does this first decade of the 21st century take us to the zenith of this metaphysical construct of idealising worlds, only to demonstrate that the only necessity is contingency, that the end-game of algorithmic calculation of probability modelling of derivative packages was

the utter dislocation of a real world and an apparent world? As Nietzsche might say, both worlds have been abolished (Nietzsche 1968). Would this suggest, in the sweep of a Foucauldian gesture, that a new erasing trace of the human is happening on the shoreline of metaphysical certainty, that becoming-human is currently thrown somewhere between the absolute instrumentalism of a market’s demands for a self to be its own capital and a self as a work of art, courageously and fearlessly inventing the contours of its existence? If there is a disconnect between Ayache’s market-maker as creative political place-maker and the anonymity of a derivatives debt driver that no-one seems to find stoppable, are we able to respond, which is to say, are we responsible for making our cities, randomly, contingently with a political ethics of the unworkable, or are we unable to respond, response-less, as free self-economic enterprises whose agency is the on-going calculation of the possible? In what manner can we say the city is open to its derivatives, its technologies of the future?

Writing as aleatory urbanism

While working in a Foucauldian framework of legal theory, Pat O’Malley’s *Risk, Uncertainty and Government* (2004) undertakes a detailed and genealogical account of how risk and uncertainty, as a series of differential practices, has been thought in terms of governance (O’Malley 2004: 21-26). O’Malley is close to Ayache with respect to an ontological disclosure of events, probability, risk, and uncertainty. For O’Malley, risk and uncertainty are, from governmental perspectives, radically undecidable: “From a governmental standpoint, risks and uncertainties are neither real nor unreal. Rather, they are ways in which the real is imagined to be by specific regimes of government, in order that it may be governed.” (O’Malley 2004: 15). Ayache calls this “writing.” In this sense, it is by *this writing process* that urban politics and the build environment are shaped. This inscription process is more akin to Blanchot’s ontology of ‘attraction’ or his spatialising of the ‘outside’ than it is to the rationalities of urban design’s inscriptions.¹⁰ In agreement with O’Malley on how risk and uncertainty are considered to be fundamental to decision and political processes, the problematic of temporality as “assumed indeterminate future” is fundamental in thinking about liberal freedom. Risk and uncertainty are technologies of freedom, just as they are, for Ayache, technologies of the future. Their genealogies show how our freedoms are shaped by those “who paradoxically claim to know the future” (181).

The paper commenced with the work of Foucault, outlining some fundamental mutations at the end of the 18th century that constituted a transformation to our biopolitical modernity. Key to that was a series of techniques of visibility, from the clinic, to the prison, to the invention of statistics and probability modelling as governmental rationalities for planning or designing the future. The paper concludes with an analysis by Ayache suggesting that these techniques or technologies of visibility defined by probability theory, contemporary algorithms for economic prediction, have failed, rendering invisible precisely what needs to be governed. Questions of the urban, how it is thought, how it is planned and lived are defined by these same determinants that bring into relation fundamental understandings of space and power, as well as design as predictive and derivative procedure, or design as aleatory writing immanent to a particular milieu. That paradox alluded to by O’Malley might better be called design’s contingency of freedom.

Endnotes

1 Gilles Deleuze (1988) briefly notes Blanchot's influence when discussing Foucault's understanding of the speaking subject: "Here Foucault echoes Blanchot in denouncing all linguistic personology and seeing the different positions for the speaking subject as located within a deep anonymous murmur." (Deleuze (1988: 7). Ann Smock, translator of Blanchot's 1955 *The Space of Literature* (1982), suggests concerning the enigmatic difficulty of approaching the spacings of this 'space': "Although words such as 'region' or 'domain' or 'realm' are often used to designate this zone, it implies the withdrawal of what is ordinarily meant by 'place'; it suggests the site of this withdrawal. ... No-one enters it, though no one who is at all aware of it can leave: ... it is frequently called *le dehors*, 'the outside'" (Smock 1982 :10). It is this space that occupies Foucault in determining how words and things find their cohering, how thinking the outside of what has been thought is at all possible. It is this space, or ontology of space that constitutes a radical thinking of the urban.

2 Canguilhem's field of research was the biological sciences, which cannot be formalised in the manner of the physical sciences, or sciences of the inorganic, i.e., with mathematical exactness (Gordon, 1979: 31). Rather, the question of truth and falsity follows a different path, one Canguilhem defines, after Bachelard, as "veridical discourses" (Gordon, 1979: 31). Gordon notes: "[These are] practices governed by the norm of a specified project for the formulation of true propositions. Such discourses are scientific not directly through the actual truth-content of their proposition but through the veridical normativity of their organization as a practice: not their truth but their relation towards a truth" (Gordon, 1979: 31).

3 It is again important to stress Foucault's recognition of a certain kind of anonymity that operates in the assemblage of panopticism and the processes of subjectification that operate in the locales that may be occupied in the machine. Bentham's Panopticon was a design of great simplicity. A circular ring of prison cells were under continuous surveillance from a guard tower at the centre of the ring. As the guard tower had small viewing openings, prisoners were unaware as to whether or not they were being surveyed, hence incorporating an 'eye' of power as a behavioural restraint.

4 See particularly the work of Ian Hacking on Foucault's engagement with risk, contingency and probability, for example, his 1981 "How should we do the history of statistics?"

5 Much current Foucauldian literature on the city now emphasises the post-civil and post-political as the coincident milieu of neo-liberalism. Dehaene and De Cauter's book on the heterotopic city is sub-titled: *Public space and postcivil society* (2008). There are also concerns with governmentality of the urban in contexts of the post-democratic and post-political, for example: Cox, 2011; Boyle, 2011; Brand, 2007; Donzolet, 2008; Fairbanks, 2011; Kornberger, 2012; Lemke, 2010a & 2010b; MacLeod, 2011; MacLeod and Jones, 2011; Murdoch, 2004.

6 This understanding of interest, self-interest and enterprise recognises some key or fundamental concerns of Foucault: (i) strategic logic as a logic of the contingent relationality of heterogeneous elements in an assemblage that does not seek to bring about a homogeneity or unity but rather aims at a dispersion; (ii) something essential to Foucault's understanding of the heterotopic, and in this to Blanchot's understanding of space, language and self, in that the heterotopic aims at maintaining a relation to all other real spaces outside of a project of totalisation or unification; and (iii) Foucault's concern with eventalisation as the aleatory and uncertain encounter of a visibility irreducible to a statement, and hence recourse to a question of an outside to stratifications of knowing in a question of the anonymity of language's unfinalised functioning and visibility's unformalised matter.

7 *Moral Hazard* is the concept that risky behaviour can be caused by insurance. As insurance mitigates the problem of the occurrence of risk or its negative impacts, the insured may engage in further risky behaviour. This further increases the probability of negative-occurrence in turn leading to knock-on effects whereby individual risky behaviour can cause increased cost to society (Rutherford, 1992: 273). See Baker (1996) for a genealogy of the term, which has both a technical insurance meaning and a larger cultural meaning,

the former originating in 19th-century fire insurance, itself based on earlier marine insurance and the growth of probability theory (Baker 1996: 240). The latter, Baker suggests, frequently appears in op-ed articles in American news media, which takes social welfare (as State funded insurance) as a form of moral hazard. Baker suggests these 'truisms' led to a counterfactual position where the general argument is that less welfare leads to less poverty (Baker 1996: 238).

8 *Derivatives* are complex financial instruments such as *options* or *futures*, which derive value from other financial assets. These are traded on *Futures Markets* where traders 'hedge' against future movements in shares or commodities, as a way to minimise uncertainty of future prices. There are also *options*, which give the trader the option of setting an agreed price that "matures" in the future even if the actual price drops in doing so, thereby minimising risk (Pass, Lowes, & Davies 2005) Vanilla derivatives or *Credit Default Swaps* [CDS] typically swap credit risk associated with an entity that may be either corporate or sovereign, which is to say, from one party to another. Exotic derivatives are more complex, moving between different entities and dividable into different levels of risk. These "tranche" groups extend from an AAA rating to the lowest, which is unrated.

9 If Foucault is correct in his genealogy of the emergence of political economy as that apparatus of security that aimed at measuring the aleatory nature of planning at the heart of what precisely was no longer visible to the monarch, thereby ushering in a fundamentally new exercise of power that he comes to term bio-power, or a power exercised in the defining and ordering of populations by a new science of probability, then the events of the first decade of the 21st century, and theorised by Ayache, point to that moment when political economy faces the opacity of the technologies of visibility it created: a mathematisation of the flows of risk management. By 2008, with the bankrupting of Lehman Brothers and the subsequent \$800 billion bailout of the Wall Street banks, that very model of governmentality of the State that emerged at the end of the 18th century, a model that had driven the fundamental ontology of the urbanization of populations, is now itself at risk. It is probability theory, determined in the algorithmic functioning of risk management that presents the fundamental risk. This suggests a crisis in determining what might now constitute governmental structures. Hence the turn in political urban theory to post-democratic and post-political paradigms as models, or what Giorgio Agamben suggests as the political disenfranchisement of the refugee, as *the* viable ethical framework for thinking urban planning outside of the social contract and enlightenment fictions of State-sanctioned and inalienable rights (Agamben, 2003).

10 Foucault notes concerning Blanchot's notion of 'attraction': "It is necessary to be clear about what the word designates: "attraction," as Blanchot means it, does not depend upon any charm. Nor does it break one's solitude or found any positive communication. To be attracted is not to be beckoned by the allure of the exterior; it is rather to suffer [*éprouver*]-in emptiness and in destitution—the presence of the outside and ... in the fact that one is irremediably outside the outside. Far from calling on interiority to draw close to another, attraction makes it imperiously manifest that the outside is there, open, without depth, without protection or reserve ... but that one cannot gain access to that opening ..." (Foucault, 1998: 154)

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The Internet of politicised ‘things’: urbanisation, citizenship, and the hacking of New York ‘innovation’ City

Russell Hughes

In 2008 the United Nations predicted that within the year, “for the first time in history the urban population will equal the rural population of the world” (1). As Hodson and Marvin observe, urbanisation “totally dominates the huge metalogistical systems ... that make up the contemporary world” (Hodson and Marvin 2010: 300). Soja and Kanai contend “more than ever before, it can be said that the Earth’s entire surface is urbanized to some degree ... no one on Earth is outside the sphere of influence of urban industrial capitalism” (Soja and Kanai 2007: 62). As human population and its urban apparatus proportionately expand, so too do ecological susceptibilities, social ills, and the foment of political unrest. Philosophers Jean Luc Nancy, Henri Lefebvre and Bruno Latour, while critical of the terminal tendencies of techno-capitalist urbanisation, each reimagine the urban as a locus for open-ended ‘world forming’ resistance. With their theoretical underpinning, this paper undertakes a site-specific analysis of the Applied Sciences New York (ASNY) civic innovation initiative. It argues this new brand of digital urbanism, one designed to be emulated by ‘smart cities’ the world over, offers abundant opportunities for the kinds of resistance speculatively identified by Nancy, Lefebvre, and Latour.

For Jean Luc Nancy, the central problem with the current urban imaginary is its prioritisation of market over political considerations. In *The Creation of the World or Globalization* (2007), Nancy identifies urbanisation as the material expression of globalisation, a process that in its “unitotality” (Nancy 2007: 28) signals “an unprecedented geopolitical, economic, and ecological catastrophe” (Nancy 2007: 50). This “indefinite growth of techno-science”, which reduces “the circulation of everything” to “the form of commodity” (Nancy 2007: 37), can only result in “correlative exponential growth” and the “worsening of inequalities of all sorts” (Nancy 2007: 33-34). Globalised urbanism not only homogenises sense and flattens meaning (Madden 2012: 776), it “invades and erodes what used to be thought of as *globe* and which is nothing more now than its double, *glomus*” (Nancy 2007: 33-34), a form of planetary cannibalisation, “an anarchic, polluted dystopia” (Madden 2012: 776) that is “not a nice place” (Madden 2012: 777).

A cursory glance at the evening news on any given day renders Nancy’s

observations difficult to refute. Yet the proselytisers of the urban millennium do negate such claims, and do so with gusto, espousing the virtue of the new urban condition to be capable of not only solving all the world’s urban ills, but making manifest its social utopia idealistically foretold by H.G. Wells more than a century ago (1901). This optimism toward a panaceaic new urbanism will not, however, emerge evenly from a vast undifferentiated global conurban ecumenopolis, but from site-specific urban centres or ‘cities’ that are ideally positioned to bring urbanism’s nascent promise to fruition. For this new urban imaginary, Nancy’s *glomus* is not so much a problem as it is a fortuitous opportunity for commercial solutions, in particular those that navigate cities as dense concentrations of scientific and entrepreneurial ‘innovation’. This increasingly prevalent civic story, rising to prominence in the first decades of the 21st century, has its origins in the latter half of the preceding century and is the iterative extension of what was a project to revitalise the first victim of urban sprawl, that being the city itself.

The second coming of the western city

As industrial mass production slumped during the 1960s and ‘70s, cities in western developed countries that were home to the factories and workshops of the post-WWII manufacturing boom descended into a period of rapid decline. Vacant buildings, abandoned docklands, and brownfield sites joined forces with mass unemployment to escalate rates of crime, social dissonance, and the ghettoisation of inner city space. Cities became less viable economically and less attractive places to live. Urban planning, which up to that point had concentrated its energies and attentions on regulating and limiting urban growth, beginning in the United States initiated a remarkable about-turn, swiftly reinventing the discipline from being the robust adversary of development to become its complementary collaborator. The buzzword for this renaissance, derived from American rhetorical ingenuity, was ‘urban revitalisation’. Re-designating the city’s abandoned areas as ‘enterprise zones’, urban planners used incentives such

as subsidised land, cheap rents, the reduction of entry and exit fees, and tax exemptions to lure companies that had fled to the suburbs back to their natural domicile. These manoeuvres also catalysed a residential return as the rise of young professionals, frustrated with the mundane banality of sub-urbanism, sought adventure in the dynamism of the metropolis. To attract more people, and keep them there, cities envisaged “entertainment” precincts as a central strategy to treat the inner urban space like a “constantly changing theatre” (Hall 2002: 386).

Perhaps most critical to the success of this urban return was the new economic staple: information and communication technologies (ICTs). In the 1980s and 90s so-called ‘new economy’, Peter Hall argues “access to privileged information” (Hall 2002: 409) became the key criteria for success. The transfer of this critical currency was, ironically, facilitated by what informational economies were *supposed* to supplant: face-to-face communication. The recipe for success in the ICT economy, “like all creative activities ... depended on interaction, on networking, on a certain amount of buzz and fizz, which [is] more likely to be found in [cities] than anywhere else” (Hall 2002: 408). This perception highlights not the ‘placelessness’ of the conurban condition, but the richness of site-specific concentrations of urbanity that cities, in all their idiosyncratic glory, are ideally positioned to provide.

As ICTs faltered in the aftermath of 1998’s dotcom crash, the digitisation and commercialisation of biology soon became the best hope for a new era of science-based profitability. Since then, these post-Fordist models of ‘flexible’ economic accumulation have further broadened the imagination of ‘innovation’ in its totality by way of a “spiral vortex” (CalIT2 2015) of ‘info’, ‘bio’, ‘nano’, and ‘robo’ technologies. It is these ‘machines’ as the engines of urban aspiration that will drive the post-industrial global economy. It follows that what is required of 21st century planning is not so much a concentration of particular industries or technologies per se, rather the spatial and social engineering of ‘cultures’, ‘clusters’, ‘ecosystems’ or ‘ecologies’ of interconnected innovation industries. Though focusing on the development of exurban science parks in the latter half of the 20th century, and later science precincts within cities in the first decade of the 21st, today the city *in toto* is imagined as the ideal site in which to make innovation manifest as an urban innovation ‘laboratory’.

Analogous with, and proportionate to, the ambitions of 21st century science that cities now accommodate, this spatial shift is not only ‘best practice’ for scientific socialisation and entrepreneurial stimulation, but critically positions the city as *the* subject of scientific endeavour: that is the problem for ‘science’ (innovation) to solve. Central to this move is the quantification of activity within cities by corporate giants IBM, Cisco, General Electric and Siemens, who, through the ‘smart’ mining of civic big data, claim to be able to make cities more productive, liveable, equitable, and resilient. With over half the world’s population now living in cities, and the need to accommodate another three billion people in the next 30 years (United Nations 2012: 1), civic administrations across the globe are wholesale investing in the imagined benefits ‘smartification’ will produce. What becomes apparent, however, is that the mere appearance of ‘smart’ as semantic veneer is crucial to the task of attracting the global flows of capital and talent upon which 21st century notions of innovation depends. Urban smartification is as much a recruitment strategy designed to draw these critical resources of innovation *in advance* and *independent of* anything tangibly innovative or beneficial actually accruing.

Of the increasing number of cities retrofitting and rebranding themselves in this regard, the singularly most comprehensive, aggressive, and self-

aggrandising ambition for technocratic civic transformation and global innovation domination, is New York City (NYC). Through explication of the origins and organisational elements of NYC’s self-appointment as the vanguard of this new global urban imaginary, the following foregrounds how projects such as ASNY agitate and open the potential for new forms of citizen engagement.

Digital urbanism NYC style

In 2002 NYC’s wealthiest citizen, Michael Bloomberg, was elected Mayor on the basis that he could leverage his entrepreneurial talents and industry connections to re-establish the city as an economic world leader. Though he initiated a suite of new policies to achieve this end (Smith 2013: 1), perhaps the most impactful were changes to NYC’s public school system. Dogged for decades by mismanagement and corruption, in the six years after taking over the city’s public schools, Bloomberg’s ‘Children First’ initiative raised graduation rates by 20%, improved reading and math scores over 10%, and closed the achievement gap between ethnicities (Bloomberg 2008: 1). Bloomberg also initiated a series of new, complementary vocational programs, including opening technology high schools and vocational training centres to serve local technology industries. These policies underpin subsequent changes to the city’s tertiary system announced in 2010 that spearhead NYC’s bold declaration to transform itself into “the new technology capital of the world” (Cornell Chronicle 2011: 1).

One of Bloomberg’s key aims was to diversify the city’s economy to reduce its reliance on the financial sector. Under Bloomberg’s Mayoralty, NYC’s traditional secondary industries such as tourism, film, and television had all grown impressively. When 2007’s sub-prime mortgage-lending debacle took effect, the financial industry still accounted for a third of total personal income in the city’s private sector. About to lose \$54b of market capitalisation and a quarter of its employees in the September 2008 collapse of Lehmann Brothers, Bloomberg overturned the law limiting his Mayoral service to two terms and successfully campaigned as an independent to undertake a third. Part of his re-election platform was flagging the burgeoning technology startup sector in the city as the key industry to drive economic recovery. The success of home-grown tech companies Gilt Groupe, Etsy, Tumblr, and Foursquare, and the organic blossoming of high technology startup districts such as Silicon Alley and Dumbo, signalled NYC was *the* place in which to merge the worlds of finance, advertising, and media with emergent mobile platforms. City Hall learnt that in order to capitalise on the current tech boom, NYC would need to generate a critical mass of digital engineering talent. Though home to several high-ranking engineering schools, NYC does not produce the volume of engineering graduates that successful innovation districts like Silicon Valley and Boston’s Route 128 do, nor does it have the necessary industries and/or associated incentives to keep them after graduation. To this end the Bloomberg administration drafted an audacious plan to not simply make NYC competitive with other booming high-tech centres but to eclipse them. Speaking to this plan at its announcement in December 2010, U.S. Senator Charles E. Schumer declared “look out Silicon Valley, look out Boston, New York will be second to none” (Cornell Chronicle 2011: 1).

One year into Bloomberg’s third term as Mayor, the City announced the Applied Sciences New York (ASNY) competition. It requested expressions of interest from academic institutions or joint consortiums to partner with the City to create a state-of-the-art Applied Science Campus (New York City [NYC] 2010: 1). Designed to increase the probability that a high-growth

company such as Google, Amazon, or Facebook will emerge in NYC (New York City Economic Development Corporation [NYCEDC] 2015: 1), the City offered acreage on a number of prime real estate sites and up to \$100m in capital infrastructure expenditure and/or city backed loans as incentive. The campus had to accommodate a minimum of 93,000m² of wet and/or dry labs, provide teaching and conference facilities, and demonstrate a commitment to sustainability and community engagement initiatives with the wider NYC populace. The request stressed the importance of articulating links to corporate partners who would be “co-located” on site. It “strongly” encouraged “proposals that also include space for related commercial activity such as business incubators, corporate research and development facilities, and spin out companies” (NYC 2010: 1).

A little over one year later, Bloomberg announced the joint proposal between Cornell University and Technion Israel Institute of Technology as the winner. Pledging to build a \$2b, 204,000m² campus to educate 2,500 postgraduate engineering students annually, the City anticipated Cornell Tech to create “some” 600 spin-off companies and \$23b in nominal economic activity within the next 30 years (Cornell Chronicle 2011: 1). Such was the strength of the unsuccessful proposals, that eighteen months later Bloomberg announced a second stage of ASNY; a new Center for Urban Science and Progress (CUSP) to be built in downtown Brooklyn (NYC 2012a: 1). Led by New York University, it partnered with a broader academic consortium, including the City University of New York, Carnegie Mellon University, the University of Toronto, the University of Warwick, and the Indian Institute of Technology Bombay. Two further projects have since been announced: the Columbia Institute for Data Sciences and Engineering (NYC 2012b: 1) within the Morningside Heights and Washington Heights campuses and the Carnegie Mellon/Steiner Studios Digital Media Program (NYC 2013: 1) to be located in the former Brooklyn Navy Yard. Collectively the four ASNY projects are expected to generate over \$33.2b in nominal economic activity, more than 48,000 permanent and construction jobs, and approximately 1,000 spin-off companies by 2046 (Cornell Tech 2014: 1).

Critical to the urban concerns of this paper is the way in which a Memorandum of Understanding between CUSP, its corporate partners, and the City, establishes the concept of NYC as a ‘living laboratory’. With financial and mentoring support from technology companies IBM, Cisco, ConEdison, National Grid, Siemens, Xerox, AECOM, Arup, and IDEO, CUSP and its corporate partners will concentrate on researching and developing technologies that address the critical challenges and emerging growth opportunities in the provision of civic infrastructure, technology integration, energy efficiency, transportation, congestion, public safety, and public health. CUSP has access to NYC’s civic data as the raw material by which to isolate [lucrative] targets for research in the aim of developing smart solutions for the growing multitude of aforementioned urban challenges. City Hall’s brokering of complementary ventures in the city, such as the partnering of CUSP with the \$20b Hudson Yards ‘quantified community’ redevelopment (Murray 2014: 1) and the relocation of CUSP partner IBM’s third generation cognitive computing program ‘Watson’ to Manhattan, further buttress CUSP’s endeavour to lead the emerging field of ‘urban informatics’. With the global market for intelligent city systems and infrastructure estimated to be in the vicinity of \$350 trillion over the next three decades (World Wildlife Fund 2010: 1), ASNY’s state-academy-industry partnership seeks to swiftly ‘transfer’ R&D into lucrative products exportable to all other ‘urban laboratories’ across the globe. By positioning such goods and services as its vehicle for 21st century economic success, the potential ramifications of NYC’s aggressive brand of ‘digital urbanism’ upon the political experience of civic citizens globally, cannot be underestimated.

As *Smart Cities* author Anthony Townsend points out however, “looking smart, even more than being smart [is] the real force driving mayors into the arms of engineers” (Townsend 2013: 68), “the mere appearance of control ... key to economic survival in a world where cities compete for talent and investment” (Townsend 2013: 71-2). As the move to becoming smarter suggests, cities are increasingly cognisant of, and proactive in, their roles as the powerhouses of the post-industrial new economy. They are also key sites in which new forms of citizenship and political involvement—or the lack thereof—are played out. In its nascent, nebulous ‘innovative’ imaginary, NYC’s digital urbanism concomitantly becomes the focal point for new types of political contestations over individual and collective identity, belonging, and right. If, as Richard Sennett contends, cities need to become more open, enabling citizen participation “by virtue of their own agency” (Sennett 2006: 1), the remainder of this paper will address ASNY’s digital urbanism in the context of the citizen circumvention of it, identifying recent incidences of such resistance that gesture toward possible openings for a bottom-up politicised ‘world forming’ to occur.

The politics of the civic envelope

As Holsten and Appadurai indicated as early as 1996, with the nation state appearing “increasingly exhausted and discredited”, it is cities that “engage most palpably the tumult of citizenship” (Holsten and Appadurai 1996: 188). NYC’s quest for innovative civic transformation is especially volatile in this regard, exemplified by Bloomberg’s transformative, techno-centric agenda extending from the engineering of the city’s major economic industries, to the *social engineering* of the citizenry of the city itself. NYC’s primary, secondary, and now tertiary education reforms seek to equip local students as tools for the 21st century digital economy. They are part of the city’s highly manicured posture and projection, which has the intention of attracting the requisite ‘mature’ techno-entrepreneurial talent to bolster its innovative agenda. These sweeping policy initiatives threaten to disempower and disenfranchise the non-innovative many who currently reside in the city, potentially excluding those who lack the necessary capital and talent required for NYC’s aspirational innovation economy.

Just as the new species of technology, in particular the componentry of ‘Internet of Things’, are designed to seamlessly integrate, skeuomorph-like, into our everyday lives, so too does ASNY’s intricately interwoven state-academy-industry ‘triple-helix’ partnerships. Through the opacity and obfuscation of such complex organisational arrangements, it becomes nearly impossible for citizens to identify, let alone contest, the overarching determinations that govern everyday life. As Adam Greenfield, author of *Against the Smart City* (2013) contends:

By obscuring the meaningful distinctions between the two [state and market], the ‘seamless integration of public and private services’ makes it very difficult for any of us to determine which set of actors is able to operate more effectively on our own behalf, which effects we would wish to see sustained and which is more responsive to our demands (Greenfield 2013: 737-40).

Similarly, artist James Bridle suggests, “Those who cannot perceive the network cannot act effectively within it, and are powerless” (Huffington 2014: 1). Layered in a complex labyrinth of bureaucratic entanglement, the target/s for any kind of citizen-based critique or interrogation have become increasingly difficult to discern. What hope do citizens as self-determining subjects have, if the market and its panoply of co-iterative extensions and apparatuses render citizenship purely a matter economic inclusion and exclusion? Given traditional forms of direct resistance and outright revolution appear no longer tenable, what, if any, opportunities are available for citizens to challenge the chimerical conflation of the state and the market, defined by Latour as “two flanks of the same beast” (Latour 2014: 8)?

As David Madden argues, urban economic transformation must concomitantly aspire to political transformation, for without it, “the affirmation of urbanism can easily degrade into cheerleading for conspicuous neighbourhood consumption, ‘smart’ technocracy, or renewal-as-gentrification” (Madden 2012: 783). Instead of promotion of “neo-liberal lifestyle politics”, Madden urges a new kind of urban imaginary that privileges citizen-based political potential over the pursuit of economic rationalism at all cost. Though Henri Lefebvre’s analysis of the global urban fabric identifies an irreducible remainder and opportunity in what he calls the “*non-closing* of the circuit” (Lefebvre 1984: 188), Madden contends such a transformation must be “actively sought, rather than only experienced” (Madden 2012: 781). Such speculative opportunities *vis-à-vis* ASNY will now be ventured.

Michael Bloomberg, a trained engineer, successful entrepreneur, indeed NYC’s wealthiest citizen responsible for building the digital products that transformed the city’s financial sector, was brought to public office, not so much on a political agenda, but upon his promise to install a model of corporate economic governance. Though it could be said that Bloomberg, like Lefebvre, believes “[u]rban life has yet to begin” (Lefebvre 1996: 150), and furthermore wants a “radical urbanism” that “make[s] a space for audacious, utopian, unrealistic” (Madden 2012: 782) “planning projects” (Lefebvre 1996: 155), these two figures’ urban aspirations could not be any more polarised. If, as Madden laments, “the horizon of politics lies in the development of progressively smarter solutions” where “political contentiousness, like pollution, is one more problem to be solved”, then, in the context of Bloomberg’s ‘innovation’ city, the task for citizen-based political contestation is to rethink that horizon, and the means by which citizens as a collective arrive at that frontier.

One means toward realising Sennett’s anti-teleological ‘open city’ is via the political philosophy of Bruno Latour. His manifesto for understanding the urban world as one made up of ‘things’ is particularly useful in this regard. As Latour suggests, “A simple look at them clearly proves that the ‘Body Politik’ is not only made of people! They are thick with things: clothes, a huge sword, immense castles, large cultivated fields, crowns, ships, cities, and an immensely complex technology of gathering, meeting, cohabiting, enlarging, reducing and focusing” (Latour 2005: 6). Latour sees in ‘things’ or—to use the old Icelandic word “*dings*” meaning an assembly of politically charged ‘things’ (Latour 2005: 12)—an opportunity to revitalise politics via different ways of assembling. As he states, if “those makeshift assemblies we call markets, technologies, science, ecological crises, wars and terrorist networks ... are *already* connecting people no matter how much they *don’t* feel assembled by any common politics” (Latour 2005: 7), then accordingly once an “assembly of assemblies is deployed, that which passes for the political sphere ... will appear as one type among many others, perhaps even a rather ill-equipped type” (Latour 2005: 24).

At this formative stage, would it appear that the global civic trend toward smart cities is merely a ‘smarter’ way for triple-helicoid partners to stealthily track and control the flows of their capital and influence? Following Latour’s *Dingpolitik*, could a politicised network of interconnected things serve to disrupt these flows with assemblages that defy the logic of ASNY’s transformative civic algorithm? But how, or more importantly what method would a *Dingpolitik* need to use to do this? Latour suggests, “[w]hat if we had to imagine not an assembly of assemblies, not even an assembly of ways of assembling but an assembly of ways of disassembling? Would not that be a call for *disassembling* instead?” (Latour 2005: 25). This may seem an anachronistic return to a late 20th-century style of Francophilian deconstruction, yet Latour’s suggestion could in fact be more prescient than first appearances indicate.

If today’s urban condition can be one defined as a “data-industrial-academic-complex” (Woolrich 2014: 1), where, according to Parsons Professor of Urban Ecologies Bill Morrish, “those who control the digital portals in essence control the world” (Morrish personal communications 2014), a myriad of high profile contemporary examples show these portals can be hacked. Just as computer viruses like ‘Stuxnet’ can be deployed to turn an opposing regime’s weapons upon itself, so too have celebrity cyber-whistle-blowers Julian Assange and Edward Snowden used informational platforms to very publicly subvert the foundations of the Nation State. In more modest ways, the destabilisation and diffusion of traditional power strongholds is apparent in a myriad of examples extant in the urban everyday. From eco-philic guerrilla gardeners and environmental health clinics, to the aesthetic interventions of Internet Yami-achi or the *joco-serioso* of Unfit Bits, disruptive social agitators leverage cyberspace in a multitude of ever-evolving ways to politically impact upon the experience of civic space in three dimensions. As Oli Mould’s *Urban Subversions and the Creative City* (2015) suggests, if today’s ‘maker’ citizens are the benchmark, tomorrow’s netizens will be unruly, mutative, politicised *in-formations par excellence*. ASNY’s recruitment of the ‘best and the brightest’ (Cornell Tech, 2011: 1), is an invitation to the next generation’s digital natives to plumb the City’s algorithm for technocratic success. ASNY’s ambitions, predicated on capturing the precocity of digital wunderkinds to serve the state-academy-industry triple helix, may well see politically primed students not so much serve their burgeoning intelligence to co-location corporate partners, as supplant them with it. Latour asks, “[p]rogress and succession, revolution and substitution, neither are part of our operating system any longer. And yet where is the alternative OS? Who is busy writing its lines of code?” (Latour 2005: 30). In this context ASNY’s intention to harvest the ingenuity of the next generation’s most creative thinkers could train what Morrish describes as “the most radically informed radicals on the planet”, people who “may not all become quiet Republicans” (Morrish personal communications 2014). ASNY could be unwittingly creating the conditions ripe for a digitised citizen circumvention the likes of which we cannot yet imagine, and Latour’s prescience comes to the fore with the suggestion, “when we say ‘Public matters!’ or ‘Back to Things!’ we are not trying to go back to the old materialism of *Realpolitik*, because *matter itself* [in the new digital imaginary] is up for grabs as well” (Latour 2005: 14). It is precisely in this post-analogue space, where “our usual definitions of politics have not caught up” (Latour 2005: 27), that politics will be most adeptly played by ‘infants’ speaking in a swiftly evolving silent language or ‘code’.

If the most durable forms of innovation, and of politics, are sourced from the “power of the crowd” (Wakefield 2013: 1), the ‘smartest’ cities will be those that empower the richest ingredient of innovation they have, their citizens, by sponsoring their ability to forge new types of individual and

collective identity, belonging and right. As Carlo Ratti, head of MIT's Senseable Cities suggests, next generation urban centres will become "more like a shifting flock of birds or shoal of fish, in which individuals respond to subtle social and behavioural cues from their neighbours about which way to move forward" (Wakefield 2013: 1). 'Open' to innovation, as mandated in its operating program, ASNY is not a problem, but a digital opportunity for next generation wunderkinds to playfully, and powerfully, hack out. Viewed in this way, is New York 'innovation' City in its nascent state a potential precursor to a contra philosophy for the 21st century, a wide open "crack for freedom to slip through, silently filling up empty spaces, sliding through the interstices" (Lefebvre, 1995 [1960]: 124)?

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The urban creative factory - creative ecosystems and (im)material design practices

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Introduction:

The urban thing as a planetary phenomenon

In today's increasingly global and interconnected world, over half of the planet's population now live in urban areas. Further profound changes are on the way, particularly regarding the size and spatial distribution of this population. For instance, it is estimated that by 2050, urbanised areas will accommodate 66% of the world's population, effectively reversing the rural-urban population distribution found in the mid-20th century (UN 2014: 7). While this 'urban thing' seems to become a planetary condition, there is great diversity in the nature of the world's urban areas. Thus it is misleading to characterise this as a unified urban phenomenon. As such, Saskia Sassen proposes to substitute the term *urbanity* – a notion overly charged with Western expectations - for *cityness*, a term better able to accommodate forms of urbanity other than the very large body of urbanism developed in the West (Sassen 2008: 85).

Cities themselves are considered to be important drivers of development and poverty reduction in both urban and rural areas, as they concentrate much of the national economic activity, government, commerce and transportation. Equally, they provide crucial inter-rural, inter-city and international cross-border links. Yet increasingly this multifaceted role is being overturned, with urban areas tending to accumulate wealth and amplify inequalities in comparison with the rural hinterlands they border. In turn, as attractors for hundreds of millions of the world's poor, cityness commonly equates to sub-standard living conditions and concentrated, extreme poverty.

In the evolution of urban phenomena, the new international division of labour (Froebel *et al.* in Hardy 2013) plays a crucial role. The de-industrialisation of most of the advanced capitalist countries was a strategic response to the twin crises of declining profitability and overproduction, which surfaced in the 1970s in the form of stagflation and synchronised global recession (Smith 2012: 40). The de-industrialisation of the Global

North was combined with the industrialisation of selected developing countries, themselves providing a low-wage workforce, labour-intensive production and expanded markets for industrial products. Yet despite a general redistribution of industrial productivity towards the 'Global South', as Jane Hardy (2013) argues, global workers remain "powerless in the face of mobile capital" for capitalism's dynamic pursuit of profits and reduced costs means a constant recalibration in the geographic distribution of industrialised labour in the 'South'. As such, issues of production and concomitant accumulation are crucial factors shaping urban terrain for the 'North' and 'South' in the 21st century. As industrial production has been predominantly outsourced – although perhaps not permanently or irreversibly - it warrants asking: what 'industries' have been left for the Global North to elaborate? what is the mode of production in the so-called developed cities? and what conditions do the workers engaged in this production experience?

Assuming a central position in the urban economies of the developed world are entertainment, cultural and creative industries, financial and business services, and new technology development. Filling the vacancy (in both economic and spatial senses) created by de-industrialisation, these cities have sought to capitalise on cultural, symbolic, and creative economies, themselves defined by "immaterial and/or biopolitical production" (Souliotis 2013: 91-92). In attempting to describe the processes of these types of productions, coupled with the notion of "cognitive capitalism" and its attendant "knowledge economy", this paper proposes the notion of the *urban creative factory*, understood as a critical definer of contemporary urban things. To better understand the key aspects of the urban creative factory, the paper will proceed in three parts. Firstly, building on an analogy introduced by Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt (1994) – that the contemporary metropolis itself be considered a factory – the paper will examine the nature of biopolitical production and the new affectual economy attending it. Secondly, in this context it will attempt to locate various groupings of productive subjects in the biopolitical city beyond traditional and limited understandings of class struggle. Thirdly, thinking through the role of 'creativity' and social production in post-

Fordist, economic conditions, a depiction of contemporary ‘work’ will be offered, one that draws attention to the forms of solidarity and exploitation that the urban gives place to. In conclusion, building on this provisional cartography of the urban creative ecosystem, the paper will propose a corrective understood as a *designing commons*.

1. The urban (as) factory

The argument pursued in this section is that contemporary, developed urban milieus are commensurate with factories – in other words, they are sites of sustained, ongoing production. Insisting on an analogy between cities and factories, Hardt and Negri argue that the urban factory’s product is design (of objects, services, concepts):

The factory can no longer be conceived as the paradigmatic site or the concentration of labor and production; laboring processes have moved outside of the factory walls to invest the entire society. In other words, the apparent decline of the factory as a site of production does not mean a decline of the regime and discipline of factory production, but means rather that it is no longer limited to a particular site in society. It has insinuated itself throughout all forms of social production, spreading like a virus. All of society is now permeated through and through with the regime of the factory, that is, with the rules of specifically capitalist relations of production. (Hardt & Negri 1994: 9)

An equivalent of the factory, the contemporary metropolis, by this reasoning, telegraphs the tensions and economies of an earlier regime of production across large swathes of territory. Yet, Negri and Hardt see in this transformation of the metropolis an intensification of *biopolitical* production – that is the positing of an artificial commons (inclusive of languages, images, knowledge, affects, codes, habits and practices) (Hardt & Negri 2009: 250). Importantly these relational commons, as everyday, constituent parts of the metropolis, are “entirely inserted in and integral to the cycle of biopolitical production”, production that makes cultural life itself a matter of economic management and capitalisation. Hence the space of economic production, along with “*the passage to the hegemony of biopolitical production*”, is made to precisely overlap with the space of the city producing in turn what amounts to a “biopolitical city”.

a. The biopolitical city

Building on practices that enabled the factory to operate as a contained entity for enacting total economic optimisation and management, the biopolitical city in turn is established as a generic site for immaterial production, a place where non-linear, deliberately open, and networked lines of production draw in and orchestrate the metropolis, making it a place of expanded living labour and its social spaces commodities. Under post-Fordist regimes of production, older labour solidarities once harboured by the factory are broken down leaving variable and shifting conglomerations of workers and work routines. Whereas the factory once left the production of cooperative and able workers to the State or the home, the productive procedures underwriting the biopolitical city

now take hold of the subjectivity of producers directly, with the intent of profiting from the reproduction of the entirety of living labour. Over and above the production of commodities, at greater stake is the production of lifestyles and identities. As Jason Read argues, “[t]he contemporary factory is the ‘social factory’” with production being “disseminated across social space as the production of affects, relations, and desires” (Read 2003: 159). Hence, in spatial and temporal terms it is no longer necessary or useful to replicate a division between the factory and the city, or to demarcate the time of production (clocking in and out from the working day) with that of consumption; the factory is made to assume a diffused state, one that merges with the urban milieu in total.

In this context, the immaterial labour and inventive capacity of design takes on new significance. The social factory is in key ways a design factory. With its mandate to shape and reconfigure material conditions relative to social ones, design has become a paradigmatic discipline, one capable of mobilising a raft of affecting and effecting social relations integrally tied to the reproduction and transformation of subjectivity, and with it divergent and flexible redeployments of labour. As Christopher Hight has developed in conversation with Hardt, design with its generation of immaterial goods, particularly forms of knowledge, image, and affect, has meant for architecture a shift from being a service profession centred on problem-solving to becoming a “research based practice focused upon innovation” (Hight 2006: 71). In this way design defines for itself a hegemonic role by asserting the primacy of immaterial generation in material production – a hegemony capable of taking the social body itself as a subject of design.

b. New affective economy and biopolitics

Design more generally effects a variety of corporeal and cognitive consequences on the lives, bodies and minds of the post-Fordist workers, one entirely consistent with biopolitical power. In other words, design is integral to a shift from the older, disciplinary forms of governance associated with capitalist production (the Fordist factory) towards an emerging affective economy of innovative and flexible social/productive relations (the post-Fordist, distributive work field) that capitalises on surplus value extrapolated from immaterial generation and design-led transformations. Literally operating everywhere and at any locale – though typically applied in urban places since this is where producer-consumers are most prolific – immaterial production sets up a problem of valuation, a problem of how to measure an affective surplus associated with the proliferation of a designed commodification of life itself. As Negri puts it:

The more the measure of value becomes ineffectual, the more the value of labor-power becomes determinant in production; the more political economy masks the value of labor-power, the more the value of labor-power is extended and intervenes in a global terrain, a biopolitical terrain. [...]The more the theory of value loses its reference to the subject ..., the more the value of labor resides in affect, that is, in living labor that is made autonomous in the capital relation, and expresses-through all the pores of singular and collective bodies-its power of self-valorization. (Negri 1999: 79-80)

As such, biopolitics is a regime of governance concerned with *bios* or life and finds immediate expression in the control of and over populations.

Contrary to forms of governance centred on controlling or prohibiting actions, biopolitics as Michel Foucault first articulated aims to develop the productivity and resourcefulness in any given life so that it may better deliver broader societal utility (Foucault 2008: 317). More than a form of power defined by negation and proscription, biopolitics answers to an always open incitement to optimise and invent. Akis Gavriilidis glosses the inciting nature of contemporary governance this way: “Authoritarian power talks to its people”, explicitly encouraging them to “talk, communicate, express their... sexuality and their... imagination, so as to better... be(come) [them]selves” (Gavriilidis 2006: 6). As such contemporary sovereignty can be thought to follow a hydraulic mandate for as Gavriilidis again puts it, power “lets biopolitical forces express themselves and, at the same time, canalizes them, defining *a posteriori* borders (which, one should not forget, are simultaneously also prerequisites)” (Gavriilidis 2006: 6).

2. Workers and producers

As the previous section argued, producing subjects are integral with social production and its wielding of affective labour. The proliferation of subjectivities and the increasingly cognitive nature of labour in the biopolitical city have tended to eclipse traditional collectives, class affiliation, and workers representation. Yet it is important to acknowledge that not everyone has become or is becoming a cognitive worker, or that these workers are any less caught in exploitive economic structures. As Jennifer Cotter argues:

[C]ontrary to the claims of digital [and immaterial] movements which displace “labor” with “knowledge” and “services” as the basis of “value” in capitalism, there has not been a fundamental transformation in wage-labor/capital relations or the fact that profit is the product of the theft of the surplus-labor of all productive workers, regardless of race, gender, sexuality, nationality, etc. (Cotter 2008)

To understand the nature of this on-going appropriation of surplus-labour, and to conceive emancipatory strategies, it is necessary to attempt a variant typology of individual producers and political subjects, for despite the general erosion of traditional collectives, commonalities and interests persist. This section considers the most prevalent of actors maintained by the biopolitical city. Although they are closely linked, each characterisation highlights a different focus, identifying specific features associated with the contemporary productive mechanisms of the urban factory.

a. The precariat

Firstly, as Guy Standing (2011) describes, there is a distinctive socio-economic group of persons precariously precluded from the economic agency. The term he uses to describe this aggregate of persons is “the precariat”, a neologism that combines the adjective ‘precarious’ and the noun ‘proletariat’. According to Standing, class has not disappeared, for even if the world has moved towards a flexible labour market, inequalities have grown. What emerges instead is “a more fragmented global class structure” (Standing 2011: 7). Hence, the precariat is a “class-in-the-making”, one consisting of people “who have minimal trust relationships with capital or the state” (Standing 2011: 8). Further, the precariat cannot rely on the older

underpinnings of the welfare state and “has none of the social contract relationships of the proletariat, whereby labour securities were provided in exchange for subordination and contingent loyalty” (Standing 2011: 8). For Standing, while the precariat remain for now a complex and vague group, questions of class struggle underpin their constitution.

b. The virtual class vs a cognitariat

Secondly, as Franco (Bifo) Berardi (2009) has identified, a key post-Fordist labourer is the info-worker or technician engaged in knowledge production and circulation. Mobilisers of semiotic flows, these info-labourers work the digital interfaces of the social factory, posing images of happiness perpetually beyond reach. As such for Berardi, “the social factory has become the factory of unhappiness: the assembly line of networked production is directly exploiting the emotional energy of the cognitive class” (Berardi 2009: 90-92). Equally, info-workers, while sharing in the deferred promise of (virtual) happiness, experience a diminution of corporeality. As a “virtual class” – a class without substantive identification or material, collective expression or representation – they collectively lack social corporeal substance. For Berardi, what is needed is a recognition of this de-corporealised condition and the development of a concerted solidarity latent in the mental labour of the biopolitical city – the becoming-substantive of a cognitariat (Berardi 2009: 104-105).

c. Creative class

Thirdly, as Richard Florida (2002) has proposed, a particularly poignant actor-group in the neo-liberal drama is the “Creative Class” – comprising workers rich in knowledge associated with design and broadly defined, creative endeavour. The distinguishing characteristic of the creative class is that its members engage in work whose function is to “create meaningful new forms” (Florida 2002: 38). This class has two distinct constituencies: the “super-creative core” which includes scientists, engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects, as well as the thought leadership of modern society (writers, editors, cultural figures, and more); and the “creative professionals”, who work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries, such as high tech, financial services, legal and health care professions and business management. In Florida’s view, this group of workers are economically highly valuable and depend on particular urban conditions – places of social gregariousness and networked ease, places, that is, where talent, technology, and tolerance are drawn into close and comfortable proximity. Yet despite Florida’s appeal to the primacy of the creative class, he misses a key factor in post-Fordist, affective labour – a bifurcation in the apparently affluent creative worker, one that sees the promise of secure tenure of employment on one hand, pitted against short-term and tenuous conditions of engagement on the other. Increasingly it is the latter that is favoured by the creative industries with the consequence of a growing “proletarianisation” within creative work – a disenfranchisement that brings the creative class into proximity with the precariat (Hesmondhalgh 2012: 69).

d. Multitude

Fourthly, Negri and Hardt offer a depiction of an ontologically specific, counter-social body apposite to the biopolitical city – the multitude. Rather than a class *per se*, the multitude for Negri and Hardt composes the metropolitan productive, collective “social body” *par excellence* (Hardt & Negri 2009: 254-255). At once singular and multiple, it forms the very

precondition for a commons, one that despite a plethora of interests, desires and affectual relations, holds together without social contract or unifying bond. Free of a “unity-in-consensus” (Thacker 2004), the multitude’s aims and interests are co-axial, running along side by side according to tangential, networked lines of flight that self-organise. As Negri and Hardt describe the collectivity that results:

The common is both material, rooted in the ongoing contestation over the production of “life,” and (because of this) affective and experiential. But the multitude’s self-organization does not automatically imply self-governance. What underlies both is [...] the fundamental relationality -- or connectivity -- of bodies, affects, and subjects. (Hardt & Negri 2009: 254-255)

The multitude, with its strong relation to the commons, introduces novel characteristics into biopolitical production, and producers’ agency. Thus, the multitude has the capacity to play a vital role in any reconsideration of production, for which design and immaterial labour are hegemonic.

e. Is class agency possible?

While the above descriptions indicate particular groupings of subject/worker-types, the question remains: do they have the potential to act as coherent or consolidated classes? Moreover, can the concept of class itself usefully intervene in contemporary struggles around labour, production and the biopolitical shaping of life? In other words, can class still be understood as an organisational strategy capable of intervening in the political sphere? What the above descriptions make possible is recognition of how labour and production constitute common interests in the biopolitical city. At stake is the ability of producers to claim back the value of their productive endeavour. Framing ‘workers’ this way serves to identify a raft of common interests submerged in the means of production. Currently, cognitive workers have the possibility to possess the means of immaterial production, and progressively perhaps, even of material production. Potentiated by the re-appropriation of the means of production is a shift from older forms of workers’ exploitation, to new forms of collective management, ownership and circulation of the products of the biopolitical city. Rather than class division, post-Fordist labour may find common cause and measure in the production of an all-encompassing life sphere, a sphere finding greater representational validity today in the commons and its multitude.

3. Re-addressing production and creativity within the factory

The assertion that the metropolis is the key post-Fordist site of production, and yet the metropolitan multitude constitutes a social body in excess of post-Fordist info-workers, is made more profound given the ways in which production is increasingly linked to creativity. On one hand, recent theories on city creativity have emphasised the role of the creative human capital for the competitiveness of the cities (Florida 2002: 11), and the urban transformations invoked by creative forces within the metropolitan system (Zukin 2010: 17). On the other hand, the emergence of the entrepreneurial,

creative worker as a dominant figure in the cognitive, immaterial domain (Lazzarato 2006: 133) shows up as a figure dependent on ecosystems of collaboration, networking, and distribution within the urban factory.

a. Urban antagonism and the informal creative economy

The biopolitical production and affective labour framed above sets in play enhanced competitive pressures between cities, not only at the level of their economic power and productive capacity, but at the level of their symbolic capital – in other words, at the level of their imagined cultural and historical prestige. David Harvey links this development with post-Fordism, flexible specialisation, globalisation, and the collapse of the post-war socio-political settlement (Harvey 2002: 97). A new economic and social order has emerged, one organised around consumer markets in symbolic goods (for example clothes, cars, food, music, art, etc.), which respond to new forms of social distinction and identity. Harvey sees this as a “cultural fix”, one worked out particularly at the level of the city where spectacles, festivals, shopping experiences, and ethnic food quarters transform the derelict industrial places of the developed world into centres of up-market cultural consumption.

Recognising the implicitly uneven geographical development of capitalism, Harvey points to the significance of mechanisms like monopoly rent – a circumstance arising when “one exclusively controls some special quality, resource, commodity or location and can therefore extract rent from others” or uses marketing and advertising to create a sense of uniqueness exploitable through rent (Harvey 2002: 94). As capitalism reduces spatial barriers through innovations and investments in transport and communications, many local industries and services lose their local protections and monopoly privileges. In response, cities are forced to compete internationally at the level of their unique identities – what Harvey refers to as their “marks of distinction” – rather than according to the products they produce. The uniqueness and authenticity of local culture, heritage, and tradition are more and more entangled with attempts to reassert a symbolic monopoly based on non-replicable conditions. In this way cultural and creative industries are routinely drawn into convergence with place-specific characteristics to better assert internationally addressed “marks of distinction” (Scott 2000: 11). As Allen Scott notes, tying product brands to the monopoly powers of place-identity is often a precondition for their success globally (Scott 2000: 11). So complex is this intertwining that, as Harvey (2002) puts it, one cannot be sure whether this tendency should be attributed to an ongoing “commodification of culture” or a “culturalization of capitalism”.

Cities, given their ability to process knowledge and manipulate symbols, are becoming the new global economic powerhouses. Further, competition is developing not only between cities (and regions), but also within the same city (or region). Given the culturalisation of cities, specific urban areas are becoming more attractive to creative workers than others due to their special characteristics and perceived sense of authenticity (Zukin 2010: 15). Place, as a privileged locus of culture and image, becomes for them the field in which they build their social relationships and from which they draw symbolic value to incorporate into the self-brand and the brands for what they produce. Yet this process of symbolic agglomeration in specific urban areas is far from a friction-less process, as gentrification in fact erodes authenticity, transforming neglected places into happily consumed homogeneous ones. As Susan Sassen puts it, “We are becoming a planet of urban glamour zones and urban slums” (Sassen 2007: 6) – a dichotomy that has come to starkly replace an older tension between suburbs and city centres.

Creative workers themselves also become “marks of distinction” both for specific areas within cities and for whole cities internationally. Florida in fact captures this neoliberal transformation of city spaces with his “Creativity index” (Florida 2002: 253), a measure seeking to describe concentrations of talent, technology and tolerance, themselves taken as preconditions for social and economic prosperity in cities. Another less neo-liberally assimilative approach is found in Harvey’s theory of the collective symbolic capital which questions, rather than seeks to expand, the types of collective immaterial value and desire produced with urban place-branding (Harvey 2002: 102). In fact for Harvey, the conglomeration of creative informal workers and the creative ecosystems they compose has a multiplier effect and value in excess of the professionalisation of city places. As Sassen similarly sees it, “urban knowledge capital” enables an unforeseen and unplanned mix of expertise and talent, which can produce a higher order of information (Sassen 2009: 56). Hence, from the perspective of creative ecosystems - as opposed to the dominant theories of the creative industries - at stake is more than measurable economic activities composing a city’s economic capital; what can be seen are a plethora of divergent, yet co-cooperative, creative and productive relationships diffused throughout the urban factory.

b. Creative workers developing ecosystems

The entrepreneurial workers/citizens of the urban factory contribute to what Sassen sees as a specialised and networked “urban economic creativity”. Agglomeration and networking play an essential role in the creative workers’ professional evolution. Hesmondhalgh accepts this position yet refers to this “obligation to network” in a negative way as a force that threatens creative autonomy (Hesmondhalgh 2012: 171). The key issue remains that networking is still linked to a specific place and the physical co-presence of involved parties. This explains why creative workers still need a specific urban location to work despite their work increasingly being globalised and digitised. What these locations provide is density and centrality, critical factors for social connectivity, proximity to customers, and for contracting and subcontracting chains.

Given the discussion of the hegemony of immaterial production above, knowledge itself can be seen to have become a key component of the organisational cycles of labour. Further formed is a specialised relationship between knowledge and design, the latter being a decisive factor driving creative labour. Nevertheless, digital design tools are themselves changing, making possible smarter, parametric tools with simpler interfaces. The relationship between knowledge and design is being blurred and transformed. The implications of this condition are increasingly challenging authorities, while favouring user’s involvement and expert-user collaboration. By these accounts, new design processes and construction practices demand greater user participation and co-operation, openness, ad hoc customisation of designed objects, an awareness of the interrelatedness of design decisions, plus new types of performance and efficiency of design products. These imperatives diversely dispersed across the fabric of the urban factory constitute the *sui generis* complexity of the urban order.

Epilogue: towards the production of designing commons

Given this radically different way of living implied in the urban commons,

one is unavoidably called on to interpret the relationships between productivity and creativity. Currently, what is being observed is an overturning of their traditional distinction and opposition – with creativity being associated with the notion of joy, accomplishment, achievement, and productivity with efficiency, rationality, and profitability. In the present state, creativity operates as an enhancement of productivity. In other words, the former extends the capacity of the latter, capitalising further on the minds and souls of a networked populace. Based on this, one potential aim would be to redefine what emancipated human capital could be if not captured in regimes of alienation. If the product of contemporary, cognitive labour, namely design, were to be understood in terms of the commons, the tension could be shifted from authorship to co-authorship. Then, the dissolution of authority into collaborative and collective processes would become responsible for setting rules, regulations, parameters, and not specific and finalised layouts. Hence the abovementioned design procedures would provide the preconditions for the multitude to appear.

As one of the emerging forces of production, design becomes explicitly interdisciplinary, even from the beginnings of a design problem. The expert-user distinction comes apart, with users being more and more able to develop and materialise their own designs, without mediation and advocacy or, perhaps, within pre-established boundaries of freedom of thought and decisions. With procedures and roles transforming, designers face a generative complexity – an unstable process of design and networked responsibilities. Whether aware of it or not, they themselves are drawn into a common, productive multitude: a non-homogeneous productive class of workers. What new tendencies and possibilities appearing in design seem to be indicating are that “a low tech-knowledge intensive collaborative perspective” (Papalexopoulos 2011: 1) will lead to a digitally-driven horizontal re-politicisation of design and creativity. This new type of design, understood in terms of the commons, has the potential of establishing new grounds for solidarity, social participation, and creative disagreement in collaboration.

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Concrete drawing: Intra-active potentials in drawing, objects, and urbanity

Simon Twose

In designing built space, a series of material engagements impress themselves on the process. Desires and hopes find shape in the virtual forming of space, and in this drawing, or drawing out, the implacable scale and substance of building acquires ambiguous presence. This merging of tacit and concrete characteristics gives a way of understanding built contexts, such as cities, through the lens of design. This paper proposes the *Concrete Drawing* as a means of grappling with such a confluence. It suggests that designing and urbanity impress on one another; they are, to paraphrase Barad (2007), entangled, inseparable and intra-acting. This points to the city as having the restless potentiality of drawing.



Fig. 1
Simon Twose (2015). *Concrete Drawing* [Helicon image with combined focal points; photo: Paul Hillier].

Commonly understood, building binds with architectural drawing through imaginative projection: a plan can reveal spaces that are grand or mean, oppressive or uplifting. In drawing, this understanding of the affective consequence of built objects mixes with other, parallel gestures; the stretch and pull of a mouse on a digitally created surface, for instance, or the rotation of a model in the hand. In architectural drawing these two presences intra-act; building's implacable mass is imaginatively paired with drawing's delicate material feedback, the two combining in what Jean-Luc Nancy (2013) describes as a "formative force", shaping the drawing and consequently the built object. This co-presence of two forceful aesthetic agents allows inanimate things in both building and drawing to have agency in the design process. A concrete wall, for instance, impresses itself as a massive element at the same time as being an ephemeral line on a screen. The forcefulness of things, both drawn and built, is what *Concrete Drawing* sought to explore and what this visual submission elaborates. The project aims for an architecture of *unfinished-ness* and potentiality - neither drawing nor building, but an object that hovers between both.

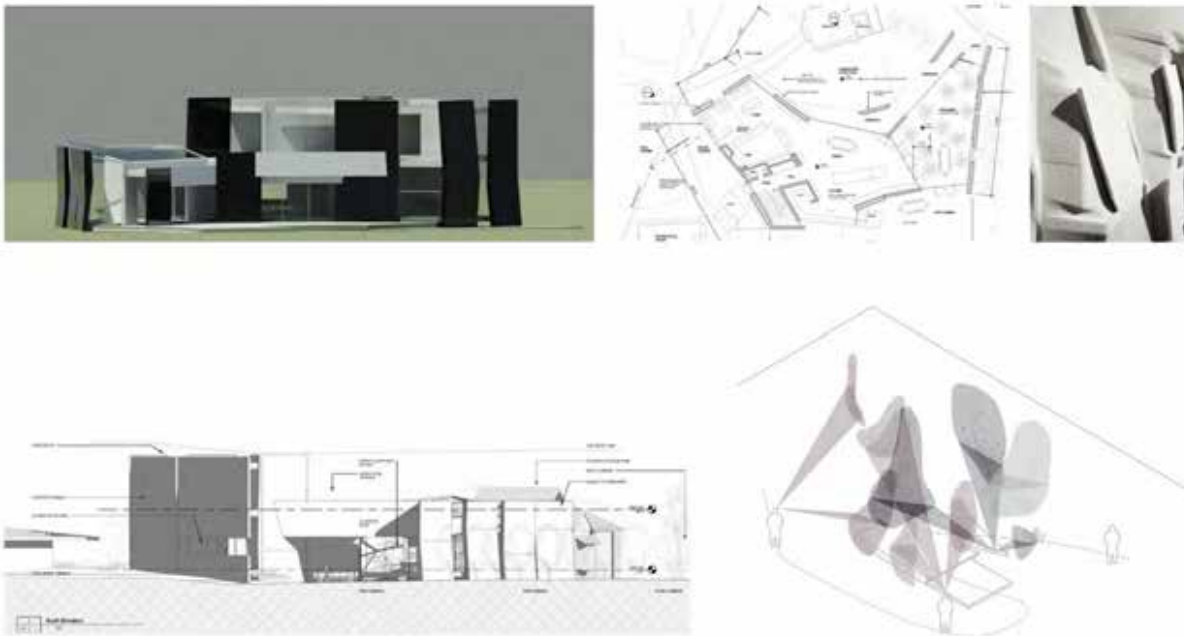


Fig. 2

Simon Twose (2015). *Concrete Drawing* [1:20 model of wall surface extracted from Te Horo House design, CNC model in Kauri, 1mm bit and 0.5mm linear passes; images: Simon Twose, Paul Hillier].

Concrete Drawing takes one wall from the Te Horo house, an unbuilt project on a rock-strewn site on the Kapiti coast, and draws it at full scale using one of its proposed construction materials. The wall/drawing measures eight metres by three and is cast as two metric tonnes of concrete. The design for the Te Horo house entailed large concrete walls being brought into compositional equilibrium according to site dynamics and a complex domestic brief. *Concrete Drawing* extends this interest in the play between objects and inhabitation through tracking more intimate dynamics within designing. The Te Horo house is an ongoing research project and the aesthetic results of the *Concrete Drawing* will feed back into the design with the intention of jolting or shifting it into other forms.

Concrete Drawing was exhibited at the Adam Art Gallery in a show titled "Drawing Is/Not Building", which ran during April 24 – June 28, 2015.



Fig. 3

Simon Twose (2009). Te Horo House [Unbuilt design showing dynamic composition of concrete walls and detail explorations, Revit renders and drawings, Rhinoceros drawings and 1:1 plaster castings; images: Simon Twose].

The surface of the *Concrete Drawing* is marked with 300 smaller-scale versions of the same wall surface, arrayed into constellations. These little walls swarm over their larger sibling in various orientations and attitudes, depending on which point in space they are oriented to. Viewers who happen on these points see clusters of miniature walls solely in edge-on view or, in other clusters, frontally. The wall surface is so designed to actively engage viewers as they move around it, drawing them in through the discovery of various points of alignment. These smaller-scaled walls allude to viewing models used while designing, i.e., objects turned in one's hands to assess their aesthetic merit. The constellations of small-scale objects pucker the larger surface, which is a kind of record of their dynamic positioning. As such, they push and distort the larger surface in a plastic way that belies its solidity. Further, these constellations of tiny walls are arrayed as if they were being rotated by hand, except in this case the walls are fixed and rely on the viewer's movement to disclose their rounded complexity.



Fig. 4
Simon Twose (2014). Te Horo House [Exploratory models, UP printed models; Photo: Paul Hillier].”

The *Concrete Drawing* draws out the material and non-material dynamics shaping its surface, a process entailing several iterations of digital drawing and prototyping. *Concrete Drawing* has been designed in analogue and digital media, and is cast in concrete in forty panels using moulds routed from a CNC (computer numerical control) machine. The completed wall surface has been extensively recorded through photography and digital 3D scanning, which returns the built object to the realm of representation so that its built presence can be fed back into the design process. The project is intended to be a concrete record of engagement: an interplay between small-scale objects, the weightless plasticity of digital drawing and the implacable presence of the built.

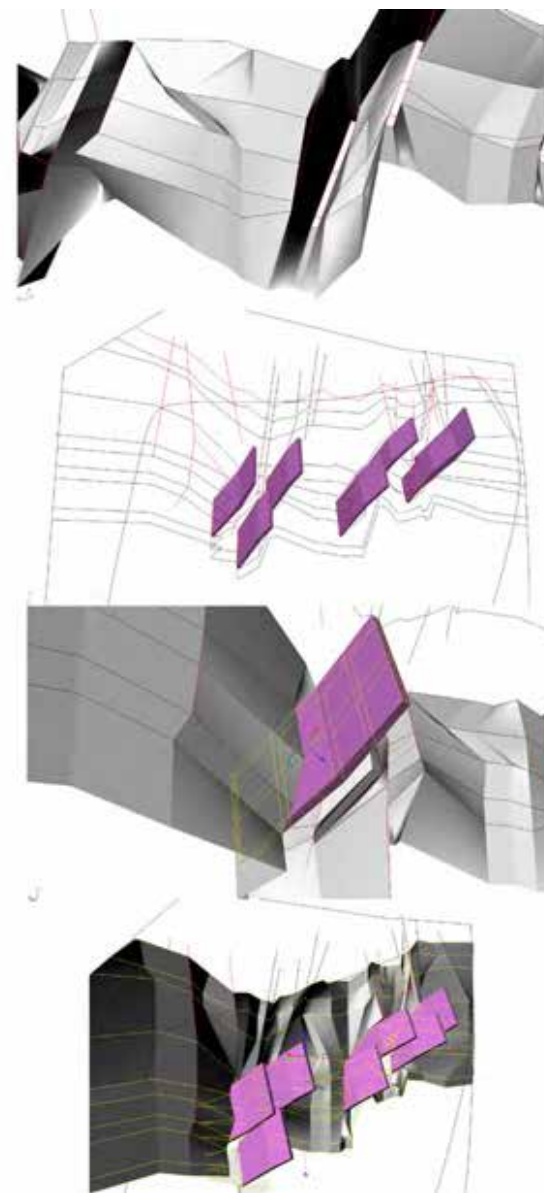


Fig. 5
Simon Twose (2014). *Concrete Drawing* [Development of wall surface in Rhinoceros; images, Simon Twose, Declan Burn].”

Concrete Drawing picks up on many contemporary threads. It locates itself within the context of a great deal of work in the humanities which looks at the intricate mix of human and material agency - something specifically theorised by such thinkers as Karan Barad (2007) and Bill Brown (2004). In much of this thinking, objects are argued to be aesthetic/affective agents in their own right, things at once alluring and incomprehensible, orientating and withdrawn. *Concrete Drawing* draws on these theoretical speculations, but it is not a project intending to be illustrative of them or deriving conceptually authority from them. It is a built experiment that explores ideas through spatial and material means, and, as such, the results are bound in to the object, in part as an un-recordable atmosphere of strangeness.

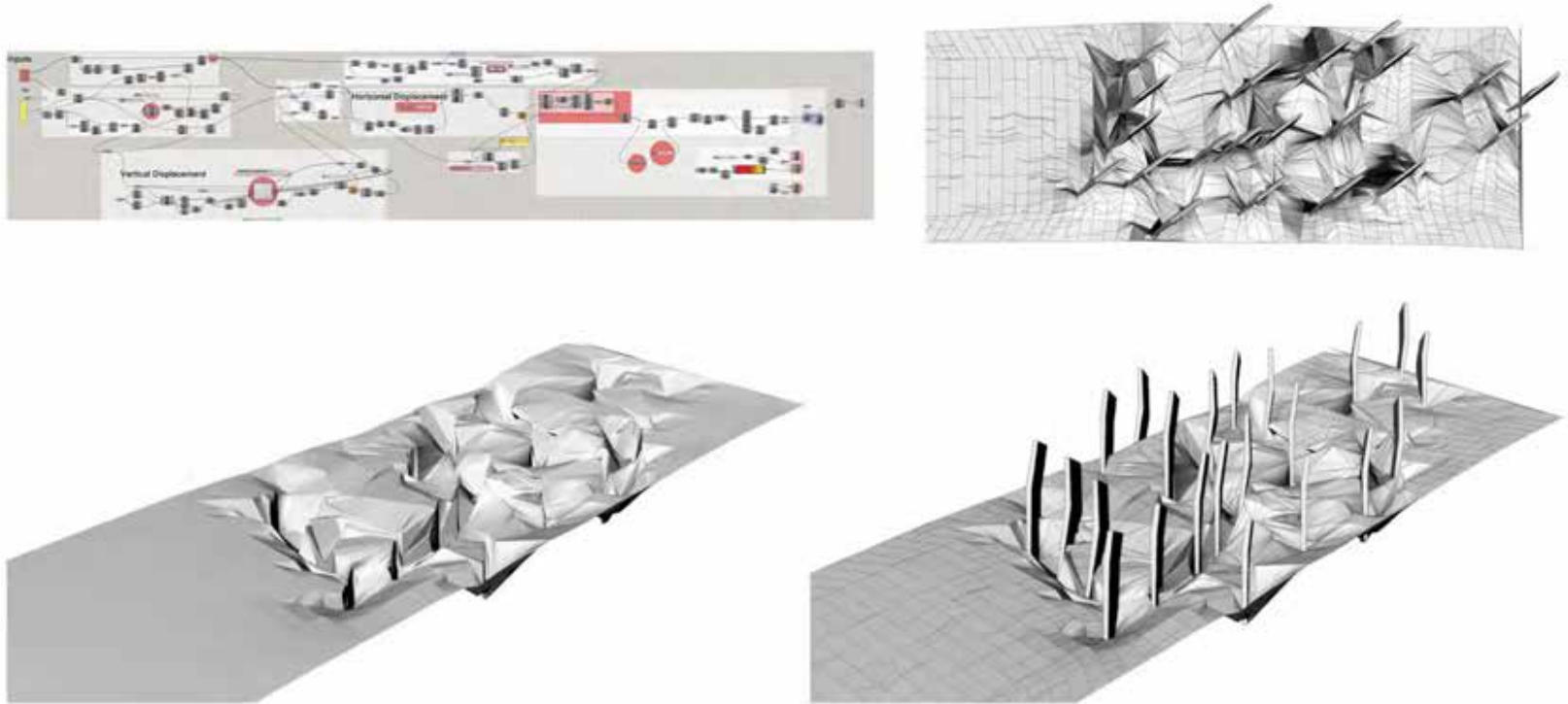


Fig. 6
Simon Twose (2015). *Concrete Drawing* [Helicon Images with shifting focal points, animation stills, Drawing Is/Not Building, Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, Victoria University of Wellington; images: Paul Hillier].”

Concrete Drawing further draws on a great deal of work from the early nineties, when drawing was understood as both a critical activity and coded in parallel with language. The early work of Peter Eisenman has clear resonances both visually - in the fractured forms of some of his early work like the Rebstock Park Masterplan for instance (Carpo 2014: 260) - and in terms of the procedural methodology where drawing was a primary tool for intellectual speculation. However, *Concrete Drawing* departs from the work of early Eisenman, for rather than pursuing understandings solely framed in representational, linguistic terms, it attempts to discover other contingent and non-representational understandings given through the immediacy of humans and thing, but also drawings and buildings.

Lastly, *Concrete Drawing* arises via an iterative design process that puts material engagement centre stage to better distil potentialities in drawing, object and, by extension, the city. It is a speculative work and as such problematises as much as concludes, but the results are thus: the various design entanglements between objects, materials, scales and subjects parallel those of built things, and point to new designs for the city, where urban objects are aesthetic agents in drawing and, as such, authors in the potentiality of their forming.

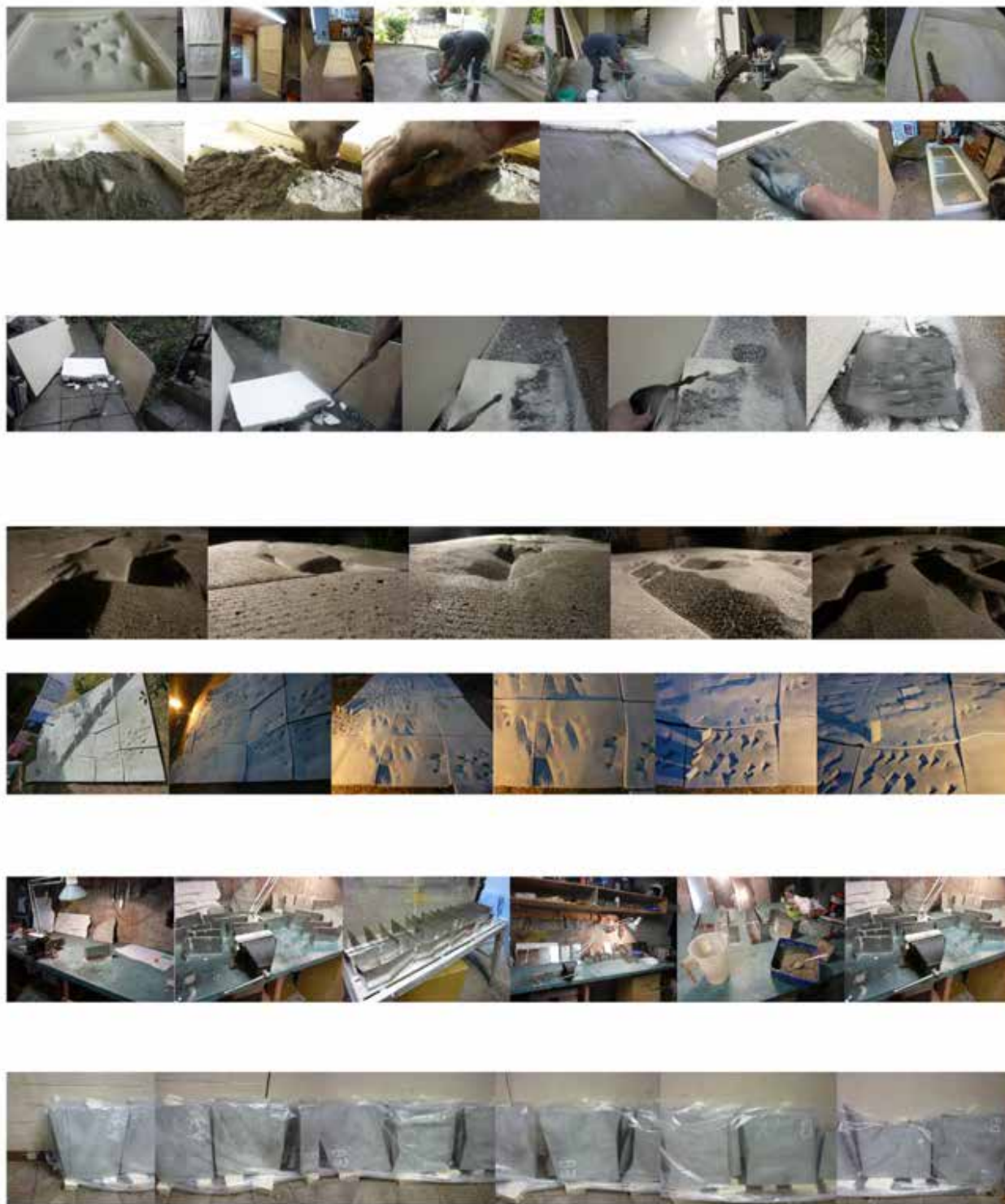


Fig. 7
 Simon Twose (2014). Concrete Drawing [Development of wall surface in Grasshopper; images, Simon Twose, Declan Burn].



Fig. 8
Simon Twose (2015). Concrete Drawing [Patterns, forms, scale shifts in the making of Concrete Drawing, XPS, concrete, water, stainless steel, wax, plaster; photos, Simon Twose].



Fig. 9
Simon Twose (2015). Concrete Drawing [Installation view in the Lower Chartwell Gallery in the exhibition Drawing Is/Not Building, Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, Victoria University of Wellington; photo: Shaun Waugh].



Fig. 10
Simon Twose (2015). Concrete Drawing [Detail view of installation, Drawing Is/Not Building, Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, Victoria University of Wellington; photo: Shaun Waugh].



Fig. 11
Simon Twose (2015). Concrete Drawing [Detail view of installation, Drawing Is/Not Building, Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, Victoria University of Wellington; photo: Shaun Waugh].



Fig. 12
Simon Twose (2015). Concrete Drawing [Detail view of installation, Drawing Is/ Not Building, Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, Victoria University of Wellington; photo: Shaun Waugh].



Fig. 13
Simon Twose (2015). Concrete Drawing [Detail view of small scale concrete walls and surface, Drawing Is/Not Building, Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, Victoria University of Wellington; photo: Paul Hillier].



Fig. 14
Simon Twose (2015). Concrete Drawing [viewer engaging with installation, video still, Drawing Is/Not Building, Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, Victoria University of Wellington; photo: Tom Ryan].

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Augmenting The Bench

Carola Moujan

Introduction

The possibility of coupling material objects and data opens up new perspectives in street furniture design. Many cities throughout the world are undertaking full-scale experiments so as to define and grasp the role and function of a new kind of public equipment. This equipment is expected to improve living environments with new qualities and functions made possible by technological advances. Augmented reality, situated media, orientation services, and other information-oriented displays are among the most common forms taken up by city-makers — their deployment within the city however, is not without issues. This paper argues that the technology-driven, content-oriented, screen-based paradigms that underpin most devices today overshadow more powerful and productive design approaches. Displacing the focus from content to relationships, and through the case of *Luciole* – a network of augmented public benches – I will consider under which conditions digitally augmented furniture can support place-making practices, expanding them in forms that are both novel and authentic.

The first issue stems from the assumption that by adding digital information into a physical location, the place itself is automatically improved and affirmed. This correlation does not take into account a most basic requirement in any sustainable urban policy: place-making. In their seminal work *Body, Memory and Architecture*, architects Kent Bloomer and Charles Moore describe “placeness” as a distinctive quality present in some spaces that is not defined by physical dimensions, services or functional attributes alone, but rather by its capacity to remain itself in spite of the variation of its parts (Bloomer & Moore 1977: 107). More recently, Jeff Malpas has further developed the dynamic and productive value of such place-inherency, stressing “the content or character that belongs to place is also such that it encompasses that which is present within it” (Malpas 2015:4). This proposition suggests that an inquiry is needed into the relationship between information and placeness. Moreover, it causes me to ask: in what ways can information contribute to, enhance, or even generate, feelings of “being there” as a characteristic of true place experience?

A second issue concerns the role of screens as material objects. Since information-oriented services require displays of various sorts, and because there is growing demand for information-rich environments, screen-presence is on the increase within urban landscapes. Two questions arise here: firstly, are generic screens adequate for urban place-qualities? and secondly, given that screens have typically been developed in the context of interior spaces – rather than being shaped by urban practices and functions like mailboxes, benches, light poles, and other traditional street furniture – what form should the distribution of digital information take? At stake in urban situations is loss of coherency built up over time, but also that such devices assume the form of advertising screens thereby adding to the apparent commercialisation of urban place. The recently renovated Saint-Lazare station in Paris illustrates exactly this problem. Opened in 1837, the station had remained mostly unchanged since the 1970s, when the first commercial area was created below the *Salle des pas perdus*, the station’s main hall. In 2003, the railway company undertook a vast transformation meant to last until 2012 that included a full reprogramming of the *Salle des pas perdus*, which itself became a shopping area. The new commercially orientated [station] design incorporates a dense number of advertising screens that tend to overwhelm the legibility of the original built form. The markers of ‘station’ as an identifiable place become difficult to ascertain. In his popular blog, French artist, developer, and teacher Jean-Noël Montagné reports being accosted by a woman, visibly distressed, presumably late to catch her train, desperately asking where the station was, “because here, we are in a kind of shopping centre, right?”¹ Whilst such confusion is unlikely to persist as populations become accustomed to this new commercial station typology, the situation highlights the erosion of a station’s transitional space and begs the question: how many screens can a space hold without sacrificing its identity entirely?

Beyond private appropriation of the public realm is the accumulative cluttering, and redundancy of objects. Implementing new screen-based services often means removing older equipment, yet what is to be removed in order to make the necessary space is crucial. While dislodging static maps or obsolete phone booths does not meet much resistance, the progressive disappearance of public benches raises much concern.² In the 21st-century

city, the smartphone has taken the place of public phones and printed maps. But this functional advantage can come at the price of isolation; after all, asking strangers for directions, or queuing to make a call was often the starting point of interpersonal exchange. However, I am not suggesting that we should go back to the previous state of things; rather, I am gesturing towards a framing of digital augmentation that does not automatically imply addition (of services, content, surveillance...) but considers removal, in the sense of ‘making room’ for something meaningful to happen.

Because of the close alignment between digital billboards and outdoor advertising, there is a tendency to associate all screen-based services in such situations with advertising surface. It was the case during the experimentation of *nAutreville*, a full-scale augmented reality panel presented within the MUI program conducted by the city of Paris in 2012, to which I contributed as a member of the design team.³ As we discussed the project with local users, I was struck by the distrust expressed by many neighbourhood residents despite the device containing no advertising at all. In my design work, I had been focusing mainly on content structure, information architecture and interaction principles, but users’ reactions made me realise that there might be an issue with the screen itself, no matter how engaging the content and refined the interface. The problem here seems to be a global advertising overload that citizens are beginning to reject, and the fact that digital urban screens seem to almost inevitably include commercial messages. Reducing the issue to the sole critique of merchandising, however, would make us fall back into the content-based framing from which I am trying to depart.⁴



Fig. 1 Scribbling on advertising poster for the MUI program, reading ‘Stop! The street is crowded enough already’. [Photo: Maria Laura Méndez-Martén, 2012, Paris]

If we envision the notion of ‘digital augmentation’ as content, we cannot break away from the screen-based paradigm. But I am not suggesting that any use of screens in urban space leads to an impoverishing experience. Projects such as *Urban Echo* by LustiLab (2006), where an array of cameras and screens located in different neighbourhoods across the city enable accidental encounters of a new form (as passers-by happen to cross each other in a sort of digital limbo), offers a good example of meaningful use. The aesthetic power of the project does not derive from telematics as a technical possibility, but instead, and significantly, from the uncanny feeling of continuity induced by the ‘screen-within-the-screen’ effect, which effectively triggers a feeling of spatial extension.⁵

From a theoretical standpoint, many authors⁶ have pointed out the new spatial possibilities opened up by screen technologies, yet this paper questions the formalities of the screen-centred design and asks: is it possible to think of digital design without screens? What does it imply for design practice? How would this modify the way we envision augmentation and, more generally, the experience of urban space? Returning to the point that digital urban furniture is driven by an assumption that places can be improved with access to more “information”, the screen-based paradigm reveals something of a blind spot in the way we envision digital urban interaction today. Here I ask how information threads, maps, notifications from social media, etc. affirm the feeling of place-connection or “being there”. Following Heidegger’s *Dasein*, French philosopher Henri Maldiney notes that the time and place of the aesthetic experience is always ‘here and now’. An aesthetic experience is an event, which, as such, does not *happen in time, but founds time*. For Maldiney, when the question of being *in* the world meets that of *being the world*, the issue is not to gather information *about* it, but to exist with it and within it, “to be co-born” [co-naître]⁷ with it. Can we consider then that, the digital information is present, but in a different sense, “the primitive, most concrete sense of the word, where ‘to inform’ does not mean to ‘transmit knowledge’ but instead, to ‘give form’” (Maldiney, 1986: 27). *Information as content*, and *information as structure* can be distinguished as formerly a focus on components, and latterly as potential to trigger and orient processes. Embracing this distinction informs design as a discipline beyond material shaping and specific problem solving towards designing places by way of structuring underlying forces of a given situation in order to enable an emergence of augmented urban forms and relations. How then do these digital information technologies contribute to ‘give form’ to place? Further, to adapt Joseph Rykwert’s proposition, what if the goal of urban design is to “find some place in all this space” (Rykwert 2002: 3)? As such, the value of digital augmentation in the urban realm (for example digitally augmented urban furniture), ought to be considered *placeformation* rather than information. Such a distinction asserts the difference between a technical object and an aesthetic experience, thus making explicit the specificity and importance of design beyond function or service.

Dis-placing the Digital: From Interface to Interspace

In his influential essay *Hertzian Tales*, British designer and theorist Anthony Dunne defends, through the concept of *post-optimal object*, a vision where the design of digital and electronic objects “facilitate[s] more poetic modes of inhabitation” (Dunne 2006: 20). First published in 1999, Dunne’s essay directly opposes the dominant ethics of “user-friendliness” and suggests, following Adorno, that “user-unfriendliness” (which is not to be confused with user-hostility), is essential in any aesthetic experience (Dunne 2006: 35-36). Whilst Dunne’s work has catalysed interesting design work, what he terms post-optimal objects are still focused on entities, not experiences. Heidegger’s distinction between objects and things helps in the consideration of digital augmentation of public space. A *thing* implies all the links that exists between beings, while an *object* is an abstraction, something considered independently from any environment. To think past the technologically grounded ‘optimal object’ (i.e., an object understood as functionality and practicality optimal), but still deploy Dunne’s emphasis on aesthetics, we need to understand where the precise distinction between an aesthetic object and a technical one lies. Gilbert Simondon has discussed this difference in terms of relationships, more precisely, in terms of qualities of inscription within the world, showing that the kind of abstract framing that considers ‘objects’ instead of ‘things’ is typical of technical activity. The fact that a given system performs steadily regardless of context is precisely what characterises a good technical object (Simondon 1958:

183). However technical performance alone offers little to the life in public places. Design, as not solely a problem-solving activity, but an aesthetic one, must articulate the relationships between any technological system and its environment so that “it is no longer the object that is perceived, but the world, [itself] polarised in such a way that the situation makes sense” (Simondon 1989: 89).

Similarly, Tim Ingold has described places as “complex knots” where multiple lines of life meet: “lines are bound together *in* the knot, but they are not bound *by* it” (Ingold 2007: 100). In contrast with the abstract, pre-determined framing described by Simondon for technical activity, Ingold’s emphasis on preposition suggests a mode of relationship that springs from intrinsic, dynamic, spontaneous encounters. To consider places as things, then, implies taking into account the multiple lines that meet there from the perspective of their inter-relationships - to envision them not as always available, ready-made experiences, but instead, as *events* that emerge at a particular location at a given time.

Consequently, and despite current terminology, adding information, digital services, equipment, wifi access or free terminals to a physical setting does not automatically augment nor consequently improve urban place. There appears to be confusion between “augmentation” and “addition”; two concepts that fundamentally differ in nature. The term “augmentation” expresses a *qualitative improvement* that is not dependent on addition, which is a *quantitative* notion. Leaning on Simondon’s distinction between technical and aesthetic activities, we can envision augmentation as a form of polarisation of space through design, and where an initially chaotic, undifferentiated condition shifts towards a spatial event that I have called *interspace* [*entr’espace*]. An interface is a technical word referring to an object that provides access to, and navigation through, heterogeneous layers of information. Within this framing, each technological component preserves its own distinctive identity. An *interspace* [*entr’espace*], on the other hand, implies the experience of multiple dimensions co-existing within an *integrated* perception of reality (Moujan 2011, 2014). It is unity that makes the difference between addition and augmentation. While the concept of interface is defined and described in relation to its components (content, hardware, software, user...), the notion of interspace [*entr’espace*] refers to a unique quality that does not come from the parts themselves but, instead, emerges from the complex relationships *between* the parts. “Such relationships produce a new quality, which is ‘design’” (Moholy-Nagy 1947: 42). Thus achieving unity – or what amounts to a meaningful whole despite variation of parts - is precisely the design task. Designers create experiences; and the defining characteristic of an experience is a pervasive, distinctive quality that gives it its name (Dewey, 1934:38). Hence, the concept of interspace [*entr’espace*] is a conceptual tool that steps from the technically grounded terminology that dominates the digital design field. Precisely because of its technical roots, the vocabulary of interface inevitably focuses on components and the physical/digital dualism, using common expressions such as “hybrid space”, “virtual reality”, “interactive art”. But language can be an obstacle to the emergence of novel and authentic forms of augmentation. Making this distinction is not only a matter of conceptual rigor but one of practise; words are tools, design tools. From an interspace [*entr’espace*] perspective, augmenting space is therefore not a question of adding something to a pre-existing base, but rather of setting up a field of tensions sufficient for triggering a spatial event. Much like what happens in an electromagnetic field, within interspaces [*entr’espaces*] components lose their substantial identity, disappear as distinct entities in order to make room for an experience.

The Forces of Origin

How can such event-triggering be achieved? Following Leibniz and Whitehead, Gilles Deleuze (1992 [1988]) notes that an event emerges from chaos provided that some kind of sieve intervenes. The sieve Deleuze refers to can be defined as an agent through which the site’s underlying forces are polarised and directed, allowing the emergence of a singularity, the specific kind of spatial form we name “a place”. Deleuze notes that neither chaos nor the sieve pre-exist each other; rather, chaos is a pure *Many*, a disjunctive multiplicity, that the sieve, described using the image of an electromagnetic field, makes become a singularity. Let us call that sieve, following Walter Benjamin (Benjamin 2003 [1928]), *origin*. Inspired by Husserl, Benjamin’s concept of origin does not relate to a chronological beginning but instead refers to a generative force, a source or cause. The notion of origin can itself be examined through the *place-as-force-field* metaphor. The initial question Husserl considered in *The Origin of Geometry* (1954), is analogous to the one I raised earlier in relation to placeness: what is it that gives geometry its unity in spite of the variation of the component parts? Why do we speak of a singular geometry instead of plural geometries? The concept of origin comes precisely in order to define the source of an active identity, perceptible as a pervasive quality present in the individual parts as well as in the whole - something I referred earlier as being typical of real places. Benjamin (1925) develops the notion further demonstrating that it is in regards to origin that authenticity can be established.

Let us follow the vectors now. In Husserl’s originary geometry, edges are blurred. Proto-geometric shapes are *anexact*, that is, inexact by essence, not by chance. It is because of, and thanks to, their lack of exactness, that there can be *many* geometric shapes within *one* geometry. Deleuze and Guattari critique Husserl’s analysis of anexactness as a primitive, less evolved state of geometry, considering that there is more, not less, in anexact forms than in exact figures. This distinction recalls the one Richard Sennett makes between a border and a boundary. As he notes there are two different kinds of edge: “In Natural ecologies, borders are the zones in a habitat where organisms become more inter-active due to the meeting of different species or physical conditions”. Conversely, “the boundary establishes closure through inactivity, by things petering out, not happening; to say that the edge-as-border is a more open condition means it is more full of events in time.” (Sennett 2010:267). Following this stream of thought, augmenting through design evokes thickening and extension. Extension, notes Deleuze, is the first condition of the event; “[it] exists when one element is stretched over the following ones, such that it is a whole and the following elements are its parts. Such connection of whole-parts forms an infinite series that contains neither a final term nor a limit (the limits of our senses being excepted).” (Deleuze 2006: 87). It is in this sense that a place’s quality or character “encompasses that which is present within it”, as Malpas puts it - or to use Maldiney’s phrase - it “founds time”.⁸ This not only means that potential directions of spatial augmentation derive their source from what is already there rather than external content, but also, that the difference between addition and augmentation is a question of dynamics. Addition amounts to accumulation and is static in nature; on the other hand, augmentation constitutes a form of production – it amasses organically. Through this lens, the concept of place itself appears as a form of augmented space. The idea of a *digitally augmented place*, then, suggests the possibility of further development of a place’s core qualities in novel directions that were unconceivable before. Hence, the notion of origin provides a grounding for a theory of digital augmentation based on

the authenticity of the relationship between the physical location and the extensions triggered by the digital.

We need now to understand how this is done. Quite significantly, and in spite of their numerous disagreements,⁹ both Benjamin (1990) and Heidegger (1993) envision origin through the image of a void, or “making room”. In both cases, productive tension is central. For Benjamin though, destruction is the decisive act of production and is more important than the actual things to come. For Heidegger, instead, the void makes room *for* something, something that dwells, in the context of a symbolically organising fourfold. Whatever interpretation we might choose, it is clear that some form of under-determined openness is required for augmentation, further stressing the idea that content or technology as such have little to do with it. Rather, it is in the sense of “bringing-forth”, of revealing, of opening up, that digital technologies are capable of entering into the event of augmentation. It is also in this sense that design aligns with *techné*. As Heidegger notes, “what is decisive in *techné* does not lie at all in making and manipulating nor in the using of means, but rather in the aforementioned revealing. It is as revealing, and not as manufacturing, that *techné* is a bringing-forth” (Heidegger 1993: 13). Interspace [*entr'espace*] as augmented space, then, comes to existence through revelation rather than construction; what is opened up by it, within it, and through it are a space's underlying forces, potentialities and tensions. Itself an event, it brings forth such qualities, which, structured and polarised, extend over space, colouring it in ways that are both archaic (because they are rooted in origin) and novel (because they did not exist prior to the event of bringing forth).

In-between Placemaking

With their multiple functionalities, news feeds, and alerts, digital objects often drive us away from the unique atmospheres, mystery, and unexpected encounters that make the wealth and delight of urban experiences. Given the above considerations, it warrants asking if it is possible to envision augmented objects that instead reinforce and enhance the capacity of ‘being there’, and, through continuous engagement with the place, expand the objects’ core qualities? In previous articles (Moujan 2014, 2015), I have compared examples of digital augmentation projects based on, and respectful of, origin, with others driven by function, content or technology. The examples were chosen from existing places with well-structured identities; in all those examples, the design challenge was to recognise, respect, connect to, and possibly expand, an existing origin. But what about spaces that are not yet places? Is it possible to build origin *through* digital design? My contention is that, because of the capacity of digital objects to structure urban dynamics, to orient forces, they can act as triggers for new origins. The periphery of many major European cities today offers a particularly fertile field to further examine this issue. Very large urban areas will endure long periods of construction work during which inhabitants will have to adapt to uncomfortable living conditions and loss of known reference points. What will happen with those contexts during transition? Is it possible to envision them as real places, albeit their impermanent nature? To respond to this challenge, most cities rely on communication about the expected results and effects. Such strategies often involve fragments of in-site storytelling, and digital technologies play an important role in this type of initiative (an example being the realistic computer renders printed on worksite's fences that show what the place will look like once the works are finished). Sometimes, more sophisticated representational systems are used. Augmented reality seems particularly suited for this purpose, for it pulls visitors away from the messiness of

the here and now, and projects them into the bright future planners have envisioned. Instead of discussing here the mechanism and value of this type of initiative (something that demands case-by-case analysis), I would like to adapt my own initial question to this particular example and ask whether is it possible at all to use digital technologies to enhance the experience of ‘being there’, while simultaneously transforming and re-defining what “there” means – contrary to projecting users into a different place, in a distant future? Beyond narrative, what other forms of digital place making can be explored?

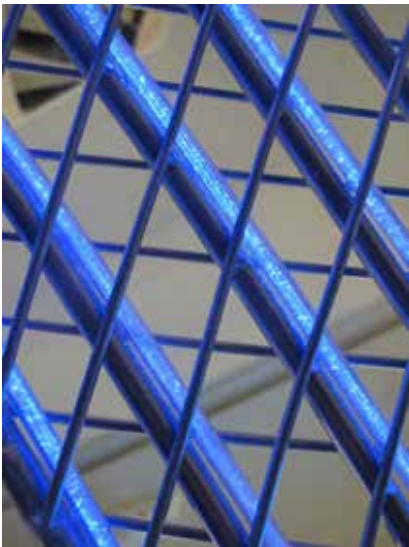
Luciole (French for “firefly”) is a network of reactive, luminous, connected public benches that suggests such a possible alternative. The project was first intended to reinforce the sense of place in misused, neglected or in-transition areas through a network of elements that gather relations and build new ones. Comprised of a metal structure, a cocoon-like seat made of metallic mesh and optic fibre, sensors, an Arduino board, and a light generator, each *Luciole* bench diffuses light and *tweets* in response to its own occupancy as well as that of other benches in the network. Just like fireflies, *Luciole* benches catch the eye, inviting users to engage in a path or to make a stop, triggering new circulation dynamics and poetic atmospheres.



Fig. 2
Luciole. Connected public bench prototype. [Photo: Author, 2015]

In contrast with the imposing form of solid digital screens, *Luciole* has been designed to merge with existing urban contexts. This possibility comes from hollowness (of the benches’ bodies and of the steel mesh that composes

them), combined with the specifics of the materials. Stainless steel reflects and diffuses the light carried by the optic fibre, while the intertwined mesh and fibre complex creates a blurred effect as light variations affect the perceived opacity of the metal. In terms of form, its cocoon-like shape induces feelings of intimacy, making *Luciole* a transitional space, in-between the public and the private. At a local level, each *Luciole* bench responds to sitting and to movement in the immediate surrounding by changing light colour and intensity. On a network level, the benches communicate with each other, sending local messages every time someone sits or leaves, and responding through light modulations. This particular feature, of little practical value, affords firstly, peripheral awareness of other people's presence to convey a diffuse feeling of togetherness and secondarily, a wrapping of users in a luminous halo, particularly valuable at night when illumination is key in transforming a place's atmosphere. Yet during the day, it plays a less apparent role in structuring the experience. Light variations keep users aware and connected to surrounding activities without attracting their direct attention, thus, enabling them to remain free to chat, read, or just relax instead of closing them within the halo of a screen. Simply put, participants can benefit from connectedness without giving up immediate presence.



Figs 3 & 4
Light and material details. [Photos: Author, 2015]

Yet the value of this design may have further to offer on a deeper level; in his canonical essay *Designing Calm Technology* (1996), Mark Weiser wrote that “the most potentially interesting, challenging, and profound change implied by the ubiquitous computing era is a focus on calm”. For Weiser, the key to calm technology lies in the articulation between the centre and the periphery of attention. Broadly misinterpreted at the beginning,

Weiser's theories have regained interest in recent years. His core idea is that if instead of just considering the foreground, we use design to trigger dynamic back-and-forth movement between the centre and periphery of attention, users will be enabled to stay in control and respond by switching focus when necessary. Unlike screen-based devices that continuously rely on direct attention, *Luciole*'s light behaviours are designed to remain diffuse and peripheral until a change in focus is required, thus making it a potentially calming piece of technology.

Because of its collaborative lighting system that responds to occupancy at distance, *Luciole* invites playful and unexpected social interactions. However, many urban encounters come with tension, and frequently anonymity is desired. Often enough, we may even simultaneously desire and reject the idea of being with others, an ambiguity that traditional bench design cannot respond to. But, because of the interaction it affords at various distances, *Luciole* reveals an interstitial dimension of placeness, one where users can connect and take part in a collective activity while still preserving interpersonal distance. Augmentation here brings forth the possibility of taking a seat with someone without actually sharing physical space.

On a larger scale, *Luciole* benches are connected to the internet; after retrieving real-time urban data, they flash lights and tweet context-relevant information such as time remaining until the next tramway reaches the nearest stop, or the number of bikes available for rental, in order to make the most of urban journeys. At the moment *Luciole*'s users are ready to leave, the information they need to make the next move comes into focus. Instead of having to look at a smartphone's screen, information is in the periphery and only reaches the centre of attention when relevant.

Finally, *Luciole*'s tweets, another seemingly useless feature, offers an additional level of interlinking to the experience of sitting in a public place. Tweets constitute a real-time record of a micro-urban atmosphere, the kind of “small” data that adds to the texture of life. *Luciole*'s twitter feed makes visible the rhythm of a place and provides, once again, peripheral information that can become important at some specific moments. A local neighbour, for instance, might want to know whether there are available seats before going down to the park; a researcher studying social dynamics might use the tweets to build data visualisations to figure out activity patterns; passers-by might want to signal their presence so that local Twitter friends can join them... Moreover, *Luciole*'s messages constitute structured data that could potentially be integrated within a larger network. This means envisioning street furniture in terms of ecosystems rather than individual uses or services; or, to put it in another way, to design things, not objects.

Selected through an open call, a first prototype of *Luciole* was built and shown during Lyon City Design Urban Forum, which took place between March 19th and April 2nd, 2015 in Lyon (France) as a part of the Saint Etienne International Design Biennial “off” program. While a longer and rigorously structured study would be necessary to confirm the entire hypothesis, preliminary observations show that users respond very positively to the system. During the event, multiple forms of unexpected appropriation happened, not only in terms of use, but also of body attitudes, which seemed more relaxed and spontaneous than those observed in regular benches. Beyond technological obsession, *Luciole* proposes an interpretation of Dunne's *post-optimal* concept discussed earlier. With a departure from the function and efficiency ideal that rules much digital product design today, *Luciole* explores the poetic possibilities of open data and the Internet of things that might be revealed when used to weave dynamic and delicate relationships between the object and its environment.



Figs 5, 6, 7 & 8
Examples of user appropriation during Lyon City Design Urban Forum. [Photos: by Author, 2015]

Telematic atmospheres

Luciole's telematic principle can be seen as analogous to previous artistic experiences with connected benches. Artist Paul Sermon has been working with telematics since the 1990s, connecting distant people in various ways, often enabled through a specific use of materials that gives his work strong tactile qualities in spite of its visual base. In *Telematic Dreaming* (1992), Sermon uses a customised video-conference system to project the image of each member of a couple of distant lovers onto the other's bed; the irregular and soft surface of the bed dissolves hard edges and overly realistic effects in order to produce a blurred, dreamy atmosphere. In some of his more recent pieces, telematics take the form of "urban encounters", like in *Urban Picnic* (2010), where people in two distant public areas are brought together for a shared meal. The participants' behaviours differ from what one can be used to seeing in a regular picnic. According to Sermon, "the work encouraged visitors to be playful, interacting with others and the environment in a way that they would not otherwise have done".¹⁰

Although both *Luciole* and *Urban Picnic* rely on the ambiguous quality of telepresence as a form of distant proximity to trigger social exchanges that otherwise might not have happened, the meaning of distance differs. In Sermon's projects, participants are separated by considerable distance - the point is, precisely, to be at once somewhere and elsewhere. *Luciole*, in contrast, connects people who, although physically separated, are within visual reach. The goal is not to take participants away from the here and now but, instead, to enhance the feeling of 'being there' through a revealed interspace [*entr'espace*]. Light is not used to *represent* distant presence; the intention instead is to produce a shared visual atmosphere. A sense of togetherness is induced through a sensorial - rather than symbolic - effect.

Perhaps closer to *Luciole* in spirit is *21 balançoires*, a 2011 project by Montreal studio *Daily Tous les Jours*. First meant as a temporary installation during construction works in the *Quartier des Arts* in Montreal, the piece features a group of 21 connected swings that, through music and light, function as a collective instrument. The designers worked with Luc-Alain Giraldeau,

an animal behaviour professor from the Université du Québec, to explore the concept of cooperation. Participants can use the swings individually; they will light up, emit sound and - last but not least - provide the kind of amusement any swing does. When used in collaboration, however, the system works as a real-time musical instrument capable of playing elaborate tunes and light patterns. As a result, a remarkably inclusive installation that "stimulates ownership of the space, bringing together people of all ages and backgrounds, and creating a place for playing and hanging out in the middle of the city centre".¹¹

In comparison, *Luciole's* discrete playful dimension is somehow more diffuse, underdetermined, as are its social ambitions. It does not affirm collaboration as an ultimate goal, since such approach leaves out the possibility of interaction between people not willing to collaborate, such as the marginal, the anti-social, or the aggressive. Ultimately, its intentions are to "make room" for unexpected, unpredictable interactions that could even accommodate hostility, but in a way that brings forth the productive power of tension. Instead of framing a pre-determined form of desirable social encounters, an *anexact* manner of playing is involved here, that is, a way of playing that is neither based on rules, nor on a potential reward.¹² The goal is less to bring people together in active collaboration and more to reveal an invisible shared space between them. Participants may, or may not, choose to get involved in a common activity within this interspace [*entr'espace*], and the forms such activities might take are unpredictable. Moreover, the benches do not play, like *Urban Picnics* tables do, as symbolic elements meant to convey a specific meaning; neither is their function to build a whole new situation, as is the case in *21 balançoires* where the original swinging for swinging's sake becomes a way of playing music. *Luciole's* main function remains that of a public bench, only augmented, but in a sense meant to enhance the object's original potential and meaning. The goal is not to make an exceptional intervention in public space, but instead to become a permanent piece of street furniture - something that requires a more discrete, lighter approach.

On another level, the major difference between *Luciole* and other projects based on local networks is that it connects multiple networks together, across different scales. Whilst the light connections on a local level are assuredly the feature that has the strongest direct impact, the *tweets* and data retrieval from local services makes *Luciole* a meeting point for multiple spatial and temporal dimensions. This might seem anecdotic from today's perspective, yet transforming usual urban objects into sensors might be a clue in the multi-faceted path to building more resilient cities. Instead of being just another isolated, albeit playful, network, *Luciole* becomes a constructive element in a broader urban eco-system.

Augmenting the Bench

Greatly overlooked, the question of authenticity is of major importance for digital design. Following Walter Benjamin, authenticity in the age of digital reproduction cannot be established otherwise than in terms of internal relation to origin. Benches are icons of a certain understanding of what living together in the city might be; they are themselves powerful placemaking tools. Benches have history, for they are places where people have met, kissed, slept, read, and daydreamed. Therefore, to augment a public bench is not a question of adding elements such as power plugs, images, services or functions but, instead, of respecting, revealing and expanding its core qualities. Is this possibility restricted to the solely digital realm? Of course not. There is a bench in the *Rosedal* (a rosary in the

Palermo neighbourhood of Buenos Aires) that does not rely on the digital for augmentation. Like other benches in the park, its overhead pergola is wrapped by rose plants that, in the right season, augment the experience with a delicate perfume. But this one is special: when sitting on it, users can hear stories by Borges. Palermo was Borges' home and inspired much of the uncanny ambiance of his writing; in return, his universe has become inseparable from the neighbourhood's identity. So sitting on that particular bench augments the experience of the *Rosedal*, opening it up and extending it to the whole neighbourhood and beyond.

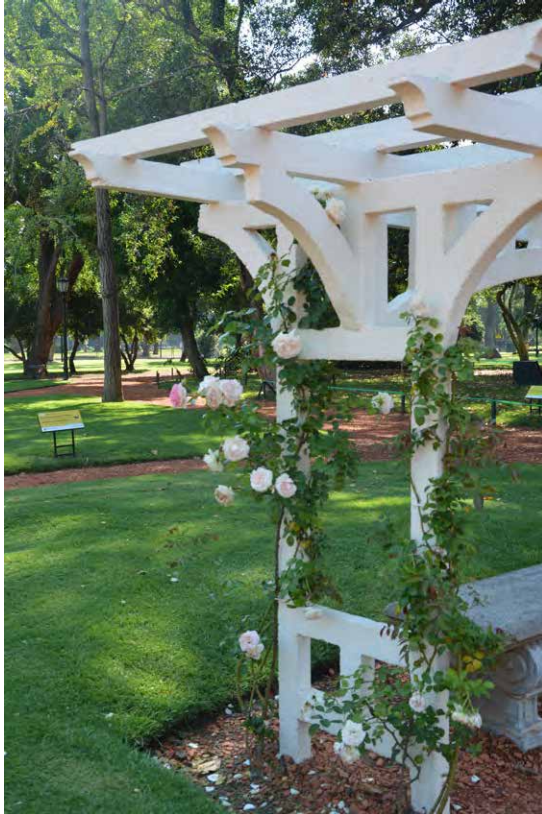


Fig 9
The augmented bench in Buenos Aires' *Rosedal*. [Photo: Author, 2015]

Digital technologies introduce new possibilities of modulation, of development and co-construction over time which, when deployed in dynamic ways, have potential to expand the limits of form. I have asserted the current material/digital divide is a barrier to new directions. Looking to the near future, it is likely the physical/digital dualism will be obsolete and new understandings of the role of computing will arise. As such, screen-based devices will no longer be the only gateway; city dwellers may be freed from their current tethering to smartphones and mobile devices without having to give up connectedness and smartness.¹³ The main concern will no longer be exclusively about information content or technological performance, but, instead, how to achieve higher levels of consciousness – in other words, how to be fully aware, here and now.¹⁴ It is conceivable that cities of the future will be defined far less by physical boundaries; they will shrink, move, transform, mutate, leaving gaps and voids. Impermanence will be the norm and atmospheres mutable. To respond to this new challenge, urban design ought to adopt new strategies that rely less on planning, physical intervention, and control, and more on the force of

origin,¹⁵ respecting and preserving it when it is already there, and setting up the conditions for its emergence when it is not.

To survive, future cities will have to be resilient, but urban resilience and sustainability are a matter of energy flow and interlinking,¹⁶ not of materials or technologies or processes as such. The city of the future will see awareness of this fact grow. Networks will be ubiquitous; they will no longer rely only upon public infrastructure, nor on centralised platforms. Instead, complex, guerrilla-like, unstable meshes will pop-up. People, living beings, "objects", will be more interdependent than ever, and relational ecologies will become central. For this city, the augmented public bench may be understood as a test probe, one that extends the horizon of the conceivable without breaking the link with a place's identity.

Endnotes

1 <http://hyperbate.fr/dernier/?p=19706>. Accessed October 5th, 2015.

2 In the 18th arrondissement, a popular district in Paris, for instance, residents organised in January 5th, 2013, a cardboard bench sit-in to protest against what is perceived as a hidden attempt to eliminate spontaneous gatherings in public places. <https://quartiersentransition.wordpress.com/2013/01/05/le-jour-ou-les-bancs-publics-ont-repris-paris/>. Retrieved June 2015.

3 More information about this project (in French) at www.nautreville.com

4 Julian Oliver's *Artvertizer* (2008) is an interesting counter-example. Described by the author as "improved reality", the project —an advertising hacking system of sorts— superimposes images onto advertising surfaces. Participants look through goggles with markers which, when correctly aligned, create a visual illusion that replaces the advertisement with a work of art. In terms of content and message the effect is powerful; but the project does not address the issues of spatial impoverishment and isolation.

5 "Webcams allow you to see into another space, mirrors allow you to see your own space. Using billboard screens and cameras, Urban Echo creates a hybrid of these two things, allowing not only see into another city but maybe see yourself transported into another city or culture. A mid point between transparency and reflection, introspection and extrospection". <http://www.lustlab.net/>, accessed November 10th, 2015. See also <https://vimeo.com/23579142>

6 Lev Manovich (2005), who first coined the expression "augmented space", writes: "we start slowly seeing the different species of augmented spaces being combined into one. A shopping complex leads to an interior shopping street which leads to a multiplex [...]. Although at present the small electronic screens are usually distributed throughout these spaces [...], the single larger screen [...] has a potential to unite them all, offering a kind of symbolic unity to a typically heterogeneous urban program: a shopping center + entertainment center + hotel + residential units." More recently, Christiane Paul (2015) argues that "the use of screens, the intermedial relations they enable, and the discourses surrounding them defy merely technical explanations of the role that they play as information surfaces [...]. The role of the screen as a watchful and reactive device or as a window, mirror, or membrane is not only assigned by technicalities but by perception, which is physically and culturally shaped."

7 Maldiney uses hyphenation to give a particular emphasis and reveal the polysemic nature of this expression. 'Co-naître' suggests both to be co-born, born together, and 'connaître' which is French for 'to know'. The author proposes an interpretation where knowledge and information are a form of becoming. "Là où il s'agit d'être le là du monde, il ne s'agit pas d'enregistrer des connaissances à son sujet, mais de co-naître à son événement-avènement" (Maldiney 1986:27).

8 "Proper to the event is the fact of not being repeatable, of not having iteration *within* time, because it founds time" (Ibid. - emphasis in the original).

9 Knowing the opposition between Benjamin and Heidegger, and the latter's indifference, or dismissal, of Husserl, under which conditions can they be brought together? Husserl's *Origin* is known in French through Jacques Derrida. But Derrida himself was influenced by Heidegger in his reading and deconstruction of Husserl. The partially conflicting directions create a field of tension, an active zone with blurred edges. Rather than following a line, we are immersed in a conceptual field, with a clear nucleolus – *origin* as the productive power.

10 <http://www.paulsermon.org/urbanpicnic/>. Accessed September 30th, 2015

11 <http://www.dailytouslesjours.com/project/21-balancoires/>. Accessed October 1st, 2015

12 In *Man, Play and Games*, Roger Callois opposes play and game as opposite ends of a play continuum. Playing is the primary power of improvisation, spontaneity and joy that is present in free play. Gaming consists on a form of play bound by rules that defines winners and losers.

13 This is the subject of much design research today. See for example *Momo*, a haptic navigation device that relies only on tactile feedback. <http://momobots.com/>

momobots.com/

14 See for example Sheppard (2011), a compilation of dystopian fictions about techno-centered Smart City paradigm. A more optimistic vision is pursued at MIT's Senseable City Lab, directed by Carlo Ratti. <http://senseable.mit.edu/>

15 On the role of origin in keeping neighbourhoods alive, see Sharon Zukin, *Naked City*. The death and life of authentic urban places (2010).

16 French philosopher and sociologist Edgar Morin (2006) develops the notion of "reliance" (sometimes translated as 'interlinking') as the key to achieving Felix Guattari's concept of ecosophy which expands conventional notions of ecology to embrace all dimensions of existence. "the relationship between subjectivity and its exteriority - be it social, animal, vegetable or Cosmic". (Guattari 2000:27).

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Unless specified, translations from French are by the author

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Plan/ditch

Topographical inscription in an early colonial capital

Andrew Douglas

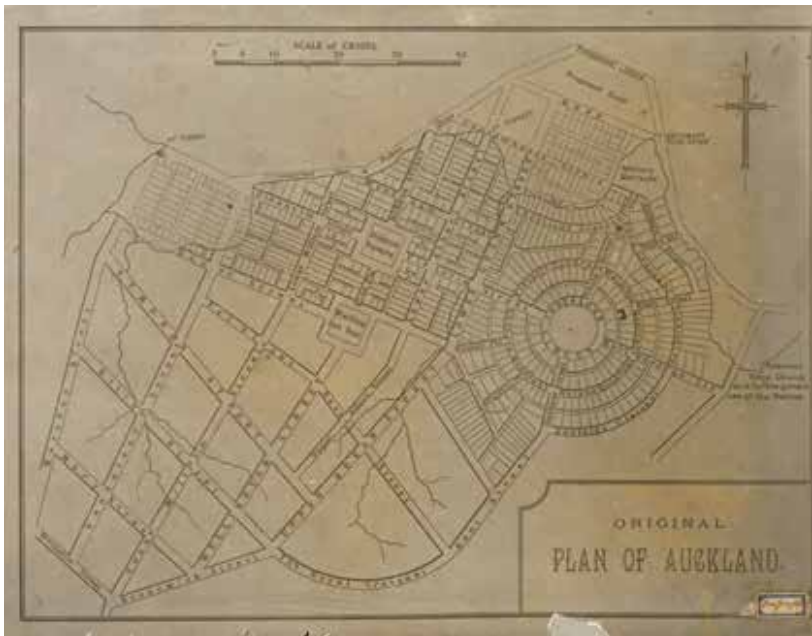


Fig. 01

(left) Felton Mathew (1841). *Original Plan of Auckland* [NZ Map 2664, Sir George Grey Special Collection, Auckland Libraries.]

Fig. 02

(right) James, D. Richardson (1860s). Partial view, Looking north down Queen Street showing east side with the Metropolitan Hotel with a group of men outside on the corner of Fort Street (right) and the Ligar Canal, a large portion of which collapsed after heavy rail [Photograph, image reference 4-400, Sir George Grey Special Collection, Auckland Libraries.]

The virtual public thing: de-re-territorialisations of public space through shopping in Auckland's urban space

Manfredo Manfredini (First and corresponding author)

Ross Jenner

1. Public spaces in the post-consumerist city: the 'otherness' of Auckland's shopping enclaves

Shopping centres emerge in our cities as hegemonic social places, prodigiously magnifying the characteristics of the "worlds in miniature" that Walter Benjamin found in the Parisian arcades of the 19th century (Benjamin 2002: 3; Böhme 2012). The recent spatial metamorphosis of that introversion of 'worlds' is at the centre of this study and is elaborated through the theories, concepts, and notions of scholars engaged with its agency in the contemporary transition of urban public space. Its exploration focuses on the transformations of the physical, social, and psychological spatialities of our post-industrial cities, examining the relationships between architecture and the new forms of consumption emerging in the main centres of shopping, entertainment, and socialisation in the suburban space of Auckland, New Zealand. Particularly important for its discussion is the concept of "urban otherness" as proposed by Michel Foucault in the context of "heterotopia" – the place where the ordinary meets the extraordinary in conditions of simultaneity, juxtaposition, ambivalence, and dispersion (Foucault 2008: 21). This concept is adopted in the elaborations proposed by Graham Shane (2005) – who identified heterotopias as constitutive elements in the contemporary city's system of enclaves and armatures – and Dehaene and De Caeter – who reconceptualised the heterotopic device as disentangling instrument to understand the "equally treacherous and fertile condition" of the public space of our "post-civil society" (Dehaene & De Caeter 2008: 3). Further key references framing our theoretical interpretation of this phenomenon are: the concept of "postmodern hyperspace," as developed by Fredric Jameson (1984) to describe the dramatic territorial mutations created by the disjunction of body and built environment; elaborations on the "paradox of isolation" and the critique of spatial publicness and over-determination as central to contemporary urbanity, as proposed by David Harvey (2006), Sharon Zukin (2010), and Richard Sennett (1977); and the recent descriptions of post-consumerist society and interpretations of related emerging practices by El Hedhli, Chebat, and Sirgy (2013), Miles

(2010), and Ritzer (2013). Overall, the attempt here is to describe the idiosyncratic formal and semantic aspects that are emerging in the new 'public' places of the metropolitan centres of New Zealand's largest city. This discussion is based on the results of an empirical investigation¹ of spatial elements that, given the growing digital realm, deserves particular attention to the new media. The hypothesis articulated here is that we are witnessing a profound change in the geographies of urban public space as conceived (i.e., planned, implemented, and managed), daily practiced, and steadily re-described. These changes are the result of processes of continuous deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation occurring in places with the most intensely activated spatial and digital realms – the latest generation of shopping enclaves. To validate this hypothesis, we searched for evidence of spatial representations of these enclaves that reflect the collective shift of references in the shared image of the city. Accordingly, we sought correlations between three phenomena: (1) the contribution of shopping enclaves to urban fragmentation and the consequent physical and social dis-embedding of urban territories (Giddens 1991); (2) the introversion of public space operated by shopping enclaves through a powerful set of agencies of social and cultural recontextualising (Bryman 2004: 15-56); (3) the support by shopping enclaves of emerging collective references at an urban geographic scale, one that reflects the fundamental semantic turn of the post-consumerist notion of public space.

Through an analysis of the physical contexts, social practices, and heterotopic attributes (functional, experiential and semantic) of these enclaves, this study explores how key urban public spaces are becoming increasingly introverted, externally disconnected, yet somehow integrated environmentally, socially and culturally. Such analysis examines the city of Auckland since it represents a relevant case study due to its peculiar socio-economic, cultural, and environmental conditions: it is a city top-ranked for liveability and mobile digital technology usage, with a social life polarised in a few centres often dominated by large-format retail, and with a very active retail sector that includes one of the world's leading shopping mall operators. The study of these places, ultimately, intends to provide evidence of the ways these centres produce new forms of public

re-identification by being continuously re-scripted by the organisations controlling their combinatory logics (i.e., mall operators), and re-written by the public of interpreting participants (i.e., the new consumers). Methods and tools of spatial analysis are used here to assess their introversion and disconnection, as well as their unconstrainedness and hyper-connectivity granted by modern infrastructures – particularly in relation to the digital public sphere. This interrelation between the physical and the digital spatialities of the malls is also interpreted considering the profound changes in the retail sector that have recently given primacy to the emotions and experiences of citizens and consumers, not only in the conception and management of shopping enclaves but of entire cities (Richards & Palmer 2012; Rigby 2011).

2. The experiential turn: Experience as commodity and normalisation of spectacle

The current post-consumerist age has been described as a global phenomenon that brings substantial changes to shopping patterns and deeply transforms people's behaviour in their broader private, public, social, cultural, and recreational lives (El Hedhli et al. 2013: 861-862; Ritzer, Dean, & Jurgenson 2012: 381-386). One of the most important factors in its evolution is the advancement of the technological framework and, in particular, the digital infrastructure that has recently saturated our environments with mediated communication (Kang & Cuff 2005: 109-112; Soukup 2012: 227).

The intensification of personal digital communications has also contributed to an urban segmentation – itself initiated by transport infrastructures – that has exacerbated the isolating tendency of the modern shopping mall type – what Kim Dovey has referred to as the “reversed worlds” of enclosed retail environments (Dovey 1999: 123-138). The recent development of these ‘heterotopic reversions’ has been achieved through conflation of spaces, activities, and institutions, which has led to the production of extremely large, integrated, and mixed-use enclaves that are the prime centres for the provision of goods and services in the vast majority of developed countries (Feinberg & Meoli 1991). The magnitude of their development has eventually reached a scale that, according to George Ritzer, is comparable to that of religious centres of traditional civilisations, qualifying them as “cathedrals of consumption” (Ritzer 1999: 7). Their growth has been accompanied by what Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift call a “performative push” (Amin & Thrift 2002: 125) that aims at a condition permeated with performative, creative, evocative, and always varying events designed to stimulate, excite, surprise, entertain, indulge and, ultimately, generate a positive emotional state in shoppers (Arnold & Reynolds 2003, 2009; Wakefield 2015; Wakefield & Baker 1998). Accordingly, the retail operators of these centres strive continuously to renew sources of value for their consumers, creating scenographies that recombine the multiple layers through which locality and community are lived, interpreted, and represented. Yet these ‘scenes’ have an ambivalent relation to the contexts they borrow from, for they are conceived as iterable models that thinly economise resources and reinforce brand identity (Ng 2003; Schwartz & Hochman 2014; Voyce 2006).

The evolution of the mall type, with its continual growth in size and social articulation, comes close to Victor Gruen's original ideal of the integrated civic and cultural centre. However, to the extent that this occurs, it does so in the form of heterotopias that coalesce elements of public and private, house and city, ‘normalising’ them all within enchanting ambiances that colour daily routines. They are ambiances with what can be thought of as the “unpolitical extraordinary” (Classen 1996: 52), feeding our contemporary anxieties of choice and attenuating the power of actuality (Crewe 2003: 353; Jansson 2002; Slater & Tonkiss 2001: 191). Institutions that once set the civic framework of cities, such as schools, public libraries, and police stations, are now belittled, dispersed, and decentred, yet re-activated within steadily

revised grand spatial narratives articulated within the closed fields and pseudo-public space of dead-end shopping places. The architectural response to this transition has meant a revision of traditional typology of malls – facilities Rem Koolhaas describes as being lost in the continuum of junkspace (Koolhaas 2001) – one that replicates with a twist what has recently been brought about in the tourism sector. In that sector, after the 1980s crisis of gaming industry resorts, the world's largest short-term accommodation establishments and major hospitality businesses shifted from being service-based providers to lifestyle and entertainment ones.

Shopping centres have followed a similar path, suburbanising the enticing, secure, and clean realm of goods deployed by 19th-century department stores (Sennett 1977: 141-149). Becoming firstly key places for social, cultural, and entertainment activities, with programmes including exhibitions, performing arts, lifestyle, and wellness (Bloch 1994: 38-39; Crawford 1992; Goss 1993: 35-29), they eventually integrated commercial spectacle with all the everyday acts, needs, and desires of public life in an age of telepresence. This latest evolution parallels the changing role of consumers, who have profoundly transformed their shopping practices and strongly increased their market power. Their empowerment has increased their autonomy, awareness, and choice mainly through new digital functionalities that include instant access to product information, price comparison, remote purchasing, and, ultimately, to on-line retail (eMarketer 2015). Consequently, as this has a direct impact on the very economic base of retail, operators have been pushed to make an additional effort in reorganising the market logic, structure, and landscape (Chung et al. 2001; Wedel & Kamakura 2000). Their efforts were then directed to establishing synergies between the real and the digital creation of eventful shopping environments and to implementing high performing amalgamated realities with multiple hybrid platforms for the interaction between consumers and spaces, organisations, and peers. This has also comprehended the provision of services complementary to digital retail that emphasise emotional and sensorial aspects, ranging from instant purchase gratification to immersive participation in spectacular events. The mix of physical and digital agencies has supported the experiential dimension in supplanting the mere money-goods transaction as the prime form of commodity and constitutes the ideal framework for the development of the new post-consumerist acts described as “prosumption” by Ritzer (Ritzer 2013; Ritzer et al. 2012). The new type of mall operates as catalyst for all the practices in the public life of the ‘prosumers’ – this other to the consumer – that include co-production of information (through contributions on web-based media) and events (with participation in grassroots festivals), as well as labour performances (with participation in electronic group-buying).

From the spatial perspective, such *prosumption* is particularly important since it is deeply involved with the collective construction and representation of new urban geographies. Prosumption can in fact be considered the response to the contemporary version of the “over-stimulation of the sensory apparatus” Georg Simmel (2002) previously attributed to the modern metropolis. Hence digitally implemented “flâneuring” (Böhme 2012) being the full exploitation of commercial spaces saturated with communications (Sacco 2011; Stikker 2013), where each sign, environment, act, and event can be captured, recorded, named, analysed, broadcast, stored, modified, and represented almost ubiquitously, with a wide range of commonly available devices. Consequently – given that a large proportion of mall visitors use smartphones² – the development of innovative retail ecosystems with integrated digital realms is routine amongst leading operators. ‘Shopping assistant’ apps allow customers to easily navigate centres by selecting and finding their preferred retailers, restaurants, and events, and to receive personalised offers and discount vouchers directly via the phone. Digital kiosks with interactive mega-displays in key locations of the mall provide links to e-commerce services, 3D navigation tools, and multifarious information on offers and events (Johnson 2014; Moin 2014). Free Wi-Fi access and the malls' active deployment of multiple internet and social media platforms (including Facebook, Foursquare, Twitter, and Instagram) complete the offer to incessantly inspire, inform, and guide prosuming publics.

This communicational framework has triggered a reconfiguration of overall mall architecture which moves beyond the allegorical pastiches of post-modernist architecture and the utilitarian clustering of anonymous built volumes (Jameson 1984: 82). New malls are increasingly complex elaborations of spatial and decorative patterning that favour ostension and originality in pursuit of memorability and imageability. Prosumers, less lost and disorientated in their consumerism, are insistently ‘located’ in easily intelligible spatial structures with distributed landmarks, just as they are drawn to relay their experience of these territories. At the urban scale, mall architecture is also called upon to compensate for a constitutive loss of authenticity (Zukin 1995, 2010). It creatively elaborates the tension between the introversion of commercial enclaves and required indexical memorability within the urban landscape. Using the very same means that Foucault found in the most extreme form of heterotopias, malls dissipate reality by showing themselves as hyper-real illusions, in turn resurrecting in the ‘network city’ something like Bruno Taut’s radiant, kaleidoscopic *Stadtkrone*. Paradigmatic examples are Jerde’s “Kanyon” in Istanbul, Hadid’s Dongdaemun Design Plaza in Seoul, and Renzo Piano’s ‘Il Vulcano Buono’ in Naples. The first centre achieves the effect of boundlessness with its curvilinear gorge/main street providing dramatic spatial sequences, the second transfigures the civic into a striking seamless field of pixellation and perforation patterns, the last introduces a new prominent topography in the periurban semirural area of the city, asserting the iconic role of the new element by figuratively mirroring the main feature of the city skyline – Vesuvius – and using the crater as central market piazza. In any case, no matter what the form or location, most of these places have been able to become in a short lapse of time hyper-active, prime urban venues for the new form of social interaction – as demonstrated by the findings on digital media usage in the newest Auckland malls discussed later in this paper.

3. The transition from enclaves to heterotopias in Auckland’s urban space

In New Zealand the modern retail sector developed following the North American model and, accordingly, in recent times its most innovative operators have similarly embraced the *experiential turn*. However, the introduction here of models consolidated overseas seem to trigger the growth of peculiar interpretations that respond to idiosyncratic aspects of Auckland’s context. Two contrasting sets of structural background aspects are particularly relevant: on the one hand, globally, the city stands out socially and culturally for its high quality of life and education, as results from assessments of educational attainment (OECD 2014), use of mobile digital technology,³ work-life balance,⁴ multiculturalism,⁵ and high and overall liveability show (Economist [The] 2015; Mercer 2015); on the other, the city also presents problems in the decay of the public of urban commons and the geographical polarisation of persistent social inequality (Atkinson, Salmond, & Crampton 2014; Spoonley & Meares 2011). Social life in suburban areas is increasingly moving to centres dominated by large-format retail clusters that are led by very active protagonists, such as Scentre Group – one of the world’s leaders in the shopping mall industry (Colliers 2015; Fairgray 2013; Scentre 2015). From an economic perspective, the recent development of the retail sector has seen a consistent and steady growth in revenues, shop numbers, and total floor area,⁶ leading to very positive forecasts for the coming decades.⁷ This situation is mainly due to the combined effects of steadily increasing population⁸ and moderate availability of retail area *per capita*, which we estimated in 2014 as approximately two thirds of that in the US. The overall growth, however, is not evenly distributed throughout the sector and shows a growing divide between a positive prime and a languishing secondary group.⁹ Main agents of the divide are emergent ‘new breeds’ of retailers adept at adapting to the rapidly evolving framework (Colliers 2014: 1, 2015:1). Information concerning different attitudes of these operators is substantive in understanding the drivers of change in the conception and implementation of the new retail centres. Their differences inform the way malls vary in intensity of spatial, social, political, and cultural dis-embedment. At the urban scale, the prime group aims to dominate the physical configuration and establish key nodes in the spatial structure. Their centres therefore exaggerate spatial disjunctions, creating strong morphological and typological mismatches between mall and context (Manfredini & Hills 2016)



Fig. 01
Figure-ground map of Albany Metropolitan Centre showing the spatial relationship between the mall and the urban fabric.

At the social and political level, the new agents strive to perfect principles of rationalisation and introduce criteria of high efficiency and control described by Ritzer (1996) as social McDonaldisation. This results in the creation of places that, concentrating key urban amenities and overpowering the role of the commons as civic agency, minimise social interaction and engagement among the consumer multitude (the largest centre, Sylvia Park, has over 12 million visitors per year). At the cultural level, the focus on maximising attraction leads to the creation of closed ambiances with strong ‘experiential’ transductions, often using prosaic semantic means to magnify the heterotopic experience.

Aiming to interpret how this difference relates to the emerging heterotopic sociability and memorability of these places, the study comparatively analysed the prime centres in Auckland – the group of A malls, composed of the top 10 shopping and recreational enclaves of the city.¹⁰ The study concerned eight of them – six located at the core of respective metropolitan centres (Albany, Henderson, Sylvia Park, Newmarket, Botany and Manukau) and two in secondary town centres (St Lukes and Glenfield).¹¹ The analysis of these enclaves and their context included a collection of information on population, built environment, and digital realm. A detailed investigation aimed to evaluate the emerging socialisation component in the practiced spatialities regarded the structure and configuration of their environments. Assessment and mapping of people’s practices were supported by studies on urban permeability and accessibility, physical and social infrastructures, building typology and morphology, and function of spaces. Eventually, each individual business and amenity of the selected enclaves was analysed and classified according to its basic characteristics: range of traded goods and provided services, business type (chain store/independent shop), targeted customer group/s, brand, location, floor area, and operating times. As regards sociability, these results were then referred to four macro categories of consumer/*prosumer* practices: basic shopping (e.g., grocery store/grocery shopping), consumerist shopping (e.g., fashion store/fashion shopping), lifestyle consumption (e.g., movie theatre/cultural entertainment consumption), and socialising consumption (e.g., lifestyle hospitality services/socialising consumption). Data concerning activities and practices were collected in 2014 then normalised and analysed, and results were synthetised in charts and maps. A summative map was then produced to visualise results with multilevel pie charts, where size variation comparatively reflects the relative score of each mall in the socialising consumption index



Fig. 02
Sample of images posted on social media (Instagram) in 2014 within the malls precincts and classified in different *socialising consumption* sub-categories. [Courtesy: Manfredo Manfredini and Jisoo Jung.]

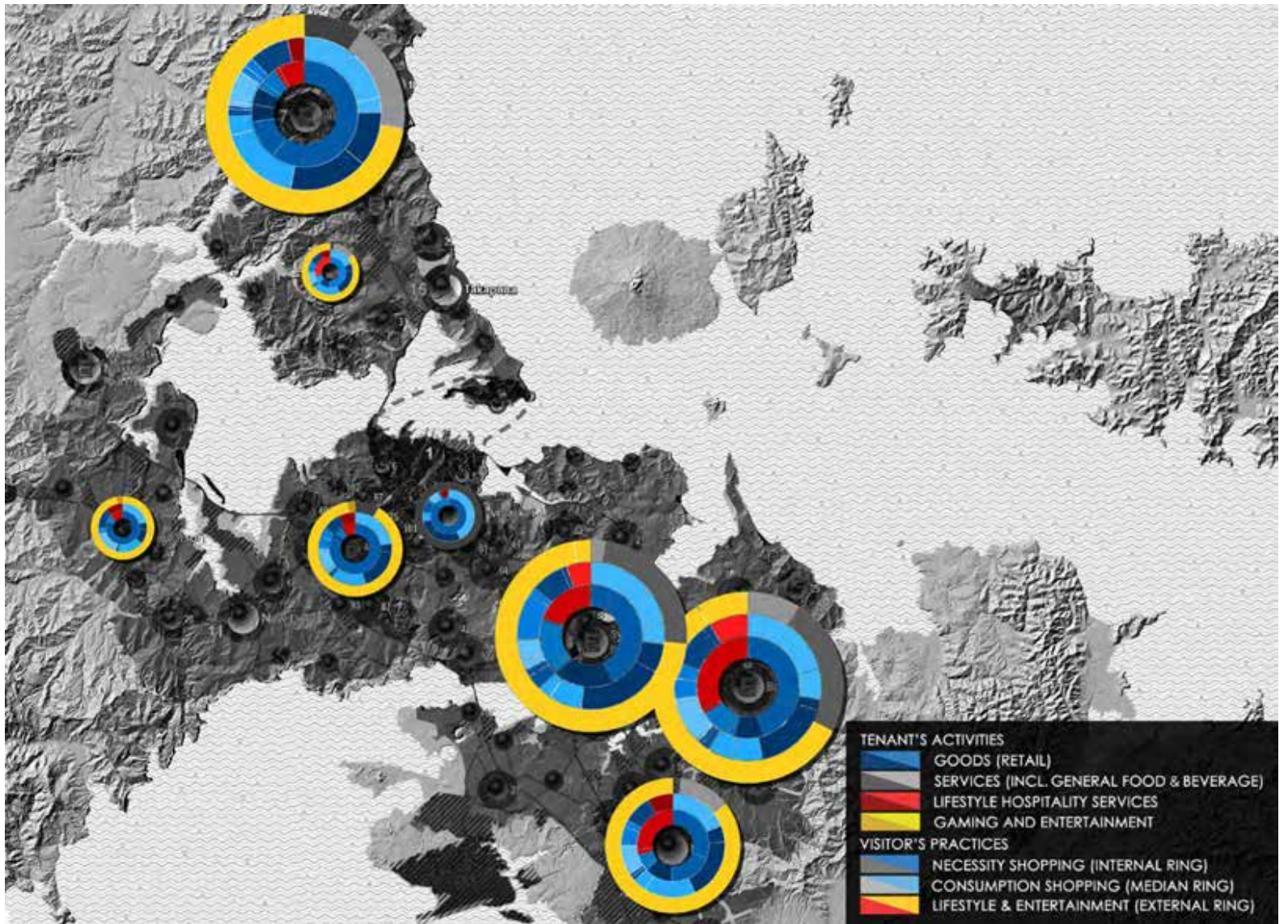


Fig. 03
Map of Auckland malls' *socialising consumption index* in 2014, representing the relative value of heterotopic functional integration. [Courtesy: Manfredo Manfredini and Jisoo Jung.]

As regards memorability, the results of the studies on structure and configuration of the malls were used to elaborate data spatial representation. Considering digital communication as the preeminent access to the public sphere, visual communication on social media was used as a primary source for data on spatial representation. Data were sourced using Instagram, the most popular online mobile photo and video sharing social media platform. All images posted from each mall in 2014 (from 1/01 through 31/12) were collected, using geo-tagging attributes. Data were critically analysed and images classified according to characteristics of contents, tags, and accompanying texts, identifying the character and memorability of each spatial representation. Results were then synthesised in graphs; a summative index – of spatial memorability – was created and represented in a map that visualises results with multilevel pie charts, where the score of each mall is shown by the size of each pie. The score is the relative proportion of the memorable posts (with normalised values for low, high, and medium classes). The proportion of each class of spatial images for each mall is represented by the thickness of each pie sub-ring



Fig. 04

Sample of images posted on social media (Instagram) in 2014 within the malls precincts and classified in different *spatial memorability* sub-categories. [Courtesy: Manfredo Manfredini and James Lee.]



Fig. 05

Map of Auckland malls' *memorability index* in 2014, representing the relative value of heterotopic spatial representation. [Courtesy: Manfredo Manfredini and Jisoo Jung.]

Detailed results of this part of the investigation are available in other publications (Manfredini, Jenner, & Litterick, 2015).

Overall, the findings showed a high consistency across the spectrum of analyses, confirming the anticipated higher heterotopic intensity of the three A+ centres – Westfield Albany, Sylvia Park, and Botany Town Centre. The higher performance of these malls stood out remarkably in both the measured indices of conceived (the physical and digital frameworks set by the operators) and practised (the consumer usage of the amenities) spatialities, with no other mall reaching comparable values. A similar result was found for the index of described spatialities (the interpretation, elaboration, and sharing of spatial images by *prosumers*) with only one mall scoring near the top three. These results confirmed the research hypothesis, since the data cover the three main areas of investigation. The index of conception addresses the contribution to dis-embedment, measuring urban fragmentation, community disconnection, and formal non-homogeneity. The index of spatial practices concerns the re-embedding agencies, measuring the functional integration of elements of public relational life. The index of spatial description concerns the emergence of a hyper-spatial

collective urban geography and measures consistency of representation, magnitude of participation, and memorability.

4. Auckland's enclaves of shopping, entertainment and socialisation

To support the interpretation of the correlation between the changes in these new public spaces, the study included an investigation into the attributes of their spatial conceptions. It aimed to verify whether the malls with the highest degree of consumption and socialising, together with their memorability, have distinctive configurations and supporting management strategies. It also examined evidence of the participation of the overperforming A+ malls in the global *experiential turn*. Major differences between these three malls and the others emerged from the analysis of their basic data: they are the largest and newest flagship centres of the main competing organisations and are all conceived, planned, developed, and managed to expand the shopping and entertainment realm with means that provide potential for high identification and socialisation. Their designs are indeed the only ones that include semi-open plans in the form of pedestrian lanes, squares, and plazas. They also follow an ambivalent model that favours new *prosumption* activities, having the highest presence of iconic features that use subtle theming strategies to strengthen their identity and memorability. Common space theming generally focuses on obvious re-embedding narratives of civic dignification – in *urbanscapes* of the introverted exteriors – but also of domesticity – in *homely* spatial pockets of fully branded interiors. The first is used to inform grand civic gestures proposed with introverted plazas and activated streets,



Fig. 06
Town Square inside Botany Town Centre in 2014. [Courtesy: M. Manfredini"]

as in the stately *'patte d'oie'* urban structure arranged around the self-proclaimed "Town Square" of Botany mall

This square is an ample round open space, accessible by traffic, with a vibrant pastiche of various juxtaposed elements: a sequence of façades in different styles, continuous interspaces with porticos and overhangs, a sprinkling fountain, and a fringe of beer and cappuccino *parterres*. The second, conversely, is usually found in small-scale environments of pseudo-private homely cosiness, such as the small size rest-areas interspersed throughout the aisles. Inside Sylvia Park these rest-areas help set the tone of each specific retail precinct, being either 'lordly' in high-end fashion areas (with timber floor, high backed upholstered leather armchairs, ottomans, and flower vases) or 'informal' in the young areas (with boldly coloured carpets and varieties of fancy modern chairs and amorphous seats). All these forms of augmented heterotopic introversion are presented by marketing as the ultimate social places "where lifestyle meets the latest style"¹² and reflected by their inclusion at the top of the list of desirable places to visit in the city compiled by the public administration.¹³

The antagonistic position of these enclaves to traditional urban centres is also amplified by their separation from existing centres, being situated on key nodes of the primary road infrastructures of the low-density periphery – Sylvia Park,¹⁴ Westfield Albany,¹⁵ and Botany Town Centre,¹⁶ are respectively placed in the southern, northern, and eastern quadrants. However, the low potential for sociality is compensated by active event management that, adopting the new *experiential paradigm*, introduces multidimensional activities at all levels with large use of digital means.¹⁷ Thus exceptional events, such as street shows, creative performances, and semi-grassroots manifestations, guarantee a vibrant all-encompassing framework for ordinary civic life. These events are, in fact, designed to suggest a traditional urban life and instigate a certain sense of community and belonging. Examples in Botany Town Centre include programmes like the 2010 animation with performances of 20 meticulously selected buskers; the 2009-established *Fun Run & Walk*, an annual running event for all; the 2015 *Yank Tank Thursdays*, showing American classic motor vehicles in the main street of the mall on the first Thursday of every second month; and the 2012 ceremonial start of the *Silver Fern Rally*, one of the major New Zealand motorsport events. Free community-based programmes are also included and range from farmers' markets to parenting groups and wellness activities, such as Sylvia Park's "Mums with Bubs" and the 'Mall Fit' walking squads. Besides those programmes, malls also host a series of grassroots events: the Asian-style night markets. These markets, which started in 2009 with weekly events at Pakuranga's mall, have since developed into an itinerant series, moving every weeknight to a different site. Their popularity, also favoured by the participation of local agencies, transforms the empty carparks from desolate and deserted tarmacs into the most vibrant gathering places on the periphery, providing an extraordinary yet ephemeral reversion of malls' disembedding effect (ANM 2015).

The condition of the three A+ enclaves is particularly relevant to the ongoing developments of several other malls and urban centres. The A+ malls set the benchmarks introducing the new *experiential paradigm*. Particularly affected are the remaining A malls, most of which already follow these models with important transformation phases. Four older, closed malls will shortly become semi-open, integrated, multifunctional lifestyle centres. St Lukes will double in size, with the addition of a major open air mall to create a town centre antagonistic to the nearby historical one. Newmarket's mall has a planned expansion to include a large multi-storey building and a development on public streets to add a new commercial urban precinct at the southern edge of the second largest shopping area of the city. Suburban LynnMall added a new lifestyle and entertainment precinct with a seven-

theatre cinema complex and a range of cafés and restaurants in 2015 to reaffirm its primary role in the recently redeveloped New Lynn town centre (Gibson 2015a). Lastly, the Downtown Shopping Centre, located at the very centre of the CBD, will be completely redeveloped with an expansion onto a recently alienated public square to "kick-off the creation of a world-class downtown area" that will include new open public space and transport facilities (Council 2014: 15; Council 2015).

The above findings reveal a consistency between the results of the qualitative and quantitative analyses on the heterotopic aspects of shopping enclosures: the coherence between the high intensity achieved by the three significantly outperforming centres as regards practices of socialisation and memorability, and higher support by the thorough strategies and actions of developers and operators. This further confirms our hypothesis that the production of spaces, both highly deterritorialising and reterritorialising, is having strong and tangible effects to the transformation of the urban geography. This is a distinctive effect of the extremely illusionary and compensatory spatial function provided by the new pseudo-public places as a response to their constitutive contradiction of being formally instituted as civic poles but substantially disjoined from their urban contexts. The epitome of this condition was found in the central places of the consumers' relational life in these enclaves. As the study of their spatial attributes is ultimately confirmed, architecture and urban design have a high relevance in shaping the physical structures, which means in these spaces contributing to virtualising *normality* in the "(atopic) network space" of our city (Dehaene & De Caeter 2008: 5). Therefore, given the capacity of the new heterotopic enclaves to transform the spaces of our daily life, we hope that the results of this research stimulate a fundamental re-thinking of the way architects conceive and plan them. An increased effort to understand this concretisation of spatial aporia accompanied by a social, cultural, and design responsibility is demanded: the enactment of heterotopia *par excellence* – a place without a place "that is self-enclosed and at the same time is given over to the infinity" (Foucault 2008: 22) and comprises the exceptional dimension of dream, imagination, and pleasure.

Endnotes

1 This study is framed in the research project titled “Auckland’s Public Spaces: Retail landscapes and social life in the urban centres” developed at University of Auckland since 2014.

2 Westfield estimates that 75% of their clients use internet features, while 62% Facebook and Twitter (Westfield Labs, 2015).

3 New Zealanders’ early adoption of new technology is reflected in the high use of smartphones, that in 2014 concern almost 60% of the population (Nielsen, 2015).

4 According to the New Zealand Government “Guide to living & working in New Zealand,” the country’s “the work-life balance is just right” (New Zealand Immigration, 2015).

5 2013 census data showed the increasing cultural diversity of Auckland’s population, with the European progressively declining to 50% of the total (Social and Economic Research, 2014)

6 A recent Colliers International report highlighted how, with the continuous growth of the real GDP of the retail sector, negative only in 2009, across New Zealand its development activity is rising in all its forms (Colliers, 2014, 2015).

7 A study of the Research, Investigations and Monitoring Unit of the Auckland Council estimated that in 2012 the City’s almost 4 million m² of retail floor space offered a share of 7.79m² per household, and predicted a growth by 35 per cent between 2012 and 2031, with large format retail, already accounting for over one-third of the total, taking over half of retail floor space growth (Fairgray, 2013). The positive trend is also confirmed by a study by Colliers International that points out the success of high profile premises, with vacant space in regional centres at just 0.3%(Colliers, 2014; Ltd, 2008).

8 For the next 30 years Statistics New Zealand has projected a medium population growth of 700,000, while the Auckland Council has developed the plan for its future development on the high population growth projection of one million people (Council, 2012).

9 This is the case of the malls, with the larger expanding at a very high pace (Colliers, 2015; Gibson, 2015c).

10 This classification of centres is a generic distinction widely used in the sector to distinguish structures that respectively have the best construction and location (A), high quality of one of the two above (B), and everything else (C).

11 This study considers 8 of the 10 malls commonly identified as regional retail centres (the CBD and New Lynn are excluded as currently under relevant expansion and redevelopment). They are located in the administrative areas of the pre 2011 amalgamation cities of North Shore (Albany and Glenfield), Waitakere (Westcity) Auckland City (St. Lukes, Newmarket and Sylvia Park) and Manukau (Manukau and Botany). These malls are rather evenly distributed throughout the urban area, with relative distance ranging from ca. 4 to 7.5 km, comprised in an interval of total leasable area ranging from ca. 30,000 to 70,000 m², and comprehending a number of shops ranging from ca. 110 to 200.

12 This large scale statement is located on the freestanding gate at the main carpark entrance to the St Lukes mall.

13 The lived emotional and aesthetic component of a mall visit is recognised by the ATEED, the economic Council-controlled growth agency for the Auckland region, with the introduction of four mall destinations (Sylvia Park, Botany Town Centre, the Westfield centres, and the DressSmart fashion outlet) in the list of desirable place to visit in Auckland, under the category “Experience” (<http://www.aucklandnz.com/things-to-do>). Moreover, Botany Town Centre is promote as “major attraction” for the larger Howick Local Board area (Council & Board).

14 Sylvia Park, designed by Jasmax and NH Architecture, opened in 2006, owned and managed by Kiwi Property, is the largest mall in the country, with approximately 70,000 m² of leasable area, 190 stores and 4000 car parking spaces. It is developed on a single axis, of more than 600 meters in length, interrupted by an open courtyard and a highway viaduct. It is mainly on one level, with some parts on two, hosting three main anchor tenants and a cinema.

15 Westfield Albany, designed by Woodhams, Meikle and Zhan, Westfield Design and JCY Architects, was entirely opened 2008. It is owned (51%) and managed by Scentre Group, and is the largest mall in the North Shore with approximately 53,000 m² of leasable area, 145 stores and 2300 car parking spaces. It is developed on three axes converging at the main entrance, leading to the three main anchor tenants and a cinema. It is mainly on one level, with some parts on two and has an open plaza facing the Albany Lakes Civic Park.

16 Botany town centre, designed by Altoon + Porter and Hames Sharley, opened in 2001, is the largest mall in East Auckland. It is owned by PSP Investments, Canada, and managed by AMP Capital. It has approximately 200 shops and 2400 car parking spaces. It is developed around a central open-air square and has two main anchor tenants and a cinema. It is mainly on one level, with some parts on two.

17 The engagement with the digital realm is reflected by the number of activated internet services, posts, and followers on social media. However, also between them there is a relevant difference, as results from their reaching values of followers of the most popular platform, Facebook, ranging from Sylvia Park’s 16.000 to Botany Town Centre’s 6.337, as of August 2015 (Westfield malls figures are very difficult to estimate they are all merged in a single account).

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Introduction

This paper considers the contemporaneity of the urban via an ironic route – review of an historical prototype of a town offered at the colonial founding of Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland. To this end a distinction made by Anne Querrien in “The Metropolis and the Capital” (1986) is followed. Urban place, she argued, can be divided between “two different ethical principles” and “two different modes of human distribution” (Querrien 1986: 219). The metropolis exerts a “common measure on the regions”, acting as a conduit bringing different milieux into contact (Querrien 1986: 219). Contrary to the metropolis, whose primary motive is to maintain networks, the capital operates as a nucleus rigorously coordinating and constraining regions. This account shares much with Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s (1987) characterisation of State and town solutions. While both striate space, they do so divergently: States utilise resonance and stratification to better police and filter the networks of towns; towns operate principally as conduit-makers polarising value/matter in pursuit of a *phylum* or field of flow (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 432-433). Yet complicating this binary for Deleuze and Guattari, no less than for Querrien, is the assertion that both solutions invariably exist in mixed states.

Spanning 1841-1865, Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland exhibited a poignant form of this mixing. As both New Zealand’s capital and its colonial commercial hub, it strikingly melded metropolitan and capital imperatives, a process that can be seen to have decisively fixed its urban nature and the becoming-urban of the country subsequently. If, as historian Richard Stone has argued, Tāmaki-makau-rau (“Tamaki {the maiden contended for} by a hundred lovers” – Stone 2001: 7) was something of a “melting pot of resident people and incomers alike”, even prior to European colonisation, the question arises: what relation might this proto-urbanism (before a European urbanism proper) have with the capital-metropolitan structure taking hold of it?

In answer, this paper intersects two urban artifacts or ‘things’: a plan (commonly referred to as the “Felton Mathew Plan” of 1841, drawn by New Zealand’s first Surveyor General), and a ditch otherwise known as Queen Street’s Ligar canal. Named after New Zealand’s second Surveyor General, Charles Ligar, the canal was designed to drain or restrain what was popularly known as the ‘Queen Street River’, or more properly, the Waihorotiu stream that collected the springs and water flow from various sources in the Queen Street valley – Queen Street being the city’s main commercial strip, a strip otherwise known as the ‘golden mile’. Prior to the canal’s eventual channeling and disappearance from view, it maintained a notorious presence in the township, receiving both the tidal surge rising from Commercial Bay as far as Wyndham Street, runoff waters from further up the valley, and the waste and sewage of the lower valley’s occupants (Platts 1971: 43). Partially fenced off on its sides for protection, the canal literally divided the city with numerous footbridges being necessary for traversing east-west. As such, it emblematised the continual battle the early settlers had with water and weather.

The aim in reading the plan and ditch together is to better understand the city’s founding and to pick up a shift in conducts and governance spanning its early period. Running the two things together also sets up a certain irony, one that alludes to the starkly evident fact that the Felton Mathew Plan, while never implemented, persists as an ongoing provocation and prompt.

(no. I.)



The British flag first hoisted on the shore of the Waitemata
September 18th, 1840.

The Township of Russell proved utterly unsuited for the government so Cap. Hobson entrusted his friend Captain William Cornwallis Symonds of the Scotch Company at Manakau to select a suitable site. The latter recommended the Waitemata. The spot chosen was purchased from the chief Te Kawau of Orakei & named Auckland after the British Prime Minister. A staff came down from Russell in the 'Anna Watson' to take possession & on the 15th of October September 1840 the flagstaff was hoisted by Cap. Symonds on what was afterwards called 'Britomart Point' & saluted with 24 guns from the 'Anna Watson' & 15 from the 'Platona', Cap. Hobson being then saluted with 7 guns. Those also present round the flagstaff were Felton Mathew the Surveyor General, Dr John Johnson, William Mason Superintendent of Works, Charles Logie formerly of India & the Customs at Sydney (later at Dunedin), & Mr Carthy also of

Fig. 03

John Johnston (1840). "The British flag first hoisted on the shore of the Waitemata, September 18th, 1840." [Watercolour, Hocken Pictorial Collections, Otago University Research Heritage.]

A beautiful morning smiles or "winning the world"

.....

"...thefirstdaywithoutshowersatleast,whichwehavehadforsome time,agoodomenIhopefortheprosp erityofthenewcitywhichis to rise on this spot."

Sarah Mathew, diary entry Friday, 18 September 1840

Confirming the meteorological felicity identified by Sarah Mathew (Mathew 1940: 193), wife of the Surveyor General, Felton Mathew, is a watercolour attributed to Colonial Surgeon and Health Officer, Dr John Johnston. It depicts the occasion of Auckland's founding at Point Britomart – prominent ground long since given up for foreshore reclamation. The sunny, if wispy, rendering captures the moment when at 1pm, the Flag having been run up on land, and the Colours of the attending barque the Anna Watson raised in response, various gun salutes and cheers by attending officials sounded possession and settlement intent of a wedge of land gifted by the Ngāti Whātua, holders of manu whenua or territorial right over Tāmaki Makaurau.

Alongside the Anna Watson, as Johnston's sketch confirms, was a second barque, the Platina, which had arrived some days before from Wellington, having been chartered by the New Zealand (Land and Colonisation) Company to transfer immigrants from Gravesend to the growing settlement at Port Nicholson. Filling much of the hull was a more unusual cargo – a 16-room, prefabricated, Manning frame house, intended to serve as seat of the governor Captain William Hobson in his chosen capital. Confounding no doubt for the New Zealand Company and its immigrants was the conveying north of this cargo to a site mostly devoid of European settlers, yet at the approximate centre of the greatest Māori population (Stone 2001: 239).

Sarah Mathew, drawn to meteorological propitiousness, noted in her diary the presence on the Platina that day of an array of detractors fleeing Port Nicholson and the promises of the New Zealand Company, a choice underscored by the presence there of incessant “rain and cold winds” and “snow on the hills around” (Mathew 1940: 189). Climatic differences alone, she speculated, ought to prompt “the very superior class of laboring emigrants” lured to Port Nicholson to flock instead to the embryo capital (Mathew 1940: 189). If Mathew's diary – something she shared with her husband in their traversal of the coast in search of a suitable site for the principal town – abounds with meteorological references, it does so in large measure in the context of shipboard life and an ever-tenuous marriage between atmosphere, sea, and land.

Underscoring this land/sea/weather confluence is a long-exercised British alertness to being island-born, and in turn, destined for commerce with water. Characterising land itself as a “Sheer Necessity” running down to the sea, Rudyard Kipling for instance imagined in “The First Sailor” (1918) a topographically-impelling destiny leading from inland forests to the shore and beyond to “World's End”, a drift piloted first by errant logs and then accomplished purposefully with their crafting as vessels. For Hannah Arendt (1976), what Kipling initiated in the poem was a founding myth intended to retroactively justify imperialism. So pictured is the nation's intrepid mastering of the world's maritime expanse, and in turn, the winning of that world by returning from its distant limits (Arendt 1976: 209). The ship, allegorised by Kipling as the marriage of the stick (father of all dug-outs) and the basket (mother of all keeled vessels), underscored for Arendt “the always dangerous alliance with the elements” predicating such a win (Arendt 1976: 209). Celebrated in Kipling's parable is exclusive hold on four elemental gifts – “one for the Sea, one for the Wind, one for the Sun, and one for the Ship that carries you” – but as Arendt added, world-winning comes at a price, the cost of “caring for the law”, attending to “the welfare of the world”, and rising above an indifference to, or ignorance of, “what keeps the world together” (Arendt 1976: 209). Yet freighted by the myth for Arendt was a paternalism rich in simplistic virtues like “chivalry, nobility, bravery”: virtues readily able to justify imperialism as the “white man's burden” (Arendt 1976: 209). Moreover, it played lightly with this burden, rendering it a quixotic adventure in which “boyhood noblesse” is given place abroad imaginatively and actually at a time when the rapid urbanisation of Georgian Britain increasingly demanded colonial expansion, and yet precluded an enactment of such ‘adventuring’, socially and politically at home (Arendt 1976: 211).

Neatly condensed then in the events of Friday 18 September at Tāmaki Makaurau was something of this world-winning, one in which racing and race itself were coopted into an embryo urban body politic. With the din of territorial possession (cannon fire and “cheers long and loud”) sounded over land and sea, a facsimile of holiday play capitalising on the climatic opening ensued (even if rain “threatened frequently” as Mathew noted). Down in the bay the key actors in the territorial drama that would follow

found stratified place: “[...] the gentlemen got up a boat race amongst themselves, another for the sailors, and a canoe race for the natives, which all came off with great *éclat*” (Mathew 1940: 192). So was forged a template for an annual regatta and provincial public holiday that continues the particular territorial refrain established to this day – a refrain Kipling noted in the case of Auckland in “The Song of the Cities”: “on us, on us the unswerving season smiles” (Kipling 1922).

Between State and company

The presence of the Platina in Johnston's rendering indicates a further complexity in Auckland's founding. The town was to check privately funded, systematic colonisation – an enterprise suspected of treasonous intent (Stone 2001: 238). As a stand-in for the ship of State steered somewhat unevenly from afar, it was to be a vehicle for the orderly distribution of governance ashore. Yet what the embryo capital shared with its southern rival (a similarity emblematised by Government House packed flat in the hull of the Platina) was the economic and ‘civilising’ potency of “instant townships” – a cornerstone of the New Zealand Company's place-making (Belich 2007: 367).

The underpinning intent of such townships, as Wakefield made clear in an article titled “The Art of Colonisation”, was to counter population dispersal, a tendency risked in colonial settlement where cheap, available land could lead settlers to “plant themselves here and there in out-of-the-way spots, [and...] being distant from a market, and from all that pertains to civilisation, they would fall into a state of barbarism” (Wakefield 1968: 982). As political economist J. S. Mill expanded on Wakefield's concern some years later, giving an “infant community” concentrated form was necessary for ensuring that it maintain an ongoing predilection for the constraints and benefits of commerce, rather than adopting “the tastes and inclinations of savage life” (Mill 2015: Book 5, section 14).

Such cautioning fits a long-practiced “Occidental capitalisation” that Michel de Certeau has associated with colonial knowledge production (Certeau 1988: 135). What repeated exploratory circumnavigation effected was a gathering of knowledge in European capitals (archival concentrations), one that sought to imagine a world with no “remainder”, no “elsewhere”, to the narrative of return. At stake was a quest to make “the alterity of the universe conform to [Occidental...] models” (Certeau 1988: 135) but also to resist the lures inherent in indigenous contact and with it a drift from capitalisation (Certeau 1986: 148).

Significantly for Wakefield, and Mills after him, compact township had a parallel intent: to put accumulating capital and the worrying proliferation of unemployed others at home into motion – motion capable of returning a profit. What organised emigration would potentiate, Wakefield and Mill hypothesised, was not only a social safety valve and more equitable opportunities for the laboring class, but also a vehicle for idle capital. Not the “frontier virtues of agrarian republicanism”, as Duncan Bell has put it, but “metropolitan concentration” was the corrective Wakefield applied to seemingly ‘open’ colonial terrain (Bell 2009: 41). If bourgeois modernity has in key senses always been urban (Bell 2009:41), it has not always sought political emancipation. Ameliorating in nature, it had historically set for itself a mediating role between the mob and aristocratic rule on the basis that its economic agenda might find a space that could be expanded between the two (Douglas & Engels-Schwarzpaul 2011). As Arendt similarly noted, the “bourgeoisie [...] had been the first class in history to achieve

economic pre-eminence without aspiring to political rule” (Arendt 1976: 124). Yet with Wakefield and others was recognition that the nation state, as Arendt put it, “proved unfit to be a framework for the further growth of capitalist economy” (Arendt 1976: 124). In a context where economic “expansion is everything”, governments were forced into a game of catch up with business interests, a game that quickly became both a matter of world politics and urban footholds amidst subject peoples (Arendt 1976: 126). Moreover, at stake in the establishment of urban concentration from the State’s perspective was the implementation of resonating structures capable of bringing the mercantile flows of value/matter induced by towns to heel, structures capable of totalising the entirety of value/matter across colonial territory. In short, the capital had to draw a nexus of interests together, passing them into a network of global State concerns.

Cartage/cartography



Fig. 4

New Zealand Company advertisement for the City of Wellington 1839-1840 [Source: John Wilson. “History - British sovereignty and settlement”, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 8-Jul-13 - <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map/1457/plan-of-wellington-1840>]

The Felton Mathew Plan then was the State's answer to the need for promptly effected, urban form in antipodean place – form countering its competition, the cookie-cutter urbanism advertised by private colonisation (Fig. 4). The plan shows a partly gridded street network punctuated by squares, quadrants, crescents, and a circus – an ambitious sampling of Georgian urbanism. While Bath is routinely seen as the plan's antecedent (Hamer 1990), as a native of London, Mathew would have been entirely familiar with that city's profusion of squares and circuses, themselves critical elements, as John Summerson has noted, “in the economics of estate development” (Summerson 1986: 163). While London squares in Summerson's view owed something to the baroque *place royale* of the 18th century, they pointedly entailed a dissolve of such formality and with it, “formal architectural control” (Summerson 1986: 164). Yet with Bath, as he noted, is found a provincial, off-season exception, one in which classical urban forms rigorously determine architectural treatments (Summerson 1986: 164). Though even there the square, circus, and crescent were distributed “in a loose, informal way”, one answering to uneven topography (Summerson 1986: 165). While this approach in Bath in the 1750s became a staple of urban development for the remainder of the century in Britain (contributing for instance to the New Town of Edinburgh in 1766), it found exemplary deployment in John Nash's 1811 plans for Regent's Park and Regent Street (Summerson 1986: 166). With the street being completed in 1825, prior to Mathew's departure from England, it too may be considered a precedent for the Auckland plan, one transporting what Henry-Russell Hitchcock (1987) has referred to (via Sigfried Giedion) as a classical romanticism to the shores of the Waitematā, but also a picturesque sensibility melding urban motivations with landscape.

Manfredo Tafuri's (1985) consideration of the role of naturalism in shaping the 18th-century city is helpful for understanding this confluence. An early urban adoption of the picturesque is found in Marc-Antoine Laugier's rejection of Baroque formality in favour of cities designed like parks (Tafuri 1985: 4) – a precedent Hitchcock similarly attributed to romantic classicism. Rather than an aristocratically commanded nature expressed through the “episodic continuities of Baroque layouts”, Laugier imagined a naturalism in which “the city is like a forest”, being assembled according to an anti-organic logic where “squares, crossroads, and streets [impart...] regularity and fantasy, relationships and oppositions, and casual, unexpected elements that vary the scene” (as cited in Tafuri 1985: 4). Moreover, seeing in this proposition an anti-perspective tendency paralleling Enlightenment rationalism, Tafuri found a concretisation of Laugier's theories in the ‘urban improvement’ of London by Gwynn and George Dance Jr. known as “The Circus, The Crescent, and America Square” (Tafuri 1985: 4). Built between 1768-1774, but progressively altered through the Victorian period and finally bombed in 1940, the development, drawing on innovations in Bath but also from Dance's Grand Tour to Rome in 1765, was amongst the first enactments of a crescent form in the city and the only occasion where a circus and a square were deployed together (Fig. 5).

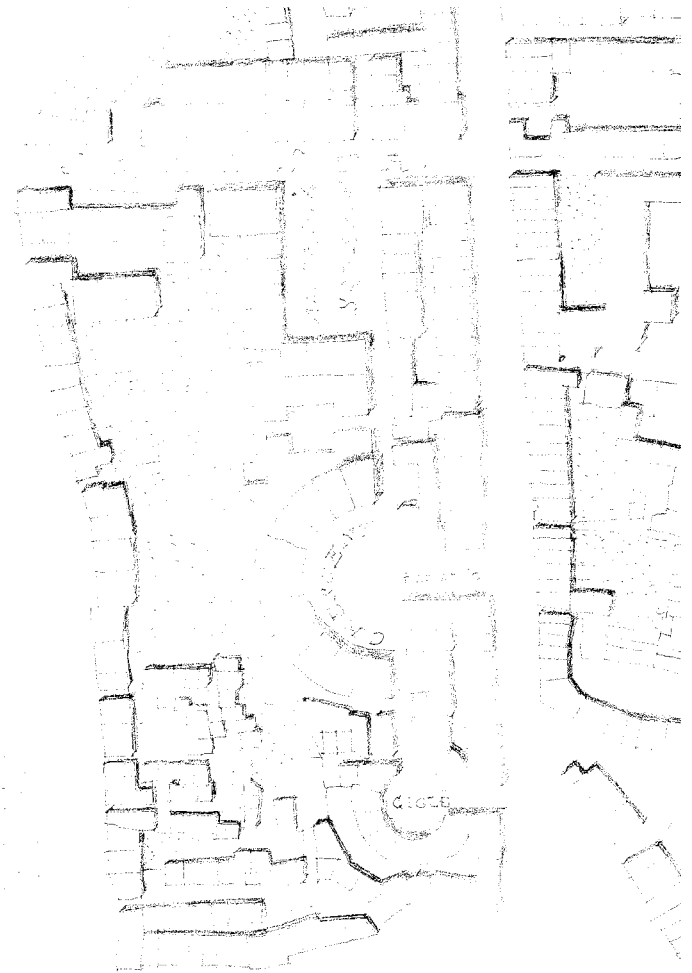


Fig. 5

Author (2015). The Circus, The Crescent, and America Square, by George Dance the Younger (pencil drawing based on Richard Horwood's map of London 1792-99) [Pencil drawing, Source: 100 Minorities: The curious denouement of a 'grand improvement'. L-P: Archaeology 2014-2015 | Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License]

What this “cultivated sensualism” of Laugier and the Dances portended for Tafuri was a political economic changeover; urban naturalism stood in for a waning dependence on the “pre-capitalist exploitation of the soil” of the *ancient régime* (Tafuri 1985: 8). With urban capitalism there is no sustained difference “between urban reality and the reality of the countryside”; each in their way answer to the productive mandate of cities and the new economic and population accumulations they demand (Tafuri 1985: 8).

For Tafuri, Piranesi's *Carceri d'Invenzione* portended these shifts. By testing to destruction baroque totalities (with their "equilibrium of opposites" and "unity in variety"), and by introducing under the guise of a classical framework a vision of centre-less, infinite space, it offered an image of linguistic decay rich in broken-down fragments and emptied symbols (Tafuri 1987: 30). Hitchcock too saw in the *Carceri* a precedent for romantic classicism, classicism less able to be 'revived' as a complete system than eclectically codified in a manner closer to the Burkean sublime than the beautiful (Tafuri 1987: 13 & 22-21). Yet, as Tafuri argued, for Burke the sublime involved finding in nature both the power of immensity, and a certain potency or savagery capable of being represented and therefore utilised (Tafuri 1987: 30). Hence such a view of nature neatly ratified social division and class contest, a vision usefully validating the overturning of an *ancien régime*. At the level of cities, as Tafuri noted drawing on assertions by Francesco Milizia in *Principles of Civil Architecture* (1781), an explicate sensualism was to parallel this political takeover:

[...] moving from one end to the other one [ought to find...] in each quarter something new, unique, and surprising. Order must reign, but in a kind of confusion... and from a multitude of regular parts the whole must give a certain idea of irregularity and chaos, which is so fitting to great cities. (as cited in Tafuri 1985: 21)

Correspondingly in the Felton Mathew Plan is found something of this centrifugal impetus towards irregularity and divergent order (see Fig. 6). From a rigorous, geometrically defined central area, street layouts bend away from principle axes producing irregular and rhombus-shaped blocks until, at the perimeter of the layout, no semblance of the ordering at the core is perceivable. Similarly, street layout increasingly responds to land features such as ridges (themselves spectrally represented as an alternative network doubled with the urban footprint) thereby fusing topographic characteristics with geometric motifs.

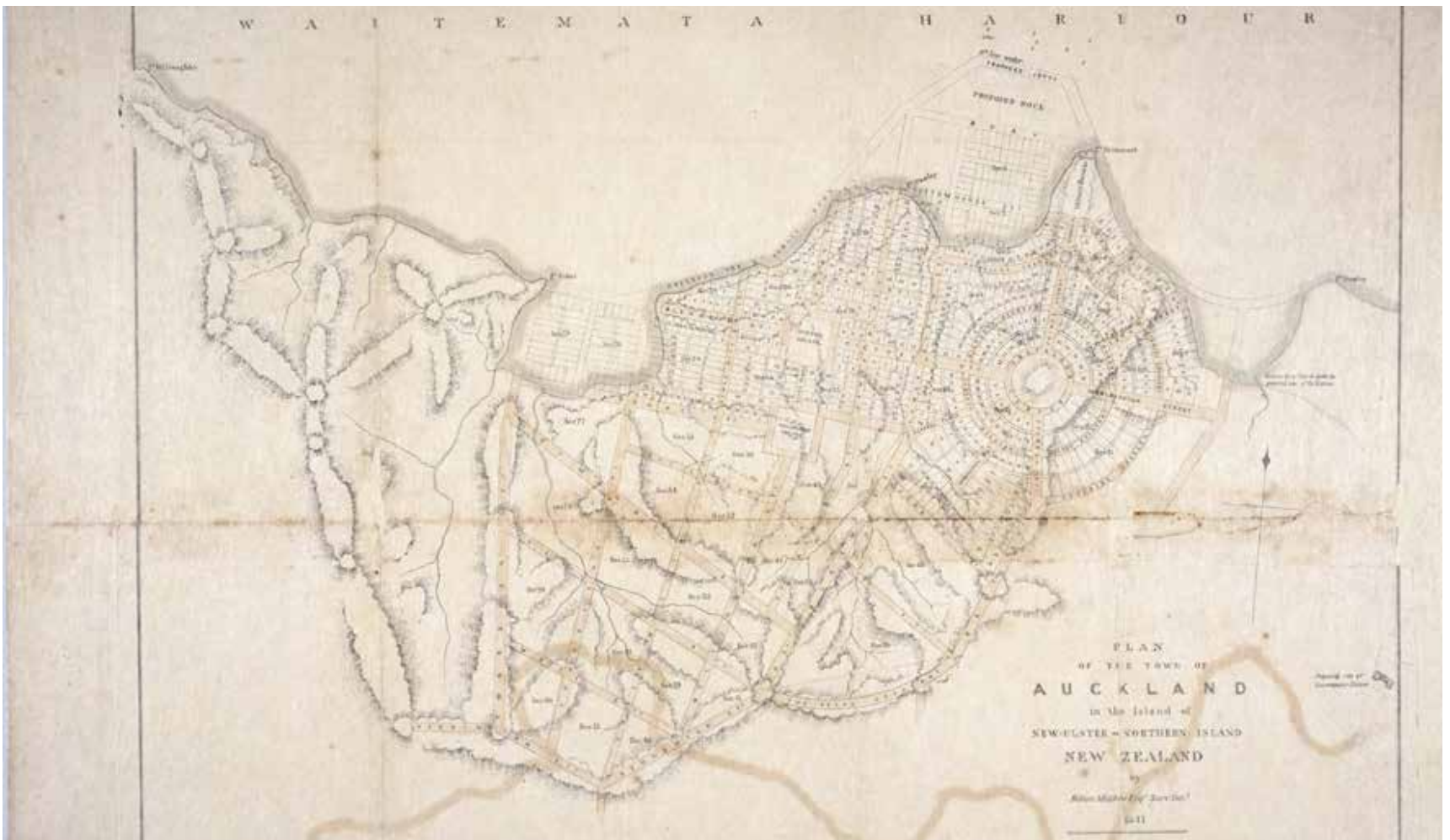


Fig. 06

Felton Mathew (1841) Partial view of Plan of the Town of Auckland in the Island of New Ulster on Northern Island, New Zealand, By Felton Mathew Esq., 1841 [NZ Map 6631, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries]

To the extent that Mumford attributed the emergence of residential squares in Georgian London to the takeover of feudal estates at the city's perimeter (Mumford 1984: 453), Mathew's squares and circus similarly rehearse a bourgeois displacement of seats of governance. The prefabricated Government House can be seen awkwardly straddling two proposed property lots on Waterloo Crescent, while a note to the east of the city environs indicates that a future Government House will occupy land well beyond the immediately envisaged street structure. Despite the concentric emphasis of the plan, the governmental seat of the capital is absent, leaving instead a scenographic bourgeois playground complete with orderly fronts and lanes for tidying away the operational awkwardness accompanying polite society. If such squares amounted to the new "forum of the fashionable", as Mumford has noted, one where tidied-up nature is selectively brought into the field of the urban, a promptly effected urbanism at Auckland planned a curious inversion with the urban itself progressively divesting itself of an enclosing function, and facing out to a yet-to-be-made-picturesque immensity – a spatial progression not dissimilar to the continuum between town and country Nash planned in the name of the Regent.

A lyric-epic capital

Fig. 07

Author (2015). Detail of Felton Mathew's "Plan of the Town of Auckland" [pencil drawing based on NZ Map 6631]

Notwithstanding the Georgian cargo freighted by the plan, it remained, with a few exceptions, largely unrealised. A misfit between its ambitious morphology (the crescents specifically) and the settlement's topography is said to be the cause – despite Mathew's claim to the contrary that it was predicated precisely by the roughly falling concentric topography of Rangipuke (Fig. 7), the small volcanic plateau making up Albert Park (Mathew 1940: 197). Nevertheless, under the guise of making the land useful without great expense, Mathew's crescents permitted a graduated relationship with terrain – an unusually subtle site-building by colonial standards. Moreover, the terrace housing the plan intended served to intensify ground relations, for as David Leatherbarrow has suggested, this building type necessarily entailed building into terrain (rather than on it) a visible *substratum* (Leatherbarrow 2004: 19). Noting a series of etymological

links joining terrace with Latin *terra* or earth and synonymous terms like “‘parterre,’ ‘terrestrial,’ ‘territory,’ and ‘terra firma’”, Leatherbarrow read into the action of terracing or leveling a quest for “clean and dry” terrain (Leatherbarrow 2004: 115). Hence if a “terrace is essentially a level, limited, and dry deck”, it takes its meaning from an antithetical condition - subsoil at once “unlimited and wet” (Leatherbarrow 2004: 116).

Terracing in Auckland was particularly topical given the prevalence of wet ground and inclement weather at its founding, but also the broader existential concern such conditions invoke. A Greek inheritance in Western building traditions makes an acuity to matter as problematically “wet and formless” especially heightened, and as Leatherbarrow recognised, Aristotle’s designation of form as a desirous marriage “between substance and shape” entailed both a domestication of unruly, unknowable matter (not coincidentally designated female) and a take-up of its “vital and procreative” potency for masculinist world-making (Leatherbarrow 2004: 116). While Mathew’s own marriage of terrain (Rangipuke) and quadrant could be seen to pursue a hegemony of this sort, in fact something other subsists with it. Terrain on the Isthmus was imagined to have unfathomable qualities, and as he wrote, “soil and climate genial and productive almost beyond all conception or calculation” (as cited in Byrnes 2001: 43).

This appeal to a sublimely bounteous substratum (a richness resting on its volcanic origin) resonates with a classical hue given to colonial Auckland by its early citizens, in particular its depiction by John Logan Campbell (Campbell 2012: 109) as an improved double of Corinth and Bishop Selwyn’s often-repeated reference in 1848 to the town as “the Corinth of the South” (Selwyn 1848). While the towns of the New World were, in Hamer’s account, commonly characterised by a “‘future city’ atmosphere” – a tendency to read into modest and largely incomplete present circumstances the prospect of a greatness to come – the spatial and temporal frontierism inherent in this newness is oddly refolded with Auckland’s classical doubling (Hamer 1990: 163, 177). Reference to ideal classical origins offered a new *epic* return, one where the colonialist, having wandered from home shores and their divisive sociality, plots an analogous route back by filling in with historical/mythological reference what Certeau has referred to as the “chasm effects” of distance (Certeau 1986: 142). While occidental capitalisation aimed to cut off drift induced by indigenous others, efficacious return instead is waylaid by a kind of Odyssean dreamland summonsed up here by terrain!

How did romanticism look to classic places for its grounding? If the 18th-century vision of the social contract envisaged, in parallel with a certain natural savagery, an “asocial subject”, as Celeste Langan has argued, romanticism was marked by the desire to restore the atomised “subject to a social setting”, a synthesising locale where people, things and place assume a “natural association” (Langan 1995: 15-18). Deleuze and Guattari similarly assert: “What romanticism lacks most is a people” and a ground through which they might resonate (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 340). For Jacques Rancière, poets like William Wordsworth early sought, in the context of a lapse of liberty and social cohesiveness ushered in by industrialisation and rural enclosure in Britain, a merging of poetry and utopian politics through countryside wandering. Yet post the French revolution an aesthetic solidarity with rural others in Britain became increasingly unimaginable (Rancière 2004: 21). Romantic sensibility (via Byron and Shelley particularly, but John Keats too, the close friend of Sarah Mathew’s older brother could be counted¹) instead sought a new route for a restorative intersecting of poetic language with social setting. The romantic imagination turned, as Rancière noted, to the “ancient Mediterranean” as a source of ‘unsullied’ idealism, re-forging the “lyric ‘I’” via a “simulacra of the epic journey” in pursuit of a “lyric-epic speaker”, a self inherently divided between first-

person experience and an identification with a journeying other – a fictional self – called on to suture divergent places and times (Rancière 2004: 22-24).

Early accounts of Auckland’s similitude with Corinth likewise suggest that urban place can be thought to have passed through a lyric-epic speaker. Necessarily underpinning colonial pragmatics are projects of meaning-making, and Mathew, in appropriating the little acropolis at the town’s centre as a fulcrum for settlement, can be thought to have contributed to rising up on the mute speech of the (volcanic) earth here English-filtered, mythic discourse. For Leatherbarrow, surfacing meaning this way takes as source a founding contest between earth and sky, with Zeus for instance subduing chthonic forces by *drooping-over* the earth a matrimonial veil (Leatherbarrow 2004: 120). Map-making, like a textile layered across the world, invokes the Greek notion of *techné* - the “knowledge, energy, or work whereby something comes into appearance” (Leatherbarrow 2004: 120). Yet such labour implies bringing out of the domain of the unknown coordinating, perceivable characteristics - voice in fact - even if, as Leatherbarrow noted, beneath appearances “‘things themselves’ are always (and finally) inaccessible” (Leatherbarrow 2004: 119). Orientating, if not overcoming, inaccessible knowledge is given force with Zeus’ sending from the far ends of the earth two eagles in search of the world’s centre. With Delphi found and founded as this pivotal place, a place of oracles and chthonic-inspired voices, the marker of this marriage – of all subsequent summoning of earth and sky in union – is the *omphalos*, “a protuberance in the ground or an ovoid stone” whose bulging pregnancy is inscribed with the coils of an encircling python, that symbol of life perpetual rising from the treasury or storehouse of death (Vernant 2006: 179, Leatherbarrow 2004: 124).

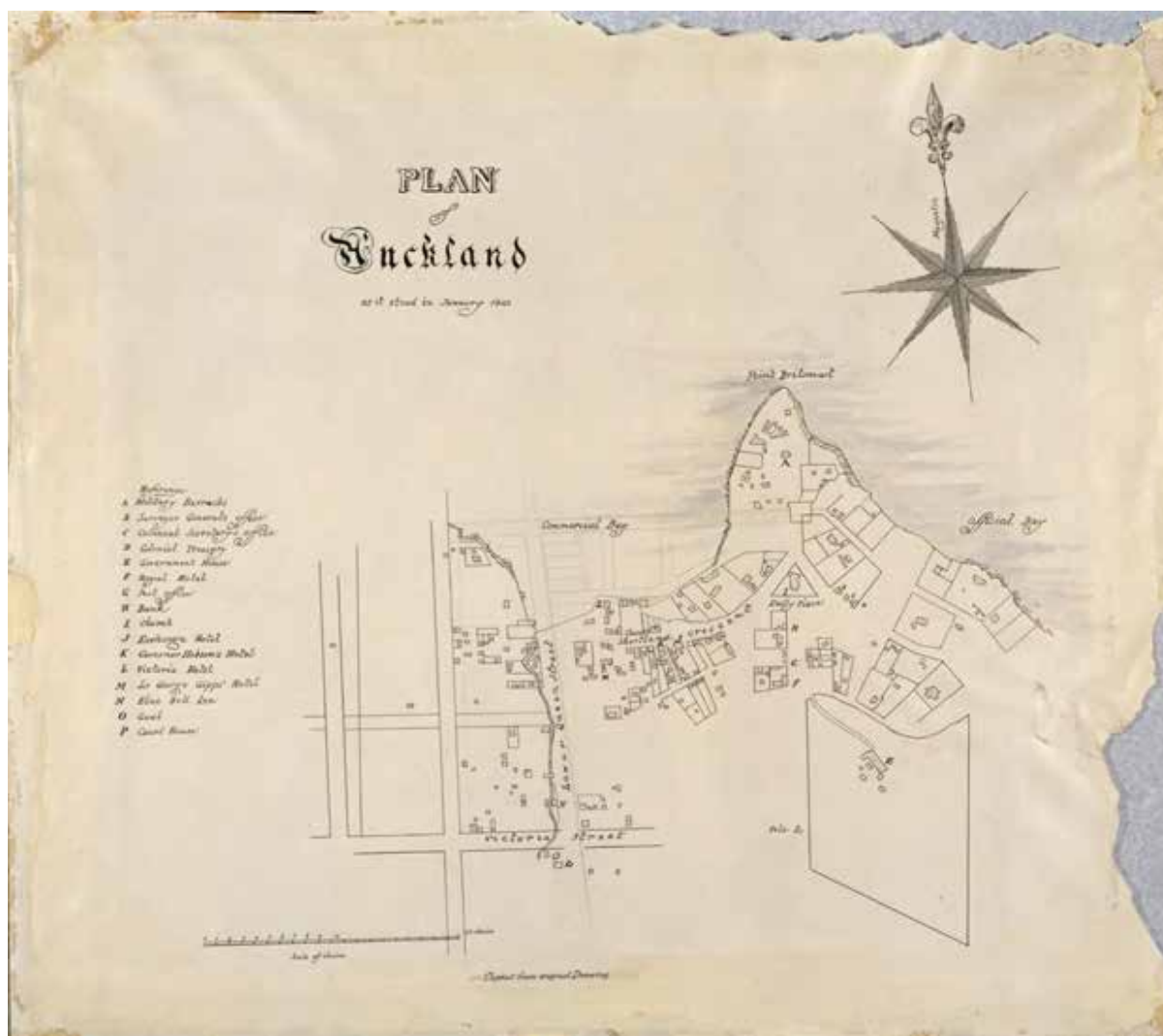


Fig. 08
Anonymous (1842). Plan of Auckland as it Stood in January, 1842 (traced from the original) [Detail, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZ Map 4601]

Mathew, even before the 1841 plan was completed, inscribed for the city to come such a navel or marker point about which his circus and quadrants were to be inscribed. An early plan of the settlement in 1842 shows a protean street layout and buildings, including the assembled Government House, but in an unassigned space axial to Victoria Street and what would become Princes Street, a small triangle labeled “Pole” marks the residual centre from which the whole territorial ensemble would have been spun (Fig. 8). As Dr S. M. D. Martin, the editor of the *New Zealand Herald and Gazette*, wrote:

On the top of that range the Surveyor planted a pole, and from that pole, as a centre, he described a number of circles to which he gave the names of quadrants, circuses and crescents, which he still further distinguished by calling each of them after some particular friend or favourite. With the exception of the spot on the top of the ridge, there was not an inch of level ground occupied by those circles, or cobwebs, as they were properly termed. (as cited in Platts 1971: 28)

The cobweb reference Diane Brand (2011: 430) has read as concern over a “sinister evocation of nature” in the plan. In line with the classicism implicit in a lyric-epic sensibility at work in the protean capital, it warrants considering this unnatural naturalism further. Certainly a Greek correlate is easily enough found in Arachne – a renowned young weaver who challenged Athena, the patron of Athens, to a contest and who, on winning, was turned into a spider forced to weave interminably. In this doubling of weavers and weave-types (mortal versus immortal, human betrayal versus godly heroism) is found a dichotomous relation between light and dark. If Athena, the goddess without a mother – who therefore was never “nursed on a shaded lap” – is only ever turned to the sky, Arachne – never nurtured elsewhere than in the shaded halls of women – can be thought to denote the underside of what Zeus veils in his marriage of (textile) meaning and terrain. In other words, she denotes the unruly forces of the subsoil or the sheltering inner hollow of the *omphalos* itself understood as the generative hearth or oven – an association aptly resonating with Rangipuke’s volcanic origin and, as the Māori place-name suggests, an inhabited, fertile mound bulging skyward.

While classicism implies a “form-substance relationship” that attempts to draw universals out of matter, romanticism’s identification with the subsoil and territorial setting induces an insistent questioning of founding and foundation. This is because territorial assemblages (the weave) and the earth remain irrevocably disjoined. As Deleuze and Guattari argued, romanticism is attenuated to hear a deeper utterance, “the deep, eternal breathing of the earth” (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 339) – a breathing that

renders matter more than a substance amenable to formation; it is found to be expressive in its own right (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 340). Concomitantly, in its mobilisation of the picturesque garden, romantic classical urbanism rests on questions of character and cultivation and the forming power of settings and situation. Hence if classicism held to a system of universal ideals informing phenomena, landscape cultivation understood inner form and the figures it engendered as instances of variation and relation with a vital principle implicate in nature itself (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 340 & Leatherbarrow 2004: 162). As Leatherbarrow found in the Third Earl of Shaftsbury's dialogue "The Moralists", the picturesque saw nature itself as the unity of all forms, an order in other words "hidden beneath or behind the changing and chaotic appearance of the figures in the *uncultivated* landscape" (Leatherbarrow 2004: 165; emphasis added). As such, picturesque cultivation entails drawing from nature as "a pure self", purified figures corresponding to the variations it fosters (Leatherbarrow 2004: 165 & 167).

Yet on the shores of the Waitematā, rather than the vegetal cultivation, at stake was something closer to geological character, or to borrow Deleuze and Guattari's phrase, a nature of "the matter-flow of the subsoil" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 412). A classical-romantic alloy then is catalysed at the interface of terrain, bringing the smooth folds and fluid ejections of the earth – its deep, slow rhythms – into contact with abruptly striated, built space – a relation Deleuze and Guattari, in the context of alchemy, metallurgy, and metalwork, termed "holey space" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 413-414).

Cutting out a town

Plainly enough, the territoriality at work in the new capital's founding was strikingly interval-producing and intercalated in nature. Take for instance the original gift of 3000 acres Ngāti Whātua made to the colonial government. Triangular in form, the undulating terrain itself constituted something like a deep surface densely covered in regenerating bush and tree ferns. Nested behind the northern-most coastal edge of the gift, the plan itself amounted to something like an image refuge cut into a broader territorial hospitality, a lyric-epic image repertoire regularly 'Georgian' at its centre but giving way to curiously angled geometries and marriage with existing Māori walking tracks at its perimeter.

More broadly, Tāmaki, severely depopulated and vacated from about the 1820s due to inter-tribal conflict, was cautiously being re-resettled and occupied by Ngāti Whātua. Through alliances and *tuku rangatira*, or the chiefly gift of use rights, old hurts and scores were gradually being settled. In parallel with these intercalated gestures, missionary interventions similarly sought to bridge divisions in pursuit of souls but also land, and prior to the capital's arrival, Tāmaki was being competitively divided up by what amounted to missionary-merchants pressed into service by various denominational missions (Stone 2001: 154). It was this territorial flux that prompted Ngāti Whātua to gift land to the new Governor, partly to summons a potentially protective agent, but also to share, in line with *tuku rangatira*, the resourcing advantages of the pakeha (Kawharu 2001). Yet what Hobson charged his deputy William Symonds with acquiring were indefeasible title to the gifted land and additional packets promised by Ngāti Whātua, an action that turned gifts into purchases, purchases that rendered its foreign guest an interloper without bound. As such, territory was made a field capable of being speculatively mined, first by the State and then private owners.

If capitalist rivalry, as Deleuze and Guattari noted, in fact gets played out at the level of a contest between towns and States themselves, the proclamation of Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland as capital precisely served to head off the action of instant townships initiated by private investors and settlers. Far from anti-capitalist, it was the State itself that propagated and perpetuated a capitalist solution in New Zealand, by overcoding, capturing, and orchestrating the flows of property and extractive production – production Belich (2007) saw as comprising a three-legged stool comprised of wool supply, gold rushing, and colonial "progress industries". The latter – amounting to public works ("roads, bridges, railways, postal and telegraphic communications, and port facilities": Belich 2007: 349) intended to overcome distance and obstacles to progress via military action – bear on the fate of the Felton Mathew Plan. In accordance with the edict of Lord Russell, Secretary of the Colonial Office in London, that frugality rule in the new capital (Stone 2001: 268) the plan failed to originate urban form precisely because it was that superfluous gesture necessarily remitted to the future, a future deferred on the basis that bare land speculation was itself designed to fund the infrastructural needs of the town and its axiomatic connections nationally and globally. If the plan can be thought to ambition a certain civilising of its impending citizenry, its abandonment nevertheless hangs over the city as defunct promise and prompt still.

Colliding on the Tāmaki Isthmus in the 1840s then are three territorial regimes or ideas of settlement, each, if Deleuze and Guattari (2000) are followed, anticipating and countering the other: the first amounted to a pre-European proto-urbanism, a territoriality defined by an ongoing tribal weave of filiation and alliance that never stabilises in the manner of property ownership but which maintains the earth as a body in common; the second amounted to the remnants of despotic regime enacted in the name of a sovereign and under whom all meaning and indeed territoriality are indexed as infinite debt; and thirdly, a mercantile/capitalist impetus (or "civilizing regime") that induces flows of commerce with only a minimum territoriality – that of towns to better switch, accelerate or concentrate flows.

To the extent, as Arendt has argued, bourgeois and State interests merge according to an imperialist "law of expansion", they do so on Hobbes' terms, with "the private interest [made...] the same with the publique" – in short, the only measure of success is the bridging everywhere of sites of resistance to a profit system taken in its narrowest, most atomised sense (Arendt 1976: 139). Topography, once the engine of artisan production in the medieval cities (through the percolating and macerating effects of 'wet technologies') and the key imprinter of (high-low) urban form, historically gets emptied of all telluric capacity under these conditions. Like the *glacis militaire* (or sloping field of fire accompanying city fortifications) and surrounding rural 'marchland' of the *ancien régime*, terrain is ideally evacuated of all frictional impedance. As Didier Gille has put it, the militarised countryside aspired to by the prince or lord was made to merge with the merchants' "furlowing of the world" in the interests of commerce (Gille 1986: 254-255). Everything is boiled down to commerce and its enabler, the conduits of transfer. Moreover, all conduct is measured by its appropriateness to the regulated flow of persons, commodities, and capital. As Nick Land succinctly expresses the colonial marriage of racism and commerce: the metropolis is crafted as an apparatus for commodification, but on the basis that "the primordial anthropological bond between marriage and trade is dissolved" thereby dislocating filiation and alliance in favour of the radically truncated alliances of monetary exchange (Land 2011: 72). At stake in the shift from sovereign societies to capitalist ones is the freeing of wealth from forms of arrest or stagnation – things like palaces – and the

metamorphosis of gold – as the bearer of an irrevocable citizenry filiation with the sovereign – into freer forms of monetary value. As Gille described, money is made “the means of measuring [all] human relationships”, with producers – separated from topography and the older telluric processes – becoming wage earners floated across urbanised places without root (Gille 1986: 273).

Undergrounding

If the gift of hospitality then in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland resolved itself in extraordinary speculative land profits, what benefited the town was an infrastructural furnishing of the city, a furnishing that was territorially expansive in nature. Opening up fronts in many directions – against disease, against insufficient water, against rising resistance from Māori to further land annexation, against tide and weather, etc. – programmes of public work in service of a progress economy can be thought of as overwriting and overcoming a topographical order with an abstract, topological one. At stake in this model is the idea of uniform, regulated motion, and towns across the 19th century became subject to this circulatory mandate at every level. Mathew, not entirely immune to the smoothing of topography for mercantile ends, nevertheless left open a telluric potency in terrain, one whose underside surfaced lyrically. On the other hand, such dream-work was fated to travel against the flow of an expansionist mythology, an outward streaming towards Kipling’s world’s end, a totality in fact refurbished for world politics and given the form, as Deleuze and Guattari put it, of a “single City, megalopolis, or ‘megamachine’ of which States are parts, or neighborhoods” (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 434-435). The consequence at a local level, as Gille noted, is that streets start to look like pipes, and they function like pipes too, putting traffic of every hue into infinite circulation (Gille 1986: 274-275).

The closing in of the Ligar Canal is paradigmatic in this regard, for it allowed the street to transport unimpeded by the inclemency of weather and tide. But with its closing over too came a foreclosure of Mathew’s particular vision for Auckland. Further, canalisation and a topological transformation of territory aligned with what Gille saw as the merchant’s “ideal of displacement as instantaneous transfer” – an ideal necessitating the refurbishment of topography in favour of a profit motive (Gille 1986: 257). Queen Street’s eventual makeover as the city’s ‘golden mile’ stands as something like an alchemistic transformation of the ditch it once was, and in turn models a capitalisation and metropolitan becoming not only of Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland, but in key ways, the country itself. As a consequence, the early collective planning-in of a lyric-epic sensibility took a private turn; the ‘nature’ of the Isthmus as a holey space capable of being brought to the surface in service of a revised peopling was buried in a (land) rush, leading not to condensed place but a fiscal savagery parceling out settlement, lot by lot. With Dr Martin’s cobweb quip in mind, this shift can be understood as something like a new distribution of domestic shade. For where Mathew’s plan shows a subtle shadowing of ground topography by parted together buildings - terraced construction manifesting ground as a substratum in concert – the abstract parceling out of lot boundaries rendered settlement a matter of private ‘platforming’ and incremental shadowing, dwelling by dwelling.

A politics is at work in this alternate distribution of shadow too, for if, as Mumford depicted it, the relative uniformity of the Georgian terraces facing London’s burgeoning residential squares testified to a certain “unified attitude towards life” and with it a “class cloak” designed to cover over the

“emerging disparities, rivalries, and enmities” of a merchant class on the rise (Mumford 1984: 453), such class cohesiveness was precisely Martin’s target when referring to Mathew’s naming of streets according to ‘friends and favourites’. And while the cobweb reference rests on the radial tracery of Mathew’s crescents, it might also be regarded as a sort of knowing, gothic reference – in fact that version of the picturesque (gothic revival) already calling time on romantic classicism at ‘home’ in the 1830s. The rustically remade villa – one end of the town-country continuum Nash established for the Regent – is what won the day in the intersecting of aristocratic models and “the disorderly competitive enterprise” remaking cities (Mumford 1984: 458). The detached dwelling – as popularised cottages for the middle classes – ambioned its own purchase on ‘nature’ with a plethora of prospect-gathering features like verandahs, loggias, bay-windows, turrets, etc. (Hitchcock 1987: 353-355). Yet it also ‘bent’ nature away from its initial romantic framing as a vast counter-reservoir to enlightenment knowing: an unconscious of sorts, or, as Paul Bishop has put it, a domain of “reason beyond reason” (Bishop 2010: 28). Pocketed and privately owned, sub-urban nature anticipates and parallels a rendering personal of the unconscious itself – a desiring-production entirely consistent with Deleuze and Guattari’s “civilising regime”. As such, the shaded domestic lap becomes a second order image of the social in total, an image where, as Deleuze and Guattari put it, the (nuclear) family is made a simulacra of the entire capitalist enterprise: “‘Mister Capital, Madame Earth’ and their child the Worker” (Deleuze & Guattari 2000: 264). By these terms the territorial inscription apposite to colonisation runs all the way into private persons where paternal despotic signs and maternal territorial ones settle on a “divided, split, castrated ego” (Deleuze & Guattari 2000: 265). If in Deleuze and Guattari’s account it is “Oedipus that colonises us” all, it is so on the basis that the filiations and alliances defining social production are radically truncated and instead funneled through the family – itself planted outside the social field but set up as a *subaggregate* modeling the social in miniature (Deleuze & Guattari 2000: 265). As such it becomes the focal point for capturing the ever-proliferating commercial flows, ‘grounding them’, but also for further proliferating them through the production of desires incubated by images of despotic, territorial, and subjective lack (Deleuze & Guattari 2000: 266). Surfaced lot by lot at Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland - not coincidentally as its defining territorial image - are ever-expanding, picturesque property deployments, themselves reading like so much gold dust coveted by a suburban *petite bourgeoisie*. Of the ‘cobwebs’ comprising Mathew’s proposed epic-lyric inscription, while they failed to impress themselves on the Isthmus directly, they were fated instead to persist in that place between the earth and dwelling, in other words, in that hollowed space of the Victorian subfloor where the social and the soil are perpetually undercut.

Acknowledgements

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Endnotes

1 Keats' narrative poem *Lamia* (1819) set in Corinth offers pointed example

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The city [within] the drawing: The urban in the space of representation

Sophia Banou

The City [within] The Drawing is the last of a series of four installations made in the course of a PhD by creative practice.¹ These installations posed questions about the material and temporal limits of conventional codes of architectural drawing and together attempted to forge an alternative urban representation. The series concluded in *The City [within] The Drawing* as a cumulated transcription within which the previous installations were embedded. This last installation expressed the negotiations that emerge between the actuality of the city and its image, by engaging with architectural representation² as an act of *inhabitation*³ performed through the spatial experience of both city and drawing.

As an attempt to ‘draw’ the actual city into representation, mapping was deployed as a kind of *inhabitation* that promotes a reciprocal close ‘looking’ between the city and the drawing.



Figs. 01 & 02

Sophia Banou (2015). *The City [within] The Drawing*: General views across the installation and to the city [Installation, Photos: Author]

Inhabitation, therefore involves engaging with the ‘material’ trace of not only the city, but also the observer and the notation itself. Shifting focus from a normative architectural solid-void dualism, the project addressed *the urban* as a transitory condition between order and event. Inscribed elements printed across suspended layers of clear acetate presented a constellation of marks that corresponded to specific trajectories, relationships of vision, and transformations of the materiality of both the city and the (preceding) installations. These markings grafted conventional codes from dance notation, geological mapping, and celestial cartography into architectural convention.

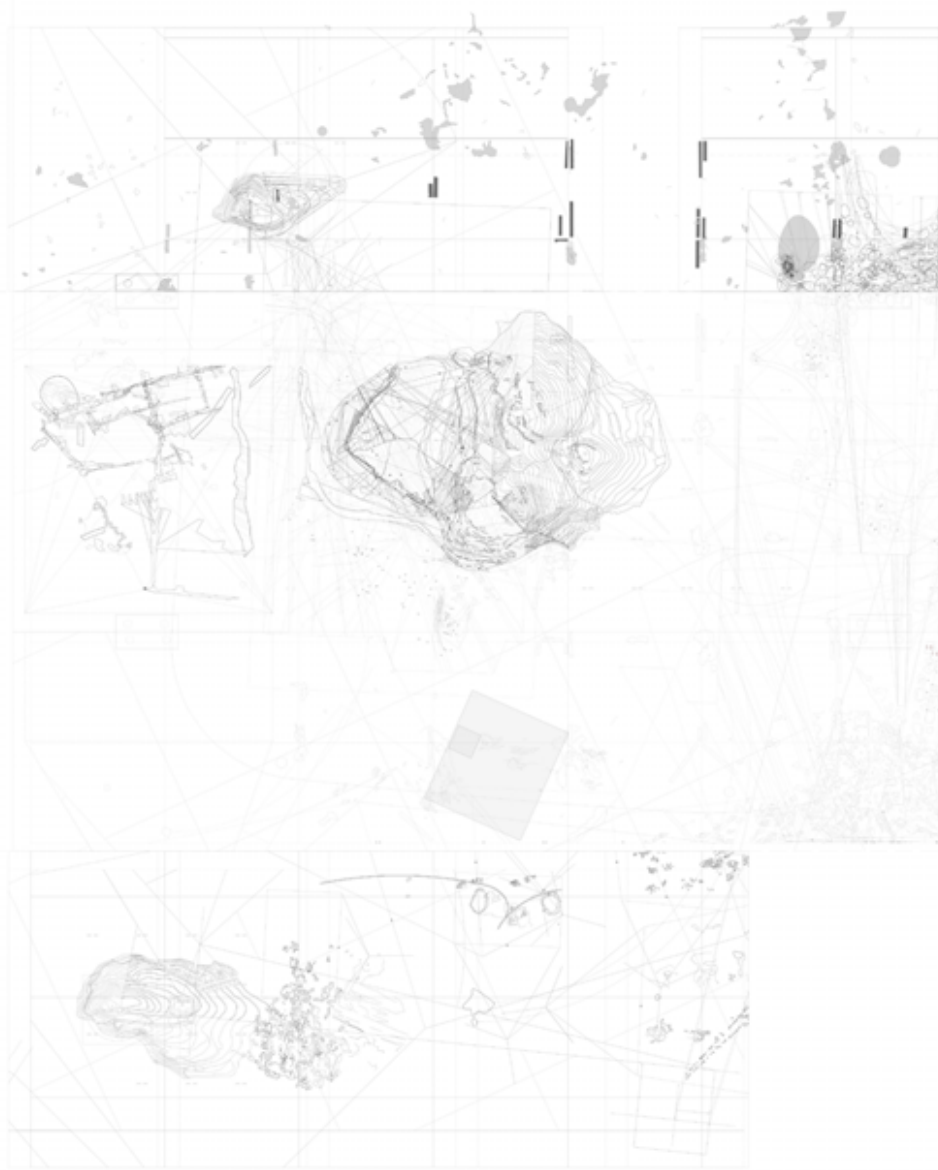


Fig. 03
Sophia Banou (2015). *The City [within] The Drawing*: The total of traces unfolded against a spread of the gallery [Installation, Photos: Author]



Provisionally reterritorialized upon a transparent substrate material, these signs were constantly repositioned against the city and the space of the gallery through the relational movement of the viewers.



Figs. 04 & 05

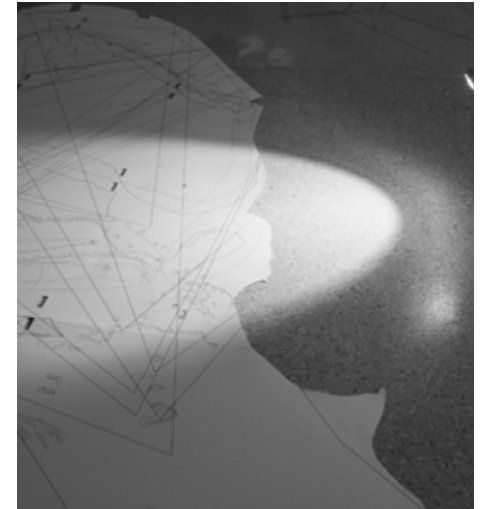
Sophia Banou (2015). *The City [within] The Drawing: Planar traces on the suspended clear acetate prints* [Installation, Photos: Author]

The nesting of the drawing's earlier phases within one another was extended to the city through the inclusion of the direct city views from the gallery that layered with the transcribed traces.



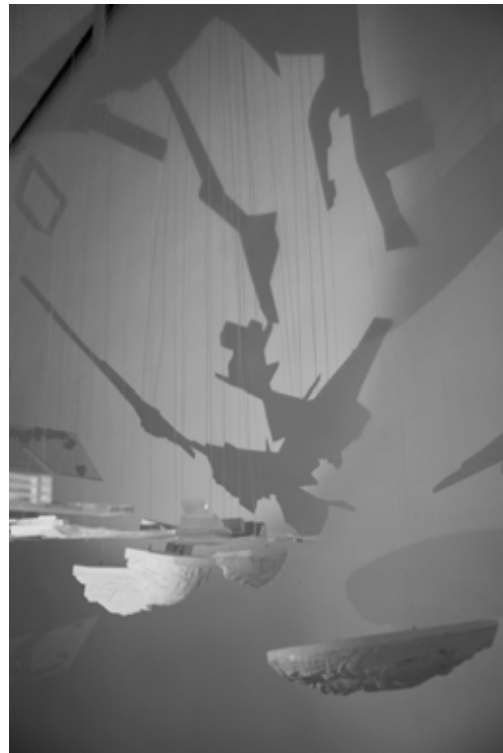
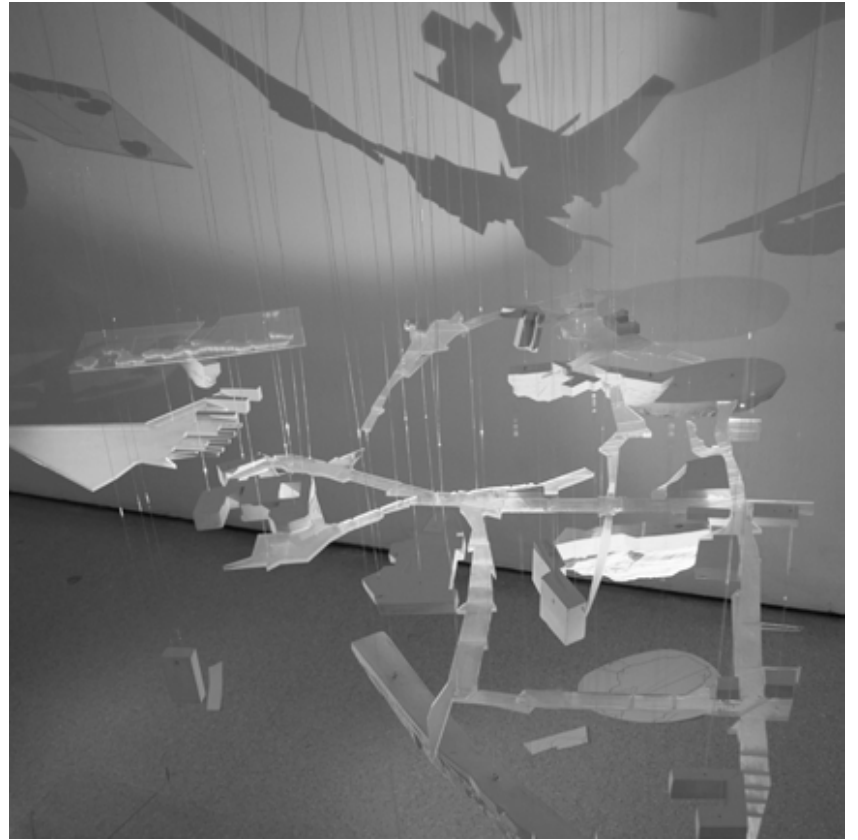
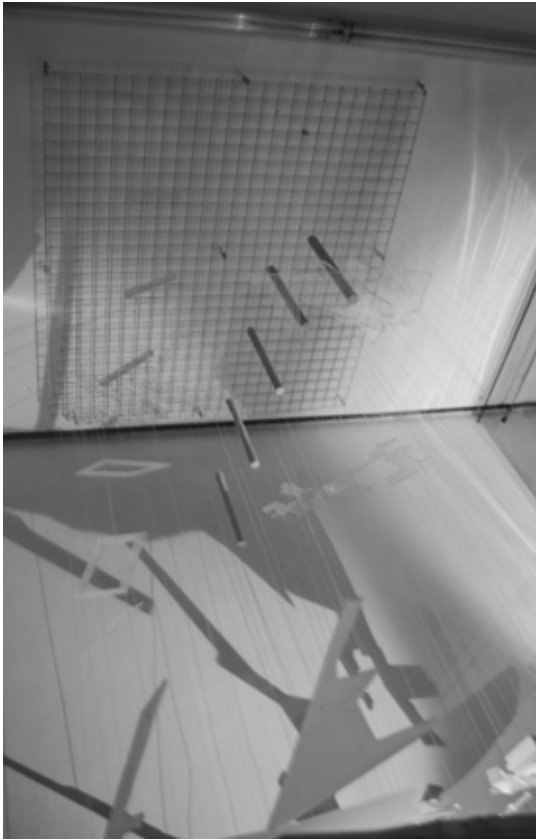
Figs. 06 & 07
Sophia Banou (2014). Draw of a Drawing: One of the preceding representations, 'nested' in The City [within] The Drawing, stood as a partial 'key' to the installation [Portable installation, Photos: Author]"

The multiple layers of the drawing carried the presence of the previous installations, not as mere signs but as distinct situated spatialities. Elements of previous *sittings* such as markings and scars were stenciled on polyester sheets to infuse the transparent layers with the neutral 'white' of the gallery. The solidity of the gallery floor afforded the signs of the various layers to become fixed upon the gallery surface,



Figs. 10, 11, 12
Sophia Banou (2015). The City [within] The Drawing: The City Model, where surface elements are materialised in plaster and visual relations are concretised in sanded acrylic, emerging from floor [Installation, Photos: Author]

whilst modelled elements sought to 'push through' the two-dimensionality of the drawing surface. This served to materialise and project back the 'city' emerging from within the drawing, as at once 'other' to and the same as its onlooker.



Figs. 13, 14, 15
Sophia Banou (2015). The City [within] The Drawing: Views of the City Model
[Installation, Photos: Author]

The installation, as a situated experience of drawing, performed as a 'mediating object' between city and spectator, prompting conditions of observation to persistently reconfigure by placing the two in mutually shifting relations.



Figs. 08 & 09

Sophia Banou (2015). The City [within] The Drawing: Views from the city into the drawing/installation [Installation, Photos: Author]

In this recursive process between sites of origin and sites of representation, the medium of installation posed as an opportunity to be immersed in, or rather inhabit, a 'space of representation', as the material recoding of the city within an expanded field. This representational field incorporated the kind of objects and conditions upon whose exclusion the coherence of the city had previously depended.

Endnotes

1 The installation was presented in March 2015, at the Tent Gallery, Edinburgh College of Art, from research undertaken at the University of Edinburgh, supervised by Prof Mark Dorrian and Dr Ella Chmielewska. On the preceding installations see Banou, S. (2015). *Animated Gazes: Motion and Representation in the Kaleidoscopic City. Drawing On, 01: Presents*. Retrieved from <http://www.drawingon.org/issue/01>, and Banou, S. (2015). *Deep Surface: On the Situation of Drawing. Inflection 02: Projection*, 76-83.

2 The object of this representation was the city of Edinburgh, however, and despite the operative character of the site-specificities that emerged, the questions raised and the effects produced should not be considered as pertaining to this particular city, as they have been driven by a concern with the agency of drawing rather than the specific characteristics of the city represented.

3 The idea of drawing as inhabitation is based on its understanding as a site-specific act and can be traced to notions of subjectification that emerged in cartographic approaches to architectural representation and specifically the understanding of representation as site in the work of Metis. See Heidegger (1993) Dorrian & Hawker (2002).

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Disquiet [of a non-crash site] Non-standard urban encounter

Hannah Hopewell

think this: thought is a thing

François Laruelle 2012

Disquiet [of a non-crash site] forms part of a broader experiment with urban inscription—an experiment played out across photography and *philo-poetics*. As such, the project draws divergently from questions of urbanism, the non-philosophy of François Laruelle, and emerging developments in speculative realism¹. The practice is offered in three registers, each building on the same 2014 dusk encounter with an inter-tidal space at Juhu Beach, Mumbai, India: firstly, in photographic imagery; secondly, as *philo-poetic* – or what can be thought of as an intersecting of philosophy and fiction that affords a radicalising of experience²; and thirdly, as a brief discursive outline of the project’s motivations and non-standard method. Part explication, part performance, this project folds theory and practice in a non-binary mode Gilles Deleuze (1992) has termed expressionism. François Laruelle has invited a similar reworking of the theory/practice nexus: the aim, he writes, is to put “practice into theory rather than just inserting practice ‘in theory’” (Laruelle 2012c: 218). In this case, I have sought to think an encounter with Juhu Beach intertidal as if the thought itself were a *thing*, a thing to be observed and inquired into. In this regard the project stakes itself less on questions and materials emerging from the actual site-specificities of the Juhu beach intertidal, and more on the agency of thing-ness in thought. What follows unpacks *Disquiet’s* urban encounter in reference to what Laruelle names as non-philosophy or non-standard method — a style of thought practise and performance pronounced by Ian James as a persistently heretical endeavour of invention that aims to liberate thought from the linguistic or texturalist paradigms otherwise dominating post-structuralist and difference philosophy (James 2013: 178).

The works composing this project collectively address a persistent question: how can the materiality of the urban intertidal be seen and

thought? Through an essentially performative approach, the project aims to renovate earlier epistemological approaches that ask how practices of seeing, speaking and writing produce, and sustain knowledge about the urban – a genealogy that can be traced through Foucault (1972), Certeau (1984), and Augé (1995). The project is an experiment that attempts to divest urban accounts of a long-exercised anthropocentrism. Instead, it pursues urban thought as a *thing* — a thing that faces the nonhuman to testify to a world no longer able to be seen and thought as constitutively “for-us” (Meillassoux 2008: 54-5). The approach aspires to expand epistemic freedom via modes of thought-production that forego exclusively human perspectives and any economy of subjectivity that obstructs the world subsisting “for-itself” (Meillassoux 2008: 1). In other words, as Meillassoux has noted, in trying to think a “thing ‘in-itself’ it is necessary to think independently of its relation to me.”³ (2008:1) This approach aims to make possible both new modes of discovery *and* to consolidate a form of critique not itself urban-focused. As such, it purposefully resists standard urban approaches and historicist frameworks. Firstly, it does this by intersecting photographic and *philo-poetic* practices, thereby eschewing disciplinary partitions. Secondly, it transposes the “radically new mode of thought” established by Laruelle (Gangle 2013: 6) from philosophy into urbanism.

Into this situation, what Laruelle offers is a radical mutation in thinking methodology, one that commits to a non-foundational understanding of thought that Galloway (2014) describes as a movement foreclosing the real as normatively given (48). Such thinking changes the nature of what can be thought and opens up how encounter can itself be encountered from a reorientated ‘ground’. For Steven Shaviro (2014) this mutation amounts to a “*nonphenomenology*” or a “*non-intuitive phenomenality*” (130; emphasis in the original), which Laruelle claims makes manifest “radical immanence” (1999: 141). In this sense, Laruelle effects a non-standard method to radically question basic assumptions and practices associated with analytic and conceptual thought (Galloway 2014: 47; Shaviro 2014: 132). Since materiality is not ‘given’ in the way that phenomenology describes, non-standard method doesn’t adhere to naturalistic accounts of the world - with modes

of perception say – instead Laruelle seeks an “experience of thought”, which is to say an experience of immanence. Immanence for Laruelle offers a “manner of thinking” that is “always prior to any determination by transcendence” (Smith as cited in Mullarky & Smith 2012: 26). To the extent that transcendence is given an explanatory place in and of the world, it is so as a limited condition of immanence itself. Familiar references of thought such as logic and consistency, themselves integral to transcendent thinking, are therefore avoided in Laruelle’s non-standard method (Laruelle 2013b: 116) so that thought can abandon the illusory ground of philosophy in favour “of a real base - the only real base”, that of the real itself (cited in James 2012:173). Critically thought is considered to neither rightly or wrongly represent reality; it instead avails an “ultra-reality” (James 2012:172) from thought as a material variant of what Laruelle calls the *Real* (Mullarky & Smith 2012: 1-3). The *Real*, for Laruelle is immanence, and understood as that which is undivided, absolutely autonomous and, of itself, entirely indifferent and resistant to conceptual transcendence (James, 2012: 162). In non-philosophy’s attempt to think this materiality, “thought [is] made stranger” (Mullarky & Smith 2012: 37), yet despite its abstracted appearance, Laruelle’s thinking is intended to be a practical theory, one whose performative orientation aims to do things to theory and perception specifically. Laruelle ventures to say that non-philosophy is “almost criminally performative” in the manner that this is the only way it can be demonstrated (cited in Ó Maoilearca 2015: 3). Fundamental to its design is how, non-standard method renders philosophical decision inoperable (Rodness 2015: 71) to open thought to a relation of alongside, a correlate of the Real, rather than of Being (Laruelle 1991:20). This study adapts such a posture in pursuit of a [non]urbanism, and in doing so, improvises a clearing for an expanded regime of (urban) thought – even if that thought assumes a difficult visage itself. To better situate non-standard method within urban inquiry, I have firstly sought strategies capable of disturbing phenomenal consciousness – in this case by way of photography. Secondly I have sought to transpose urban thinking as itself a material tendency or vector (Laruelle 2013b:100). Together these strategies stage a re-performance of the urban that is antithetical to personal accounts. Urbanism in this mode becomes a ‘not-for profit’ *thing*, no more privileged than a rock, or a dream in the scale of worldly things.

In this project becoming-immanent is privileged over programmatic practise. Such an approach is purposed to suspend prescriptive urban disciplinary norms and offer thought a non-foundation. Therefore, leveraged by an embodied encounter with the materiality of an urban intertidal space, *Disquiet* ventures through photography and *philopoetics*, to suspend personalised seeing and thought so it can re-recognise itself under re-scaled referents. To clarify, this experimental non-standard method thinks urban *thing-ness* by way of three strategies: firstly, a refusal of “natural perception” as exemplified by Merleau-Ponty (2002: 216; see also Gratton 2014; Sparrow 2014); secondly, thinking the event as if seen through a “world-without-us” (see Thacker 2011); and thirdly, by adopting an economy that “makes nothing happen” (see Blanchot 1989, 1993; Keats 1958).

non-photography is neither an extension of photography with some variation, difference, or decision; nor is it negation. It is use of photography

François Laruelle 2011



Fig 01

Untitled. Photo by author, 2014]

Disquiet in photographic register was shot using an *iPhone 5* at dusk and for the purposes of this paper, cut from its original 9-minute length to 5-minutes. The still images bring climate and urban material accumulation into play shadowed by human form. The photos were captured oblivious to explicate narrative, intentional decision, or intuition, and thereby refuse phenomenological intent. In line with Shaviro's depiction, they "exemplify a mode of thought that presents things without being *about* them—that is, without representing them or *intending* them as objects" (Shaviro 2014: 130). Taken rapidly with the non-philosophic function of *stance* not eye, they inscribe by drawing from an undivided presence contra to 'natural perception'. In this re-appropriation of Laruelle's non-standard method, urban address is accordingly orientated away, not only from a phenomenological perceptual field, but also the predicates of program and social order, and away from social or political engagement *per se*. Consequently the tenure of the urban's conceptual authority and sufficiency is suspended (not destructed) to render the means and aesthetics of site reading (analysis) inoperable, yet is reopened to alternative modes of mapping. In orientating to 'sites', rather than being indexed to normatively evident phenomena, this project follows what Laruelle terms a *universe-orientation*, which means attending (by way of an alongside relation) to the *Real* (or the One) that is in excess of the real as proximity found or

given (Mullarky & Smith 2012: 53). Laruelle's *Real*, as radical immanence, always exceeds and escapes human definition, remaining indifferent (undifferentiated), (non)relational and reoriented to otherwise immediate ends or needs. In this project, a photographic stance is sought which attends to this undifferentiated existence of the world, an indifference to the distinction between the world and the body of the photographer (thinker), rather than testifying to or confirming directed intention, position, or decision. As Laruelle has identified in relation to photography:

The photographer does not throw himself into the World, he replaces himself firstly in his body as a stance, and renounces all corporeal or psychic intentionality. 'Stance'—this word means: to be rooted in oneself, to be held within one's own immanence, to be at one's station rather than in a position relative to the 'motif'. (Laruelle, 2011b: 12)

Thus for Laruelle, the photographer is immediately plugged into a field of infinite materialities that remain beyond the complete grasp of any human (philosophical, semiological, analytical, artistic, etc.) cognition or technology (Laruelle 2011b: 53). Amplifying this stance, in this project the photography does not seek to be filled with representational content, but rather, remains open to a “presentation that has never been affected by and divided by representation” (Laruelle, 2011b: 45). In this mode, which amounts to *‘letting things be’*, photography is something entirely objective in itself (Laruelle, 2011b: 94) and therefore resists vesting transcendent qualities in the urban.

Disquiet’s radicalised mode of optics and edits borne from this mutated postural matrix privileges a seeing of seeing. It bears relation to seeing the surface of time, not as experience of an authoritatively imposed order tethered by its *other*, dis-order—what Michel de Certeau conceptually terms a “sieve-order” where the urban surface is taken as something capable of being “punched and torn open by ellipses drifts and leaks of meaning” (1984:108)—but rather, seeing a Laruellian “non-world fully rooted in the present” (Galloway 2012: 233). What non-standard method exercised through photographic performance brings to the question, *how can urban intertidal materiality be seen and thought?* is a disquieting, yet generative orientation that reconfigures the inscriptive gaze (what Laruelle calls a *vision-force*) to see the urban anew. At stake in Laruelle’s abstracted photography is a new kind of “irreflective” thought akin to seeing without ‘thinking’ the blind-sight induced by *logos*. Similarly, the Juhu intertidal encounter ‘grasps’, via a poetic identification given (always insufficiently) by auto-portraiture, the manifold of intertidal things (see Laruelle 2011b, 2012a).

Using oblique, or tangential framings cut with top-down shots and mobilised through *iPhoto* in partial repetition, *Disquiet’s* transposed non-standard method disorients and pressures inscription of urban place away from habitual descriptions and categorical precincts through maintaining lapses of recognisable or knowable relations. Such a mutation of representation distresses interpretive constructs of normative place/thing/human recognition, rendering the urban’s relational cartographic navigation inert. Non-standard stance ‘reads’ urban discards and tidal material without measure or prejudice to enable encounter to enter a contract with ‘whatever’ material by accepting its fluency, swerve or stasis. Vision-force, or “immanence-of-vision” (Laruelle 2011b: 54) of the photograph makes everything it presents exist on a strictly ‘equal footing’. It amounts, “outside any ontological hierarchy” (Laruelle 2011b: 52), to a flattening out of thought without instigating a homogenisation of experience. As Alexander Galloway reads Laruelle’s approach, the “non-standard real is rooted in matter” (Galloway 2013:235), matter for Laruelle that always maintains a real equality.

In *Disquiet* I similarly circumvent an economy that distinguishes between waste and productive matter around which the urban political economy is typically coordinated. To this end the study aims to revive the dimensions of indifference as a critical position and democratising force in urban place. Laruelle’s “indifference” is a non-philosophical apparatus that reconfigures subjects and object relations without reducing them to absolute alterity (2013: 107). Neither does it engender any explicit presence of the Other to provide “a structure of the perceptual field” (Deleuze 1990: 307). As an alternative mode of relationality, the non-philosophical thinker, asserts Laruelle, is a force (of) thought, in which the “bracketed preposition expresses the immanence of thought and force as practise to affirm a (non) relation”, a relation without correlation or reciprocity, a relation outside exchange. To such an end seeing and thought is not given effect in relation to, or *about* a perceived object or subject.

Urban thought as *thing* within (non-standard) method has value given it aspires to bring democracy (or ‘flat’ thinking) into urban discourse not as a theoretical democracy, but a “democracy of theory itself” (Ó Maoilearca 2015: 3). To this end *Disquiet* offers a partial, or preliminary aesthetic modelling of ontological and socio-political dilemmas within the urban by releasing the ‘proper’ boundaries of the human towards potentially contingent non-human utopias. Such a posture is neither subjective nor objective, neither for-us, nor for-itself, and instead aims to allow a “world-without-us” to flicker into view. The human is accordingly not annihilated or isolated from tidal processes taking place in encounter with any doctrines of lack or recovery, but opened to the future by way of troubling the surface of the present—a surface of shared primacy to which we are answerable.

Disquiet in both photographic and *philo-poetic* registers mobilise a structure of effacement in their address of urban material *things* and thoughts that verges upon disappearance in affirming a “world-without-us”. The never-still intertidal space invokes an effect of the outside, a co-existent non-urban temporality (see Cray 2013 on urban time) that re-sites urban seeing beyond the lived present in a fractional revisioning of the Laruellian Real. This approach resonates with a rapid increase in the rate of measurable entropy across the planet in line with what Bernard Stiegler has reported as “a form of systemic mutation referred to as ‘climate change’” (2015). As such it acknowledges the urgent need for changing perceptions of what is possible for urban seeing and thought. Extinction is itself a variant of effacement that troubles thinking about the urban. As Cary Wolfe recognises in the prospect of the demise of human inhabitation, “it comes from the future yet makes demands on the present, is natural, yet somehow never natural” (2015). On the other hand, effacement is deployed differently in this project. Rather than mobilising an eschatological “end-thinking” resting on literal species extinction, the project pins its hopes on the possibility of deferred identity - not lost - on the “not-yet” as an inconspicuous and unstable synthetic space persisting in the present *thingly* body of the urban. To this end the materiality of effacement and the intertidal space of encounter converge within the components of the project to diffuse a rhetoric of extinction (See Brassier, 2007; Colebrook, 2014; Wolfe, 2015) and subvert a logic of crises - which more often than not means a logic more extremely applied to maintaining current socio-economic practices.

*nothing... will have taken place... but the place.. except..
perhaps ... a constellation*

Stéphane Mallarmé

Disquiet, in *philo-poetic* practice, is staged as sutured together lines of questions and statements in pursuit of a textual perform Laruelle calls “blind thought” or “irreflective thought” (Laruelle 2011b: 30-1). This fully-fledged abstraction of the actual Juhu Beach intertidal encounter presents no firm division between concrete and abstract, real and imaginary manifestation. The corrosive textual materiality aims to reterritorialise urban, earth-bound thought with a non-personal vision-force—a force strange to the normative distinctions between concepts, humans and bodies. The poetics thus augment erosion of propriety, ontological positioning and determined place through an orientation, not to where, but from the multiple subject of the texts productive and destructive appeal (in fidelity with, or in other words a (non)relation alongside the Laruellian Real). The site of the subject, (including the reader), is troubled via a kinetics of pronoun to invoke

an unnamed multiplicity with images of a folded, doublet ‘you’—the generic ‘urban human’ and other material guises of the Real—alongside two registers of author: first person, and impersonal neuter. Operating indifferently to the various ‘yous’ that structure the text, the discursive impersonal neuter functions as a gate between overlapping subjects and objects. Dialogue is thus not coordinated in a bilateral relation, of ‘me author’ tethered to the *other* (site, tide, urban thing, reader...) in a reflexive or reciprocal contract, but by a unilateral relation to the neutral texture of the real whose boundaries can never be fully conceived. Hence, *Disquiet in philo-poetic* practise enlists Laruelle’s indifference as a site of “descriptive passivity”, a site where *nothing* happens as an analogous expression referred to by Blanchot (1989) as worklessness.

In summary, this truncated exploration attempts to locate fecundity in Laruelle’s strange but lovely, rigorous rather than authoritative, non-philosophical method as deployed alongside the urban as a means to map out thought as *thing* in a new site for spatial practice. It has begun to perform through photographic and textual practice how thought, as an immanent *thing* in itself, may appear for a [non]urbanism when the *non* is not a negation, but an amplification and mutation of thought (Mullarky & Smith 2012: 15). It is too early to conclude with certainty the value of such a radical research practice, yet too late to discount non-philosophy’s egalitarian contours that offer a mode of presence and reception in a realm of immanent, non-cognitive contact—an encounter with encounter potentially significant, for example, in unseating the transcendent primacy of the human gaze in urban ‘interpretation’ and urban discourse.

Endnotes

1 *Speculative realism* is neither a philosophical field, nor a unified movement. Nevertheless, it shares a set of concerns addressing what counts as ‘experience’ and the nature of the ‘reality’. This work draws on the following thinkers who engage with, if not necessarily champion, speculative reality: Brassier 2007, Gratton 2014, Laruelle, Meillassoux 2008, Negarestani 2008, Shaviro 2014, Sparrow 2014, Trigg 2014.

2 *Philo-poetics* in this context builds on my own investigation of François Laruelle’s “philo-fiction” as part of my PhD research into modes of encounter with the urban intertidal. For Laruelle (2013) “philo-fiction” is a reconfiguration of fiction that requires a nulling of philosophy’s ‘authority’ over it as one way of radicalising what counts as reality and escaping fiction as belonging to the “order of the false” (228-230). In practice this involves the rigor or consistency of (fictional) invention, not convention, of philosophical possibilities alongside that of the real.

3 The bounds of this paper do not permit a full account of this point that highlights correlationism in thought, and an impetus in materiality to seek the nonhuman orientations. See Grusin (2015) and Dolphijn, R., & van der Tuin (2012).

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Architectural projects of Marco Frascari: The pleasure of a demonstration

Jonathan Hale

Architectural Projects of Marco Frascari: The Pleasure of a Demonstration 2015, Sam Ridgway

Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, pp.109.

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This is a useful collection of commentaries on the fascinating work – both written and built – of the Italian architect and academic Marco Frascari, who died in 2013. Frascari, born in 1945 “under the shadow of the dome of Alberti’s Sant’ Andrea in Mantua,” graduated as an architect from the IUAV in Venice in 1969, initially working in both the design office and the teaching studio of his mentor Carlo Scarpa. After completing his PhD at the University of Pennsylvania, he taught at a number of North American universities, including Georgia Institute of Technology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and again at the University of Pennsylvania alongside Joseph Rykwert and David Leatherbarrow in the mid-1990s. His final appointment was Director of the Azrieli School of Architecture at Carleton University in Ottawa.

Like Scarpa, throughout his career Frascari had something of an obsession with the articulation of the construction detail, which he saw as a kind of compositional unit from which whole buildings could be progressively assembled. But what raised his work beyond the crude idea of repetition – the building as a simple ‘piling up’ of individual details – is a deeper understanding of the detail itself as a kind of hybrid composition of elements. In a typically mischievous move, Frascari preferred to call these hybrids ‘monsters’, which allowed him to play various etymological games that linked terms like *demonstration* (which can mean both a drawing or a building) with the Italian word *mostre* (exhibition). If the detail is a monstrous union of dissimilar materials brought together into some sort of unlikely expressive relationship, Frascari likewise treated the building as a whole as a collage-like composition of distinctive fragments. It is this idea that drew him towards working with historic buildings, again in an echo

of Scarpa’s approach to the layering of historic and contemporary fabrics – perhaps best exemplified at the Castelvecchio Museum in Verona. The three projects featured in Ridgway’s book all involve new interventions within existing structures; for example, the Stanza Rossa involved a major remodelling of a disused silk factory in Vicenza, just a few hundred metres from Palladio’s famous theatre, the Teatro Olimpico. The focal point of the reconstruction is the insertion of an altar-like central bathroom, raising the normally mundane act of bathing to a self-consciously spiritual level. In place of what in a cooler climate would more likely have been a central fireplace, the reference to a sacred well-spring at the centre of the house recalls Gaston Bachelard’s meditations on the archetypal four elements.

Also featured in the book are two projects from Frascari’s time teaching and practicing in the USA: a remodelling of a Master’s Apartment in a student hall of residence at the University of Pennsylvania and a major reworking of a single-family house for his own use on the outskirts of Alexandria in Virginia. In both cases the spaces are transformed by a single dominant idea, which in the first is the opening up of a central light-filled stairwell that allows the journey up to the main living space to take on a ceremonial quality. In the Villa Rosa in Alexandria an alternative approach is taken, effectively wrapping the existing volume in a series of discrete but distinct new elements. The plan geometry is the driving principle in this latter example, with the aim of reorienting the kitchen and master bedroom to align with the north-south axis. The rotation of these key elements highlights another of Frascari’s design preoccupations: the role of geometric drawing instruments in the ‘drawing out’ of an idea. The humble compass becomes an instrument of divination in Frascari’s very personal history of the ‘crafty art of architecture’, where he makes a direct connection between the geometric construction of the drawing and the actual setting out of the building at 1:1 on site. The compass therefore takes on the role of mediator or messenger between the realms of the actual and the possible, a function analogous to that performed by angels in the art and literature of the Christian tradition. Frascari again makes much of the play on words between *angel* and *angle* in one of his best known published writings, while many of his drawings feature compasses with angelic wings

attached, transforming them into quasi-magical tools of discovery and communication.

As a book, its format as an essay collection brings with it some minor if obvious drawbacks, one of which being a degree of repetition in the introductions and conclusions to the early chapters. By contrast the book cuts off rather abruptly at the end of Chapter 6, without an overall conclusion to draw the various strands of the story together. But overall it still constitutes a much needed and timely reminder of the singular achievements of an influential figure. For me, as a former student of Frascari's as well as an occasional collaborator, his work has been a huge source of inspiration, as well as an ongoing challenge to try to continue. I am happy to say that Sam Ridgway has also taken up this important task and offers here a highly engaging and insightful analysis that should make his work available to a new generation of researchers.



Interstices 16

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